DEFINING NAZISM AND THE HOLOCAUST IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1933-1964

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This project investigates the engagement of American educators with the meaning of Nazism and the atrocities of that regime between 1933 and 1964. It demonstrates that teachers, administrators, those in the textbook industry, parents, and educational activists increasingly associated Nazism with the murder of the Jews while simultaneously emphasizing state centralization and police power as the signifiers of that system. This resulted in two primary ways that Americans used presentations of Nazism to make statements about America and advocate for their own political and ideological stances.

To many, the Nazi regime became an analogy for teaching the danger of governmental power—often described as totalitarianism. If centralized power represented the threat, then the assault on the Jews served as the warning of what such a system would result in. The consequence was that even while educators emphasized the murder of the Jews, they downplayed antisemitism and stressed political calculations as the cause. Propaganda, national educational programs, anti-racism education, desegregation, and forced bussing all signified the same forces that had taken control of Germany. The danger of allowing the government to enforce such policies recalled images of extermination camps.

Other educators emphasized the racial ideology of the Nazis and connected it to bigotry in America. Domestic forms of discrimination presaged fascistic ideals among Americans. These educators deemphasized the specificity of Nazi antisemitism in their

linkages of it to American discrimination in favor of a more generalized discrimination. They believed that racial and religious bigotry, support for segregation, and the burning of Black churches all evidenced fascistic forces in America. They imagined concentration camps and genocide when they considered the risk of allowing discrimination to fester in the United States.

By the 1960s, when educators began to emphasize the need for education which taught specifically of the Nazi atrocities, the mental categories by which they would interpret that event had already been set. When American teachers of the 1970s taught Holocaust education, they did so with these preexisting interpretations. Holocaust memory was built of the component parts of how earlier Americans had interpreted and represented Nazism and the atrocities of that regime.

DEDICATION

To my love, Maggie, and my two boys, Rapha and Dietrich. They brought me joy and sacrificed much for this.

To my parents, brother, and in-laws who always supported me in every way possible.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

In January of 2020, in the midst of some of the most bitter partisanship in decades, both chambers of the U.S. Congress voted in favor of the "Never Again Education Act." Indeed, only five representatives and no senators voted against the bill. This law increased the budget of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) and tasked that entity with developing and disseminating resources on the Holocaust. Further, the bill required the USHMM to provide teacher trainings and workshops as well as work with state educational bureaucracies to increase the availability of Holocaust education materials. Its authors believed that "Holocaust education provides a context in which to learn about the danger of what can happen when hate goes unchallenged and there is indifference in the face of the oppression of others." It, thus, serves as "an important component of the education of citizens of the United States."[1]

Not only at the federal level but also in state houses have American legislators determined Holocaust education fundamental to living in American society. By 2019, at least sixteen states required the teaching of the Holocaust in schools while three others recommended its coverage.[2] In some cases, state legislatures have created commissions called up to, among other things, support schools in implementing Holocaust education programs.

Yet, amidst the seeming unanimity regarding the importance of Holocaust education, there still exists significant difference in purpose and implementation of the various programs

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[1] "H.R.943-Never Again Education Act," *Congress.gov*, accessed December 27, 2020, https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/943/text

[2] "Where Holocaust Education is Required in the US," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed December 21, 2020, https://www.ushmm.org/teach/fundamentals/where-holocaust-education-is-required-in-the-us "U.S. States Requiring Holocaust Education in Schools," *Jewish Virtual Library*, accessed December 21, 2020, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/u-s-states-requiring-holocaust-education-in-schools

available. These distinctions lay embedded in the very names and content of bills supporting them. For example, the "Never Again Education Act" speaks specifically of the Holocaust. It defines that event as follows:

> The systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of 6,000,000 Jews by the Nazi regime and its allies and collaborators. During the era of the Holocaust, German authorities also targeted other groups because of their perceived 'racial inferiority', such as Roma, the disabled, and Slavs. Other groups were persecuted on political, ideological, and behavioral grounds, among them Communists, Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and homosexuals.[3]

It clearly delineates the Holocaust as a particularly Jewish event in which occurred within the context of, but remained different and separate from, a Nazi assault on other peoples. Thus, the act presents a perspective on the Holocaust rooted in a historical approach concerned with maintaining the significance and distinctiveness of the murder of the Jews, through recognizing the difference in scope, intent, and method. It thereby fostered attention to antisemitism and connections among the various victim groups while recognizing the limits of those links.

In the case of Texas Senate Bill 482, which established support for Holocaust education in Texas, however, the bill label speaks to its difference. The act, described as "Relating to the Texas Holocaust and Genocide Commission," established just such an agency. Notably, that the legislators tied the Holocaust and genocide together in the commission demonstrated an approach in which might lead to comparison of various events. The bill's definition of the Holocaust, too, signaled a difference in intent related to Holocaust education. Whereas the federal bill described the Holocaust as an assault on the Jews, the Texas legislation described it as,

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[3] *Never Again Education Act*, 36 USC §2301, (2021), https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/943/text?overview=closed.

> The killing of approximately six million Jews and millions of other persons during World War II by the National Socialist German Worker's Party (Nazis) and Nazi collaborators as part of a state-sponsored, systematic program of genocide and other actions of persecution, discrimination, violence, or other human rights violations committed by the Nazis and Nazi collaborators against those persons.

They thereby flattened distinctions, in the origins, nature, and degree of persecutions, among various groups assaulted by the Nazis. This focus encouraged a broad view of the Holocaust which de-emphasized antisemitism and developed broader connections. Considering the Holocaust as the assault on all Nazi victims and attaching it more broadly to genocide changed the lessons attached to the event. Such a definition and focus suggest that the Holocaust served as one point in an effort toward education to "teach our kids and neighbors to do what is morally right when faced with such atrocities [as Darfur]."[4]

Thus, as historian Thomas Fallace noted, though Americans "agree that the Holocaust should be taught, they cannot agree on how it should be done."[5] Nevertheless, a disagreement over why it should be taught underpins the conflict over the how to teach it. The two above acts represent two viewpoints on why and how educators ought to teach the Holocaust. The Texas legislation signifies a belief that the murder of the Jews represented a part of a broad assault. Placing the persecution and murder of the Jews alongside other Nazi atrocities allows for greater universalization of the event and provides for easy applicability. This, of course, lends to uncritical and, often, offensive comparisons. The federal law presents the assault on the Jews in its particularity and emphasizes its difference from other atrocities, even those committed concurrently by the Nazis. This narrows opportunities for direct analogy and limits comparison.

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[4] "Perry Signs Holocaust and Genocide Commission Legislation," *NBCDFW*, accessed January 5, 2021, https://www.nbcdfw.com/news/politics/gov-perry-signs-holocaust-and-genocide-commission-legislation/1856545/.
[5] Thomas Fallace, *The Emergence of Holocaust Education in America*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 5.

This tends toward more historical, but less directly stated lessons that when left to students to apply can sometimes lead to varied and problematic connections. One approaches the event seeking to apply it as a lens for understanding the world today, the other in comprehending the past.

These different approaches to the Holocaust manifest in the various Holocaust education curricula. Two notable methods signify the two viewpoints. *Facing History and Ourselves*, a Holocaust curriculum developed in 1976, originated in attempts to use the Holocaust to speak to contemporary concerns, particularly over the nuclear proliferation. The updated curricula focuses on anti-hate and anti-bigotry. The USHMM "Guidelines for Teaching about the Holocaust" focus on pedagogical techniques that maintain strict approaches to history which limit comparisons and universalization of the event.

Facing History and Ourselves (*FHAO*), began in 1976 when educators Stern Strom and William Parsons determined to develop a Holocaust curriculum. Today *FHAO*'s Holocaust program seeks to motivate "students to become upstanders in their communities" who challenge stereotyping, bullying, and uphold democratic principles. Though originally intending to deliver information on the Holocaust missing from classrooms and textbooks, it did so alongside comparison to contemporary and historical concerns. Notably, the authors addressed the Armenian genocide in order to lead students to question whether people truly learn from history. Finally, Strom and Parsons encouraged learners to consider the possibility of a nuclear conflagration as a comparable contemporary concern. In keeping with this comparative and universalizing approach to the Holocaust, *FHAO* has more recently focused on anti-racism and

other social justice causes.[6] Some scholars have criticized this program for its lack of contextualization of the Holocaust. Simone Schweber noted that the focus on *FHAO* could result in teaching of the Holocaust "as a symbol rather than understood as events."[7] Though central to the curriculum, its use of the history of the Holocaust generates questions about humanity that are then applied to contemporary challenges. Deborah argued that the curriculum thereby unintentionally "elides the differences between the Holocaust and all manner of inhumanities and injustices" and encourages teachers to do so as well.[8] These criticisms reflect unease with projects that might universalize and dehistoricize the Holocaust.

In spite of these concerns, *FHAO* remains a popular and successful Holocaust curriculum. According to its 2019 Annual Report, as many as 100,000 educators partner with the program.[9] Further, a number of studies have suggested that the *FHAO* Holocaust curriculum has succeeded in its promotion of promoting anti-racist views. As one noted, "FHAO students showed increased relationship maturity and decreased fighting behavior, racist attitudes and insular ethnic identity."[10] Many of these studies embraced the way in which *FHAO* related the past and the present in order to make the topic applicable to the lives of American students. A 2005 study argued that the *FHAO* program helped students "through the connections they make between the choices people made in history and their own choices." The curriculum, it noted "integrates the study of history and ethics in order to promote young people's capacity and commitment to be

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[6] "About Us," *Facing History and Ourselves*, accessed December 21, 2020, https://www.facinghistory.org/about-us
[7] Simone Schweber, *Making Sense of the Holocaust: Lessons from Classroom Practice,* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 2004), 57.
[8] Deborah Lipstadt, "Not Facing History," *The New Republic*, March 6, 1995.
[9] *2019 Annual Report*. Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves, 2020. https://www.facinghistory.org/chunk/2019-facing-history-annual-report
[10] Schultz, Barr, and Selman, "The Value of a Developmental Approach to Evaluating Character Development Programmes: An outcome study of Facing History and Ourselves," *Journal of Moral Education* 30, No. 1 (2001), 23.

thoughtful and active participants in society who are able to balance self-interest with a genuine concern with the perspectives, rights and welfare of others."[11] Though, as seen above, many have criticized the program as ignoring the nuance of history and emphasizing similarities with other events, others who studied the efficacy of the program felt that such a method accomplished important goals.

The USHMM, has taken a different approach. Rather than develop a set of curricula, in 1993 the USHMM issued its "Guidelines for Teaching About the Holocaust." William Parsons, who had left FHAO in 1987 over a disagreement with its direction toward a universal approach to Holocaust education, took the lead in developing these guidelines. Along with Samuel Totten, professor of curriculum and instruction at the University of Arkansas, Parsons sought to promote the recognition of the historical complexity and uniqueness of the Holocaust through encouraging appropriate pedagogy rather than delineating specific content or curricula for use. They adhered to the founding mission statement of the educational wing of the museum and addressed only the Holocaust.[12] The USHMM has since supplemented the guidelines with suggested materials and advice for developing learning objectives. In each case, the museum encourages teachers to treat the Holocaust as a unique event and stresses teaching its historical depth.[13] Thus, the USHMM's guidelines, resource book, and website have all boosted a historical approach to the Holocaust that presents students with context and deep understanding while avoiding uncritical equivalences and comparison to contemporary concerns. The goal,

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[11] Dennis Barr, "Early adolescents' reflections on social justice: *Facing History and Ourselves* in practice and assessment," *Intercultural Education* 16, no. 2 (2005), 156

[12] Thomas Fallace, *The Emergence of Holocaust Education in American Schools*, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 119-126.

[13] "Fundamentals of Teaching the Holocaust," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed December 27, 2020, https://www.ushmm.org/teach/fundamentals.

then, is to bring students into contact with deeper knowledge of the Holocaust through solid pedagogical approaches in the belief that this will result in "inspire students to think critically about the past and their own roles and responsibilities today" without making explicit comparisons and lessons.

These two serve as exemplars of the two primary approaches—pedagogically and philosophically—of American Holocaust curricula. Numerous regional Holocaust museums, state educational bureaucracies, and private entities, and individual teachers have all produced a myriad of curricula and materials which embrace one or the other of the two above styles. In New York City, the Museum of Jewish Heritage (MJH) created a curriculum supporting the New York City Department of Education's requirements for Holocaust education. Though offering specific materials and a set of lesson plans, the MJH applied a similar approach to that of the USHMM by maintaining focus on the Holocaust alone. The California State Board of Education program seeks to imbue students with knowledge about the Holocaust and other genocides so that they protect "[human] rights and so that they understand the democratic process, respect the rights of others, and willingly accept their obligations as citizens." The curriculum, thus, revolves around linking genocide, including the Holocaust, to totalitarianism and the loss of human rights. These display just a few in the myriad of curricula and do not include the lesson and unit plans put together by individual teachers or the assignment of various pieces of Holocaust or survivor literature.

Nevertheless, a look at the history of Holocaust education demonstrates that educators have not always looked to the teaching of the Holocaust as essential for developing students moral or historical knowledge. Between 1945 and 1984, no state educational system required the

teaching of the Holocaust in its schools.[14] By 2019, at least sixteen had instituted legislative requirements that schools teach the subject in some fashion with three others recommending it. Similarly, in 1948, a sample of five world history textbooks used by the State of Texas saw an average of 267 words dedicated to the persecution and murder of the Jews. The authors often scattered this coverage throughout other topics. By 1990, however, that coverage had increased to an average of 887 words in books used by Texas with most of the treatment falling in a single section dedicated to the Holocaust.[15] The Holocaust has become increasingly salient, though as noted above for different reasons, in the psyche of Americans and in the field of education.

The drastic increase in coverage of the Holocaust in the educational realm, which began during the late 1970s and early 1980s, seems to verify what many have presented as the trajectory of American Holocaust memory more generally. Beginning with the Eichmann trial in 1961, Americans, but particularly American Jews, began to engage with more public Holocaust memorialization. Other events occurred over the course of the next two decades, the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, the *Holocaust* miniseries, and *Schindler's List* which made what became known as the Holocaust salient in all Americans minds. Prior to the 1960s, it seems, Americans, even Jewish Americans, did not engage to any significant degree with the Holocaust.[16] There existed decades of silence. However, this timeline minimizes the numerous

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[14] Though a number of local school districts, such as Philadelphia and New York City in 1977, had done so.
[15] Ryan Abt, "'No Propaganda Story: The Prehistory of American Holocaust Consciousness in Textbooks, 1940-1962," *The Yearbook of Transnational History* 2, no. 1 (2019), 175-177.
[16] This served as the dominant narrative recognized by scholars until at least the turn of the century. Peter Novick most famously relied upon it in *The Holocaust in American Life.* Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000). David Wyman gave the clearest summary of this outline in his chapter "The United States," *The World Reacts to the Holocaust*, ed. David Wyman, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 717-731.

ways that Americans before 1961 did think about, discuss, and even teach the murder of the Jews.

The fundamental mistake of the above narrative, which remained dominant into the twenty-first century, derives from an essentially ahistorical approach.[17] Its failings derive from its basis on what historian Hasia Diner dubbed "the myth of silence." She referenced the supposed silence during the first two decades following the war about the assault on the Jews. It assumes that contemporary understandings of the "Holocaust," the term denoting the murder of roughly six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators, comprises the normative way of contextualizing that event. Instead, in America the "Holocaust" did not become the dominant name for or manner of thinking about the Nazi genocide of Jews until the beginning of the 1960s at the earliest.[18] Prior to that time, the study of the assault on the Jews remained relegated to Jewish scholars and utilized other names for the event, such as *Shoa* or *Khurban*. Most held the assumption that the "uniqueness" of Nazi atrocities derived from the horrific nature of the operations, not in the number or nature of the victims or perpetrators. As Hanna Arendt stated,

> The unprecedented is neither the murder itself nor the number of victims and not even 'the number of persons who united to perpetrate them.' It is much rather the ideological nonsense which caused them, the mechanization of their execution and the careful and calculated establishment of a world of dying in which nothing any longer made sense."[19]

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[17] David Cesarani, *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, ed. David Cesarani and Eric Lundquist (London: Routledge, 2012), 31. Cesarani noted that, in discussing early films touching on the murder of the Jews, that "may not accord with the paradigm of 'the Holocaust' as it exists today but to expect otherwise is anachronistic."

[18] Gerd Korman, "The Holocaust in American Historical Writing," *Societas* 2, 3 (Summer 1972): 259-262. In his analysis, Korman noted that only between 1957 and 1959 did "Holocaust" take on the meaning specifying the specific assault on the Jews. The Library of Congress accepted the dominant usage of "Holocaust" in 1968.

[19] Hannah Arendt, "Social Science Techniques and the Study of Concentration Camps," *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 1 (Jan. 1950), 64.

For Arendt and most other Americans studying Nazi Germany, the targeting of the Jews in particular served as only one part of the incomprehensibility of the Nazi genocide.

The depth of engagement with the murder of the Jews comprises what I call a pre-history of Holocaust consciousness. This early engagement with the memory of the murder of the Jews, occurring as it did before the term and category of the Holocaust began to dominate, did not center on the Jews, but also did not exclude or ignore their victimization. Instead, Americans parceled up the various events that comprised what later Americans understood as the Holocaust and depicted or understood them in the context of other categories. Most notably, they attempted to fathom the assault on the Jews through the analysis of totalitarianism.[20] Other themes, such as Displaced Persons, censorship, racial science, and religious freedom also served as categories in which Americans engaged with the murder of the Jews. During this period, Americans found analogies and lessons related to the assault on the Jews useful in defining themselves and solving numerous contemporary issues.

This focus on the Nazi victims as a singular group had significant consequences for both the study of the assault on the Jews and later analysis of Holocaust memory. First, there existed few studies limited to only the assault on the Jews, but instead most subsumed that event into more general works on the camp system or even the regime as a whole. The Nazi genocide of the Jews remained firmly situated within considerations of the war and Nazism more generally. Second, later researchers analyzing Holocaust memory looked according to contemporary

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[20] In the mid-late 1940s, another term associated Nazism and communism—"Red Fascism." It connected the two not through their ideology, but their methodology. See Les Adler and Thomas Paterson, "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930's-1950's," *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (April 1970), 1046-1064. Also, Thomas Maddux, "Red Fascism, Brown Bolshevism: The American Image of Totalitarianism in the 1930s," *The Historian* 40, no. 1 (November 1977), 85-103.

categorizations and assumptions. This meant that they often gave little attention to other ways of understanding the Nazi genocide of the Jews. Reading memory backward, they labeled the texts as "Americanized" and, therefore, problematic. Additionally, they often simply failed to recognize opportunities for study because they did not meet their preexisting analytic categories. Instead, they fixated on a few cultural texts and moved swiftly to the period of increased Holocaust consciousness in the 1960s.[21]

However, the late 1940s to the 1960s did see significant engagement with the memory of the murder of the Jews. The Jewish victims of Nazism developed their own ways of memorializing the murder of so many of their family members and of accomplishing tasks that they saw necessary in facing the Nazi genocide. Though often more private and circumspect, these survivors referenced that event in their involvement in numerous organizations, such as synagogues, summer camps, and schools, and the philanthropies. Rather than years of silence, the first decades following the war saw a significant response to and discussion of the murder of Europe's Jews by survivors, their families, and some in the broader Jewish community.[22]

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[21] In numerous works, the authors focus on the same popular culture texts for their discussions of the first two decades following the war. Anne Frank's diary serves as the most common cultural example of the pre-1960s. Two works use *The Diary of a Young Girl* as their primary, and almost singular, example of pre-1961 Holocaust memory. Alan Mintz, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 3-19. Hilene Flanzbaum, *The Americanization of the Holocaust*, ed. Hilene Flanzbaum (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). Though Flanzbaum uses Anne Frank's diary as a touchstone, she does note that there was other engagement with the murder of the Jews. Nevertheless, both authors depict the "Americanization" of the Holocaust as something which obscured a more "natural" perspective rather than as simply a different one.

[22] Hasia Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love*: *American Jews and the Myth of Silence After the Holocaust,* (New York: New York University Press, 2009). Diner thoroughly demonstrates the importance of Holocaust memory in numerous organizations in which survivors took part in post-war America. The supposed silence of survivors in giving testimony has also come under scrutiny. Alan Rosen, *The Wonder of Their Voices*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). More briefly in Alan Rosen, "'We Know Very Little in America,': David Boder and un-belated testimony," in *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, ed. David Cesarani and Eric Lundquist (London: Routledge, 2012), 102-114.

The period also saw numerous references to the murder of the Jews in academia and popular culture. Christian opponent of the Nazis, Eugene Kogon wrote *The Theory and Practice of Hell* as both a camp survivor and as a social scientist. In his work he addressed the particularly horrific treatment of the Jews but within the broader camp mechanisms and experiences. The period also saw a number of movies which addressed the Nazi atrocities, including the assault on the Jews. The burgeoning medium of television provided one important outlet for transmitting information about the Nazi genocide of the Jews. Notably, Americans transitioned from viewing the event as they had during the war, in the form of newsreels and liberation footage, toward dramas such as those of *Playhouse 90*. This resulted in an American television viewership prepared to receive more Holocaust content through television, as they would with the *Holocaust* miniseries in 1978. [23]

Films, too, discussed themes related to the murder of the Jews. Many of them addressing the victimization of the Jews much more clearly than *The Diary of Anne Frank.*[24] Orson Welles' *The Stranger* represents the first use of concentration camp footage in a feature length film. Further, in one scene the villain, an ex-Nazi in hiding in the US, partially gave himself away by his antisemitism. *Singing in the Dark* addressed the transition of many Jewish survivors to their lives in the United States. Karel's journey in *The Search* touched on his time in Auschwitz and even referenced the Nazi's use of extermination trucks. In each of these, the film makers did not

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[23] Jeffrey Shandler, *While America Watches,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1-3.

[24] Most of the works which note the early "Americanization" of the Holocaust critique or question the popularity of the Anne Frank's Diary. They point out that the early editions were more heavily edited and the theatrical and film. Further, they note that Frank's "Jewishness" is downplayed and the visual productions end with an upbeat statement about Frank's faith in humans. They suggest that these themes represent a general unwillingness among Americans to address the horrors of the assault on the Jews.

shy away from either the "Jewishness" of the victims of the Nazis nor did they ignore the horrific nature of the German regime's atrocities.

Thus, the representations and memorialization of the murder of the Jews seen in various Jewish organizations books, television dramas, and film did not align with the representations of the Holocaust now common. However, this does not validate the "myth of silence." Instead, some have argued that the "myth of silence" itself originated as a challenge of their predecessors by the 1960s protest generation. They built the contemporary culture surrounding Holocaust memorialization on the declaration that their predecessors had valued consensus over appropriate memory and had chosen silence.[25] Whatever the cause of the change in memorial practices scholars now recognize that American engagement with the history of the murder of the Jews between 1945 and 1961 provides important insights into the development of later Holocaust memory. Though scholars have recognized the importance of earlier memory, some have maintained a belief in the superiority of later forms.[26]

Nevertheless, there remain two important limitations in current understanding of the pre-history of Holocaust consciousness. First, scholars base their work almost exclusively on the Jewish community and Jewish sources. Again, modern assumptions about appropriate representations of the murder of the Jews have meant that scholars have often regarded sources

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[25] Hasia Diner, "Origins and Meanings of the Myth of Silence," in *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silenc*e, ed. David Cesarani and Eric Lundquist (London: Routledge, 2012), 192-201.
[26] Deborah Lipstadt, *Holocaust: An American Understanding*, (New Burnswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016), 45. At the same time that Lipstadt recognized the value of studying earlier memory and incorporated it into her book, she also dismissed it by depicting it only as helping to understand the later period's "far more serious examination of what would soon become known as 'the Holocaust.'" Hasia Diner's efforts have provided a way forward which deals more historically with earlier sources. She had originally intended only to present information on the memory of the murder of the Jews between 1945 and 1962, found that her data challenged the origin story of Holocaust memory. Jeffrey Shandler and David Cesarani also stress the importance of understanding the pre-history of Holocaust awareness, both on its own merits and for its formative role in later forms.

not focused primarily on the plight of the Jews of Europe as irrelevant. However, numerous Americans during the decades following the war did contend with the meaning of the assault on the Jews, though usually alongside other Nazi atrocities. Second, the current knowledge base remains disconnected from American attitudes and understandings of Nazism in the prewar period, during which the first persecution of the Jews occurred. The categories and interpretations of Nazi antisemitism between 1933 and 1941 that Americans developed created categorical furrows which dictated the future conception of events.

The public education system, an institution that cuts across numerous ethnic, religious, and class lines, offers valuable insights into how Americans engaged with the memory of the Nazi assault on the Jews. Numerous scholars, from 1949 to today have recognized the importance of student's learning about the murder of the Jews. This has led to a number of studies analyzing the coverage of that event in textbooks. Yet, few considered textbooks from a historical perspective. Unsurprisingly, the pre-1960s studies which addressed how educators taught the murder of the Jews did not focus explicitly on that topic. A series of works published by the Anti-Defamation League began the scholarly tradition of considering, and criticizing, the textbook treatment of the Nazi genocide, sometimes alongside other topics.[27] Following suit, scholars published works outside of the ADL which also sought to determine the quality of textbook treatments of the Holocaust.[28] However, most of these works focused on contemporary

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[27] Lloyd Marcus, *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary Textbooks,* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961).; Henry Friedlander, *On the Holocaust*: *A Critique of the Treatment of the Holocaust in History Textbooks Accompanied by an Annotated Bibliography,* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1972); and Glenn Pate, *The Treatment of the Holocaust in United States History Textbooks,* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, 1980.

[28] Michael Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks,* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970) and David Lindquist, "The Coverage of the Holocaust in High School History Textbooks," *Social Education* 73, no. 6 (October, 2009): 298-304. A number of students have also addressed the topic in dissertations such as the following: Ellen Heckler, "An Analysis of the Treatment of the Holocaust in Selected American and World History Textbooks" (Rutgers, The State

textbooks and all of them evaluated them based on a metric of pre-established appropriate coverage rather than analyzing what they taught and why.[29] Thus, textbook analysis validated the "myth of silence" by always finding prior treatments of the topic insufficient.

Yet, a glance back at the statistics of textbook coverage provided earlier demonstrates that, whatever their sufficiency in comparison to later expectations, educators did address the Nazi atrocities, even if they gave the subject less space than in later works. Notably, when using categories of analysis related to later contextualizations of the murder of the Jews, the coming of the Cold War seems to have suppressed treatment of the Holocaust. The growing importance of a strong West Germany in particular resulted in a 'Curtain of Ignorance' descending in classrooms as textbooks decreased information on the murder of the Jews.[30] This narrative, while noting an important trend in textbooks, that their coverage of the murder of the Jews changed, takes that adjustment for silence. Thus, as with the "myth of silence," such an approach fails to give historical actors their voices.

The way forward demands that scholars analyze textbooks and other curricular sources in the context of numerous pressures facing educators, not just omnipresent but rarely specified

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University of New Jersey, 1994) and Margaret Eichner, "An Analysis of the Treatment of the Holocaust in Selected High School World History Textbooks, 1962-1977," (University of Michigan, 1994). In these two works, the authors dealt with historical textbooks as well as, in the first case, contemporary ones. However, they, two analyzed the works to determine their adequacy, not as historical texts.

[29] In each case the authors used specific criteria they expected to be found in the coverage of the Holocaust. In every case, though with varying degrees of nuance, they found most or all textbooks lacking and called for improved treatment of the topic.

[30] Christopher Witschonke, "A 'Curtain of Ignorance': An Analysis of Holocaust Portrayal in Textbooks from 1943 through 1959," *The Social Studies* 104, no. 4 (2013): 146-154. Witschonke attributed the unwillingness to address the murder of the Jews to the Cold War, linking it particularly to the need for a viable West Germany in the conflict versus communism. However, though Witschonke emphasized the chronological correlation between the importance of West Germany and the decrease in textbook treatment of the murder of the Jews, there was little evidence of causation. Nevertheless, Witschonke's work does provide a way forward in its detailed statistical approach and in asking some questions which might allow for determining why chose specific topics over others.

Cold War pressures. Educational philosophy and pedagogy serve as one important force shaping educators that must be considered. In addition to the Cold War, not itself consistent as a singular cultural force, educators felt numerous pressures which shaped how they approached discussions of the murder of the Jews.

Foremost among the forces shaping and, often, constraining educators' choices stood that of educational politics and philosophy. The period of 1933-1963 came at the end of a time of great tumult in American education. High Schools had, between 1880 and 1950, seen drastic increases in the populations as they no longer represented education only for the most academically able. This also saw a rise in the diversity of schools as immigrant groups and minorities gained access. Thus, schools had to develop new curriculum, pedagogy, facilities, teacher training mechanisms, and expected outcomes to meet these changes.[31]

The first pressure on educators came from the powerful impulses of progressive educators. These educational philosophers sought to make over the entire country through reforming schools. As schools increasingly included all of America's young, progressives applied a child-centered approach to disassemble the traditional academic curriculum and replace it with a program useful for students with a variety of prospects. Hence, the child-centered approach of the progressives demanded that teachers of established academic subjects address topics which might apply to a variety of students.[32] Schools became centers for teaching every aspect of life and, thus, an even greater battleground over the meaning and future of America.

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[31] Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience,* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988). Cremin noted that between 1880 and 1950, the demographics of the United States had flipped such that where 1/3 had resided in cities at the first date, 2/3 did by the latter.
[32] Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Battles Over School Reform*, (New York: Touchstone, 2000) 202-407. Ravitch considers the conflicts over the philosophy of education and the role of schools. She traces the belief, and challenges to that belief, between 1920 and 1970 that American schools ought to teach "the whole child." She

Anxiety over various forms of authoritarianism often informed these debates or buttressed the positions of the various perspectives. Between 1933 and 1963, educators consistently interpreted the ideologies of foreign competitors and enemies as domestic threats. As such, they viewed schools as the bulwark against the inroads of authoritarianism, especially Nazism and then Communism. Over the course of the 1930s and 1940s they increasingly came to categorize these regimes as totalitarian.[33] For educators, totalitarianism often served as the cypher against which they might define Americanism and democracy. Correspondingly, they also interpreted the nature of and actions taken by the Nazi and Soviet states through the lens of their own educational philosophies. Educators on both sides of the political aisle recognized democratic education in opposition to totalitarianism. The revelation of the Nazi genocide of the Jews only solidified what educators already believed, that totalitarianism, however they defined it, comprised a danger to all humanity.[34] The end of World War II, therefore, did not end the threat to democracy and in the eyes of many, only heightened the risk as they saw the USSR as a more dangerous totalitarian enemy.

The reaction to the perceived menace of totalitarian subversion in the classroom resulted in another significant force which shaped education, including the interpretation of the Nazi atrocities, in the post-war era—anti-communism. The furor of the investigation into supposed

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stressed that the movement to center education on students experiences and preferences did not receive wholesale acceptance in spite of its almost complete implementation.

[33] See Benjamin Alpers, *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s-1950s,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

[34] Thomas Fallace, *In the Shadow of Authoritarianism*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 2018). Fallace argues that this opposition to and anxiety regarding authoritarianism led educators between 1917 and 1980 to hold to an educational policy which emphasized "fostering civic competency and developing democratic dispositions." Victoria M. Grieve, *Little Cold Warriors: American Childhood in the 1950s*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Grieve notes that during the early Cold War, American educators went beyond merely trying to shape future society through schools. In the 1950s, they incorporated students into the battle with Communism by turning them not just into learners, but also ambassadors and advocates.

communists exceeded by far any efforts at finding and removing fascists or Nazis. Liberals, though they might agree with certain leftist principles, allied with conservatives to remove leftist teachers in the, unfulfilled, hopes that they might better negotiate their own policies. [35] Instead, anticommunism served as a tool by which American conservatives might oppose not just the methods and policies, but also values of the American Left. Importantly, anticommunists swiftly quashed the intercultural education movement and efforts at community engagement with minority communities. The purging of real and supposed communist teachers had the effect of removing from schools some of the most professionally dedicated and racially attuned educators.[36] Further, these educators had often served as some of the most outspoken advocates of anti-fascism and anti-bigotry.

Not only did the Cold War bring McCarthyism to schools, but it also brought about a powerful tool in the ideological battle over what teachers would teach. Conservatives would consistently cast disagreements with their progressive opponents in terms of democracy and Americanism versus communism. Efforts at increasing federal funding in schools, employing progressive teaching methods, the use of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) programs, and calls for school segregation all saw accusations of

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[35] Andrew Feffer, *Bad Faith: Teachers, Liberalism, and the Origins of McCarthyism*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019). Feffer argues that in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Liberals in New York City worked together with conservatives to oust communists. They thereby created the moderate “liberal” consensus that would dominate for decades.

[36] Dana Goldstein, *The Teacher Wars: A History of America’s Most Embattled Profession*, (New York: Anchor Books, 2014). Goldstein notes that in New York City, the communist Teacher’s Union teachers who were purged had a very solid track record of dedication to and engagement with black communities and schools. Their replacements were less committed. Clarence Taylor, *Reds at the Blackboard: Communism, Civil Rights, and the New York City Teacher’s Union*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011). Taylor recorded the numerous ways that the Teacher’s Union of New York City advocated on behalf of minority teachers, students, and communities. The assault on the TU also challenged efforts at ensuring Civil Rights for African Americans in New York City’s schools.

communism by conservatives. They often argued that changes to their preferred position consisted of efforts at subverting American children.[37] They bolstered their arguments by associating the threat of communism with the memory of Nazi atrocities.

The debates over totalitarianism and curriculum often erupted over the content of specific textbooks. The controversy over Harold Rugg's *Man and His Changing Society* often serves as a primary example of the mid-century "textbook wars." It represented a conservative assault against not just social studies textbooks, but the expertise of historians. Various interest groups, usually patriotic organizations such as the American Legion or the Daughters of the American Revolution, complained that Rugg's work misrepresented American society in order to subvert students and replace the country's system with a communist one. They believed just as fiercely as progressives, that American schools would shape the future of the country and, therefore, believed they should emphasize free-market economics, patriotism, and traditional values and religion.[38] Attacks on textbooks, like the one on Rugg, which began in the North became a central feature of anti-communism in the South. There, calls to keep communism out of textbooks aligned with a more immediate threat to their way of life—racial integration.[39]

The domestic aspects of the Cold War powerfully shaped the rhetoric and battles over Civil Rights in American education. The Little Rock incident in 1957, one of the most visible

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[37] Stuart Foster, *Red Alert: Educators Confront the Red Scare in American Public Schools, 1947-1954,* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000). Foster notes that in these battles, anti-communists consistently declared that schools intentionally subverted the country. Simultaneously, a portion of educators saw anti-communists as an enemy attempting to destroy their profession. Under these circumstances, many teachers simply sought to avoid notice.
[38] Adam Laats, *The Other School Reformers: Conservative Activism in American Education,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015). Laats stressed that conservative reformers did not challenge progressive ideals about the role of schools in shaping society. Instead, they disagreed about what American society ought to ultimately look like.
[39] Jonathon Zimmerman, *Whose America: Culture Wars in the Public Schools*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

battles of the Civil Rights era pitted segregationists against an American President who reluctantly enforced Civil Rights. In part, concerns over the global effect of inaction spurred Eisenhower to mobilize the National Guard. The sensitivity to America's global image led for heightened concern regarding violations of civil rights.[40] Yet, in other cases, Cold War concerns, specifically domestic anti-communism, had a limiting effect on the realm of possibility for civil rights reform.[41] In fact, it shaped the language and programs available even in integrated schools. The teaching of tolerance in classrooms, long considered the province of the communists, became taboo. Most teachers adopted a "colorblind ideal" in the classroom and limited the discussion of race and racial issues.[42] Thus, the Cold War had a powerful, twofold effect on issues of Civil Rights in American schools.

In fact, that the Cold War limited conversations on race combined with anxieties over totalitarian radicalism, fears confirmed by Nazi atrocities, worked to submerge the racial context of the Nazi genocide of the Jews. Many American educators, seeking to avoid totalitarianism of either extreme, sought to reform schools through incrementalism and consensus. They avoided discussions that tended have extreme positions or which called for extreme answers. As such, the perceived connection between Nazi persecution of the Jews and the treatment of Blacks in the American South led educators to avoid the former topic in their efforts at circumventing the latter.[43] The Nazi atrocities, depicted as the danger of totalitarianism to democratic principles and

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[40] Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[41] Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948-1968,* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004). Woods argues that in spite of these limitations, the Cold War spotlight allowed for the Civil Rights movement to push forward in the South.

[42] Zoë Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom: How American Schools Taught Race 1900-1954*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[43] Thomas Fallace, "Holocaust Education in the US: A Pre-History, 1939-1960," in *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings*, ed Andy Pierce, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 190-204.

peoples, provided key lessons for American educators. At the same time, the clarity of its applicability to discussions of race in America made the murder of the Jews a topic which might lead to unwanted parallels and lessons.

American antisemitism, in schools and in society at large, also pressured American teachers as they discussed and taught about the murder of Europe's Jews. The pre-war and wartime years represent a period largely recognized for significant antisemitic feelings and movements in America. In this context, Americans, both Jewish and non-Jewish, often downplayed the assault on the Jews and emphasized broader Nazi atrocities in order to avoid increasing antisemitism among Americans.[44] Nevertheless, domestic fascists and anti-New Deal activists often openly espoused antisemitic theories and prejudices in this period.

Though, according to most measures, antisemitism in America declined yearly between 1945 and 1969, it still remained a prominent force in topics to which Americans often connected the murder of the Jews. Less mainstream and open, virulent antisemitism nevertheless still found purchase in numerous strains of politics and philosophies. Notably, many on the political right embraced antisemitic activists, though reputable politicians and thinkers did so less openly than previously. A kind of right-wing popular front of groups espousing varying degrees of anti-communism, anti-New Deal viewpoints, anti-Civil Right positions, and antisemitism gave refuge to those who the US government had, in many cases, labeled as fascists during the war.[45] Those who marketed these right-wing ideas in pamphlets and newspapers across America often labeled

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[44] Joseph Bendersky, "Dissension in the Face of the Holocaust: The 1941 American Debate over Antisemitism," in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 85-116.

[45] David Austin Walsh, "The Right-Wing Popular Front: The Far Right and American Conservatism in the 1950s," in *Journal of American History* 107, no. 2 (September 2020): 411-432.

efforts to promote human rights or to combat bigotry—efforts rooted in analogies and memory of the murder of the Jews—as Jewish conspiracies. Most often these related to supposed Judeo-Bolshevism or scheming "metropolitan" Jews. Ultimately, antisemitism remained a powerful force in many American's thinking.

Ultimately, not until 1973 would American public-school educators develop a full-fledged curriculum covering the Holocaust. At that point, Holocaust scholarship, a series of priming events, and pedagogical changes in education intersected to such a degree that American educators grasped the event as one important for teaching students. The "affective revolution," during which educators emphasized the development of morals and values, required topics and curricula which could inculcate students with certain principles without devolving into the types of debates that domestic topics might. Thus, American students could debate collaboration, apathy, and racism without arguments over the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The moral clarity of lessons derived from Holocaust curriculum simultaneously offered a way to avoid the complications of directly addressing domestic concerns.[46] In other words, the murder of the Jews had previously constituted an inconvenient genocide because of the ways it would lead to unwanted questions about America's racial hierarchies. By the 1970s, the "affective revolution" in education led to the embrace of a topic which could address issues such as race, the war in Vietnam, nuclear proliferation, and others without too direct a discussion.

This study, therefore, aligns itself with those who emphasize the importance of discovering how Americans engaged with the memory of the murder of the Jews before the

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[46] Thomas Fallace, *The Emergence of Holocaust Education in American Schools,* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).

development and growth of Holocaust consciousness. Yet, unlike most such work, mine considers a key, secular institution rather than Jewish organizations or individuals. As such, it broadens its focus to include the representation of Nazi atrocities more generally. This allows those Americans studied to classify the murder of the Jews on their own terms. In fact, in order to understand the conceptual categories available to Americans, this work begins in 1933.[47] The ways that educators construed the persecution of Germany's Jews created the mental tracks which informed how they interpreted the murder of Europe's Jews. Rather than look at an "Americanized" Holocaust consciousness, which normalizes a particular contextualization of the murder of the Jews, this project seeks to discover other ways that Americans viewed that event and why they did so.

In light of this, chapter one, "'Nazism is the Summation of All that We in America Abhor,'" pushes back the pre-history of Holocaust education to the period of 1933 to 1941, before the murder of the Jews. This framing demonstrates the pre-existing categories of understanding into which American educators placed the murder of the Jews when they learned of it. Educators of the time portrayed Nazi policies and oppressive rule as the antithesis of American democracy. They pointed to the German regime as anti-scientific, propagandistic, bigoted, and irreligious. In these claims, the persecution of the Jews often served as part of the evidence. Thus, even before the Germans initiated the Final Solution, American educators had developed modes of thinking which led them to interpret that event not as an unprecedented or

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[47] Michaela Hoenicke Moore, *Know Your Enemy: The American Debate on Nazism, 1933-1945*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Moore studies the various interactions and depictions of Americans with Nazism to discern what Americans believed the German regime was. She notes that at the period studied, Americans sought to draw applicable lessons about Nazism so that they could then apply them during the peace. Dan Stone, *The Liberation of the Camps*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

singular assault on the Jews, but as evidence of the consequences of Nazism for all who espoused American or democratic principles. Further, in each of the qualities that they perceived as inherent to Nazism, they saw the centralization of state power as the culprit. The extreme government power which embodied Nazi ideals served as the primary threat to democracy. Nevertheless, as the country entered the war with Germany, educators chose to maintain within the American system the very qualities that they declared un-American. By having associated such principles with Nazism, they sought unity against Germany as the best course of action in defeating those impulses. They equated defeating Nazi Germany in battle with victory over the ideals of Nazism.

In chapter two, "'Let's Get Together for the Real Fight,'" I demonstrate how American educational systems utilized ideas about Nazi bigotry to combat prejudice during World War II and how those efforts collapsed in the immediate post-war period. During the war, educators depicted the threat of Nazism as its ability to subvert states through disunity, particularly over the ethnicity, race, and religion. Therefore, they rallied around Brotherhood Week, Intercultural Education, and other efforts to promote unity among Americans. Yet, as the war ended, the urgency of these movements abated. Conservative members of the educational bureaucracy succeeded in silencing certain programs and efforts by tarring their proponents with the brush of totalitarian disunity—albeit communist rather than Nazi. They argued that Nazis had used racial tension to cause division and that publicizing attacks on minorities, not the attacks themselves, served to undermine American unity. They thereby appropriated and redefined the anti-Nazi ideal of unity to attack those with whom it had originated.

In chapter three, "'Hitler and Stalin Must Have Started in Much the Same Way,'" I show that between 1950 and 1953, conservative and far-right forces in education emphasized

centralized power as the origin of totalitarian oppression in order to scuttle United Nations (UN) education. Progressive educational groups saw global cooperation through the UN as the bulwark against such atrocities as those committed by the Nazis. These educators believed the danger of bigotry represented a key lesson of the Nazi regime. They saw UNESCO programs in intercultural education and the promotion of the UN and the UN Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) as key to promoting a peaceful future. Conservatives, far-right, and segregationist groups learned a different lesson from Nazism. They feared the strong statism of totalitarianism, particularly at the national or global level, as the primary threat to individual rights and as the origin of the Nazi atrocities. They, therefore, attacked the UN, particularly its efforts at eliminating human rights violations, by opposing that organization in order to protect national and local rights.

In chapter four, "'The Jews were Behind the NAACP'" I trace the continued trajectory by which many Americans viewed "anti-statism" as the primary lesson of Nazism. Between 1954 and 1957, Southern segregationists used imagery of the murder of the Jews to buttress their opposition to school integration in two ways. First, they presented the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Supreme Court, and other groups which provided the impetus for integration as part of a communist scheme to divide the country. In these accusations, they often relied on interpretations of Nazi Germany as an example of how totalitarian states used racial antagonism to subvert their enemies. Second, they portrayed the federal government as an oppressive, statist system which, if not curbed, would destroy individual liberty. In this, too, they utilized Nazi Germany as an example of such a centralized state. These two representations of the Nazi atrocities both worked to silence those who might

suggest that the murder of the Jews and others originated in the same prejudice displayed in the Jim Crow South.

In chapter five, "'Clearly There is Need to Educate Youth in the Meaning of Nazism,'" I demonstrate that in the late 1950s and early 1960s, many Americans in the North also saw Nazism as having taught the dangers of political centralization. Efforts to integrate schools by cities outside the South saw opponents describe the municipal power exhibited as akin to Nazism. As previously, the dangers of a strong state, not of racial discrimination, seemed the lesson learned from the Nazi regime. However, some Americans, including Jewish Americans, increasingly viewed the persecution of the Jews under the Nazis as a cautionary analogy in discussions of anti-black racism. At the same time, some Jewish Americans challenged such comparisons. In both cases, however, they advocated for increased education regarding the persecution and murder of minorities in Nazi Germany. Thus, the perceived similarities between the Nazi assault on the Jews and the oppression of blacks in the United States led to efforts at increasing the treatment of the former event in schools. At the same time, this comparison simultaneously brought about calls to emphasize the unique nature of the Nazi genocide of the Jews.

Scholars have begun recognizing the Holocaust as essential in shaping post-World War II life, particularly for American Jews. They have studied the public memory of that event in film, theater, museums and memorialization, and the rhetoric surrounding atrocities. Yet, the opportunity offered by studying the developments of Holocaust memory in education has remained relatively untapped. Further, in many cases researchers have focused on Holocaust specific education without fully considering the period during which predated it. By centering lessons about the Nazi atrocities around domestic concerns between 1933 and 1963, educators

prepared the way for later Holocaust curricula. Early discussions familiarized Americans with the Nazi genocide of the Jews as one useful in understanding the world around them. The later Holocaust education programs have emphasized the particularity of the event in response to its perceived "Americanization." The pre-history of Holocaust awareness in education demonstrates how the ultimate development of Holocaust education, even in its most particularist forms, relied upon the earlier ability and desire of American educators to apply the history of the Nazi genocide to domestic concerns.

Additionally, though numerous studies note that an "Americanization" of the Holocaust occurred in the years following the war, few note how and why this occurred. This work demonstrates how mental channels developed in the first decades of American engagement with the persecution and murder of the Jews. It allows us to recognize the origins of these ruts in the mind which still remain in the various applications to which Americans put Holocaust memory. This work demonstrates how Americans attached the Nazi atrocities to totalitarianism more generally even before the Nazis implemented their "Final Solution". It shows that as early as the 1940s, American Christians' conceptualization of the murder of the Jews as part of an assault on religion concealed both the complicity of German Christians and domestic Christian antisemitism. The attachment of the assault on the Jews to all aspects of a generalized "totalitarianism" prepared the way for Americans today to see the potential for a future Holocaust in even mundane acts of government. The opposition to efforts by American educators to present American bigotry as analogous to Nazi racism foreshadowed all the ways that Americans would attempt to thwart later anti-racism efforts. Finally, viewing the Nazi genocide of the Jews as a part of German efforts create racial divisions among their enemies primed Americans to declare those calling for justice "divisive" and totalitarian.

Without analysis of this pre-history of Holocaust education, the pressures and preconceptions under which later educators worked remain hidden. Further, the focus on education illuminates another area in American society in which the memory of the murder of the Jews shaped discussions and decisions. Ultimately, it provides an important starting point for understanding why Americans have viewed the Nazis and the Holocaust as they have.

This project sits at the center of the politics of the public school system, pedagogical trends, Cold War concerns, race, civil rights, and the cultural memory of Nazism. It considers where Americans found the assault on the Jews pertinent and apt. It asks what lessons they seemed to learn and what analogies they made. If the murder of the Jews had not yet become the Holocaust, a category which demands the centrality of the event, then the study of the pre-history of Holocaust education requires the investigation of issues in which Americans saw the murder of the Jews as peripheral or analogous. This approach demonstrates that the murder of the Jews, even if not taught directly, remained anchored in the minds of Americans. They did not develop a Holocaust curriculum which might then relate to various issues of race, politics, and religion. Instead, they centered discussions in classes and schools around these other issues and then drew upon analogies with Nazism and its atrocities, including the murder of the Jews.

CHAPTER II
"NAZISM IS THE SUMMATION OF ALL THAT WE IN AMERICA ABHOR": DEFINING A DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE, 1933-1941

American educators, like their fellow citizens more generally, began the 1930s searching for solutions to the apparent ills of democracy and ended that decade certain that traditional American principles should serve as the bedrock of the future.[48] Over the course of the decade, some of them had embraced communism and not a few called for fascistic programs. Yet, by 1941, most had rejected the application of these ideologies to society and to the schools. In fact, between 1933 and 1941, Americans often defined America and democracy against the backdrop of what they increasingly called totalitarianism.[49] Nazism, in particular, served as a foil for explaining and teaching the values nominally held dear by citizens of the United States. Over the course of that eight-year span, they emphasized open, scientific, tolerant, and Christian principles as "American" in opposition to Nazi propaganda, anti-science, bigotry, and irreligion.

Furthermore, educators consistently perceived of political power and maneuvering as the causal factors in Nazi decision making. They represented the centralization of state power—against free-speech, against the search for truth, against minorities, and against God—as the

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[48] For a discussion of the various ways that Americans embraced aspects of communism and fascism as answers for the problems of the Depression, see Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself,* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013).

[49] Considering the terms used by educators provides one metric of this change. One teacher's magazine, *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York,* offers valuable insights into the mindsets of the leading teachers and administrators of that system. For example, in the volumes of *High Points* between 1933 and 1941, educators discussed Hitler and Nazism in a far greater percentage of articles post November 1938 than they did before that month. In fact, more articles included the terms Hitler or a variation of Nazi in the last months of December 1938 through the end of 1939, a total of 17 articles, than in all the years of 1933 to 1937, with 16 articles. Further, educators seemed to write more clearly about Nazism after November 1938. Whereas in the first ten months of 1938, the authors used the term dictatorship and totalitarianism—which could refer to Italian or Spanish fascism, Nazism, or Soviet Communism—about equally with Nazism and Hitler, after November, they increasingly specified the German form of totalitarianism.[49] Educators fixated on Nazism as the totalitarian other during the period following *Kristallnacht*.

primary danger of Nazism. Notably, educators viewed the assault on the Jews as primarily a Nazi method for gaining and maintaining power. Nazi antisemitism, in their minds, did not serve as a strongly held, policy-driving conviction but as a tool that the Nazis found useful in dividing their opponents or cowing those ruled. Thus, educators presented the persecution, and later murder, of the Jews within in the context of numerous aspects of the Nazi assault on democracy. They saw in Nazi Jewish policy the dangers of racial science, intolerant demagoguery, and anti-religion—all features, they believed, of totalitarianism. For them, the persecution of the Jews represented the extreme nature of the Nazi, totalitarian threat to democracy. Between 1933 and 1941, they came to believe that "our task here is to keep secure this love for democracy so that 'it can't happen here'"[50]

Yet, at the end of that same period, Americans failed to recognize that many of the impulses that fueled Nazism already resided in many of their countrymen. They determined not to reject from civil society the very impulses which they claimed anathema to their ideals. In casting illiberalism and bigotry as traits of Nazism, Americans associated them with the foreign.[51] This obscured domestic fascists and others who would merely point to their opposition to Nazi Germany as evidence of their innocence. Americans espousing such views had only to proclaim their dedication to America in some other way, usually anti-communism, to signify their virtue. Claiming "Americanism" or calling for unity served to mitigate the consequences of

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[50] Irving Levine, "Are we Influencing the Attitudes of Our Students?" *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XX, no. 9 (November 1939): 17.

[51] As Michaela Hoenicke Moore noted, Dorothy Thompson served as a counter to this point. Unlike many others she argued that Nazism had both foreign and domestic components that necessitated vigilance and education. She argued that Nazism was not an ideological opposite or other but was domestic. For more see Michaela Hoenicke Moore, *Know Your Enemy: The American Debate on Nazism, 1933-1945,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 52-57.

their bigoted and anti-democratic statements or actions. Thus, ironically, the efforts of American educators to provide a democratic education for their students served to strengthen the position of domestic fascists and their conservative allies.

"Crisis of the Democratic Way of Life"

Educators across America believed that the Great Depression necessitated the restructuring of the political, societal, and educational systems in order to confront what they saw as a crisis of democracy. They believed that the Great Depression had undermined the ability of the United States to remain as it currently existed.[52] Further, the response of some states across the globe, notably the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy, indicated alternative paths. Educators, who almost all saw the school systems as a method for developing a preferred society, reacted by writing extensively on how to educate for democracy.[53]

Nevertheless, educators did not always agree about the appropriate response to the problems of the Depression. Some simply stated the nature of the crisis. Others called for drastic alterations to democracy. A few even suggested embracing totalitarian practices—in part or in full. [54] Ultimately, they all appreciated the peril in which democracy found itself—beset by crises

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[52] In both *World History Today* by Albert McKinley, Arthur Howland, and Matthew Dann and *Story of Civilization* by Carl Becker and Frederic Duncalf, the authors recognized that the crisis of the Great Depression had resulted in political tumult and the embrace, by some states, of totalitarianism. Nevertheless, they did not expound upon this challenge to democracy as such.

[53] Scholars have emphasized the belief among progressive educators in the school systems as the appropriate institution for reforming society, typically toward a more equitable and just one. Nevertheless, conservatives also saw the educational system as essential in creating the America they envisioned. For a discussion on this latter group see Adam Laats, *The Other School Reformers: Conservative Activism in American Education,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

[54] In most of these cases, educators of the early-to-mid 1930s called for an educational system that fostered communist ideals. For example, in a 1933 *High Points* article, Alfred Vogel suggested that American educators look to the Soviet Union for methods of teaching , including "the 'engineering of human consent,' the creation of intelligent acceptance and an active participation in the socialist state." Alfred Vogel, "The Role of Education in Reconstructing Society," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XV, no. 4 (April 1933): 19. Though John Dewey never took this position, notable educational philosophers and historians such as

and challenged by alternative systems.[55] They recognized a crisis of democracy and an ideological competition between dictatorships and democracies for the dominant geopolitical position.

As educators began to fear for the continuation of American democracy, they often positioned themselves as the buttress of that system. They perceived their role as educators as one critical to the success of democracy against encroaching dictatorial forms.[56] The NYC Board of Education established democracy education as a primary task for its teachers as early as 1935. In May of that year, the Board's journal, *High Points*, opened with a quotation from an article by J.L. Morrill, Vice-President of Ohio State University, given just three months earlier. Morrill stated that "the schools … are vital to the democratic way of life. The crisis of the public schools is indeed the crisis of the democratic way of life. We hear much these days of threatened Fascism and of the menace of Communism in America. These are times of flux in the national philosophy."[57] He continued, noting the insecurity of the times by asking of his audience "however deep his faith in the American dream, however unshaken his faith in 'educational opportunity for all' as the guarantee of the democratic way of life, who can be cock-sure in these

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George Counts, Harold Rugg, Charles Beard, and John Childs, all called for some sort of indoctrination to bring about a desired social state. For more on this, see *In the Shadow of Totalitarianism* by Thomas Fallace.

[55] For a discussion of the palpability of the crisis facing democracy, see Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself,* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013).

[56] The historical actors in this study utilized different terms as their understanding of systems and events changed. Thus, I have attempted to use the term most commonly applied at the time for various ideological systems. Prior to 1938, the authors of *High Points* tended to utilize the term "dictatorship" in most cases that they denoted fascism, Nazism, and communism. In the late 1930s, they began to include "totalitarian" when discussing all three systems.

[57] J.L. Morrill, "Excerpt from an article by J. L. Morrill," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XVII, no. 5 (May 1935): 4. *High Points* was a central location for New York City's educators, of all political stripes and opinions, to write and, sometimes, debate about content, pedagogy, and policy in the schools. This study relies on *High Points* to serve as a voice of the outspoken teachers of New York City.

times?"[58] He then called for schools to provide a "more active and intimate community force" than previously. The city's educators accepted the challenge.

At least seven articles, spread across the year, specifically addressed the threat posed by communism, Nazism, or fascism. In "One American Way: A Program for School Democracy—The Public Forum," speech teacher Charles Spiegler of Morris High School suggested that "every serious teacher is thinking of the democratic and anti-democratic forces moving to an inevitable clash."[59] In one, the authors wrote of the motivations of a curriculum committee which stated that "a sense of the losing battle which democracy seems to be waging throughout the world against the forces of totalitarian dictatorship spurred the committee on" in their evaluation of democracy education in Elementary School history.[60] Yet another bemoaned the inroads made by totalitarianism into America's southern neighbors.[61] The geopolitical competition these educators recognized dominated how they framed their profession and its purposes.

Some, however, saw fascist and communist encroachments in America, and in the educational system more specifically, as having more domestic orientation. They expressed significant fear that totalitarian impulses had infiltrated American education and might paralyze educators' ability to teach freely. In 1936, for example, Louis Schuker delivered a report on the National Council of Social Studies 15th annual meeting to the Social Studies department of Samuel Tilden High School. He claimed that the most widely reported topic of the meeting

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[58] "Excerpt from an article by J. L. Morril," 4.
[59] Charles Spiegler, "One American Way: A Program for School Democracy—The Public Forum," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 9 (November 1939): 50.
[60] Saul Israel and Julia Spiegelman, "An Appraisal of the Treatment of Democracy in the Elementary School syllabus in History," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 1 (January 1939): 19.
[61] Sydney Wexler, "Pan-Americanism and the Role of Spanish," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 1 (January 1939): 13-17.

included discussions on recent attempts to limit teacher freedoms. Notably, Dr. Dixon Fox of Union College decried legislation that bound teacher liberty by condemning "the attempt of misguided individuals to substitute the muzzle for the lamp as the symbol of education." Such statements, primarily taking aim at anti-communist loyalty oaths required by some states, evidently brought about fearful assertions suggesting reactionary, or even fascist, dominance of the system. An American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) director called for organized opposition to such laws.[62] The conversations at the National Council of Social Studies exemplified the apprehension over Nazi subversion, one important way in which American educators revealed their insecurities about democracy.

A.H. Lass in his 1938 review of William Gellerman's work *The American Legion as Educator* offered another example. In it, he presented Gellerman as sober-minded, factual, and fair-minded even when the book's author declared the American Legion a "distinctly and menacingly pro-fascist" organization. Lass then included Gellerman's discussion of how the Legion, under the guise of patriotism, undermined schools and controlled educational systems. Ultimately, the author represented the Legion as a militaristic organization dedicated to the status quo and which "permeated our schools systems with its own particular brand of Americanism." [63] It necessitated opposition by teachers. Some, it seemed, recognized that domestic fascism might not just derive from foreign subversion, but home-grown impulses.[64] Nevertheless, such recognition would ultimately fail to result in action.

[62] Louis Schuker, "Notes on the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XVIII, no. 2 (February 1936): 65-66.
[63] A.H. Lass, "Review: *The American Legion as Educator*," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XX, no. 9 (November 1938), 77-79.
[64] Moore, *Know Your Enemy*, 68-78. Moore demonstrates that Americans had varied understandings of Nazism and that a significant minority were sympathetic to aspects of the German regime. In particular, a large number viewed

Educators sought to protect American students from the peril of Nazi ideals and the solution fit their perceived threat. Nazism, and the ills it represented, posed an existential threat to those who held a democratic life dear. Educators believed that "Nazism is the summation of all that we in America abhor. Nor is there anything shockingly new in the statement that the philosophy of Nazism stands in ominous contradiction to all that we hold sacred."[65] With this in mind, American educators attempted to teach democracy as a totalizing way of life and to engender it in American students. They included in the democratic way of life scientific thinking, tolerance, and Christian traditions. Their presentation of these aspects of democracy in opposition to Nazism and totalitarianism suggests that they perceived of attempts to undermine such qualities as evidence of un-American, un-democratic, totalitarian thinking.

"People are Striking the Name of Lindbergh"

In 1941, as the United States prepared for war, one member of the Texas State Board of Education (SBoE) brought many of these anxieties about the subversion of Democracy to the heights of the state educational bureaucracy. Board President Ben Oneal feared that the promotion of certain fascistic ideals in Texas schools harmed democracy. In particular, he sought to remove laudatory depictions of Charles Lindbergh, who espoused what Oneal saw as un-American principles, from the textbooks that Texas schools used. The Board President's actions rested on ideas, held by numerous educators, regarding the nature of democracy and Nazism. In particular, he saw the flyer-turned-political-spokesman as propagandistic and bigoted. O'Neal's

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Nazi anti-Jewish policy as appropriate due to their belief that Jews controlled too much wealth. American educators, nevertheless, seemed to generally accept the incompatibility of Nazism and American democracy.

[65] A.H. Lass, "Note on 'Secondary Education in Germany,'" *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 3 (March 1939): 5.

views of Lindbergh and his response to the flier's inclusion in a textbook reflected perspectives held by American educators regarding Americanism principles as the inverse of Nazi ideals.

The attack on Pearl Harbor offered Oneal, a one-time Texas state senator turned Board of Education member, an opportunity to renew efforts to erase Lindbergh from textbooks in Texas. Oneal had unsuccessfully attempted earlier in the year to remove "The Lone Eagle," a complimentary piece on the aviator Charles Lindbergh, from *Treasury of Life and Literature*. He found the coming of war an opportune moment to try again. Playing on the surprise of the Pearl Harbor attack, he sent a letter to H.A. Glass, director of the State's textbook Division in the Department of Education, and forwarded it to E.P. Craig, the publisher Charles Scribner's Sons' representative to the state. In it, Oneal suggested that "the United States would have been much better prepared for war had men like Lindbergh and [anti-War senator] Wheeler not taken the course that they have in this country."[66] He thus called for the elimination of all pages in the reader which he found "laudatory of Charles A. Lindbergh."[67]

Such a request, though perhaps not the motivation behind it, fell on the border of the normal actions that the Board might take regarding the adoption of any particular textbook. The state policy, in which school districts could receive free textbooks if they selected one of those adopted by the SBoE, gave significant power to the board members. Usually, the alterations suggested by the State Textbook Committee and the State's Textbook Division would prove sufficient and the SBoE would accept their recommendations. Occasionally, however, board members involved themselves as in Oneal's case. What is more, Oneal called for a change after a

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[66] "Letter from Ben Oneal to HA Glass," December 11, 1941, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.
[67] "Letter from Ben Oneal to HA Glass" December 11, 1941.

much longer period than in most requests. Nevertheless, in almost all cases, textbook editors usually accepted the suggestions made by the state and edited books so as to obtain the lucrative contracts the Texas educational system offered.[68] However, in the case of "The Lone Eagle," some other members of the board had challenged Oneal's efforts, and the issue required a vote.

After initiating the process of requesting the alteration to the textbook, Oneal set about gathering information on Lindbergh's policies and actions. He focused on greater dangers than simple opposition to Franklin Roosevelt or to joining the war in Europe. He sought to demonstrate that the aviator and the America First Committee engaged in fascistic actions. While searching for evidence, he contacted journalists, researched speeches, and investigated the background of the schoolbook publisher, Charles Scribner's Sons. In each case, he focused on specific characteristics which he found un-American and dangerous to the continuation of the country in its present form, namely propagandistic demagoguery and bigotry.

Though Oneal personally felt that the anti-war movement had harmed the country, America First had gained significant support from a variety of groups, both to its benefit and detriment. The America First Committee, the 1940 and 1941 organization uniting those opposed to a possible war with Germany, maintained significant support among American business leaders and politicians, pacificists and isolationists. However, it had also drawn together fascists, rabid anti-Communists, communists, and others. Though the more mainstream members of the movement had attempted to separate it from fascism, Nazism, and communism, they ultimately failed.[69] Its opponents consistently pointed to a number of its tenets which aligned with the

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[68] Ryan Abt, "No Propaganda Story: The Prehistory of American Holocaust Consciousness in Textbooks, 1940-1962," *Yearbook of Transnational History* 2, 2019, 160-161.
[69] Ruth Sarles, *A Story of America First: The Men and Women Who Opposed U.S. Intervention in World War II,* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003), 17 & 35. Though America First did exclude Nazis, Fascists, and

positions of the German, Italian, and Soviet governments. Further, a number of its members and some of its most well-known proponents espoused fascist beliefs or even proved to be in the employ of Germany or Japan.[70]

Aviator Charles Lindbergh, the ultimate recipient of Oneal's anger at the movement and one of the primary spokespersons of the America First Committee, suffered from his association with Nazism in 1941 in a way few might have expected in previous years. In 1937, when Lindbergh spoke positively of the Nazi efforts at rebuilding Germany and of their air power, he angered some and fled to England to escape the American press.[71] Nevertheless, he remained an immensely popular figure. Indeed, some lauded his challenge to the arms race in offensive air power in Europe.[72]

In 1938, however, Lindbergh erred to such a degree that some began to question his judgement and he opened himself to later accusations of disloyalty. While Lindbergh visited Major Truman Smith in Germany, Hermann Goering bestowed upon Lindbergh, without ceremony, the prestigious Order of the German Eagle. Lindbergh received the award, previously only given to one other American—Henry Ford, with a simple "Thank you."[73] Coming as it did a month after the Munich Crisis, a number of Americans saw the acceptance of the medal as un-

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Communists, this remained nominal. In actuality, a great number of those adhering to fascist ideals supported the movement. Historians have disagreed on the degree to which leaders of the America First Committee fostered fascism within the movement, but as stated in a report created by the British government, "It is the raw material of American Fascism." By intention or not, the organization garnered support from American supporters of fascism and Nazism.

[70] Laura Ingalls, Frank B. Burch, and Ralph Townsend were all leaders of America First who found themselves convicted of failing to register as a foreign (German in the first two cases and Japanese in the latter) agent. Wayne S. Cole, "The America First Committee," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 44, no. 4 (Winter, 1951), 318.

[71] Bradley Hart, *Hitler's American Friends*, (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2018), 168-169.

[72] "Lindbergh's Warning," *New York Times*, July 24, 1936, 16.

[73] "Hitler Honors Lindbergh with German Medal," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 20, 1938, 15.

American. After *Kristallnacht*, when Nazis beat and murdered Jews, destroyed synagogues, and assaulted Jewish-owned shops, some Americans increasingly saw the flyer's connection with Germany as supporting its racist policies. Indeed, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes challenged the very "American birthright" of Lindbergh and criticized him for accepting a medal from a "brutal dictator who" gave decorations and "with that same hand, is robbing and torturing thousands of fellow human beings."[74] He further admonished the Ford and Lindbergh for having "accepted tokens of contemptuous distinction at a time when the bestower of them counts that day lost when he can commit no new crime against humanity."[75] Yet, Lindbergh had not lost his position as one of America's favorite sons.

The flyer remained so popular that he quickly became the face of the America First Committee. Between his first speaking engagement for the America First Committee at a rally on October 31st, 1940 and the declaration of war against Japan in December of 1941, Lindbergh consistently drew large crowds. This culminated in his May 24, 1941 speech in Madison Square Garden before an audience of roughly 20,000. Yet, it took more than his anti-war positioning to decrease the aviator's popularity as a political figure. It required a combination of anti-democratic demagoguery and antisemitic statements for some to reject him. Pearl Harbor sealed his fate.

"Dictatorship Means the Destruction of Both Science and Democracy"

After he made his proposal in December of 1941, Oneal prepared to convince his fellow board members of the need to remove "The Lone Eagle" from *Treasury of Life and Literature*.

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[74] "Ickes Hits Takers of Hitler Medals," New York Times, December 19, 1938, 5.
[75] "Ickes Hits Takers of Hitler Medals," 5.

Oneal relied on more than simply Lindbergh's political position and questionable relationship to Germany. He followed up on his belief in Lindbergh's involvement not just in anti-war activities, but in seditious, pro-Nazi propaganda. In doing so, he searched for information on the political purposes of the textbook publisher, Charles Scribner's Sons.

In a letter to the authors of "Washington Merry-Go-Round," Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, he requested information on *Scribner's Commentator*, a publication of Charles Scribner's Sons. He asked, "whether that publication has been investigated by the Dies Committee, the FBI or other Federal agencies" and that if so, he would like to know if "it is of Fifth Columnist tendency, etc."[76] Though not clear how, it seems that Oneal knew something of that publication's legal problems. When connected to his efforts regarding the Charles Scribner's Sons reader, he seemingly sought to link the Lindbergh issue to that of *Scribner's Commentator.*

The reply from Pearson and Allen described just the kind of situation that Oneal suspected. Speaking of an investigation into packages filled with money and left on the publisher's desk, the reporters wrote that "Scribner's Commentator has ceased publication, doubtless because the angel no longer has the impulse to toss munificence through the window when the window is being so carefully watched as it is today."[77] Oneal continued to seek the exact contents of the evidently seditious materials even after *Scribner's Commentator* informed him that they no longer sold back issues "since war has been declared."[78]

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[76] "Letter from Oneal to Pearson and Allen," December 20, 1941, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.
[77] "Letter from Pearson to Oneal," December 26, 1941, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.
[78] "Letter from Smith to Oneal," January 7, 1942, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.

Oneal's search into the perceived propaganda of *Scribner's Commentator* represents one way that American educators viewed democracy as the opposite of Nazism. Teachers and others in education saw Nazi education as propagandistic and ideologically guided while American schools signified open-thought and science. The propaganda, such as that which Oneal saw in *Scribner's Commentator*, presented a real challenge to schools. American educators responded by emphasizing reasoned analysis and scientific thinking.

That Nazi educational policies reinforced or instituted unscientific modes of thinking underpinned much of American educators focus on education for democracy. They believed that democracy provided a unique environment for free and rational thought.[79] Totalitarianism, with its direction of knowledge from above, limited or completely destroyed opportunities for scientific or logical thinking. Educator Allen Stockdale argued, in a 1941 edition of *The Texas Outlook*, a teacher's journal produced by the Texas State Teacher's Association, for the necessity of democracy. He believed that its "freedom of education, religion and creative initiative," had brought about the "amazing industrial progress" of America. He juxtaposed democracy with dictatorships which "would have limited participation of thought and effort…killed initiative…[and] resulted in politics instead of progress."[80] When discussing democracy and totalitarianism, many educators presupposed that the former fostered science and development and while the latter quashed them.

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[79] Thomas Fallace, *In the Shadow of Authoritarianism,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 70-76 & 82-85. Thomas Fallace, "Holocaust Education in the US: A Pre-history, 1939-1960," *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings*, ed. Andy Pearce, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 190-204. In the former Fallace notes the use of Nazism as an unscientific foil, particularly on race, against a scientific America. In the latter, he argues that in seeing democracy as scientific, open-minded, and consensus building, American educators avoided discussion of the persecution and murder of the Jews as it would force them to confront the treatment of Blacks in the US. This, in turn, would likely break the consensus building approach that they held.

[80] Allen Stockdale, "Our Industrial System and American Defense," *The Texas Outlook* XXV, no. 3 (March 2941), 8.

This extended not only to fascist states, but also to domestic organizations associated with totalitarian mindsets. As Sidney Williams wrote in *The Texas Outlook*, undemocratic or subversive organizations such as "Dies Committees, Father Coughlins, Bunds, Silver Shirts, and Long Machines," all came about through "crass, unthinking emotionally engendered, institutional arrangements."[81] If fascist organizations, whether truly fascist or imagined, originated in irrationality, then "only a free and enlightened citizenry are qualified to inherit democracy."[82] Educators such as Williams saw democracy as either inherently scientific or only possible with a rational population. They pointed to two primary arenas of science that demonstrated the superiority of the democratic approach: critical thought and racial science.

The incidents of book burning which the Nazis instigated in 1933 also played role in American views of Nazi ideology. Nora Beust of the U.S. Office of Education quoted the US Commissioner of Education Studebaker in *The Texas Outlook* in her article "Organizing the Library for Our Common Defense." He had stated that "When people are burning books in other parts of the world, we ought to be distributing them with great vigor; for books are among our best allies in the fight to make democracy work."[83] In an article which advocated for particular library policies to boost academic thought and opportunity, decrying the burning of books directly portrayed Nazi Germany as opposed to improving student critical thinking.

Nevertheless, American educators struggled to conceive of the democratic alternative to propaganda. Writing in *The Texas Outlook*, journal of the Texas Teachers Assocation, Thomas Portwood put forth an outline of why subversion of any source seemed so threatening. He wrote,

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[81] Sidney Williams, "Education vs. Dogma of Pressure Groups," *The Texas Outlook* XXV, no. 3 (March 1941), 43.
[82] "Education vs. Dogma of Pressure Groups," 43.
[83] "Nora Beust, "Organizing the Library for Our Common Defense," *The Texas Outlook* XXV, no. 8 (June 1941), 27.

> Since we have in our country the basic human rights of free speech, and free press, and freedom of assembly, we are all the more vulnerable to the activities and influences of those forces that would use this very freedom for their purpose of destroying freedom. Such forces use the press and the meeting place to spread doctrines that would destroy us as a free people. The unwary may be misled since the methods used are always subtle and clever indeed. There is no more important defense than the defense against those who would destroy our democracy from within…We must learn to recognize subversive movements. We must learn the ways in which our enemies work. Our schools must teach our young people to recognize and stamp out the efforts to undermine our democracy.[84]

Portwood's statement identified the challenge that the educators faced. They feared subversive elements who sought to destroy the system of American democracy in order to institute totalitarian rule; yet, the very nature of the democratic way of life demanded freedoms that allowed subversives opportunity. American educators ultimately fell upon democratic education as the solution.

No issue, however, demonstrates how educators contrasted Nazism's directed and unscientific education with democratic, scientific education than that of propaganda. As educator Helen Davis stated in *High Points*, propaganda, whether ultimately harmful or beneficial, conflicted with the scientific principle of seeking knowledge no matter the end. Propagandists designed their work "to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends."[85] One popular organization, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA) even declared its methods rational. Their group leader's guide argued that "the habit of seeking evidence or rational grounds for their beliefs" has "long been recognized as being perhaps, the major objectives of education in and for democracy."[86] Thus, American

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[84] Thomas Portwood, "Our Schools and Total Defense," *The Texas Outlook* XXV, no. 3 (March 1941), 40.
[85] "Helen Davis, "Propaganda for Preservation," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 6 (June 1939): 18.
[86] Violet Edwards, *Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis,* (New York: Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 1938), 214-215.

teachers, whatever their position on propaganda analysis did not believe democratic education indoctrination, but science. They assumed that American students, if taught to think clearly and rationally, would recognize the superiority of democracy. Teaching scientific thought strengthened democracy because science proved the superiority of democracy.

Though a few educators sought to allow only pro-democratic propaganda, most accepted various types of propaganda as unavoidable. Instead, they encouraged teaching students to analyze information scientifically. Helen Davis argued that "no more vital contribution to the cause of free public education and the preservation of an American civilization in which it may safely function can be made then by incorporating the scientific methodology of propaganda analysis in the daily life and work of our schools."[87] Her statement exemplifies the way in which many saw a democratic approach to the question of propaganda as scientific. In particular, they argued that by considering propaganda using a set of analytic tools, students could determine the correct choice when faced with two or more sets of propaganda. Thus, unlike the slavish acceptance of state propaganda by nazified Germans, democratic citizens applied rationality to their decision making. When faced with the difficult choice of allowing propaganda and seeing students fall to it or suppressing all opposing information in totalitarian form, educators looked to teaching propaganda analysis as a democratic response. Davis' belief that schools ought to prepare students in propaganda analysis placed her firmly in support of the position of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA).

The IPA served as the primary educational impetus in combatting the effects of propaganda in the United States. Created in 1937, the IPA sought to guard Americans against

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[87] "Propaganda for Preservation," 25.

negative propaganda by teaching them to think rationally about information they received. Though many definitions existed, Columbia professor Clyde Miller, director of the IPA, classified propaganda as the "expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends."[88] Though the Institute produced numerous texts and grounded much of its work in academically rigorous studies, its most popular contribution to the effort against propaganda came in the form of a simple 1937 bulletin, penned anonymously by Miller. In it, Miller urged readers to familiarize themselves with "seven common propaganda devices"—name calling, glittering generalities, transfer, testimonial, plain folk, card stacking, and band wagon. In spite of genuine concern, both among those within the Institute and those outside it, about the value of this approach to propaganda analysis, it quickly gained in popularity.[89] By 1941, IPA trained teachers and propaganda analysis materials had entered U.S. classrooms across the country.[90]

The IPA thrived in the prewar period when educators sought to stress democratic methods. Though the Institute primarily took aim at domestic fascists, its programs encouraged Americans to take note of propaganda from any source.[91] Thus, the IPA presented propaganda as neutral, but its uses as either "harmful" or 'beneficial" to society. The IPA wanted Americans to

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[88] C. R. Miller, "How to Detect and Analyze Propaganda," *Town Hall Pamphlet: An Address Delivered at Town Hall*. (New York: Town Hall, Inc., 1939).

[89] J. Michael Sproule, "Authorship and Origins of the Seven Propaganda Devices: A Research Note," in *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 136-137.

[90] Benjamin Fine, "Propaganda Study Instills Skepticism in 1,000,000 Pupils," *New York Times*, February 21, 1941, 1.

[91] An IPA case study based on the seven common propaganda devices, *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, considered the radio broadcasts of Father Coughlin. In January of 1939, the IPA produced a bulletin entitled, "The Attack on Democracy," which listed numerous domestic fascist leaders and called attention to their use of antisemitism to gain support. Nevertheless, the seven common propaganda devices used the example of C.I.O "ideas" in a labor dispute as an example of "testimonial."

set aside emotions, stirred on by propaganda, in their decision-making. The Institute and its proponents assumed that, given the tools to think rationally, Americans would choose the democratic way of life. Its proponents saw it as promoting a scientific approach to decision-making that would allow Americans to avoid falling to extremism while maintaining dedication to principles of free-speech. Principles which they saw as directly opposed to Nazism.

In the years prior to World War II, numerous educators weighed in—both in favor and against—on propaganda analysis as a method of educating for Democracy. Advocates declared that the programs of the Institute would help students avoid anti-democratic forces. Others, however, felt that propaganda analysis failed to help students make determinations about the correct choice or might lead students to cynicism. Further, some educators differed regarding just how open schools ought to make themselves to propagandists. Accounts of German propaganda in educational systems and society more generally gave these debates force.

In *The Texas Outlook*, Arthur Moehlman called for strengthening America by thinking objectively and thereby maintain American beliefs in liberties and the value of individuals. Specifically, he suggested that "the only defense against any type of propaganda is reflective and objective thinking, which has as its base a suspension of judgment, until all possible ascertainable facts have been carefully weighed."[92] While quoting the IPA, he mentioned guarding against emotions and prejudices, finding scientifically verifiable facts, and looking at the reason and logic that various propagandists apply in their use of those facts. Ultimately, he challenged teachers to demonstrate to their students how to rationally consider both the source and the subject when faced with propaganda. Together educators who considered the topic of

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[92] Arthur Moehlman, "Schools and Propaganda," *The Texas Outlook*, XXIV, no. 1 (January 1940), 28.

propaganda met the problem with the confidence that democratic education, inherently scientific, would lead to more democratically minded students.

Educator Arthur Norwood, Jr. presented the most radical faith in reasoned analysis as the appropriate, democratic means for combatting propaganda. He went so far as to state that countering anti-democratic propaganda with the pro-democratic kind might lead students away from democracy. He believed that only propaganda analysis provided the appropriate, scientific, method of buttressing democratic ideals. Norwood bemoaned that "a German student, not strongly pro-Nazi, was driven that way by a poster competition that was to compare Nazism and democracy." He thus stated that "what we have got to do is let the propagandas compete with one another in free and open fashion on the same platform."[93] He followed this statement by arguing that Father Coughlin, a popular pro-fascist and anti-Semitic radio broadcaster, ought to get airtime as long as radio stations cast "equally capable people," following him. He further advocated providing a school assembly as a place for a Nazi leader to propagandize. Following the assembly, students and teachers could discuss and analyze the propaganda. According to Norwood, equal airtime for all propagandists, alongside their opponents, provided the answer for democratic education.

Yet not all educators valued propaganda analysis and its corresponding normalization of propaganda. As the United States moved toward war, a number of teachers and administrators challenged propaganda analysis. Yet, their criticisms of the method did not represent an attempt to silence all opposing propaganda. They agreed with Norwood that "America is a democracy,

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[93] Arthur Norwood, Jr., "Revitalizing the High School Assembly," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 8 (October 1939): 17.

and we can't suppress propaganda…even if you could, you shouldn't."[94] However, instead of formal propaganda analysis as proposed by the IPA, they suggested the straightforward teaching of students in sifting through evidence to determine the best course of action.

William Isaacs and Jules Kolodny provided a detailed critique of propaganda analysis and offered what they believed a more appropriate alternative. They recognized the inability of propaganda analysis to help students determine the most appropriate or correct course of action. They suggested that the IPA's system might help a student determine that the German American Bund opposed the Lend-Lease act for sinister motivations, but that did not make such opposition wrong. They pointed to the fact that industrialists and bankers, with their own problematic motivations, supported Lend-Lease. Further, less overtly self-interested groups fell in for and against the legislation.[95] The inability of propaganda analysis to help students determine a best course of action led Isaacs and Kolodny to argue that such a methodology in teaching actually harmed democracy by creating cynical students who saw all information as untrustworthy.

Though the authors suggested that "democracy as a way of life is superior to anything dictatorship has to offer" and that "Totalitarianism in all its forms is anathema," they nevertheless did not support using propaganda analysis to buttress democracy. They did not believe that such analysis would lead students to reject democracy due to perceptions of its inferiority. Instead, they feared that propaganda analysis might be turned against democracy as it allowed proponents of this or that position to criticize opposing groups on grounds other than the

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[94] "Revitalizing the High School Assembly," 17.
[95] William Isaacs and Jules Kolodny, "Towards a Theory of Propaganda Analysis," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXIII, no. 8 (October 1941): 27.

content of the position.[96] Instead, they argued that teachers "serve the cause of the democratic ideal by teaching students to analyze for themselves how well or badly our conceptions of democracy stand up under competition with other systems" while they also consider other controversial topics.[97]

Yet, even outside of debates over propaganda teachers represented their own approach to the classroom as democratic and scientific. New Utrecht High School teacher Minna Colvin, in her article "The Scientific Method and the Formation of Attitudes," called for a scientific method of imparting a democratic way of life. Warning first against the teacher acting as a dictator in the classroom, she suggested that once a class has accepted the scientific method of thinking, they could then approach debate. She argued that:

> Where a class has received training in the scientific method, postulates which are basic to the organization of our society may be challenged with relative impunity. They can stand the light of reason and can meet the rigorous test which will be imposed upon them by the scientific method. Thus, Communism, Fascism, or other challenges to our ideals need not be suppressed as topics for discussion.[98]

Teachers could then permit students to advocate controversial positions such as the suppression of speech or support for racial or religious discrimination. "The teacher," she suggested, "through all-sided discussion, through example and through a tolerant and tactful management of the class may tip the scales in favor of basic institutions, civil rights, and community values."[99]

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[96] In fact, Arthur Moehlman's article demonstrates how some educators used propaganda analysis to inject their own opinions and "propaganda" into education. He presented his own anti-war stance as logical anti-propaganda. He seemed to hope for a kind of enlightened cynicism that might lead teachers and students alike to mistrust all European sources, British, German, and Russian.

[97] "Towards a Theory of Propaganda Analysis," 30-31. While this article provided the clearest rejection of propaganda analysis as a method, other articles often discussed the necessity of avoiding propaganda itself and fixated on helping students think critically from all sides.

[98] Minna Colvin, "The Scientific Method and the Formation of Attitudes," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 2 (February 1939): 46.

[99] "The Scientific Method and the Formation of Attitudes," 46-47.

Thus, she called for scientific thought, here meaning allowing discussion of all points and encouraging students to evaluate on their own, to promote "the cultural values of our own nation."[100] Colvin saw the use of the "scientific method" in debates as strengthening democracy because only in a democracy could such debates occur.

In the article, "Freedom of Science in a Democracy," a principal answered a student's questions about science in ways that demonstrate how some American thought about the Nazi system. When the student asked "But what happened to the German scientists, for example? They are *real* scientists, are they not?" Principal Morris Meister answered, "Yes," but "when a community is impoverished and unhappy it may be willing to surrender its liberties to dictators who promise a glib and unscientific solution to troubles. Scientists then lose their freedom of inquiry as well…When people lose faith in reason, they are prey to prejudice and superstition. When they depend entirely upon authority, they yield to misinformation." Meister saw totalitarian regimes as unable to remain scientific. He later focused on the relationship of a number of ideals to democracy. He stated that they could "keep our country safe for democracy" by "glorifying the method of science—by having faith in reason, by preaching tolerance, by living the scientific way of life which is the democratic way of life."[101]

The Bushwick High School assembly written by Bernard Jaffe, Chairman of the Science Department, demonstrates the depth of educators' association of democracy with science on the one hand and totalitarianism with politically directed, unscientific thought on the other. In the assembly Jaffe wrote monologues for five different scientists and used an anonymous "Man of

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[100] "The Scientific Method and the Formation of Attitudes," 47.
[101] Morris Meister, "Freedom of Science in a Democracy," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 4 (April 1939): 13-15.

Science" to move between the monologues and contextualize their meaning. His "Man of Science" stated that "Science is the first bulwark against bigotry, superstition, and false propaganda. Democracy is the first line of defense against the stifling of true research for the benefit of all humankind. Whenever the life of democracy is at stake, science is in mortal danger."[102] Jaffe expressed in its totality the system of belief which underpinned American educators firm faith in the superiority of democracy. They saw science as the premier example of what people could accomplish if able to think and act free from political direction. Further, science and democracy together offered the possibility of solving pressing issues and of developing beneficial technologies. Jaffe's assembly script also spoke to the interaction of science with other assumed aspects of democracy. Jaffe's "Man of Science," while introducing scientific exemplars, announced that both science and democracy "raise no racial barriers," do not "erect any barriers against nationality," nor "discriminate against any man because of his religious views." The rationality of science, its pure pursuit of knowledge regardless of source, its freedom from outside guidance effectively proved the superiority of a political system and lifestyle of democracy.

However, not only did democracy and science benefit one another, Jaffe concurred with Meister that totalitarian systems might actively destroy science. In the final monologue of the "Man of Science," he warned that "beyond the two oceans that wash our shores are men who scoff at democracy, jeer at the equality of mankind, stifle religion, and destroy true science. Men of science cannot stand idly by while such things are going on. It is the duty of science to protect

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[102] Bernard Jaffe, "Science in a Democracy," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 8 (October 1939): 31.

democracy; for dictatorship means the destruction of both science and democracy."[103] In the conflict in which Americans found themselves, Jaffe believed that if they valued science they must defend democracy, for totalitarian systems sought to destroy it.

The statements that American educators made regarding Nazi and totalitarian thought consistently presented it as irrational. This appeared through clear charges and insinuations that totalitarian political leaders and functionaries directed thought from above. As the authors of "Americanism and Biology" wrote that teachers ought to discuss how dictators persecuted "those advancing new theories and ideas" while pointing to how those with opposing thoughts received "encouragement in a democracy."[104] So, too, did textbook authors make similar implications. Becker and Duncalf in *Story of Nations* stated that "many of the foremost German writers and scholars, including Albert Einstein, the world's famous mathematician, were forced into exile. The newspapers, schools and universities, and the publishers of books were strictly supervised by the Ministry of Propaganda."[105] Not only in the realm of science, but in art did the Nazis stifle thought.

A large portion of those who discussed the dangers of totalitarian science and censorship did so by alluding to Nazi racial science or the plight of the Jews in Germany. A few examples of this tendency bear mentioning. In "An Open Letter to Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany" written by one organization of teachers of German, the authors first spoke of how Germany had been "known as the Land of Poets and Thinkers," but that Hitler had destroyed, among other

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[103] "Science in a Democracy," 35-36.
[104] Jordan, C.V., et al. "Americanism and Biology," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXIII, no. 10 (Dec. 1941): 65-69.
[105] *Story of Civilization*, 822.

freedoms, the "freedom to teach and learn."[106] After pointing to attacks on Jews, the teachers specifically pointed out the "false doctrine of race, which you have used to justify the worst of iniquities."[107] To the Metropolitan Chapter and Junior Auxiliary of the American Association of Teachers of German, the racial policies of Hitler, which resulted in the persecution of the Jews of Germany, contrasted starkly with the history of Germany as a school for great thinkers. In fact, they mentioned Einstein, Freud, and others as those driven to exile or camps by the Nazis.[108] Finally, in "A Scientific Approach to the Development of Tolerance," Alfred Kirshner of DeWitt Clinton High School included in a sample lesson plan the story of a blonde, blue-eyed student who, while living in Germany, found himself, a Jew, chosen by a race theory expert as a model Aryan.[109]

Such examples as these point to both the awareness of the educators to the persecution of the Jews in Germany and to how they understood Nazi anti-Jewish action. Often, they implied that acceptance of Nazi racial science and the corresponding acceptance of the oppression of the Jews of Germany belied a more general failure of Germany to instill the democratic values that might uphold scientific, rational thought among its citizens. They thereby emphasized the ideological threat of the physical oppression of Nazi victims.

"Wherever There is a Lack of Democracy, One Usually Finds Intolerance"

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[106] "An Open Letter to Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXI, no. 1 (January 1939): 73. Fascinatingly, *High Points* published a response to this letter in which the author argued that the first letter did not represent the organization listed, but instead that a small group of teachers planned a meeting for a time when others weren't available so that they could pass the letter through. He, evidently, did not believe Hitler to have defamed the cultural legacy of Germany.
[107] "An Open Letter to Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany," 73.
[108] "An Open Letter to Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany," 73.
[109] Alfred Kirshner, "A Scientific Approach to the Development of Tolerance," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXIII, no. 7 (September 1941): 17.

In his search for information to use in his assault on Lindbergh, Oneal noted one particular example that signified a problematic aspect of the America First representative. He recognized in Lindbergh's statements the stench of Nazi antisemitism. While contacting newspapers regarding Lindbergh's political activities, he wrote to J.H. Allison, Vice President and general manager of the *Wichita Falls Record News,* requesting the date of the issue which reported on "Lindbergh's speech wherein he by implication raised the issue of races in this country, that is, with reference to Jews, etc."[110] Along with the article from their paper, Oneal saved clippings from numerous others which highlighted similarity between Lindbergh's September 12, 1941 speech and the rhetoric of the Nazis. One such article, from an unknown paper, quoted the White House secretary who stated, "You have seen the outpourings of Berlin in the last three or four days. You saw what Lindbergh said last night. I think there is a striking similarity between the two."[111]

The speech in question certainly led to a great deal of opposition to Lindbergh's cause. In Des Moines, Iowa, Lindbergh suggested that a number of interested groups plotted to lead the United States, without the ascent of its citizens, into war. Notably, he stated that "the three most important groups who have been pressing this country toward war, are the British, the Jewish, and the Roosevelt administration." His comments later in the speech that the greatest danger of Jewish groups "lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our Government," only further aligned Lindbergh's speech with those of Nazis and

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[110] "Letter from Oneal to Allison," 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission..
[111] "Lindbergh Crowd Cheers President," September 13, 1941, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.

pro-Nazi groups.[112] This speech, which differed from his earlier ones primarily in the insertion of Jewish groups into the conspiracy that Lindbergh perceived, led to the America First Committee's greatest setback prior to Pearl Harbor.[113] While Lindbergh had consistently argued that the Roosevelt administration conspired to lead the United States to war, some accepted his self-portrayal as "pro-American." The Des Moines speech and the antisemitism it espoused, however, led many to reject such a depiction.

Lindbergh's antisemitic statements proved the tipping point, at least for many Americans. After the Des Moines speech many deemed the aviator's views pro-fascist or pro-Nazi. Though numerous politicians and reporters had earlier noted the similarities between Lindbergh's rhetoric and that of the Nazis, his attack on Jewish groups as conspirators in a plot to bring the United States into war drove home such parallels. The speech made such sentiments as those expressed by Earl E. Harvey, a supporter of Oneal's motion, common. Writing in the lead up to the Board vote, he represented Lindbergh as an American Hitler. He wrote that it "seems queer to me that men who is[sic] supposed to be true Americans can approve such history as is made by Chas Lindbergh. 'If so Hitler made history so teach our children about him too.'"[114] Antisemitism, thus, proved a key factor in proving the anti-Democratic and fascist nature of Lindbergh and the America First Committee.

Yet, if Oneal and others rejected Lindbergh's antisemitism, they typically saw the political consequences of racial antagonism, not its roots in liberal, Western thinking, as its

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[112] "Text of Lindbergh's Address," 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.
[113] For a description of what led Lindbergh to adopt his antisemitic position in the Des Moines speech, see *Hitler's American Friends,* 179-184.
[114] "Letter from Harvey to Oneal," March 4, 1942, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.

primary danger. Numerous educators would portray Nazi antisemitism as a politically motivated act meant to divide the population. They typically ignored the long history of European, Christian antisemitism. Educators thereby presented the German persecution of the Jews as simply one means of political domination by which the Nazis sought to control others and destroy democracy. The Jews served as one of many groups oppressed by the Nazis for, primarily, political reasons. In other words, the dangers of domestic fascism did not lie in its racism, but in giving that racism a political voice. Oneal and others like him decried racism as un-American specifically when it threatened the political structures of the country, in this case in the form of anti-war activism.[115]

American educators certainly had no lack of opportunity for knowing a great deal about the treatment of the Jews of Germany between 1933 and 1941. Newspapers consistently updated their readers about various assaults on Jews and their rights by the Nazis.[116] Neither the Nazi persecution of the Jews, anti-Jewish legislation, nor anti-Semitic rhetoric remained hidden from Americans. Especially after *Kristallnacht*, the violent Nazi pogrom against the Jews which took place on November 9th, 1938, the reading public knew the nature of Nazi anti-Semitism. In spite of the wealth of knowledge available about the topic, very few educators directly mentioned such events in journal articles or official department of education documents. Instead, textbooks serve

[115] Antisemitism had been a significant aspect of the opposition to both Roosevelt and the New Deal. Though some disliked such bigoted attacks, they remained quite common. See Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 105-127.
[116] The *New York Times* included 4,532 total articles which included the search terms "Nazi" and "Jew" between January 30, 1933, the date at which Hitler obtained power, and December 7, 1941. Further, and predictably, 1933 and 1938, both dates during which prewar anti-Jewish violence peaked, saw the greatest number of articles. The Austin American Statesman included 431 such articles with the greatest number in 1938.

as the primary educational records which include detailed information on the persecution of Germany's Jews.

Whether large or small, textbook authors discussed the Nazis' anti-Jewish measures as a part of a broad assault on liberties. In the 1940 edition of *Modern Europe*, New York City educators Harrison Thomas and William Hamm wrote an entire section entitled "The Persecution of the Jews." Nevertheless, the authors had, in the paragraph before, written "while the Jews bore the brunt of the Nazi attacks, Communists, Socialists, pacifists, radicals, and liberals of all shades who dared to protest or even disagree with the new government were treated with equal violence."[117] Though certainly not taking away from the accuracy or depth of their treatment of the Nazi anti-Jewish actions, the statement suggests that the authors saw a difference in scope, but not intensity or result.

Other textbooks contained smaller treatments of the persecution of the Jews or simply folded them into discussions of general persecution. In *The Story of Modern Europe*, historian J.W. Riker wrote a paragraph on the "organized violence against the Jews" under the heading of "The Work of Destruction." Yet, the treatment of the Nazi persecution of the Jews shared that space with Hitler's assault on socialists, communists, and trade unionists. Noting that "communists and Social Democrats fared almost as badly as Jews," Riker wrote that because the Nazis had discarded constitutional rights, "anyone was in danger of being haled [sic] before a court and condemned to either imprisonment or death."[118] In the 1938 edition of *Story of Civilization*, historians Carl Becker and Frederick Duncalf dedicated a paragraph on

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[117] Harrison Thomas and William Hamm, *Modern Europe*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), 485.
[118] J.W. Riker, *The Story of Modern Europe,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942), 342.

gleichaltung—the organization or unifying of Germany along Nazi lines. In it, they placed their only statement on the treatment of Jews in Germany. They wrote that the Nazis disbanded other political parties, suppressed the freedom of the press and education, and denied full rights of citizenship to Jews and others deemed non-Aryan. Then they stated, "many Communists, Socialists, and Jews were deprived of their property, confined in concentration camps, or executed."[119] Thus, the authors portrayed the Nazi anti-Jewish actions as part of a broad move to squelch opposition.

When textbook authors in the period prior to World War II wrote on the treatment of the Jews in Nazi Germany, they almost exclusively did so by presenting it in two ways. First, they always contextualized the persecution of the Jews alongside that of political and religious groups. Second, they cast the assault on the Jews and as symptomatic of a Nazi rejection of and attack on liberties. This reinforced the first and emphasized the perceived political and ideological conflict over the racial aspects of the Nazi policies. This tendency also conformed with the conversations of educators which touched on Nazism and the treatment of the Jews in Germany. When they Nazi anti-Jewish policy with attacks on liberties, they simultaneously reframed debates over racial discrimination in the United States. If a shortage of democracy had led to the one, then surely buttressing the traditional systems of a democratic America would solve the other.

Though classroom educators rarely discussed the persecution of the Jews specifically in the journals and documents they left behind, they did seek to combat what they perceived as Nazi methods of subverting the country. The educators saw racial, ethnic, and religious

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[119] Carl Becker and Frederic Duncalf, *Story of Civilization*, (New York: Silver Burdett Company, 1938), 822.

discrimination in the United States as one of the primary strategies by which Nazis and their allies might divide Americans and thereby undermine democracy. By teaching tolerance, educators believed they could strengthen democracy through removing Nazi characteristics from their students. As Israel and Spiegelman stated in their report on elementary education in democracy, "today, wherever there is a lack of democracy, one usually finds intolerance."[120] Importantly, this reinforced an assumption that discrimination and hatred originated in totalitarian ideologies and that more democracy, in this case in the form of tolerance education, offered the solution to such problems.

That true American ideals and democratic thinking could not exist alongside hatred and bigotry served as one of the key principles in the teaching of tolerance. The assembly program script used at New Utrecht High School and reprinted in *High Points* in April 1939 provides a sample of such thinking. Through recounting American history, the script authors presented the United States as the font of tolerance. In fact, when the text broached the topic of slavery and the necessity of the thirteenth Amendment, the authors wrote, "though at times the forces of bigotry and persecution have raised their heads in our land, and even conquered in local areas, the Bill of Rights of our Constitution has stood as a reminder calling the people *back* to the ways of Freedom, Liberty and Equality which are the great democratic traditions for which America stands today."[121] If intolerance existed, it did so in spite of democracy, not alongside it.

The conclusion of the assembly program solidified that educators saw intolerance as foreign to democracy. After the commentator stated that "the very foundations on which

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[120] "An Appraisal of the Treatment of Democracy in the Elementary School Syllabus in History," 19.
[121] "A Script for a Tolerance Program," 21-22.

America stands is religious tolerance, freedom of conscience, [and] human rights," the students adopted a resolution. In it, they claimed to "realize more keenly that the foundations of America and Americanism is religious toleration, respect for other peoples of other races and religions, freedom of conscience, [and] human rights." The students, and the educators leading them, perceived intolerance as anathema to American democracy. This did not mean that they did not believe it occurred in the country, but that they saw instances of it as incompatible with a democratic ideal.

Further, they noted two locations of intolerance that point to viewing the problem of such disregard for others as originating in a failure to adhere to democracy. The students the resolved that "we will consider as un-American any slur or insult to any religious or racial group" and also that "we condemn the governments of all foreign countries in which there is barbarous persecution of racial and religious groups."[122] In the first case, the students recognized race and religion, possible reasons for division, as overcome under the national category of American. Further, status as an American served as, essentially a totalizing designation since it did not relate specifically to race, religion, ethnicity, or any number of other categories, but instead to a set of ideals. In the second statement, the resolution even more clearly suggested that persecution came down to political systems and decisions when they condemned the governments which assaulted various groups.

The representations of intolerance in America and the world demonstrated in educators' journals suggests two important views on the nature of bigotry. First, such prejudice did not derive from democracy, but assaulted it from without. As Alpern wrote, New York offered a

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[122] "A Script for a Tolerance Program," 22-23.

"haven of all races, of all religions, of all tongues" until "the vicious and the malevolent, the hate-mongers and the bigots injected their virus and blew their poisonous breath."[123] Second, if intolerance threatened to subvert American democracy, then greater knowledge of and faith in democracy provided the solution. Education in the history of American democracy, with its foundation in the Bill of Rights, offered one tool in battle against the prejudice that threatened to give victory to Nazis and their ilk.

"A Society which…Harks Back to Pre-Christian Germany"

In spite of the clear belief among American educators that Nazism—propagandistic, anti-scientific, and bigoted—contrasted with democracy, Oneal's efforts failed. Forces within the Board of Education rejected the evidence of Lindbergh's danger and, instead, focused on a different interpretation of America. With America's entry into the war, they rejected debates over what they now considered non-essential. Unity against the foreign, totalitarian foe became the rallying cry by which those who had aligned with Lindbergh and his antisemitic views could prove their dedication to America.

Two of the Board of Education's newest members, nominated by governor W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel, led resistance to the removal of Lindbergh from the book. Frost called any approval of Oneal's recommendation for the removal of the material "the worst form of intolerance."[124] He further argued that the act of censoring information about Lindbergh based on the former aviator's opinions on public policy constituted a perspective "identical with that of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Communist Russia and Imperial Japan" and that to do so meant that

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[123] "Schools Meet the Challenge," 13.
[124] "Letter from J.H. Frost to Glass," December 13, 1941, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.

"our liberties are lost." [125] Far from seeing Lindbergh as a fifth-columnist danger and by boiling Oneal's opposition to the flyer down to political differences, Frost viewed what he saw as the totalitarian impulse of censorship as the greater threat to American values.

Another recently chosen member of the Texas Board of Education, Maco Stewart, supported Frost and downplayed Lindbergh and the America First Committee as subversive forces. On December 17th, Stewart also focused only on the aviator's politics and wrote that the isolationists had simply failed to understand that the current geopolitical situation differed from that of WWI because totalitarianism and democracy found themselves "struggling for dominance" which "necessitates a fight on our part or submission to pillage, plunder and slavery to the Totalitarian powers."[126] Stewart argued that the former isolationists had seen their errors and now supported the war effort. Indeed, the America First Committee had disbanded and Lindbergh had offered his services against Japan. He believed that the Board ought not "disturb national unity with carping resolutions." Unity offered the best course of action in defeating the totalitarian threat.[127]

The ultimate decision of the Texas SBoE to keep "the Lone Eagle" in *Treasury of Life and Literature* points to another, sometimes alternate and other times parallel, view of how American ideals contrasted with Nazism. For many educators, the root of Americanism and the success of the country's democracy lay in its Christian past and principles. To them, Americans

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[125] "Letter from J.H. Frost to Glass," December 13, 1941.
[126] "Letter from Stewart to Glass," December 17, 1941, 1972/111, Box 10, Ben G. Oneal Selection, Benjamin G. Oneal Papers, Archives and Information Services Division, State Library and Archives Commission.
[127] Notably, Stewart never used the term Nazi when discussing the conflict. Instead, he utilized the term "totalitarian." This signified both the increase in this terms' use as described in notation 9 of this chapter and his own anti-communist leanings. As future events would demonstrate, Stewarts defense of the Lindbergh poem lay as much in his own anti-communism and pro-fascism than in his dedication to ideals of anti-censorship.

need not necessarily focus on democracy education in the form of propaganda analysis, rational thought, or even tolerance education. They called for a return to Christianity as the solution to issues of bigotry and division. When looking at events in Germany, they saw the persecution of clergy in Germany and the assault on the Jews as having derived from the same impulses—anti-religion. These educators argued that democracy, particularly its superior, American form, derived from Christianity. Thus, they believed that a return to Christianity would reinvigorate a faltering democracy.

In part, they arrived at this conclusion due to the perceived assault on Christianity by both Nazi and Communist totalitarianism. In *Man's Great Adventure,* a textbook published in 1942, historian Edwin Pahlow, twice mentioned the assault on the Jews. While he did note that racial ideology, rather than political opposition, drove the Nazi persecution of the Jews, he tied such oppression to anti-Christian paganism. He wrote that the goal of the Nazis "is to achieve a purely 'Aryan' society, with no strains of alien blood, especially of Jewish blood; a society which in some respects harks back to pre-Christian Germany."[128] Pahlow thereby portrayed a racial attack on the Jews as motivated by anti-Christian, heathen impulses.

Likewise, in *Modern Europe*, the author's placed "The Attempt to Coordinate Religion" as the section following the book's presentation of the persecution of the Jew. In it, they described the efforts of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Germany to oppose the Nazi attempts to gain control of those institutions. They highlighted the ongoing nature of the fight and presented the continued contest for control of the churches as the only successful resistance to the Nazi efforts to coordinate the entire country under Nazism.

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[128] Edwin Pahlow, *Man's Great Adventure*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1942), 600.

Thus, some educators interpreted the events in Germany as the result of a lack of a key American value, Christianity. As stated in a *Washington Post* editorial by Texas educator Hubert Harrison and reprinted in *The Texas Outlook* in February of 1941, national defense called for supporting "the church as an institution that teaches the truth that makes men free and preserves moral order."[129] In 1940, he had made a similar statement at a commencement address to Baylor University students that *The Texas Outlook* also reprinted in part. In the article, entitled "As a Man Thinketh," he first argued that ideas have great power. As evidence, he suggested that "whatever we may think of the diabolical teachings of the totalitarian states of Europe, it is undeniable that they believe in their ideology with a frenzy that makes men and women throw themselves upon the alter of their false gods and die for what they believe."[130] If totalitarian regimes relied upon the false beliefs to control the masses, then in democracy Harrison urged Americans to put their faith in beliefs which could overcome ideologies "brewed in cauldrons of cruelty and hate." The twin pillars of democracy and Christianity—dedicating oneself "with all our minds and all our hearts and all our souls, in old-fashioned Christianity and democracy"—provided the remedy to "foreign 'isms'"[131] Just as Americans need only to hold to Christianity and democracy, so too the failure of Germans to hold to Christian and democratic principles led them headlong into faith in false gods.

A piece entitled "Contemporary Crucifixion" and published in *The Texas Outlook*, provides the clearest example of how some saw Christianity as the solution to national and international problems. The article, a reprint of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's address to the

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[129] Hubert Harrison, "Citizen's Pledge for National Defense," *The Texas Outlook* XV, no. 2 (February 1941), 11.
[130] Hubert Harrison, "As a Man Thinketh," *The Texas Outlook* XIV, no. 12 (December 1940), 6.
[131] "As a Man Thinketh," 6.

American Association of School Administrators, presented the contemporary dictators as Pilates who crucified Christ anew with their repudiation of his message. Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler all stood condemned and would "be engulfed in the crusade of mind and heart and will that proudly affirms the dignity of man, the freedom of democracy and the brotherhood of humanity." Lest he leave any doubt about the essential nature of Christianity to the crusade, he stated that "it is to be a crusade of the spirit, relying upon the weapons of the spirit, marching irresistibly to victory of the spirit."[132] Oxnam and others believed that democracy, and outflow of Christianity, would unite all Americans.

Oxnam, however, did not simply envision the crusade as an assault on the totalitarian regimes. He called for the fulfillment of the democratic vision. This challenge for American democracy necessitated, Oxnam believed, the view of Christ on the cross. "This is the principle of unity," he stated, "Law and liberty are reconciled in love. Men are unified by a force that is eternal. Class is a concept too small to unite men for social emancipation. Nationality is too small. Race is too small."[133] To Oxnam, Christianity provided the key ingredient for its success.

Nevertheless, there exists a great and unfortunate irony of Oxnam's article. Though he began and ended with imagery of a Jew persecuted and killed by non-Jews, he never mentioned the Nazi assault on the Jews. Though noting that the dictators promoted hatred, he failed to mention the primary target of Hitler's venom. Instead, his work presented totalitarian states in two particular ways. Oxnam portrayed the totalitarian regimes as spurning love and adhering to

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[132] G. Bromley Oxnam, "Contemporary Crucifixion," *The Texas Outlook* XXIV, no. 4 (April 1940), 11.
[133] "Contemporary Crucifixion," 13.

hatred, as dividing people into class, nation, and race. Thus, totalitarianism, in Oxnam's formulation, discarded Christianity and made itself an opposite of that faith.

American educators, particularly those in Texas, saw Christianity as a victim of totalitarian oppression and an essential aspect of American democracy. When they looked at events in Nazi Germany, they saw Christians as an oppositional force. Thus, they often emphasized the persecution of Christians—both Catholic and Protestant—by the Nazis. Further, in the defense of democracy against totalitarian subversion, they believed Christianity a cornerstone. One the Nazis themselves assaulted throughout the 1930s. If Nazism stood for hatred and division, then Christianity provided democracy with the impetus for love and tolerance.[134]

Educators' depictions of Nazism as essentially anti-religious would have significant consequences. They failed to recognize either the significant, or even overwhelming, support that the Nazis received from the Christian population in Germany or the generally Christian orientation of domestic fascist groups. Further, by emphasizing the *Kirchenkampf* alongside the assault on the Jews, the two sets of Nazi policies as originating from the same anti-religious impulses.[135] Ultimately, fascistic groups in the United States would often use their Christian credentials as proof of Americanism and, thereby, the appropriateness of their stance.[136] Their presentation of the Nazis as atheistic opponents of all religions, but primarily Christianity, elided

[134] Michaela Hoenicke Moore also noted this trend among other Americans. Notably, the American Federation of Labor argued that the assault on the Jews constituted the crucifixion of Christ's teachings. Moore argued that "the irreconcilable antagonism [of Christianity and Nazism] was a theme that prepared the ground for the slave-versus-free imagery of official propaganda later on." See more in *Know Your Enemy*, 57-60.
[135] In part this impulse lay in domestic events. In New York City, both Catholic and Jewish teachers and students faced harassment in 1939 as a battle over funding the city's schools erupted. More on this in Zoë Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 46-*56*
[136] Chapter 2 demonstrates how this formulation worked.

the significant support that the Nazis had from Christian Churches in Germany. Further, it shielded Christians from accusations of fascism—a shield that future Americans would continue to utilize.

Conclusion

Historians have often attributed the lack of discussion regarding the persecution of the Jews as evidence of an attempt by the Jewish community, quite aware of the constraints of acceptability placed on them, to decrease the likelihood of a surge in antisemitism. Nevertheless, not even Jewish educators of New York City, among whom one might expect to find some out of sync with Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Congress (AJC), published a single article in *High Points* which directly addressed the persecution of Germany's Jews as a primary topic of discussion. Only in textbooks and curricula did such representations occur. Instead, educators tended to speak of the assault on the Jews in the context of other concerns—primarily concern for American ideals.

Educators maintained the perception that the events in Germany might occur in the United States if they, as educators, failed to create students "impregnated with democratic fervor and idealism."[137] This fear of the subversion or failure of democracy led them to interpret the assault on the Jews, among other Nazi actions, as an assault on democracy. As a pamphlet distributed to schools by the Council Against Intolerance in America and reviewed in *High Points* stated, "Whenever such freedoms and rights are taken away from Catholics because they are Catholics, or from Jews because they are Jews, or from radical thinkers because they are liberals or Socialists or Communists, these same rights and freedoms *become thereby less secure*

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[137] "Secondary Education in Germany," 6.

for every American citizen living in the nation [emphasis in original]."[138] They universalized the assaults on communists, socialists, clergy, and the Jews.

Because Nazism remained a threat and because subversive activities existed seemingly everywhere, Americans saw themselves and all others as potential victims if Nazi ideals spread. As Commissioner of Education Studebaker stated, "It would be a serious error in judgment to assume that the people of the United States must defend themselves only against the military and economic pressure of totalitarian states. It is quite as important that we strengthen the defense of our democratic ideas and practices against the inroads of the doctrines which are so thoroughly lacking in both scientific and spiritual justifications."[139] They thereby found themselves in an ideological battle that required an ideological answer—education for democracy. The persecution of the Jews in Germany and the corresponding problem intolerance in the United States, framed as a lack of democracy and an effort by Nazis to divide the country, served as just one of the examples of this battle.

In defining the ideals of American citizenship against Nazism, educators developed specific categories for understanding the German regime. Each category corresponded to a perceived virtue of Americans. If the Nazis relied on propaganda to mold its children, Americans sought open discussion to develop a love of democracy. If Nazism relied on unscientific approaches to buttress its claims, Liberalism stood on scientific principles as its guide. If National Socialism rejected traditional religious principles of Christianity, American democracy stood firm in its dedication to the values inherited from its Christian past. American educators

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[138] Abraham Taubel, "Review: An American Answer to Intolerance," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of the City of New York* XXII, no. 2 (February 1940): 79.
[139] "Teaching Tolerance A Major Problem in 1939," 75.

based their lessons about Nazi Germany on comparison to the United States. Thus, almost from the formation of Hitler's regime, Americans understood it in opposition to their own country.

This representation of Nazism had three important consequences. First, Americans institutionalized and normalized understanding Nazism in the context of comparison to the United States. Rather than considering the historical developments or even Germany's domestic concerns, American educators rooted their understanding of Nazism as anti-American. Henceforth, curricula and discussions on the German regime would most often revolve around a domestic, American context—what Nazism meant for and to Americans.

Second, because educators presented Nazi Germany and the United States in stark contrast, Nazism and fascism became foreign. This simplified representation of the two systems had a two-fold effect. Any true American would not embrace Nazi ideals or engage in Nazi-like activities. Only through Nazi subversion and efforts did such foreign mindsets and conduct occur. Additionally, Americans could elide any association of their democracy, and its basis in the Western liberal tradition, with Nazism. Instead, that regimes' ills originated in its rejection of American principles, not in their common history and philosophies. The earliest comparisons of democracy and Nazism laid a foundation by which Americans, in the coming decades, would ignore striking similarities between their own system and Nazism. It ultimately provided cover for conservative and fascistic ideals already in existence in America. If principles had long existed, then, so thinking went, they could not be fascistic. Instead, changes to the system became synonymous with foreign fascism and totalitarianism.[140]

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[140] Fallace, "The Holocaust Education in the US," 190-204. Fallace noted that this aversion to radicalism led, in the 1940s through 1950s to educators avoiding controversial topics such as the Nazi atrocities.

Finally, discussions of the persecution of the Jews in the period prior to the implementation of the so-called Final Solution revolved around the various perceived categories of Nazism. American educators noted anti-Jewish propaganda when decrying the rejection of honest debate and discussion in Germany. They offered Nazi racial science as evidence of the anti-scientific nature of the regime. They responded to anti-Jewish persecution in Germany with recognition of the ideal of unity espoused by Christian America. Yet, they did not develop a comprehensive understanding of the assault on the Jews as a central factor of the Nazis. Instead, they attributed it, in the various, central categories for understanding Nazism, to political calculation by the Nazi leaders. Ultimately, this last consequence would result in Americans seeing the Nazi genocide as a powerful example of numerous, important aspects of Nazi Germany, but never as a central defining feature. They came to understand Nazism, and the atrocities committed by the regime, through their own experiences with propaganda, science, and bigotry.

The move to war resulted in educators perceiving of efforts to reshape ideals prevalent in Americans as less pressing than the need for unity versus an outside foe. Representations of Nazis as having used divisions—racial, religious, and political—to gain and maintain power changed in meaning. In the prewar period, fears of Nazi subversion had led educators to challenge and reject perceived anti-democratic, Nazi or totalitarian impulses. With the entry of the U.S. into the war, teachers felt the need to rally together into what ultimately became performed unity. They would choose to call for democratic unity under the same principles as the pre-war years, but increasingly saw challenging fascistic tendencies as divisive at a time when war demanded harmony. If American educators of the 1930s believed they could defeat Nazi

ideals at home, in the 1940s, they recognized Europe as the location where Americans would defeat Nazism.

CHAPTER III
"LET'S GET TOGETHER FOR THE REAL FIGHT": DEFINING DIVISION AS UN-DEMOCRATIC, 1942-1948

As war came to the United States in 1941, Americans rallied against the foe. Maco Stewart's defense of Lindbergh in Texas textbooks represented just one of the many calls for unity which abounded among American educators. As the United States entered and participated in World War II, Americans sought to understand the nature of Germany's swift defeat of Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries, and France. They wondered how those countries, France in particular, might have fallen so quickly to a German war machine that did not seem, on the face of things, a superior force. Subversion provided the answer. Americans, from government offices to private institutions, consistently argued that the Nazis had succeeded in undermining their enemy's efforts by dividing them internally in preparation for their conquest.

Educators looked to two examples of how the Nazis functioned. First, they considered how Hitler had gained his position in Germany. They emphasized the role of creating division among the German people in the Nazi rise to power. In doing so, they cast the German people, though perhaps susceptible to such efforts due to their weak attachment to democracy, as victims of Nazi methods. Nazism, it seems, never originated from within a society, but threatened from without. Second, they looked at the wartime successes which the Germans had accomplished. They believed that the Nazis had defeated their opponents by causing an internal collapse just as they assaulted them militarily.

In both cases they espoused ideas given scholarly voice through the works of Franz Neumann. The political scientist had posited the "spearhead thesis" which argued that antisemitism represented the first point at which Nazism inserted itself into democratic

societies.[141] Whether in agreement or in order to support a war against Germany while deflecting antisemitic accusations of manipulation toward conflict, numerous Jewish organizations embraced Neumann's formulation. Nevertheless, over the course of the war, antisemitism increased drastically.[142]

Some educators went so far as to present the thesis more generally by eliding direct mention of antisemitism and, instead, discussing the Nazi "divide and conquer" strategies. They described the Nazis as utilizing pre-existing ethnic, religious, or racial antipathies to defeat their enemies. In particular, Nazi agents or disloyal citizens aided the Germans by first determining the points of weakness in other countries and then by exploiting those vulnerabilities. They sought to create internal strife so that cooperation against Germany might dissolve at the same time that they encouraged distrust of possible allies. Americans focused upon Quisling in Norway or depictions of the Maginot Line as the efforts of a "cynical and disillusioned nation" to bolster its weak military.[143] In each German attack, Americans recognized some Nazi exploitation of a weakened spirit as the cause of their success.

In response, American educators looked to guide their students away from the kinds of thinking that they deemed exploitable by Nazi fifth-columnists. In particular, they focused upon strengthening faith in American democracy—often defined as scientific, tolerant, and

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[141] Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism,* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1942), 550.
[142] Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, (New York City: Oxford University Press, 1994), 147. Dinnerstein noted that over the course of the war (1939-1945) the number of Americans who believed that Jews held too much power almost doubled from 32 percent to 58 percent. Nearly as many in 1942 saw Jews as a menace to Americans as Germans. Joseph Bendersky, "Dissension in the Face of the Holocaust: The 1941 American Debate over Antisemitism," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 85-88.
[143] *Why We Fight*, episode 3, "Divide and Conquer," directed by Frank Capra and Anatole Litvak, 1943, https://archive.org/details/DivideAndConquer.

Christian—and emphasizing the unity of America. They presented the United States as a unified in the democratic goal of defeating the enemy and as a country in which one's actions mattered more than one's race, ethnicity, or religion.

During the war, American educators rallied around different forms of unity education to oppose Nazi "divide and conquer" methods. Numerous films and educational programs emphasized the need for brotherhood and unity among all Americans against the common foe. Nevertheless, even in their efforts at developing harmonious relations, teachers and school bureaucrats disagreed about the appropriate course of action. Some educators advocated intercultural education, which emphasized contemporary issues of discrimination and provided "scientific" views on race, as a way of overcoming bigoted attitudes. These teachers believed that they would create unity by fighting bigotry and addressing its underlying causes. Others saw the emphasis of positive traits and "the Brotherhood of Man" as key to unifying Americans. They believed that emphasizing unity would eliminate discrimination. In all of these, the educators presented the Nazi assault on the Jews as part of a broader onslaught against all peoples.

After the war ended, conservative Americans leveraged the prewar and wartime representations of the Nazi genocide of the Jews to silence proponents of anti-racism and liberalism. This occurred as the urgency of anti-racism efforts declined and the distrust of the USSR increased. As noted in the previous chapter, American educators saw the Nazi persecution and murder of Europe's Jews as part of a political attack on democracy. Thus, to them, the assault on the Jews represented one of many Nazi methods for gaining and maintaining power—

that of using racial division to dominate societies.[144] Simultaneously, Americans associated the methodology of Nazism and communism together through the category of totalitarianism.[145] Thus, when the war ended, Americans who had espoused unity to combat fascist subversion found themselves accused of racial divisiveness, albeit on behalf of the Soviet Union. Anti-communist educators now decried as divisive some of the very methods used to fight the perceived threats of fascist "divide and conquer" methods.

By 1950, liberal and conservative American educational administrators had swept aside, under the clarion call of anti-communism, many of the efforts at using education to inform teachers and students about complex issues of race relations. In its place, they constructed a society in which conforming to a set of racial, religious, and ideological norms equated to unity. They took a seemingly small step from telling Americans that unity meant not being racist to telling Americans that unity seeing racism. They defended their regulation of the boundaries within which unity might occur by pointing to the atrocities of the Nazis as the likely outcome of Communist domination. Ultimately, this bolstered the "colorblind" mindset that ignored racial discrimination in the name of avoiding racial antagonism.

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[144] Franz Neumann espoused this view in his "Spearhead Thesis," which, though fairly swiftly rejected academically, found purchase among the general public. For a discussion of how Neumann's ideas disseminated to the public see: Joseph Bendersky, "Dissensions in the Face of the Holocaust: The 1941 American Debate over Antisemitism," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 85-88.

[145] Les Adler and Thomas Paterson, "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930's-1950's," in *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (April 1970), 1046-1064; Benjamin Alpers, *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s-1950s,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 129-156. The former notes the ways that Americans placed ideas about Nazism atop the Cold War, communist enemy. The latter describes how the idea of totalitarianism in the prewar period prepared for this postwar re-envisioning of communism. For a reevaluation of the timeline of Adler and Paterson, see, Thomas Maddux, "Red Fascism, Brown Bolshevism: The American Image of Totalitarianism in the 1930s," *The Historian* 40, no. 1 (November 1977), 85-103.

“Every American Young or Old is Proud of His Country”

Between 1941 and 1945, the U.S. government and various other organizations sought to strengthen the preparation for war and the war effort by promoting unity among their countrymen. To this end, they produced films, documentaries, posters, comic books, and educational materials which called on Americans to rally around mutual dedication to the war effort. These documents and productions called attention to the nature of the Nazi threat and highlighted the dangers of divisions. They argued that Nazi aims included world domination and that Nazis threatened democracy everywhere with conquest. They further claimed that Nazi successes in dominating both Germany and its neighbors had hinged on a strategy of “divide and conquer” by which they instigated racial, religious, or class conflicts. Educators embraced the solution taught in these texts—unity.

Even before the United States joined the war, teachers held deeply felt fears of Nazi subversion. For those like Theodore Fred Kuper, law secretary of the NYC Board of Education, the reality of a fifth-column seemed clear. In a *High Points* review of *Ambassador Dodd’s Diary* he wrote that world leaders and some in America had sought appeasement and that such “’leaders,’ even of our own country, were enthusiastically pro-Nazi, pro-fascist, and even frankly anti-Semitic.”[146] Kuper clearly pointed to America Firsters and, even prior to Lindbergh’s Des Moines statements, emphasized the fascistic, antisemitic aspects of the movement. In comments to the Social studies teachers at the High School of Music and Arts in New York City, History Professor Oscar Janowsky of the College of the City of New York agreed. At one department

[146] Theodore Fred Kuper, “Review: Ambassador Dodd’s Diary,” *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXIII, no 4 (April, 1941): 75.

meeting, he listed as one of four groups involved in isolationism "pro-fascist, pro-Nazi groups" whose "ideas [were] already penetrating here."[147] Even in a milieu that did not fully embrace war as the solution—Janowsky did not—they saw subversives amidst legitimate movements.

Students agreed and placed fascist subversion and fifth-column efforts as one of the greatest dangers to the United States. In a 1940 report on essay responses given by 2475 history students in 13 different New York City schools, respondents overwhelmingly described "Fascist agents" and "saboteurs and fifth columnists" as the primary "dangers to American democracy."[148] Notably, 256 students pointed to "native fascists" while 1105 pointed to the fifth columnists. With roughly 40% of the students stating the danger of such subversion, the impulse of educators to emphasize democracy and unity seems to have aligned with the perceptions of students.

In response to the perceived threat, educators shared materials with one another and with students that emphasized the need for unity. Some suggested books such as *Secret Armies*, which focused on "organized Nazi infiltration into the life and government of some of the European countries and the dangers we have to face from fifth column work right here," and *Armies of Spies*, which described "how spies invade countries, spread disintegrating propaganda, tamper

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[147] Sidney Barnett, "Joint Department Meetings: An Experiment in Cooperation," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXIII, no 5 (May, 1941): 23.
[148] Notably, 468 students saw "Fascist agents" as a danger while 641 feared "Communist activities." Yet, due to oddities in the tabulation, "native communists" was included within the Communist activities category, while "native fascists" was not included under the fascist heading. Since the students might describe multiple different dangers, it is difficult to get an exact count. Nevertheless, based on the numbers describing dangers of Nazi and communist propaganda (323/235), foreign agents (391/127), and native adherents (256/128) it seems clear that Nazism served as the primary threat. Though the grouping of "saboteurs and fifth columnists" was unspecified, within the context of films and teacher statements, this category seems to assume Nazis. Herbert Gross and Abraham Margolies, "Pupil Attitudes on the World Crisis," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXIV, no 10 (December, 1941): 20-25.

with machinery, etc."[149] Yet the content of these books, which may or may not have actually trickled down into classroom materials represent only a small effort at shaping students beliefs and actions toward unity.

The Institute for American Democracy (IAD) a pro-democracy organization underwritten by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) initiated the Appreciate America project in order to emphasize the need to put aside prejudices and work together. Among their many efforts, in 1944 they produced numerous posters for use in schools and other locations. Designed by such cartoonists as Vaughan Shoemaker, these visual aids maintained the singular theme of unity. Nevertheless, under that umbrella, two important features developed. First, they emphasized that

Figure 1: Vaughn Shoemaker, "How Democracy Works!" Institute for American Democracy, 1944.

Figure 2: Vaughn Shoemaker, "This is America!" Institute for American Democracy, 1944.

[149] Hilda Shufro and Alex Dorin, "The Defense of Democracy: A Bibliography," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXIV, no 5 (May, 1942): 52-54.

"Americanism" meant looking past racial, ethnic, and religious differences to determine a person's worth. Instead, these cartoons suggested that value as an American derived from one's ability and labor toward a united goal—in this case, the war effort. Second, the images suggested that the threat of Nazism demanded laying aside differences for the common good.

This first idea running through the cartoons defined Americanism positively as the support for the cause of democracy against Nazism. Often, cartoonists connected support for democracy directly to the waging of war, as in "How Democracy Works!" the second in Shoemaker's series. In it, various war industry workers, three with names related to a particular ethnicity and the other a generic "American" name, work to prepare a tank for war. Thus, democracy works, as the title suggests, when all ethnicities join together.[150] Another, the first in the series, did not address the war, but called for Americans to look past nationality. In "This is America!" one boy exclaims to his fellow ball players, "What's the difference what nationality he is—he can pitch!"[151] This cartoon presented the value one added to the team as more important than ethnic and racial considerations. In these images, and numerous others produced by the IAD, "Americanism" meant moving beyond racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices for the sake of the group. Because they did not speak of the redressing of discrimination, the posters also encouraged conformity to a particular goal. Following the war, some groups would succeed in altering the national objective while maintaining the demand for compliance.

However, if the cartoons encouraged coming together for a purpose, they also demanded the laying aside of quarrels—real or imagined. In another of the Shoemaker cartoons, "Let's Get

[150] Vaughan Shoemaker, "How Democracy Works!" cartoon, (New York: Institute for American Democracy, 1944), ADL (Anti-Defamation League) Archives, Appreciate America Collection, Box 1, Folder 1.
[151] Vaughan Shoemaker, "This is America!" cartoon, (New York: Institute for American Democracy, 1944), ADL (Anti-Defamation League) Archives, Appreciate America Collection, Box 1, Folder 1.

Together for the Real Fight," a number of small figures boxed one another in a violent brawl. Puffs of dust titled "religious differences," "racial squabbles," and "strikes" emerged from the fight. A massive figure, entitled "tough national problems," loomed over them and stood ready to enter the ring. The cartoonist, thereby called for putting aside these disagreements in order to combat the larger danger. Tellingly, unity demanded dismissing or delaying the address of real problems for the purpose of achieving national goals.[152]

Though promoting unity, the posters stressed conformity in order to accomplish a particular goal. In the first cartoons, Americans gained acceptance and value through their effort and ability. In the latter, the importance of "tough national problems," presumably the threat of Nazism and the looming war, demanded silence regarding important issues. Though perhaps successful in decreasing open bigotry against certain groups and in bringing them into the mainstream of society, they did so at a cost. They utilized the "need" to unity—often meaning conformity—in the face of the continued threat, perceived or real, of totalitarian subversion as a way of silencing minorities and political opponents. Ultimately, then, unity efforts provided a weapon which, if originally meant to fight bigotry, conservative groups used to maintain and strengthen discriminatory policies and norms.

In addition to the IAD posters plastered across schools, businesses, and bus stops, numerous film reels and feature films stressed unity and democracy to American students. In 1943, for example, young Americans could view "Divide and Conquer" part of Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series. This set of propaganda films, originally developed for the army at the

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[152] Vaughan Shoemaker, "Let's Get Together for the Real Fight!" cartoon, (New York: Institute for American Democracy, 1944), ADL (Anti-Defamation League) Archives, Appreciate America Collection, Box 1, Folder 1.

behest of General George Marshall, soon saw use in schools and elsewhere.[153] As early as October, 1943, the editors of *High Points* encouraged New York City teachers use the film so that their students could "Know your Enemy."[154] By 1945, numerous educators suggested *Divide and Conquer* to demonstrate "the familiar Hitler propaganda technique as applied in conquering the nations of Europe and as used in the United States" and for "fighting intolerance." The presented the assault on the Jews and other Nazi repression in religious terms by claiming that students would "learn the subversive nature of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, or anti-Protestantism."[155] The authors of these articles contextualized the film dually, from its first appearance in *High Points* as part of "Films for War Curricula" in 1943 to "Films for Better Human Relations" in 1945. This change reflected how the two, war and the need for combatting prejudice via unity, intermingled in the wartime propaganda.

Divide and Conquer itself similarly associated the two by implying that social antagonisms enabled and, to a large degree, originated in Nazi fifth-columnist activities that they used to defeat their democratic enemies. Thus, the Nazis posed a threat to democracy both internally and externally. From the very start, Capra posed the Nazis not just as a danger to Europe, but to the world. In an introductory text at the beginning of the film described the assault on Poland as the first move in "the Nazi bid to smash the world into slavery." Yet the defeated democracies of Norway, the Netherlands, and France all aided in their own collapse by falling

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[153] According to Communications professor Kathleen German, as many as nine million people saw the films. Kathleen German, "Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* Series and the American Audience," in *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54, No. 2 (Spring 1990), 237.
[154] Seymour Bernhard, "Films for War Curricula," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXV, no 8 (October, 1943): 36.
[155] Esther Berg, "Films to Better Human Relations," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVII, no 5 (May, 1945): 17-22. Edgar Dale, "The Price of Prejudice" *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVII, no 5 (May, 1942): 13-17.

prey to divisive efforts of Nazi subversives. Capra described the defeat of France by the German forces as one aided by "political termites" who had "so gnawed away the binding of national unity that the castle [of a strong France] was ready to crumble." He described these pests as "sabotage," "fifth column," "strikes," and "riots."[156] The military power of the United States, the film suggested, could not save the country if its people did not rally around national unity. More specifically, a national unity that subsumed everything under the necessity of winning the war. So much so that racism, poverty, and other problems that might lead to strife mattered far less than restraining the disunity that might come from recognizing such issues.

In New York City schools, those who wished to combat discrimination and foster unity among students offered very positive reviews of *Americans All* [A March of Time]. In 1945, Esther Berg presented information in *High Points* on viewer reaction to seventeen films for "better human relations." At the behest of Associate Superintendent Jacob Greenberg and the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, over 100 individuals interested in inter-cultural education—a newly popular term for anti-discrimination efforts in schools—met to view and rate the films. Of *Americans All*, the reviewers declared it "excellent for all age groups and adults" and that it "should be seen by all teachers and pupils."[157] The filmmakers sought to encapsulate numerous ideas about combatting hatred in the 15-minute film.

The film presented American democracy as a bastion against discrimination, not as a system fraught with it. In fact, the first statement in the film made this clear. The narrator said, "every American young or old is proud of his country. For America stands for democracy, for

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[156] "Divide and Conquer," Frank Capra and Anatole Litvak, 1943.
[157] Berg, "Films to Better Human Relations," 21-22.

independence, and for the idea that all men are created equal."[158] This introduction cast a shadow over the film's anti-bigotry efforts as it created boundaries for acceptable behavior in the fight against discrimination—namely, support for and pride in the country. The filmmakers assumed pride in democracy as it, they suggested, naturally overcame intolerance through the process of discussion and compromise.[159] They declared that students should "understand the worth of America over governments based on prejudice."[160] Even while presenting domestic examples of racism—it spoke specifically to antisemitism and Jim Crow segregation—the film pointed to democracy as the solution by casting it against the foil of Nazism.

Such context had a twofold result. First, in some cases, it meant that unity efforts merely submerged bigotry as Americans sought to prove their patriotism by not expressing, but still holding, their prejudices.[161] Second, disunity, rather than the bigotry which caused it, served as the primary danger. In fact, the idea that Americans would solve problems of intolerance without the necessity of divisive conversations that laid blame internally permeated the film. It presented anti-bigotry as a force which all those for democracy would embrace and, therefore, one which never required a questioning of other Americans. For example, the film's encouragement that Protestants, Catholics, and Jews remain united after the war ignored the genuine complaints that

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[158] *The March of Time*, volume 10, episode 12, "Americans All," 1944, https://search.alexanderstreet.com/preview/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cvideo_work%7C1792858. Accessed December 11, 2020.

[159] Thomas Fallace, "Holocaust Education in the U.S.: A Pre-history, 1939-1960," in *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings,* ed. A. Pearce, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 190-204. In this work, Fallace argued that aversion to radicalism and embrace of consensus and compromise led Americans to ignore difficult conversations such as those surrounding racism and bigotry. This worked to silence discussions about the murder of the Jews as such conversations often led to dialogue about the domestic problem of anti-Black racism.

[160] "Americans All," 1944.

[161] Zoe Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

some groups, Jews for example, might make against Catholic organizations, such as the Father Coughlin supported Christian Front. Though a film which clearly attempted to combat bigotry, it still presented American unity as the goal and performed unity as the method. This left open for discussion what might happen when efforts at decreasing bigotry led to divisiveness.

Thus, intercultural education, an increasingly common term denoting anti-discrimination education, of the early-1940s often relied on the wartime context to find purchase in schools—even as the war came to a close and ended. *Greater Victory*, a 1944 film produced by the National Coalition of Christians and Jews, signifies just how reliant anti-bigotry educational efforts became on the threat of Nazism set on dividing its enemies. Its focus on the late-war circumstances and attempt to provide impetus for intercultural education programs in the post-war makes it useful in seeing how educators tied Nazism and bigotry together even in the context of an almost defeated Germany.

The filmmakers presented the threat of Nazi bigotry by telling the fictional story of two escaped, German POWs who sought haven with one's family member in a small U.S. town. While there, one described to the American relation why, in 1944, they still believed in the ultimate victory of Germany. His words played on the same ideas as the prior unity and intercultural relations films. He stated, "It's so easy. First, we [the Germans] make them hate the Jews. Then we make them hate the Catholics. Then we make them hate the Protestants. And when they're all so busy fighting each other, we'll take over…It worked in Belgium, Austria, France, and it will work here." He argued that "we Germans have spent years planting our ideas here. Race hatred, religious antagonism, class hatred." The film clearly placed the origins of racial strife in American in Nazi subversion. Further, and in line with almost every other unity

program, it presented the Nazi assault on the Jews as simply a political tool for causing division and one aspect of a broader assault on all religions or on democracy.

Just as in so many other wartime efforts, the filmmakers focused on American unity, through working to overcome the Nazis, as the solution. In *Greater Victory,* the German soldiers found their plans foiled when Americans of various religions and races rallied together to force them out of the church to which they had absconded with a young boy as hostage. Throughout the film, Americans proved their worth by rejecting the divisive seeds sown by the Nazis. The denouement came when a Jewish Rabbi offered the use of his synagogue and a Catholic Priest offered his support to the Protestant parson whose church the two Germans had burned. Though the parson's final statement hinted at "hatreds" in other American communities, the film did not depict how to address those who took part in bigotry. Instead, the parson stated that "I hope the day has come when we will stress all that we have in common and work together as American citizens."[162] Such films and efforts presented a "positive" approach to unity education that ignored very real concerns about bigotry espoused by some groups in order to focus solely on performative unity.

Tomorrow the World, a popular 1944 feature film which expounded addressed similar topics as the shorter film reels and posters, asked the question of how to address Nazi racism after the war through the fictional story of a young, Nazified boy who came to live with an American family. Emil Bruckner, the boy, signified every American representation of nazified Germans—regimented, stridently bigoted, and victimized through propaganda and terror.

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[162] *Greater Victory*, directed by Nicholas Farkas, (1944; National Conference of Christians and Jews), https://archive.org/details/greater_victory.

Ultimately, as with the other films, the filmmakers of *Tomorrow the World* framed the Nazi hatred toward Jews as simply one aspect of Nazi bigotry—a bigotry which they used to divide and conquer their enemies.

Tomorrow the World, unlike the other films discussed here, represents a prominent, feature-length film used to support unity and intercultural education. Based on an earlier Broadway play, the 1944 film saw educators and groups use it to engage students "in the problems posed by racial and religious antipathies."[163] In the spring of 1944, the ADL had sponsored students in New York to see the theatrical version and participate in an essay contest in order to promote "good-will as a vital element in American democracy."[164] By spring, 1945 the organization had developed "previews for clergymen and educators, special screenings for high school boys and girls, letter and essay contests, radio round table broadcasts, and other promotional media" which resulted in "keen public interest...in New York City, Boston, Cincinnati, and Los Angeles."[165] All-American Comics, presented the ideas of *Tomorrow the World* in the form of a 16-page comic book. It advertised an essay contest with a one-thousand-dollar prize judged by the likes of William Shirer and Dorothy Canfield Fisher.[166]

The film presented Nazism, Nazi antisemitism, and American democracy in much the same way as the shorter films and posters discussed. Nazis, it suggested, used racial, ethnic, and religious divisions to undermine Americans in order to obtain victory. The story followed a young German boy, Emil Bruckner, whose father the Nazis had killed and who had come to live

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[163] "High School Students' Letters Reveal Genuinely American Spirit," *Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Bulletin* I*,* no. 4 (March 1944), 5-6.
[164] "ADL to Promote Film Version," *Anti-Defamation League of B'nNai B'rith Bulletin* I, no. 12 (January, 1945), 1.
[165] "A.D.L. Notes," *Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Bulletin* II*,* no. 3 (March, 1945), 3.
[166] James Gow and Armand d'Usseau, *Tomorrow the World*, (New York: All-American Comics, 1945).

with his American uncle, Mike Frame. Upon arriving, Emil went about trying access the secret files of his uncle, a university professor working on a secret project. In route to accomplishing this goal, Emil determined to destroy the relationship between Mike and his Jewish fiancée, Leona Richards. He almost succeeded. By continually antagonizing her, including through writing an antisemitic slur on the school sidewalk, he led Leona to break of her engagement. Mike, who believed Emil's false remorse for all his wayward actions, did not want to lose Leona, but not want to reject his nephew. The protagonists seemed divided.

Nevertheless, upon reconsideration, Leona returned and delivered a key line which spoke to the message of the film. She stated that "As far as he's [Emil] concerned, we're still the enemy. He's got to turn us against each other. Split us up. Divide and conquer."[167] At that point, the protagonists began to work together. Soon, Emil attacked his cousin Pat for confronting him about an attempt to steal Mike's secret papers. Stan Dumbrowski, a young Polish-American boy whom Emil had falsely accused in an earlier scrape, saved the day by tracking Emil down and capturing him. Yet, due in part to Leona's forgiveness, Mike's conversation with Emil led to the boys break with Nazism in which he recounted the torture and propaganda which the Nazis had used to instill hatred of his own father, whom they had killed in a concentration camp.

The film depicted disunity as the chief goal and primary threat of Nazi subversives. Emil's successes came when he drove Aunt Jessie from Mike's side or Mike from Leona. Further, he failed when the Americans came together and put aside their differences. Unity proved the solution. Unintentionally, however, the film even expressed the price of this unity.

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[167] *Tomorrow the World*, directed by Leslie Fenton (Hollywood: United Artists, 1944), https://archive.org/details/tomorrowtheworld.

Leona, when she recounted to Mike that Emil's actions had gone beyond bearing, lost her fiancée. Only upon "forgiving" Emil and laying aside her own complaints could unity occur. Thus, a subtle secondary message—victims ought to remain silent for the sake of unity.

"The Movement is Often Divisive Rather than Unifying"

This tension within the Democracy education movement ultimately resulted in the end of many anti-racism programs. In New York City, proponents of intercultural education had sought to teach educators and students to accept all Americans equally by using anthropology and other fields of study to demonstrate the anti-scientific nature of racism. Notably, these educators openly challenged what they saw as racism by organizations and individuals. In addition to this, they typically looked to the alleviation of economic distress as necessary for accomplishing a decrease in bigotry. Another set of teachers espoused a "Brotherhood of Man" approach to combatting discrimination. These teachers believed that Americans could accomplish unity by putting aside differences and celebrating their religions and positive cultural traits together. [168] Stressing differences and past grievances would, in their minds, only lead to greater antagonism and future conflict.

When the war ended, the sensitive alliance of these two groups broke apart and both vied to have the New York City Board of Education embrace their own approach to unity education. Members of the Catholic Teachers Association, a conservative organization, sought to end the intercultural education program sponsored by various liberal teacher's unions. They rooted their attacks in their understanding of Nazi "divide and conquer" methods. They believed that

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[168] For more on the men and women—primarily academics—who developed these programs, see: Zoe Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, 96-136.

proponents of the intercultural education movement sought subvert the country through similar methods to those previously attributed to the Nazis, albeit this time to bring about communist dominance. Thus, these educators transferred their understanding of Nazi racial policy and subversion—including the images taken during the camp liberations—to communists and others who they associated with communism.

Though conservative and progressive educators had had numerous spates throughout the 1930s and early 1940s, the end of World War II brought about the final act in these debates over intercultural education.[169] One of the earlier conflicts, which played out in the reports of the Rapp-Coudert committee between 1940 and 1942, saw the communist the Teacher's Union attacked and communist teachers publicly decried not only by conservatives, but by liberals as well.[170] By 1942, the committee had released its final report and, as Americans sought to project an image of unity domestically and with their Soviet ally, the public assault on communists abated. By 1949, under the administration of Superintendent William Jansen, communist teachers again came under investigation and many of them lost their jobs. However, prior to the 1949 inquiries, Jansen took part in one of the first post-war attacks—which presaged the later investigations and purges.

The rumblings of the coming conflict began on the pages of the *High Points* Teachers' Journal in the form of a series of articles on the anti-racism efforts in NYC schools. In a

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[169] For earlier conflicts see: Zoe Burkholder, "'A War of Ideas': The Rise of Conservative Teachers in Wartime New York City, 1938-1946," *History of Education Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (2015): 218-43; Andrew Feffer, *Bad Faith*, (Fordham University Press: New York, 2019); and Clarence Taylor, *Reds at the Blackboard*, (Columbia University Press: New York, 2011).

[170] See Andrew Feffer's *Bad Faith*.

February 1944 article, biology teacher and member of the communist Teacher's Union Herbert Chaimas wrote an article for the journal and which national newspapers reprinted, in which he called upon educators to fight against racial discrimination, particularly antisemitism. In it, he presented antisemitism as a fascist tool used to "divide and conquer." He concluded that American educators needed to adopt educational methods and social systems which both fostered racial tolerance and improved American democracy. His article, "Race Conflict Challenges the Schools" and the response it elicited, signify the ways that American educators understood the murder of Europe's Jews in 1944.

Before detailing the scientific evidence against discrimination based in perceived racial qualities, Chaimas set forth the stakes at risk in the fight against such prejudice. By describing racial conflict as "a Trojan horse," Chaimas presented much American bigotry as having originated in anti-democratic ideology, whether German Nazism or home-grown fascism.[171] Other educators agreed. In an article of *High Points* from September of 1944, Julius Lemansky of New York City's Boys High School advocated for the removal of "the fallacies of Nazi racial theories."[172] He, thus, positioned these mistaken racial theories as Nazi in origin. In *They Got the Blame,* a 1942 pamphlet dispersed in at least some New York City schools, Kenneth Gould presented the Nazi expansion of anti-Semitic policy to its occupied territories as a Nazi attempt at "relying on the old scapegoat trick to provide an outlet for the pent-up grievances of the conquered peoples."[173] Chaimas' perspective on the source of contemporary antisemitism and

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[171] Herbert M. Chaimas, "Race Conflict Challenges the Schools," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVI, no. 2 (February 1944): 5.
[172] Julius Lemansky, "Social Studies in the Post-War World," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVI, no. 7 (September 1944): 71.
[173] Kenneth Gould, *They Got the Blame: The Story of Scapegoats in History*, (New York, NY: Association Press, 1946), 41.

the solutions he advocated in dealing with discrimination reveal a host of assumptions in certain American interpretations of the murder of Europe's Jews.

For defeating racial prejudice, Chaimas advocated two methods. First, he argued that the "fever" of racism necessitated reduction through educational programing for positive cooperation among various groups of Americans. Second, he argued that defeating racism required real democracy. By this Chaimas, meant economic, political, and social justice for all. This, in turn, necessitated social engineering—a byword for state initiated economic and social programs— so that "armies of unemployed" do not provide "fertile ground for racism and fascism here, as in Germany in the twenties and thirties."[174] He had previously expounded upon this latter point.

To Chaimas, the problem of antisemitism in Germany lay in the Nazis ability to stoke and utilize it for their economic and political gain. In discussing German anti-Jewish policies, he portrayed them as calculated to ease the Nazi maintenance of power and to enrich the ruling elites. He laid out the process by which this occurred. First, they alienated a minority "by establishing in its [Germany's] people fear of an unfamiliar minority (the Jewish people)." This, in turn, allowed the Nazi Party to "deflect from itself the angry blame of its people." Not only this, but by isolating the Jews, the Nazis paralyzed "united action against its oppression of its own people" and benefited "financially as well" through the appropriation of Jewish individuals and businesses.[175] He thereby explicitly articulated an understanding of Nazi antisemitism only implied in the wartime unity films. Antisemitism specifically and discrimination in general provided the Nazis with a tool for maintaining power and gaining wealth.

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[174] Chaimas, "Race Conflict Challenges the Schools," 13-14.
[175] Chaimas, "Race Conflict Challenges the Schools," 12.

Of course, Chaimas recognized that such discrimination resided in America as well as in the Germany; yet he saw similar origins. Although some of his fellow educators viewed instigators of domestic discrimination as Nazi sympathizers, Chaimas looked to "vested and sectional interests" that "prevent our many races and peoples from…acting together." He noted that these interests sought to utilize "the very insecurities of our peoples by promoting racial, class, and religious conflicts." To defeat them, Americans ought to "examine the horrible purpose their authors try to hide." Yet, though he did not claim that groups using racism to divide Americans worked directly with Nazis, he did argue that educators needed to implement fact-based plans in order to defeat "racism and its master, fascism."[176] Thus, though perhaps not in league with German Nazis, he still situated American racism, including the antisemitism which had begun "to swell and envelop America," as originating in and outpouring from fascism.

In a review of the *ABC's of Scapegoating*, a pamphlet produced by the Department of Psychology at Harvard University, Chaimas continued to point to economic interests acting to promote discrimination. He argued that "native reaction as well as Hitler stir up the population to take it out on Jews, Negroes and others to avoid the wrath against themselves of the socially and economically frustrated."[177] Chaimas' view of fascism as rooted in economic inequality brought him to understand both domestic and foreign discrimination as derived from that political ideology.

Other educators also saw fascism as the source of domestic prejudices. Only a year before Chaimas wrote, Tima Ludins of Evander Childs High School wrote an article on her

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[176] Chaimas, "Race Conflict Challenges the Schools," 13.
[177] Herbert Chaimas, "Review: *ABCs of Scapegoating*," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVI, no. 5 (May 1944): 77-79.

creation of a "Living-Newspaper Play" used to teach democracy. In the article, she declared that the portion of the play on immigration sought to "counteract the Nazi race propaganda which was seeping into our schools."[178] In the January 1942 edition of *High Points*, Morris Schreiber of Public School 145 in Brooklyn compared the American literary situation of 1841 with that of 1941. Noting "The Threat to Democratic Liberties," Schreiber pointed to the need for national unity in both years and that in 1941 this meant the removal of "Nazi-inspired repression and intolerance from within."[179] That the educators made these comments casually, without assuming any need to provide evidence of Nazi origins of prejudice in the schools, suggests that such a belief did not deviate from the norm.

Nevertheless, Daniel Cahill of Brooklyn Technical High School disagreed with Chaimas in a variety of other ways. First, he perceived of intercultural education of the kind promoted by Chaimas as unlikely to stir the mass of teachers and more likely to anger them. He portrayed Chaimas as a missionary who sought to win over teachers to his faith. Though Cahill left this faith unstated, the member of the Catholic Teacher's Association (CTA) hinted at Chaimas' communist, and most importantly to Cahill, atheistic leanings when he spoke of "impractical teachers who in their hearts see as the ultimate answer to the problem, the abolition of religious and national feelings…[they] cannot possibly do aught but antagonize."[180] He further obliquely accused Chaimas when he stated that teachers ought not "undemocratically and impatiently foist

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[178] Tina Ludins, "Teaching Demoracy Through the Living-Newspaper Play," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXV, no. 3 (March 1943): 73.
[179] Morris Schreiber, "Our Literary Fledgelings: 100 Years Ago and Today," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXIV, no. 1 (January 1942): 56.
[180] Daniel Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVI, no. 8 (October 1944): 7.

our own philosophies and interpretations of facts upon our differing colleagues."[181] Cahill seemed to bristle at Chaimas' recitation of "facts" with which he might disagree.

Though positively speaking of Chaimas' call for social readjustment, Cahill consistently suggested that the biology teacher's litany of facts would accomplish little other than to estrange those who already knew them but remained unpersuaded by them. Indeed, he argued that "the facts in Mr. Chaimas' article are by this time pretty well known to our teachers, that the intercultural movement comes from the top and not from the great mass of teachers, that there are dozens of unrelated committees, that the movement is often divisive rather than unifying."[182] Cahill, thus, believed that the solution to discrimination lay elsewhere than providing a series of facts about the error of racial science and prejudice.[183] In fact, in Cahill's mind, continual accusations of prejudice likely harmed efforts at unity more than they helped.

For Cahill, bigotry necessitated the promotion of an "Americanism" in line with what he assumed the great mass of teachers already believed. "The success," he argued, "of this intercultural movement lies in the men and women who teach, not in any methods or arrays of facts; and men and women who teach are moved by emotions and reason alike." In telling of previous attempts at intercultural communications similar to that called for by Chaimas, Cahill recalled "counter-propaganda vainly intellectualized" and "thunderbolts of humanitarian indignation." Both of these, he declared, altered little, but only when "into many hearts in many homes there crept the beauty and the truth of the more psychologically practical inter-faith utterances," did teachers act against intolerance. In this, he tarnished the views of Chaimas as

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[181] Herbert M. Chaimas and Samuel Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVI, no. 8 (October 1944): 8.
[182] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 8.
[183] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 5-11.

elitist and secular in comparison to the broadly-based, religiously oriented approach he advocated. He contrasted Chaimas' method to "a joint statement of the three principal faiths" and Superintendent John Wade's message on the "Brotherhood of Man." In his view, "the basis of the best American morality…has been religion."[184] For the remainder of the piece, he continued to speak of "the godliness of American ideals," and "the unique glory under God of each individual." God forgotten and "there will be sound and fury," but the deity remembered resulted in "a world more nearly to the heart's desire."[185] His mention of God did more than refer to his own faith, it also served as an accusation pointed at the supposed atheism of advocates of intercultural education.

Mary Riley, a fellow member of the CTA and secretary in the Personnel Division of the Board of Education, presented a similar viewpoint in her March 1945 *High Points* article on music and combatting racism. After attending a school chorus and orchestra program, Riley felt struck by the unity among the students. She spoke of black students and white students standing and singing together in harmony. She emphasized that neither Jews nor Christians objected "to singing the articles of faith of either of the great religions." She ignored that the song she labeled an "article of faith" to Jews was, in fact *Eili Eili, Lamma Sabachtani*, based on a Hebrew quote of Christ on the Cross. She accepted Jews as long as they acquiesced to Christian dominance. Nevertheless, she believed that though from numerous religious and racial backgrounds, the children denied "the theory of racism" by proving that "they all belong to *one* race, the human

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[184] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 9.
[185] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 11.

race."[186] Riley suggested that by working together in unity, New York City students could give lie to the true issue—petty accusations of racism by one group against others.

In Riley's mind, the problem of racism lay not in the prejudices enacted against some groups, but in the broadcasting of acts that might stir up antagonisms. Instead, she saw discussion of discrimination itself as the problem itself. She stated that "racism with its…malicious acts has unfortunately gained a rather prominent place in local news." In this, she did not bemoan the acts of racism themselves, but their public broadcast. She lamented further that "the unscrupulous policy of a part of the press in magnifying race episodes is producing hate-mongers." She called these "unscrupulous" polices "malevolent manifestations of the totalitarian philosophy of life." Since she viewed the public airing of "race episodes" as the true problem, she saw demonstrations of unity under "America's faith in God" as the key to the perpetuation of "the ideals of Americanism."[187] Thus, Riley represents another who viewed intercultural education as presented by Chaimas as likely to do more harm than good and, what is more, a manifestation of totalitarianism.

Just as did Riley, Cahill pointed to unity through religious devotion as key to combatting racism. He disagreed with Chaimas' representation of discrimination as a tool of fascism rooted in economic insecurity and instead argued that such bigotry lay in a failure to maintain God-rooted morality. Speaking of un-American ways of life, he mentioned "godless Hitler" and that when "men hope for justice without God or base justice on men who ape God, there can be no

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[186] Mary Riley, "American Harmony," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVI, no. 3 (March 1944): 17-18.

[187] Riley, "American Harmony," 15, 18-19. One cannot help but shutter at Riley's tone. Nor can one comprehend how Riley could be so obtuse as to think that a song *Eili, Eili, lamma Sabacthani*, a quote of Christ on the cross, might represent the singing of an article of faith of Jews or even be considered "the prayer of the ancient Hebrews." These ultimately represent that Riley saw unity only when minorities acquiesced to the dominance of the majority.

ethics, only mores, and in Germany and elsewhere we have had enough of mores alone."[188] Cahill saw the disaster of Germany as a failure to adhere to religious virtue and, thus, believed that the method by which to avoid similar failures resided in religious faith lived out. Religion lay as the central point of democracy and Americanism. Yet, his appeal to the religion of America did change from those made by those before him. Rather than speak only of the Catholicism, to which he himself clung, and Protestantism, he argued that "our responsibilities in the post-war world are religious in the best sense of religion, whether it be Christianity, Judaism, or another."[189] Hence, he echoed the increasingly accepted Judeo-Christianity as the bedrock of American democracy.[190]

In the same month as Cahill, *High Points* published another article by Chaimas which, though not directly responding to the former, certainly laid out their differences. Chaimas coordinated with Samuel Wallach of Franklin K. Lane High School to state that "More than Good Will is Needed" in order to end the problem of bigotry. The two presented a perspective on American racial and religious discrimination that rooted it in economics, tied it to domestic fascism, applied lessons from Nazism to describe the danger of such bigotry to all, and presented Rooseveltian policies as the solution.

Remaining true to his earlier article Chaimas, and his co-author Wallach, argued that discrimination masked a deeper problem of economic insecurity in the country. They suggested that the intercultural education programs, which Chaimas and others had called for and which the

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[188] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 9.
[189] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 5.
[190] In addition to educators increasingly associating the Nazi assault on Jews and Christians as a singular assault on religion, books of the 1940s increasingly used the term "Judeo-Christian." The term saw use during that decade before significant decrease during McCarthyism and then a revival between the 1960s and 1990s. 1943 saw roughly 1/5 the uses of the term compared to its peak use in 1993.

school system had implemented, required supplementation with "planning for the security of the common man, ie, achieving freedom from want and freedom from fear." Success against bigotry required more than right emotions, as called for by Cahill. Instead, "tolerance and good-will programs deal largely with symptoms rather than with basics causes."[191] Thus, they called for educators and others to "remove the elements of economic insecurity which make possible for reaction to carry on its vicious political activities."[192] Echoing the message of President Franklin Roosevelt, the two teachers recognized that information combatting racial discrimination could only prove successful if economic needs were met. Yet, this did not solve the question of why economic uncertainty led to bigotry.

As an answer, Chaimas and Wallach saw fascist "ultra-reactionary men" as the key link between the reality of economics and the ideology of race. The economic situation of America facilitated fascist racism in two ways. First, the teachers saw powerful interests capable of controlling "many of the means of shaping public opinion."[193] These men looked fearfully at the great advances toward democracy, in the forms of increased class awareness, opportunities for women in industry, and improved relations with the U.S.S.R. In response, these reactionary forces sought to divide Americans at a time when, due to the great difficulties and sacrifices of the Great Depression and World War II, they proved particularly susceptible to the effects of racist and discriminatory propaganda. Second, the socio-economic distress of many had also led to a severe lack in education. Since "education is one of the main pillars of democracy and a very effective means for combatting intolerance and for achieving unity," Chaimas and Wallach saw

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[191] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 12.
[192] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 17.
[193] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 13.

this deficiency as a danger to American democracy. So much of a menace, in fact, that they declared that "the economic and political soil of America has in it the potentialities for the growth of native fascism."[194]

Moreover, Chaimas and Wallach found the development of Nazism in Germany an apt example of the methods and potential of American fascism. In fact, as America and its allies seemed increasingly likely to win the war, the educators foresaw fascists attempting "to seize this government, to make the United States the center and stronghold for world fascism."[195] In spelling out the methods that the domestic fascists might use, they pointed to German Nazism. Echoing the Spearhead Thesis, they declared the following:

> An attack on a minority is an attack on all the people of America, that it is not the problem of the minority alone. Unfortunately, the peoples of Germany did not all realize in the twenties and early thirties the role of anti-Semitic incitement, namely to divert attention both from efforts to enslave them mentally and physically and from the shortcomings of Nazism…Hitler brazenly stormed that the Jews and the Communists were the cause of everyone's difficulties. With the help of these lies in the mouths of their puppets to distract from the real causes of the people's hardships, the German tycoons achieved Nazism.[196]

Chaimas and Wallach presented a decidedly communist version of the Nazis, which depicted them as arch-capitalists who simply sought to use racial hatred to gain power and wealth. Nevertheless, the belief that Nazi racism served simply as a tool for obtaining power did not differentiate them greatly from other educators. Thus, Chaimas and Wallach viewed the ongoing persecution and murder of Jews in Europe as both the first, if most violent, part of an assault on Germans and other Europeans alike and as an example of what could happen in the United States if antisemitism and other racial bigotry continued. Indeed, when they discussed prejudice against

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[194] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 16.
[195] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 13.
[196] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 12.

black Americans, they suggested that they had long "known something akin to fascism in America." Few contributors expressed such a position in the journals of New York City teachers for another two decades. In their minds, it seems, to find racial oppression and discrimination meant finding fascism.

In advocating for economic and social programing to alleviate pressures that made fascism attractive, Chaimas and Wallach pointed to a number of President Roosevelt's policies. In addition to the allusion to two of the Four Freedoms at the beginning of the article, the teachers also dedicated an entire section of the article to advocacy for the President's New Economic Bill of Rights. They argued that any such "forward-looking, progressive bill which moves us towards our goals of better living and greater security will be a significant contribution toward the campaign to rid America of hate and disunity."[197] They powerfully ended the article with a call for teachers to take up political action since "to the extent to which teachers contribute to the attainment of the goals of freedom from fear and from want, to that degree will they help create the environment in which efforts toward good will are assured of success."[198] For Chaimas and Wallach, programs to bring about equality provided the opportunity for intercultural education to succeed.[199]

The differences between the views of Chaimas and Cahill signify a conflict among educators about the meaning of American democracy. Where Chaimas saw a link between racism and fascism, Cahill emphasized that racism "is as old as the hills."[200] The biology teacher

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[197] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 18.
[198] Chaimas and Wallach, "More Than Good Will Is Needed," 20.
[199] For an example of how the communist Teacher's Union saw education intersect with economic, social, and communal uplift, see Andrew Feffer, *Bad Faith,* 112-116.
[200] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 7.

called for government programs to develop economic equality. The English teacher sought patient faith in the continued development of long-held, godly American ideals. When the former insisted on intercultural education providing scientific evidence of anthropological equality of the races, the latter argued for recognition of the "unique glory under God of each individual."[201] Finally, Chaimas' sought, with missionary zeal, to teach educators the facts combatting bigotry, while Cahill suggested that the few ought to compromise with the many teachers in moving patiently toward religiously oriented change. Ultimately, the two disagreed upon whether racism, both its source and its solution, had material or spiritual origins and solutions. Their disagreement foreshadowed a later battle over the intercultural education teacher in-service program provided by Chaimas.

These opposing perspectives resulted in different approaches to education. Chaimas and others like him insisted on both promoting intercultural education, including discussions of the origins of prejudice, and political action by teachers to develop socially equal democracy. Cahill, Riley, and others sought to avoid heightening racial tension by evading confrontation and by highlighting the positive aspects of each group.[202] Further, political advocacy by teachers only increased divisions. While the former approach might see the murder of the Jews as an event to teach about, the latter certainly deemphasized focus on any such topics that might divide Americans through a storm of accusations.

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[201] Cahill, "Some Thoughts on Intercultural Education," 11.

[202] For a discussion of the development of such views on intercultural education see Zoë Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*. Notably, Margaret Meade developed the more "positive" approach which emphasized focusing on different groups spending time together and learning of the positives of one another. See also Jonna Perrillo, *Uncivil Rights*: *Teachers, Unions, and Race in the Battle for School Equity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). Chapter 2 in particular details antagonisms between the teacher's unions and the Board of Education. Further, it addresses the role of the *Tablet* and the *World-Telegram* in exploiting conflicts.

“Hitler in Germany and Left-wingers in New York City Use the Same Technique”

Chaimas, in the fall of 1944, put his words into action and, ultimately, spurred an administrative conflict between proponents of “intercultural education” and those advocating the religion focused “Brotherhood of Man” approach. Under the auspices of the Teachers Associations of Biology, English, and Social Studies, Chaimas planned an in-service course—a continuing education opportunity for teachers—in intercultural relations. Entitled “Educational Approach to Intercultural Conflicts,” it gained the approval of the Assistant Superintendent Jacob Greenberg, tasked with overseeing in-service programs, and held its first class in February of 1945.[203] As in the *Bulletin of High Points*, however, some opposed his work for intercultural education, among them Daniel Cahill and Mary Riley.

The conflict over Chaimas’ intercultural education in-service courses in 1945 and early 1946 depict two understandings of and strategies for dealing with bigotry. Chaimas and likeminded educators believed in informing teachers in history and anthropology so that they could combat discrimination through providing knowledge. This approach focused on ethnic and racial discrimination and, in line with Chaimas’ writings in *High Points*, fixed motivations for it in the economic and political realms. Cahill and other members of the Catholic Teacher’s Association of the Diocese of Brooklyn (CTA), particularly its president Edna Crowley and supporter Mary Riley, saw religion as the key factor in combatting discrimination. Along with other heavily Catholic organizations, such as the Teacher’s Alliance, they perceived of atheistic totalitarianism, in either its Nazi or Communist form, as the origin of disunity in the United

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[203] Chaimas had earlier developed the “Franz Boas Workshop” in honor of anthropologist Franz Boaz, who had publicly worked to oppose Nazi racial science in American schools. This organization had planned programs to fight racism and challenged textbooks which contained racism. Clarence Taylor, *Reds at the Blackboard,* 2011.

States. They sought to ensure unity by quashing discussion of topics that might spur racial and religious antagonisms which, they believed, promoted totalitarianism. Thus, when Herbert Chaimas' course began in the spring of 1945, members of the CTA immediately found fault with the program. The organization sent members to attend at least some sessions of the program with the intent of gathering information useful in opposing it.

In order to put forth a schedule which would gain teachers "alertness credit," a requirement for salary increases, Chaimas called on numerous experts from various organizations to help teachers combat prejudice. For example, Dr. Gene Weltfish of Columbia University gave a lecture on the "biologic and anthropologic facts" of humanity and Dr. Clyde Miller discussed Propaganda Analysis. The course also included lectures on the "status and problems of" a variety of groups, including "Negroes, Jews, Catholics-Irish, Italian, etc., Mexican, Indian, Oriental."[204] Chaimas secured experts, usually with advanced degrees, for each lecture. They came primarily from nearby universities or the ranks of NYC school administrators.

Yet, even before the scheduled talk on "Catholics-Irish, Italian, etc." certain groups began to challenge the course. The CTA wrote to Associate Superintendent Greenberg objecting to Kathleen Fahy and Garibaldi Lapolla representing Roman Catholics in the course. Notably, as proponents of the "Brotherhood of Man" approach, they saw the goal of the program as "representing" the positives rather than "presenting" the "status and problems" of various groups. In a question that spoke to their challenge of Chaimas as atheistic, they wondered if the

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[204] Course Information on Educational Approach to Intercultural Conflict, 1944, Series 634. Box 1, Folder 1a, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

"coordinating committee of the Religious Associations of Teachers" ought to advise on interfaith education.[205] Where Chaimas sought to oppose racism, they hoped to protect their faith from aspersions and to avoid any further deterioration of relations between various ethnic and religious communities.

When the lecture on Irish and Italian Americans occurred, Mary Riley, a powerful secretary in the personnel office who often worked with Dr. Greenberg, seemed to organize efforts against Chaimas' program. She guided letters, such as that of Constance Manger, across the assistant superintendent's desk. Constance Manger, like other unregistered CTA observers of the course, complained to Greenberg and asked, "why was there no lecture titled, 'Evidences of Anti-Catholic Bias'?"[206] She ultimately felt that the course itself fostered, rather than decreased, intercultural tension, though she spoke specifically only of anti-Catholic sentiment. Manger's letter represented just one of many which crossed the desk of Greenberg in 1945.

Helen McNally also complained of accusatory discussions. In the fall of 1945, she criticized a session entitled, "The Jewish People and Anti-Semitism" by Dr. Joseph Bram of Queens College. McNally recounted Bram's statement that "although it is often denied, one of the causes of anti-Semitism is religious." Proving his point about such denials, she challenged him when he argued that "the teaching of the Crucifixion often stigmatized the Jews as Christ-

[205] CTA to Greenberg: Intercultural Education, 10 April 1945, Series 634, Box 1, Folder 1a, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

[206] Constance Manger Notes on Intercultural In-service, May 1945, Series 634, Box 1, Folder 1a, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

killers."[207] She wrote, implausibly, that she ultimately forced him to admit that this might only be true in Eastern Europe.

Whatever occurred, her letter betrayed a fundamental understanding of the purpose of intercultural education which privileged dominant cultural and ethnic groups over minorities. Seeing any criticism as a violation of the purpose of such a course, she asked why Bram wasted "so much time talking of remote conditions [Eastern Europe] if the object of the course was to promote better relations here?" Further, she recounted that when in one session the speaker avoided controversial topics, the audience criticized her. She wondered how "people who expect further understanding among the various cultural groups"[208] could make such provocative statements and topics. To her, controversy offered a crack through which hatred might be used to divide. She implied, therefore, that any program that discussed controversial topics must derive from subversive efforts.

The course's most divisive moment came during the lecture by Garibaldi Lapolla on Italians. Though, due to pressure by Greenberg, Chaimas had instructed Lapolla to avoid the topic of religion, the speaker reportedly told a "sacrilegious" and "risqué" joke about a young Italian woman.[209] One of the unregistered CTA observers also instigated a conflict with Lapolla. Josephine Grilli argued that people ought to focus on the common humanity of all "since we are

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[207] McNally Report on Intercultural Lectures, 5 November 1945, Series 548, Box 2, Folder 7, Files of Dr. John E. Wade-Superintendent of Schools. Board of Education Office of the Superintendent of Schools, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY. This folder includes five other letters, presumably by the six CTA representatives at the in-service.
[208] McNally Report on Intercultural Lectures, 5 November 1945, Files of Dr. John E. Wade-Superintendent of Schools, Records of the New York City Board of Education.
[209] Edith Martin to Mary Riley, November 3, 1945, Series 548, Box 2, Folder 7, Files of Dr. John E. Wade-Superintendent of Schools. Board of Education Office of the Superintendent of Schools, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY. This folder includes five other letters, presumably by the six CTA representatives at the in-service. They include letters from Josephine Grilli, Constance Manger, Mildred Magory, Helen McNally, and Rita Hogan.

all creatures of one and the same God."[210] A few reports claimed that Lapolla replied by arguing that religion had never solved problems of intolerance. A CTA member, Ms. Isola, then asked Lapolla, "don't you believe in the brotherhood of man?" Responding to the oft-used euphemism for Christian or religious unity of humanity, Lapolla then stated that if she wanted it, she could have it.[211]

This confrontation in Lapolla's in-service session became the catalyst for the ultimate rejection by the Board of Superintendents of Chaimas' 1946 in-service course. It also exemplified the two ways of seeing intercultural education. In the one, a "Brotherhood of Man," centered around the recognition of a Judeo-Christian God, could unite Americans if only they had the opportunity to learn of the positives of other groups. In the other, people could only overcome prejudice if they first learned of the systems and people who created and benefitted from it. One espoused embracing religiously inspired unity and the other sought to inspire secular action.

In his correspondence with Dr. Greenberg, Chaimas seemed nonplussed at the assistant superintendent's frustration and demonstrated his assumption in the suitability of the intercultural education approach. Chaimas argued that the speakers approached each lecture "on the Irish, Italian and Spanish speaking peoples from the historical and social points of view, and not on Roman Catholics, the question [of why the speakers were qualified] really no longer

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[210] Josephine Grilli to Mary Riley, November 3, 1945, Series 548, Box 2, Folder 7, Files of Dr. John E. Wade-Superintendent of Schools. Board of Education Office of the Superintendent of Schools, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

[211] A.S. Isola to Reilly[sic], November 3, 1945, Series 634, Box 1, Folder 1b, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

existed."[212] He also bristled at having to defend the qualifications of Fahy and Lapolla as the esteemed Dr. Gene Weltfish and Dr. Bernhard Stern had recommended the former and the latter had achieved great success as the administrator of a progressive NYC school. He questioned why Greenberg seemed to allow critics to distract from the course, which had "received such high praise from its members."[213] In all his responses, Chaimas consistently demonstrated his faith that the intercultural education approach could defeat bigotry. He supported the inclusion of controversial discussions and the outspoken challenge of bigotry, whatever the source.

Another round of letters and meetings, this time based on the suggestion of the CTA that Dr. Greenberg create a committee for intercultural education in-services, demonstrates similar differences in how educators interpreted the motivations and causes of bigotry. After a meeting with the assistant superintendent, the CTA called for a new committee for all intercultural education made up of a Jew, a Protestant, and a Catholic. Riley, whether present as a member of the CTA or Greenberg's staff, suggested including both a liberal—which in intra-office notes she referred to as "left-wingers"— and a conservative, as well.[214] Chaimas, on the other hand, saw the benefit of a "primarily advisory" committee if "its recommendations and suggestions not be mandatory." Further, he called for the inclusion of "people, particularly teachers, who have been active in this field in a non-interfaith way as well as members of Teachers Religious

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[212] Chaimas to Greenberg, 28 May 1945, Series 634, Box 1, Folder 1a, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[213] Chaimas to Greenberg, 28 May 1945, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953.
[214] Copy of Report on Interview with Dr. Greenberg, 4 May 1945, Series 634, Box 1, Folder 1b, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

Associations."[215] Their positions betrayed their understanding of the origins of bigotry and the purposes of intercultural education.

While the CTA sought to assure a focus on positive representations of religious groups, particularly conservative ones, Chaimas sought education that delved into motivations and causes of bigotry. The CTA felt that negative statements about various groups, such as those reported in the in-service course, created enmity and discord. Thus, they called for "the good things in the system be emphasized" and "that each group be asked to contribute what it felt to be worthwhile rather than to have arbitrary assignments given."[216] Chaimas argued, however, that "because in all cases minorities of color, nationality of origin or religion can be made the victims of channelized scapegoating motivated by economic, social and political reasons," solutions must include both education and social engineering.[217] Ultimately, Greenberg and the rest of the Board of Superintendents disapproved Chaimas' in-service course for the upcoming school year, though they did not inform the teacher.

The cancellation of the course led to another conflict; this time as numerous secular teachers unions weighed in. When Chaimas finally did discover of the program's elimination, he had already prepared for the 1945-46 course. In response, the New York Association of Teachers of Biological Sciences (NYATBS), New York Association of Teachers of Social Studies (NYATSS), and New York City Association of Teachers of English (NYCATE) all began to

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[215] Chaimas to Greenberg, 13 May 1945, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953.
[216] Copy of Report on Interview with Dr. Greenberg, 4 May 1945, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953
[217] Chaimas to Greenberg, 13 May 1945, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953.

request information regarding the course's cancellation. All three groups sent letters to directly to Superintendent Dr. John Wade.

Meanwhile, the CTA knew of the attempt to revive the course and began to put pressure on Greenberg to continue to disapprove the course. Their cause gained considerable aid from Riley's position in the Board of Education offices, as she increasingly worked in conjunction with the CTA. For instance, when on September 30th Superintendent Wade requested information on the cancellation of the in-service course so that he could respond to a letter from NYCATE, Riley held the initial response by Greenberg's secretary Theodore Axtell so that she could obtain correspondence critical of the course. The extra time allowed Herbert Donavan, of the Catholic-dominated Teachers Association of New York City; six teachers who attended at least the Lapolla lecture; and Crowley of the CTA to send in reports regarding the previous course.[218] Riley then prepared a note to Axtell detailing the objections to the course articulated by her sources.

She focused on two main objections. First, she argued that Chaimas' courses contained an anti-Catholic focus. She noted that the course discussions often resulted in anti-religious or anti-Catholic comments during a period of "discussion from the floor;" though, she failed to reveal that the unregistered CTA teachers had often initiated the offensive dialogues. Riley pointed to the correspondence she had collected and threatened Axtell that he ought to "refer to

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[218] The following contains the letters from Catholic teachers attending the spring 1945 course: Series 548, Box 2, Folder 7, Files of Dr. John E. Wade-Superintendent of Schools. Board of Education Office of the Superintendent of Schools, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY. The letters of Donavan to Greenberg, 3 November 1945 and Crowley to Axtell 3 November 1945, can be found at Series 634, Box 1, Folder 1b, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

the correspondence of last spring so that Dr. G— won't go back on his word. It would put him in a bad light."[219] Further, she declared Chaimas "anathema to a lot of people." Her statement came not only from personal animus for the biology teacher, but that she associated him with the communist Teachers Union.[220] In addition to the complaints about the spring course, she also critiqued the speaker's list of the proposed course.

Just as the CTA had opposed the lectures of perceived "anti-Catholics" in the spring 1945 course, Riley also lashed out at any proposed speakers she viewed as anti-Catholic. She challenged Lisa Sergio as a speaker on "the Italian People" simply because, while speaking at the Jewish Community Chest, she had recommended *The Protestant*.[221] Notably, Kenneth Leslie, editor of the paper, had taken stands against bigotry in generally and antisemitism specifically, as when he organized a declaration condemning Charles Lindbergh's Des Moines speech "as marking the beginning of an anti-Semitic campaign aimed at democracy."[222] Yet, some Catholics believed the digest particularly anti-Catholic. They resented that, among other things, in February of 1945, Leslie had presented a petition which challenged papal authority to mediate a peace treaty due to its problematic political connections to Italian fascists and German Nazis.[223] In November 1946, Louis Budenz, a former communist agent who returned to Catholicism, seemingly vindicated Catholic fears when he testified in front of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that those in charge of the magazine had intended to "arouse the Protestants

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[219] Riley to Axtell, September 1945, Series 634, Box 1, Folder 1b, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[220] For more on the Teacher's Union see Clarence Taylor, *Reds at the Blackboard*, (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2011). The communist Teachers Union and the liberal Teachers Ass
[221] Riley to Axtell, September 1945, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953.
[222] "Lindbergh Scored by 700 Churchmen," *New York Times,* September 27, 1941, 4.
[223] "Any Church 'Deal' On War is Opposed," *New York Times*, February 10, 1945, 4.

against the Catholics in this country as a means of causing confusion in the United States."[224] Thus, even though not represented as a lecture on Italian Catholics in America, Riley still opposed the speaker. A non-Catholic Italian, it seems, could not represent Italians in spite of the CTA having earlier opposed the division of Catholics into ethnic groups.

Second, the CTA saw the intercultural in-service courses as a communist effort to infiltrate American schools and indoctrinate American students. As evidence, Riley suggested that Chaimas' failure to list the Teachers Union, a communist union often seen as a front for Soviet activity, as a sponsor for the course suggested suspicious devious motives. Further, she criticized numerous proposed speakers of the course. She found Lucile Spence and Morris Lipschitz, teaching on classroom activities for intercultural education, repellant because of their membership in the Teachers Union. She discounted Manuel Medina's lecture on Puerto Ricans since he served as secretary to the Puerto Rican Secretary to Congressmen Vito Marcantonio, who she labeled simply as "the Commie." Finally, she opposed Clyde Miller, who organized the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, as a lecturer on propaganda since "he has a bad reputation in some circles—a Commie or a fellow-traveler & anything but fair and unbiased."[225] Here, she tied the efforts at intercultural education to the political affiliation of the speakers to determine their suitability.

Riley's most surprising target, however, further demonstrates the true focus of her efforts —anything which she perceived of as furthering communism. In opposing Chaimas' intercultural

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[224] U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Communist Activities: Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities,* 79th Cong., 2nd sess., 1946, 32.

[225] Riley to Axtell, September 1945, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953.

education course, even the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights drew her ire. Originally established in May of 1939 as the "Committee of Catholics to Fight Anti-Semitism," the group meant to fight bigotry and anti-Semitism, especially among Catholics. The efforts of this organization put them into direct confrontation with the rabidly anti-Semitic, but highly popular Catholic priest, Father Coughlin. Suggesting the prevailing winds of the CTA, she stated that "Very few Cath. agree with the Comm. of Cath. for H- Rights."[226] That she opposed a Catholic organization which sought to "reach primarily those who, contrary to the teachings of Christianity and the principles of democracy, are taking part, unfortunately, in spreading race and minority hatreds in the United States," reveals the metric by which she judged groups.[227] It signals that her opposition to Chaimas' intercultural education course derived from a set of beliefs that saw efforts to combat bigotry as un-American totalitarianism. For Riley, anything which recognized the reality and validity of racial grievances signified a totalitarian assault on American unity.

Riley's note to Axtell served as the basis for first a memo to Dr. William Jansen, then an associate superintendent responsible for in-service issues during Greenberg's leave of absence, and then as an ultimate update for Superintendent Wade.[228] The memo, mirroring much of Riley's language even if possibly compiled by Axtell, presented Chaimas' course as

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[226] Riley to Axtell, September 1945, Associate Supt. Jacob Greenberg. Intercultural Education Course Files. 1944-1953.

[227] "Catholics In Fight on Anti-Semitism," *New York Times*, June 12, 1939, 9.

[228] Dr. William Jansen had previously had experience with the Teachers Union as that organization had protested use of geography textbooks authored by the superintendent due to their profound racism and ethnocentrism. See *Reds at the Blackboard*, 244-245. Jansen would ultimately go on to lead the crusade against suspected communist teachers between 1948 and 1954 while, without an apparent irony, also guiding the publication of *Strengthening Democracy* a pro-democracy teacher's journal published by the BoE.

"unqualifiedly pro-left, and anti-Catholic."[229] In each case, the memo depicted the speakers as unsupported by the broader community that he or she supposedly represented. Finally, and tellingly, the final statement in the memo serves the clearest condemnation by Riley. It labeled Chaimas as "a very high-handed individual with no respect for vested authority."[230] Chaimas' attempts to resurrect the course served as evidence of the very danger it posed. The speakers he chose challenged accepted ethnic identities and his efforts to see the course approved threatened the established power structures of the schools. Intercultural education itself, it seemed, proved a part of subversive attempts geared at a "divide and conquer" strategy.

In fact, Riley continued to work against those she perceived of as a threat to American unity in her position in the newly formed Advisory Committee on Human Relations. In the spring of 1946, she worked with associate superintendent Dr. Frank Whalen and Dr. Adele Sicular of the Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side. In her role there, Riley took part in the editing of a plan by Dr. Sicular meant to combat "Un-American" action in schools. Originally a specific proposal for dealing with the behavior of two teachers, Whalen and Riley encouraged Sicular to write it in such a way as to create "a broad base and a permanent, not a temporary, procedure," for dealing with such issues.[231]

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[229] Confidential Memo in Greenberg's Office, Series 548, Box 2, Folder 7, Files of Dr. John E. Wade-Superintendent of Schools. Board of Education Office of the Superintendent of Schools, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[230] Confidential Memo in Greenberg's Office, Series 548, Box 2, Folder 7, Files of Dr. John E. Wade-Superintendent of Schools.
[231] Riley to Sicular, 5 April 1946, Series 562, Folder 1, Advisory Committee on Human Relations—Correspondence, 1945-1950, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
Unfortunately, Sicular's plan was not attached to the letter nor have I found it in the Board of Education records searched. The incident to which it refers was, evidently, not placed in the city's newspapers or recorded in the records reviewed.

Writing on behalf of herself and Dr. Whalen, Riley suggested edits to the document which stressed her particular view of Americanism. She called on Sicular to define the meaning of "un-Americanism, un-American teaching, Fascism, fascistic ideas; democracy, democratic ideas." As an example of "un-Americanism," Riley suggested that "a high school principal who posts on the bulletin board a letter from "The Protestant'[sic]…is guilty of un-Americanism."[232] Such educators, she felt, did not represent the whole.

She depicted the majority of teachers as Cahill had, upset by an inflammatory communist minority. "Some teachers," she argued, "are seething with frustration and indignation at the distortion" of the arts "in the name of 'social significance'."[233] As with intercultural education, injecting a social lens only divided American.

She referred to a particular *High Points* article as evidence of just what kind of "social significance" she found offensive. In May 1945, Charles Slatkin presented an article on museum resources for use in schools. As an example of such materials, he explained a slide lesson using paintings from the French Revolution. The lesson, for instance, suggested that Jacques-Louis David's painting of Brutus viewing the bodies of his sons represented the glorification of sacrifice on behalf of a republic. The article presented the Revolution as democracy on the march and used David's *Portrait of Mlle. Charlotte du Vol d'Ognes* to challenge each generation to take up the banner of creating a better future, just as the Revolutionary generation had attempted.[234]

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[232] Recommendations on Plan of Procedure, 5 April 1946, Series 562, Folder 1, Advisory Committee on Human Relations—Correspondence, 1945-1950, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[233] Recommendations on Plan of Procedure, 5 April 1946, Advisory Committee on Human Relations—Correspondence, 1945-1950.
[234] Charles Slatkin, "The High School-Museum Program," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* XXVII, no. 5 (May 1945): 49-59.

Riley pointed to this article as "the 'junk', the 'trash' that is being imposed upon our children" which maintained a "lack of scholarship, total disregard of truth and so forth."[235] The article's challenge of the establishment and the assumption of democracy as a social revolution seemed too close to challenging contemporary systems for Riley.

Based on Riley's harangues against leftist teachers, one might assume that the offending teachers had espoused communist views or attitudes in the classroom; however, even lacking the document, context suggests otherwise. Only a week before, Riley sent to Sicular a memo, apparently at the request of the latter, which contained statistics on anti-Semitic attitudes in schools in Ohio. Since Sicular practiced medicine, she only served in select positions with the Board of Education. This makes the connection between the memo and the "plan of procedure" document likely. Further, in the recommendations, Riley stressed that Sicular needed to "make clear and complete what the term un-American is to include." This stress on a "complete" definition suggests that Sicular had not specified or had left out some portion of the meaning that Riley desired included.

The remainder of Riley's recommendations further imply that she preferred for Sicular to expand the definition of "un-Americanism" beyond that suggested by the incident with the teachers. Riley's notes begin with a call for clear language in defining terms such as fascism and "un-Americanism," which indicate that the original episodes included actions perceived as fascist rather than communist, a term not included for definition. Finally, in her conclusion, she wrote of the plan as "commendable, restrained, and dignified." Yet, she then argued that "it

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[235] Recommendations on Plan of Procedure, 5 April 1946, Advisory Committee on Human Relations—Correspondence, 1945-1950.

should not be limited to bigotry and race discrimination. Old-Stock American Protestants and Catholics deeply resent the unrestrained infiltration of leftist ideology into our school."[236] The statement drips with Judeo-Bolshevik tropes.[237] Dr. Whalen likely added "and conservative Jews" in his addition to Riley's comments for this reason. Nevertheless, Riley clearly desired for Sicular to include communism as un-American, alongside the bigotry and racism that the incident justified.

Not only did Riley desire to include communism under Sicular's discussion of "un-Americanism," but she even sought to define Nazism and communism as, essentially, the same. After suggesting that Sicular make "clear and complete" her definition of un-American, Riley went on to write,

> To me pitting class against class is as fascistic as pitting religion against religion and race against race. Hitler in Germany and left-wingers in New York City use the same technique, namely, "Divide and conquer," for here as in Europe the Jew versus Catholic propaganda is creating a split in the population through which the anti-Americans will enter and take over. We, you and I, must be zealots and make our respective co-religionists aware of this insidious propaganda.[238]

For Riley, "fascistic" denoted a methodology rather than ideology. She saw fascism as that which divided a country in order to change it from her own vision of democracy. What is more, she had a particular type of division in mind that illuminates her opposition to the intercultural in-service courses Chaimas presented.

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[236] Recommendations on Plan of Procedure, 5 April 1946, Advisory Committee on Human Relations—Correspondence, 1945-1950.
[237] For a full discussion of Judeo-Bolshevism as it pertains to Europe, see Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe,* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018). Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, 164. Dinnerstein notes that in the postwar, the "association of Jews with communism failed to ignite popular imagination." Nevertheless, he also notes a number of letters in which Americans presented the two—Jews and communists—as the same.
[238] Recommendations on Plan of Procedure, 5 April 1946, Advisory Committee on Human Relations—Correspondence, 1945-1950.

Just as did Chaimas and others, Riley saw the rise of the Nazis as the result of “divide and conquer” tactics. Though in both cases, the educators viewed the German people as victims of Nazi oppression, the two disagreed on what happened in Germany. Chaimas saw antisemitism as the spearhead by which the Nazis undermined the fragile German democracy and the anti-Jewish persecution as a tool by which they gained the acquiescence of an antisemitic people to the repression of some among them. This, in turn, allowed the Nazis to oppress the rest of the German population. Riley, however, presented a situation in which the Nazis divided German Jews and German Catholics against one another. In her view, Catholics did not come with preexisting prejudices available for exploitation, but, instead, saw themselves as similarly victimized by Nazi propaganda and repression.[239]

Another statement in the recommendations demonstrates how she saw such divisions occurring. When discussing duplicity of her perceived opponents, she wrote that “often teachers who raise their voices in protest [of communist infiltration] are accused of religious intolerance by the left-wing teachers who hide behind the cloak of a religion which they do not practice.”[240] Confusing accusations of antisemitism with claims of “religious intolerance”, Riley brushed aside such assertions by “left-wing teachers” as merely an attempt to silence those who challenged them. Ironically, Riley’s statement proves the very bigotry she refused to acknowledge. Like many other Americans, Riley seemed to believe that because she did not hate all Jews, no one could accuse her of antisemitism. However, her letter to Dr. Sicular and her

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[239] Her position was only made more complex in that some domestic fascists did attack both Jews and Catholics in their diatribes. One article in the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin noted, in December of 1947, that “’Hate Sheets’” which espoused antisemitism often decried the Catholic Church as well.

[240] Recommendations on Plan of Procedure, 5 April 1946, Advisory Committee on Human Relations—Correspondence, 1945-1950.

High Points article praising school children for singing one another's "pillars of faith" suggest otherwise. For many Americans, their antisemitism manifested in the acceptance of Jews in America only so long as they accepted the "vested authority" and did not disrupt the status quo.

Riley's association of "left-wing teachers" with unreligious Jews clarifies her earlier opposition to Chaimas and others. She saw criticism of Catholic actions or policies as an attempt to create hatred for them amongst New York City's Jewish educators and, thereby, increase religious antagonism in the city. Further, this justified Catholic attacks on those deemed communist—often with an implied Jewish nature to communism. For Riley and others, echoes of Judeo-Bolshevism lived on.

Ultimately, the assault on intercultural education, of which the charges against Chaimas' course served as only one aspect, succeeded in ending such programs.[241] Mary Riley served as acting secretary for the Conference on In-Service Courses in Intercultural Education which ultimately recommended the suspension of Intercultural Education. In notes she wrote out in 1953, she claimed that the committee's "confidence had been shaken" by numerous courses which she associated with the Teachers Union and other communist and communist-supposed organizations.

Conclusion

The debate and ultimate conflict over the intercultural education from 1945 to 1948 did not develop from interpretations of the murder of Europe's Jews. Such debates had occurred in the 1930s. Nor did they respond to fear of Nazi subversion. Nevertheless, both of those concepts

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[241] This included attacks on Dr. Clyde Miller of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis for perceived communist leanings.

informed the events which occurred. In particular, discussions on the topic of racism, discrimination, and bigotry all relied on the Nazi atrocities as evidence of the danger of such attitudes and actions. The persecution of the Jews, concentration camps, and other forms of Nazi discrimination added impetus to attempts to clarify and establish American democratic principles. They represented the stakes if democracy in America fell. Nevertheless, even when agreeing on the dangers to democracy presented by groups sowing division, educators often disagreed on what democracy meant. Some argued adherence to traditional social, political, and religious forms while others viewed democracy as what it might become through social restructuring.

Ultimately, the victory of conservative forces in the New York City school system meant that most educators did not challenge traditional social, political, and religious authorities and powers for their role in bigotry. It silenced until much later the criticisms that the murder of the Jews offered to powerful groups which held power during the war. Powers such as the established churches, numerous Allied states, and even American Jewish organizations.

For the next two decades, educators depicted the origins of the German assault on the Jews in the totalitarian political goals of the Nazis. It represented simply one aspect of attempts to "divide and Conquer" the other peoples. They emphasized a conservative interpretation of American democracy and Christian religion, and to a lesser degree Judaism, as a defense against the recurrence of such events. Antisemitism or other forms of discrimination could not thrive, they believed, if a traditionally defined American democracy flourished.

CHAPTER IV
"HITLER AND LATER STALIN MUST HAVE STARTED IN MUCH THE SAME WAY": DEFINING THE UN AS DANGEROUS TO AMERICAN RIGHTS, 1948-1954

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, American educators brought their interpretations of Nazi Germany into a new set of debates over the future of the world, the United States, and education. The disagreements centered around the nature and degree of American participation in the United Nations, support for the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR), and involvement in the educational programs of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Progressive educators embraced the UN and its foundational documents by creating curriculum and establishing policies that cast the institution as a locus for positive change the world over. Members of the Right-wing popular front—ranging from Far-Right activists to traditional conservatives—criticized the organization as a tool by which some sought to foist a centralized, totalitarian, police-state upon Americans.

The perceived lessons learned from the Nazi atrocities permeated the various positions regarding the UN. In this conflict, the adversaries often framed their positions in the context of the pre-existing interpretations of Nazism, its causes, and the atrocities committed by its adherents. The progressive educators saw the dangers of nationalism, xenophobia, and indoctrination as root causes of Nazi brutality and crimes. In response, they stressed global cooperation through the UN, intercultural education as perceived by UNESCO, and education in the protection of human rights through the promotion of the UNDHR. They believed these organizations and their fundamental documents the appropriate response to the dangers that Nazism had presented to the world and felt that educational support for them would prepare students for better world, one free of atrocities and oppression which gripped it during World War II.

Conservative educators and interest groups, however, focused upon the strong statism of Nazism and that party's control over and regimentation of education as the fundamental component resulting in the loss of rights and, ultimately, lives in Germany. They believed that American democratic, religious, and social traditions had succeeded in protecting Americans from genocide and atrocity during World War II; therefore, preserving these systems from domestic or international threats seemed necessary. They called for the adherence to traditional

American values of local rights against federal or international control and the removal of the United States from the UN and its affiliated programs. They sought to promote only "sound American textbooks" and schools which promoted traditional social values; State's Rights, consistently a euphemism for support of segregation; and anti-Communist, free-enterprise advocacy.[242] Though they spoke most often of a communist threat, their fears centered around a generalized idea of state centralization and the loss of state, parental, and religious rights. The Nazi atrocities—seen as originating in state centralization and regimentation rather than in supremacist racial dogma—served to emphasize the stakes of accepting UN involvement in the country. By viewing Nazi atrocities as the consequence of centralization of state power, conservatives associated the images and film reels of camp liberations which had proliferated in early 1945 with communism.

When progressive educators sought to promote the UN in American schools in the early 1950s, they reaped a whirlwind reaction from conservatives. Whether as a call for flying the UN flag alongside the American flag in New York City schools or by supporting textbooks which contained about the UNDHR in Texas, progressive educators presented the UN as a positive force for the future. However, conservatives perceived a threat to the status quo and national and local power.[243]

Ultimately, over the course of the 1950s, conservatives convinced many Americans that global human rights, as perceived by the UN and progressive educators, stood in opposition to American civil liberties. They succeeded, in part, through emphasizing the Nazi atrocities as political acts originating in the regime's powerful and overreaching government. They utilized earlier interpretations of Nazism which focused on state power and ignored racial and ideological components of the regime. Thus, they successfully portrayed advocates for civil and human rights, particularly desegregation, as proponents of totalitarian rule. The Conservatives tarnished proponents of education in human rights, world cultures, and the social sciences with seeking a totalitarian regimentation of education. To a significant degree, this not only relied on ignoring

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[242] *The Southern Conservative* 5, no. 7-8 (July-August 1954), 7.

[243] Adam Laats, *The Other School Reformers*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2015), 126-127 & 150-151. Laats notes both the progressive support for the UN programs and also the opposition by Conservatives who believed it would corrupt Americans into internationalists.

Nazi antisemitism, but also played on antisemitic tropes of a Jewish world conspiracy and a perceived link between Jews and communism. Under this assault, pro-UN educators lost the initiative and saw conservative groups wage a war against any education except the "fundamentals."

"The United Nations is a Step toward projected World Government"

In New York City, some within the board of education and others among the city's most involved educators looked to the UN as a beacon of hope for bringing about a world which might avoid death and destruction such as that of World War II. They believed that teaching students about the UN and by utilizing UNESCO publications they might overcome the same kind of nationalism and xenophobia which they saw the Nazis as having utilized to gain and maintain power in Germany. Thus, education in global cooperation seemed the solution to the problems of hatred which had resulted in the murder of the Jews, and others, in Germany and its occupied territories.

In September 1950, James Marshall, who served as both New York City Board of Education (NYCBoE) member and consultant to the United States delegation to UNESCO, set about the task of placing the UN flag next to the United States flag in the schools of the city. His efforts and purposes, as well as those of his opponents, speak to the ways that educators and interested parties interpreted the institution. The hopes and dangers that they saw in the organization demonstrate particular understandings of totalitarianism, here a mix of fascism, Nazism, and Communism, which expose their interpretations of what happened in Nazi Germany and what lessons those events might teach. Marshall and supporters of the UN saw its advocacy for human rights and global cooperation as central to avoiding nationalistic demagoguery and repression. His opponents believed that the UN might destroy Americans' national and local liberties and, ultimately, result in atrocities in the country. Both groups, therefore, rooted their views of the UN in their interpretations of the lessons learned from the confrontation with Nazism.

In New York City board of education member James Marshall, the UN found a powerful advocate. A Columbia Law School educated lawyer who served in France in WWI, Marshall wrote widely on topics ranging from political science to legal psychology. Though an acting lawyer from 1921 until near his death in 1986, Marshall still worked in numerous other

capacities. He served on the board of governors of the American Jewish Committee and reported on Jewish settlements in Palestine in 1927. Further, after appointment by Mayor Fiorello La Guardia as a "reformer" in 1935 he acted as a member of the New York City Board of Education for the next 17 years. From 1938 to 1942 he presided over that body as president for consecutive one-year terms. In a Washington-like action, he refused a fifth term and called for a rotation of the position, though he continued on as a board member.[244] An advocate of progressive educational policies, he sought to empower educators and students by freeing them from the strictures of formulaic rote educational pedagogy. Within the board, he often acted as a gadfly willing to espouse positions unpopular or uncomfortable. Nevertheless, he accepted defeat of such policies with continued dedication to serve the community.[245]

The hope Marshall placed in the UN aligned with that given it by numerous educators. They often perceived of the UN as the most likely method of avoiding war and the destructive policies of the Nazis.[246] In a 1949 article entitled, "Teaching About the United Nations," author Sidney Barnett quoted a broadcast about the UN which stated that although the organization faced difficulties "there were hopes—great hopes….The Assembly approved noble principles—a Convention outlawing genocide…it approved a Declaration of Rights that belong to all human beings."[247] Combined with his call for students to study Raphael Lemkin's efforts at creating the genocide convention and his analysis of the rights stated in the UNDHR, the article suggested that Barnett valued highly the UN as the appropriate solution to human rights violations.

One article in *Strengthening Democracy* connected the Nazi atrocities with the necessity

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[244] Glenn Fowler, "James Marshall, Lawyer, Is Dead; Ex-Member of Board of Education," *New York Times*, August 13, 1986, D20.

[245] In a statement regarding Marshall's service as board president, the chairman of the Board of Superintendents Harold Campbell charitably called this tendency an "essential faith in democracy and in democratic processes [which] has made him champion of free expression of opinion before important decisions are reached." In one meeting alone he led an attempt to decline the creation of a new position, called for asking the city for more funds, defended himself for raising the issue but accepting the board's deferment. The starkest evidence of his tendencies is found in his response to the board president's statement that "your colleagues on the Board share your views." Marshall retorted, "I realize it, sir. I wish they would say it." Examples and statements can be found in Series 354, Subseries I, Box 1, Folder 1, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, Board of Education Minutes, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

[246] Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2005). Borgwardt presented the Atlantic Charter as an expansion of Roosvelt's New Deal to the world. The UN, then, served as a vehicle for that expansion. Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe*, 239. Hanebrink noted that the UNDHR and the Genocide Convention originated as responses to Nazi atrocities.

[247] Sidney Barnett, "Teaching about the United Nations," *High Points* XXXI, No 8 (October, 1949), 29.

of supporting and teaching the Genocide Convention. The monthly newsletter, produced by the New York City Board of Education and focused on promoting democratic teaching in both method and content, often provided curriculum samples for teachers. In its October 1950 issue, the Social Studies department of the High School of Music and Art produced a guide for teaching the UN Declaration of Human Rights. In the curriculum, they included an image [Figure 4.1] entitled "Steps Toward UN Declaration" which depicted four events which led to the UNDHR. In the first panel, a black uniformed man stands behind muzzled another man with a cloth. The panel stated, "Nazi disregard for human rights."[248] The image depicted the UNDHR as a response to the Nazi regime's actions. Importantly, the pane focused not on the killing of individuals, but the removal of their rights, here the freedom of speech. The murders naturally followed from this, the causal offense.[249] Thus, as noted in previous chapters, educators focused on the securing of rights as the method of avoiding future atrocities.

Figure 1: Illustration on the Declaration of Human Rights in *Strengthening Democracy*.

In the same article, the authors further tied the protection of human rights to political systems. In a clearly outlined trajectory for the development of human rights from the Magna

[248] "Teaching the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *Strengthening Democracy* 3, No. 1 (October 1950): 4. This publication can be found at the Records of the New York City Board of Education, Series 664: Division of Curriculum Development. "Strengthening Democracy," Box 1: Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records. The remaining panes suggested that the steps toward the UN declaration included Roosevelt's Four Freedoms speech, the Atlantic Charter, and the San Francisco Conference. All of these focused, primarily, on human rights protected by national governments or international cooperation.

[249] Additionally, the image aligns with Elizabeth Borgwardt's depiction of the Atlantic Charter as a connective tissue between the New Deal and creation of the UN in her work *New Deal for the World*.

Carta to the Declaration of Independence and then the Declarations of the Rights of Man, for example. They then encouraged teachers to "describe the appearance of totalitarianism and the limitations on human rights characteristic of dictatorships" in answer to a question regarding human rights developments after World War I.[250] Finally, the authors then asked how the earlier "concern for human rights" lead to the UNDHR. They pointed to the same three statements as the image had, the Four Freedoms, the Atlantic Charter, and the UN Charter.[251] It associated all forms of totalitarianism with human rights abuses and placed the declaration as a clear response to them. Another article, this one on "Teaching the Gettysburg Address, encouraged students to think about "the relationship between the ideals of the Gettysburg Address and…[the] United Nations Declaration of Human Rights."[252] These curricula suggested that Western values progressed naturally steadily toward the UNDHR, though interrupted by totalitarianism. The UN, thereby, represented the American response to Nazi atrocities.

Charles Savitzky's 1952 review of *Improving Human Relations* by Howard Cummings also linked the atrocities committed by the Nazis to the creation of UN human rights as well as to actions of the Soviet government. Savitzky recommended the book at a time "when the world is witnessing hydra-faced monsters cynically mouthing lofty concepts in one breath and spewing plans for base actions in another breath; when (with a past history of early Romans throwing Christians to lions, of Hitler exterminating 6,000,000 Jews, of slave labor camps) trepidation and difficulty surround passage of a Genocide Convention of the United Nations outlawing mass murders of populations."[253] The ease with which Savitzky associated the murder of the Jews with the slave labor camps suggests a kind of familiarity with such linkages.

While some educators focused on the global threat to human rights, others made clear that they recognized American failures in upholding such principles for African Americans. Benjamin Starr and Abraham Leavitt of James Monroe High School in New York City expressed this in a curriculum document they published in *High Points* in November of 1950. Upon stating the many reasons why Americans ought to embrace equal civil rights for all citizens and then

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[250] "Teaching the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 4.
[251] "Teaching the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 4.
[252] "Teaching the Gettysburg Address," *Strengthening Democracy* 2, No. 1 (October 1949): 4.
[253] Charles Savitzky, "Review: *Improving Human Relations*," *High Points* XXXIV, No. 1 (January 1952): 75.

expressing a plan of action, the authors discussed civil rights in a section entitled, "America's Race Problem: Equal Opportunity for Negro." In this section the authors listed various ways in which discrimination had stripped African Americans of their civil rights. recent "Progress in extension of Civil Rights." First noting UN acts, they wrote of both the UNDHR and the Genocide Convention. They then discussed the Civil Rights legislation proposed by President Truman.[254] Their curriculum made clear that they believed the UNDHR ought to apply to domestic forms of discrimination. Nevertheless, they typically avoided direct comparisons between Nazi atrocities and the plight of Blacks in the United States.[255]

The teachers who wrote the aforementioned *Strengthening Democracy* article on the UNDHR, made a similar connection. In the "Summary and Application" portion of the curriculum they provided, the teachers suggested asking questions about the UNDHR which demonstrated their recognition of its domestic applications. In one point, they encouraged teachers to ask students to "Compare the ideals of the U.N. Declaration with those found in the Report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights.*" They recognized the UN as foundational not just in ending Nazi oppression, but in promoting equal rights domestically. Having earlier tied the impetus for the UNDHR to "Nazi disregard for human rights," the authors, thus, recognized some similarities with domestic problems, no matter the degree. The teachers made clear that the UN, in particular in support of the UNDHR, had fought against defeated Nazi abuses of human rights and planned to continue that fight both in the U.S. and the rest of the world.

A significant number of NYC educators believed that the UN provided the best chance of avoiding future war and the current abuse of human rights. They did not see the violation of rights as wholly the domain of totalitarian regimes. They believed that the international organization might limit the growth of totalitarian regimes and their human rights abuses while also arguing that it could help promote rights long ignored in the United States. Seeking global cooperation for human rights at the state level and promoting intercultural education in response

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[254] Abraham Leavitt and Benjamin Starr, "Social Studies, Civil Rights, and Civil Responsibilities," *High Points* XXXII, no. 9 (November 1950): 69.
[255] Thomas Fallace, "Holocaust Education in the US: A pre-history, 1939-1960," *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings*, ed. Andy Pearce, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 190-204.

to the Nazi atrocities implied that Nazi brutality arose from the fostering of group antagonisms in order to obtain political control. Some, however, had learned other lessons.

On October 26, 1950, the NYCBoE heard testimony of at least 16 speakers opposed to a resolution offered by James Marshall that called for the UN flag to fly alongside the United States flag at any schools with multiple flagpoles.[256] Marshall declared that with U.S. troops fighting under UN auspices in Korea, schools ought to encourage support for the organization through the flying of the flag. He argued that "now is the time to declare again our American faith in the United Nations, a concept born out of our own early history and experiences as a nation and finding its origins in sacred scripture."[257] Marshall's statements anticipated many of the arguments against his measure. Marshall's plea for the flag highlighted the UN's heritage in religious thought and its focus on global cooperation for peace through the inclusion of belligerent powers. He also stressed that flying the flag did not intrude upon patriotism as students would only swear allegiance to the U.S. flag.

Nevertheless, fear of dual allegiance served as one point of consternation for opponents of Marshall's measure. As Mrs. Shelton, representing the Society for Constitutional Security, urged "that our children's minds not be confused in their allegiance to their own American Flag by the presence of the United Nations Flag."[258] Though the board had specifically noted that students would only pledge allegiance to the United States flag, the issue of loyalty and patriotism remained contentious. Mrs. George Alexander, speaking on behalf of the Daughters of 1812, argued that the UN flag in schools "contradicts the spirit of loyalty and discourages love of country…It will prepare and train our children to pay their allegiance to a world government."[259]

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[256] The timing of Marshall's proposal aligned with a push for distributing UN flag-making kits. This was attacked in the Chicago Tribune and other newspapers.

[257] Statement by James Marshall in Support of Resolution for use of U.N. flag in schools, Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY. In support of his argument that the UN was founded in scripture, he had earlier quoted scripture regarding the peace brought by the Lord.

[258] Comments of Mrs. William B. Shelton, Remarks Incident to Item 1, United Nations Flag, October 26, 1981, Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

[259] Comments of Mrs. George Alexander, Remarks Incident to Item 1, United Nations Flag, October 26, 1981, Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International

The danger that students might see the two flags as suggesting dual loyalty certainly motivated some.

Alexander's words regarding "a world government" addressed the first of these points by speaking to a fear that world government might alter American systems. Though Marshall, in his statement supporting the measure, argued that a world government need not frighten Americans since it aligned with principles of peace and harmony found in scripture and the country's own past, this did not assuage his naysayers. Alexander stated that her "objection [to the proposed measure] is based on the grounds that the United Nations is said to be a smoke screen for a pseudo peace plan of the powerful international World Planners. Is it not true that the United Nations is about to be reorganized as a centralized, subsidized, imperialized, materialized, militarized, super-police government under a world potentate appointed for life?"[260] Though some speakers pointed to the inclusion of communist states in the UN and, therefore, a subversive element, Alexander looked beyond a specific ideology. For Alexander, and the others like her, the UN represented not just the threat of communism, but of any sort of centralized, police state. In other words, a totalitarian danger to American democracy as it existed.

This expression of conservative fear of an UN-enabled "world government" relied upon the earlier, wartime representations of the Nazi atrocities in two ways. First, they saw the threat of Nazism as one of government. In other words, the Nazi assault on the Jews and others derived from political failures and, thus, would resolve through political measures. Throughout the 1930s and the war, educators had depicted American democracy as the solution and opposition to Nazism. This necessitated the protection of the United States and its form of government. Second, the efforts at promoting unity had ultimately served to submerge, rather than defeat, antisemitism and other forms of racism. The efforts of various organizations to combat bigotry had merely established a culture which deemed outward displays of prejudice inappropriate, but which did not address the root causes and mindsets of racism.[261] Thus, antisemitism and other

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Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

[260] Comments of Mrs. George Alexander, October 26, 1950.

[261] Zoë Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 156-170. Burkholder argues that a new post-war focus on a "colorblind" ideal discouraged discussion of race. Instead, teachers merely monitored to make sure that no students espoused racism.

prejudices remained acceptable so long as they were not inappropriately expressed. In many cases, thinly veiled antisemitism permeated the anxieties over a plot to create a world government.[262]

In fact, though many opponents of the UN argued that it represented a "world federalism" plot master-minded by Communists, some recognized that the real fears articulated did not comprise of fear of communism in particular. Instead, as a 1950 study of the organizations writing against the UN noted, "the charge of 'Communism' against world federalism was after all not the central issue," but instead they all exhibited fear of destruction of U.S. sovereignty, of internal freedom, and of the U.S. economy. All items which resembled earlier arguments of isolationists.[263]

Frederick Johnson, representing the National Council for American Education at the October 26th hearing, expressed these three fears perfectly. Though he did point specifically to the dangers of communism, he fixated far more on issues of sovereignty and national power. He first argued that "the United Nations is a step toward projected World Government which will scrap our Constitution, limit national sovereignty and set up a world police force."[264] After speaking to the threat to national independence, he then turned his eyes to issues of local rights, particularly in education. He accused UNESCO of attempting to supervise textbooks and end patriotism in schools and, therefore, feared for local education as "the Federal or central government has no power in American education under our constitution."[265] Finally, he noted that "United Nations subsidiary money and banking systems syphon off the American people's dollars and products in direct violation of their lost Constitutional property rights which were the keystone of their freedom."[266] For Johnson, and others like him, the UN had coalesced as the

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[262] David Austin Walsh, "The Right-Wing Popular Front: The Far Right and American Conservatism in the 1950s," in *Journal of American History* 107, no. 2 (September 2020), 421-422. Walsh notes both the use of the term "world government" as a reference to a perceived international Jewish conspiracy and the ways in which that term also resonated with evangelical Christians who feared atheistic communists.
[263] Stanley Bigman, "The 'New Internationalism' Under Attack, *Public Opinion Quarterly,* Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer 1950), 250 & 261. James Marshall held this article in his files with the debate over the UN flag.
[264] Comments of Frederick Johnson, Remarks Incident to Item 1, United Nations Flag, October 26, 1981, Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[265] Comments of Frederick Johnson, October 26, 1981.
[266] Comments of Frederick Johnson, October 26, 1981.

manifestation of their fears of a decline in American national and local sovereignty and power.[267] They feared that world government might alter the American systems to which had buttressed the nation during the crisis of the depression and World War II. The systems which had defeated the Nazis and brought their atrocities to an end.

At the root of opposition to the UN, and the general rejection of the racial aspects of the Nazi atrocities, lay antisemitism. Various government agencies had, in fact, labeled subversive a number of those organizations which opposed the perceived totalitarianism of the UN. Throughout the proceedings, Marshall consistently asked of the speakers about their connections to such organizations as Allen Zoll's "anti-semitic organization," the National Council for American Education, or Walter Steele's National Coalition of Patriotic Societies. When asked about his relationship to Zoll's group, Frederick Johnson responded that "I had lunch with him today."[268] Mrs. Shelton responded to Marshall's question about membership in the NCAE by stating that it comprised "one of the patriotic and loyal American societies in this country."[269] Though Marshall's point seemed clear, most of the speakers had ties to outright fascist or even Nazi-aligned organizations, some took offense that he had "questioned so many times…this audience here this afternoon."[270] Further, in spite of these revelations, Marshall's fellow board members seemed hesitant to fully support his resolution.

The anti-UN campaigning of Zoll and others like him represented a new kind of radical rightist activism. During the pre-war and wartime period, many of these same organizers had expressed their opposition to New Deal liberalism, which Zoll saw as no different than communism or fascism, in openly antisemitic language.[271] Though earlier openly antisemitic, in

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[267] Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 217-220. Anderson notes that these fears related to a loss of economic wealth through aid to "Black Africans" and a perceived loss of sovereignty through the Human Rights treaties.
[268] "U.N. Flag Row Stirs Education Board," *New York Times*, October 27, 1950, 31.
[269] Comments of Mrs. William B. Shelton, October 26, 1950.
[270] Comments of John Reardon, Remarks Incident to Item 1, United Nations Flag, October 26, 1950, Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[271] Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 101. Hartman records Zoll as having stated in a 1950 debate that "you are either for Americanism or you are against it. To my mind there is no difference in ideologies between New Dealism, communism, socialism, and fascism." Zoll and others—such as

their opposition to the UN and its educational programs, they submerged their bigotry in order to navigate a society that increasingly rejected its open espousal. Over the course of World War II, and in part due to the unity campaigns in the schools, espousal of antisemitism became a societal taboo even among those in the "right-wing popular front."[272] Yet, in their care not to stir up antisemitism by broadcasting the Nazi assault on the Jews, anti-bigotry movements had prepared the way for future, less overt, forms of hate. Extreme Right activists emphasized the framing of Nazi atrocities as a broad assault on democracy originating in centralized governmental power to reject the idea of human rights and to focus instead on the more traditional and concrete civil rights. Thus, the efforts against the UN relied upon pleas to protection of federally or state guaranteed civil rights and a rejection of overarching human rights. In their arguments over these guarantees, they often built upon antisemitic mentalities and tropes.

The NYC Board of Education recognized that such beliefs permeated the groups that opposed the pro-UN measures in the city's schools. One document provided to the Board of Education in the days before their meeting included numerous antisemitic statements by the groups opposing the UN flag, as well as some of their allies. Gerald L. K. Smith, a man whose antisemitism had made him odious even in the right-wing popular front, virulently opposed the UN in *The Cross and the Flag*, the newsletter of the Christian Nationalist Crusade. The Board document quoted his September 1950 statement that "Our boys are being told that the Stars and Stripes are not good enough to fight under so they are being asked to fight under the colors of the Palestine Jew flag and which is partly controlled and owned by Russia."[273] In "The 'New Internationalism' Under Attack," a journal article provided to the Board, author Stanley Bigman

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Merwin Hart, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Henry McFarland Jr.—all took their broader opposition to the UN into debates over schools by 1950. Stuart Foster, *Red Alert*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2000), 84.

[272] David Austin Walsh, "The Right-Wing Popular Front," 418. Walsh noted that "Widespread public exposure of radical right-wing politics, not those politics as such, was the key to exclusion from the right-wing popular front in 1950s, and even then money and influence could insulate certain individuals from total banishment." Antisemitism remained an important, though often submerged, aspect of these right-wing politics. Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 150-174. Dinnerstein argued that, though antisemitism declined significantly between 1945 and 1969 from its wartime high, "hostility toward the Jews…remained just beneath the surface in many typical American communities and could erupt without the slightest advance warning."

[273] "Attacks on the United Nations Flag," October 24, 1950, Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

noted that many of the influential anti-UN pamphleteers viewed Jews as conspirators for a world government. These statements played on long-running antisemitic themes of Jewish world domination, but also tied to Depression and WWII era attacks on the Roosevelt administration. Some of the bitterest criticism of the New Deal and Roosevelt had relied on false accusations that powerful Jews had controlled his government.[274]

Ultimately, in light of the opposition to the proposition, the school board delayed decision and held another meeting to allow further community comment. Though numerous groups came to express disapproval, others came to support Marshall's position. Even before the meeting, however, one paper reported that many of the board members, either due to pressure or from their own reservations, seemed disposed to vote against the measure.[275] Thus, when the Board finally made its decision, it did so on a heavily amended form of the proposal. They now voted on a measure that removed the requirement that schools fly U.N. flags if they had multiple flagpoles. Instead, they simply had to display, not fly, the flag in "suitable places in the school buildings" on "appropriate occasions."[276] Though they approved this form of the measure unanimously and though opponents screamed "Traitor—you're all a bunch of traitors," the final resolution seems a clear indication that many educators did hold reservations regarding the U.N. as the solution to the problems of mankind.

The educational advocates opposing the UN flag in schools rejected the idea that the UN served as a bulwark against the kinds of atrocities committed by the Nazis. To them, the war against Nazism had taught that American democracy itself served as the antidote to Nazism. Dedicated to science, free from propaganda, united, and Christian, it required vigilant maintenance against those who sought to alter it. Nazi brutality demonstrated the consequences

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[274] Dinnerstein, *Anti-semitism in America,* 105-149. In fact, the NYC Board of Education had investigated a teacher, May Quinn,for her fascistic statements and for reading antisemitic poems in class. They chose to not to further punish her beyond the investigation hearing. She had the support of numerous organizations that held beliefs akin to her own. Zoë Burkholder, "'A War of Ideas': The Rise of Conservative Teachers in Wartime New York City, 1938-1946," in History of Education Quarterly 55, no. 2 (May 2015), 218-243.
[275] This article, which did not include newspaper name or date was found in the James Marshall papers. John McCuen, "Would Limit Display of U.N. Banner," Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[276] Amended Resolution, Nov. 16, 1950, Series 354, Subseries II, Box 3, Folder 18, James Marshall Papers, 1930-1986, International Education/U.N./U.N.E.S.C.O., Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

of straying from these principles. They believed that the UN represented an attempt to lead America awry. In particular, they focused on traditional civil rights and political safeguards, ensured by the Constitution and American traditions, as key to avoiding such evils as those committed in Germany. The UN embrace of Human Rights threatened to reshape political structures and responsibilities and, therefore, might lead to rather than avoid new atrocities. Human Rights offered far too broad and flexible a standard that might lead to new interpretations of American government and challenges to certain longstanding practices in the United States. Certainly, this included legitimate fears regarding a destabilizing of the power between state and federal governments.[277] Thus, they rallied around a preservation of traditional interpretations of American civil rights, guaranteed by a democratic government, as the only necessary response to the threat of all forms of totalitarianism.

Debates over the UN, therefore, represented two different interpretations of the confrontation with Nazi Germany. The images accompanying the liberation of the concentration camp system heightened the stakes of the confrontation. Those who saw racism as an underlying cause of the Nazi atrocities or who saw it as a domestic issue rather than merely one originating in a far-off and defeated Germany often supported the UN, the UNDHR, and UNESCO programs as a solution to the problem of genocide. On the other hand, their opponents, who viewed centralized rule by a powerful state as the cause of Nazi brutality, saw the UN as the very kind of system likely to bring about atrocities. The memory of the murder of Europe's Jews and other Nazi atrocities imbued debates about the UN with almost existential ramifications.

Liberal understanding of the nature of the Nazi regime and the origins of their repressive policies bred a campaign for human rights and against group hatred; yet, those same events strengthened the resolve of American conservatives to protect traditionally defined civil rights against outside forces, whether international or federal. Among these they highlighted political and property rights over human rights. They believed strongly in the power of States as the bulwark against federal and international overreach. As events in Texas would prove, they often

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[277] Natalie Kaufman and David Whiteman, "Opposition to Human Rights Treaties in the United States Senate: The Legacy of the Bricker Amendment," in *Human Rights Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (August 1988): 322-323. Kaufman and Whiteman noted that Arthur Schweppe of the American Bar Association focused on a perceived limitation to first amendment rights that might come from congressional ratification of Human Rights treaties in the early 1950s.

feared that open-ended human rights might lead to a decrease in the civil rights that they cherished. Notably, control over these civil rights also allowed for the perpetuation of systems of racial prejudice, as in the Jim Crow South. Nevertheless, for them, centralized—or totalitarian—state power seemed the origin of the atrocities of World War II and they, therefore, sought to challenge increase in national authority.

"This Declaration of Human Rights Contains the Seeds of Socialism"

Disagreement over the nature and scope of the United Nations played out in powerful ways in Texas between 1953 and 1954. Fear of the UN served as a locus for the animosity of those fearful of encroachment on local control of education. In particular, their comments often expressed an interpretation of Nazism rooted in emphasizing the centralized, propagandistic, revolutionary aspects of that system. Though opponents often targeted the UN generally or even UNESCO specifically, in Texas it centered upon the UNDHR.

When the Texas State Textbook Committee met between October 12 and October 17, 1953 to recommend textbooks for the state, it addressed the inclusion of the UNDHR in some of the World History textbooks selected. The committee comprised of fifteen professional educators, primarily active teachers, rotated out each year. This group, then, represented the ideals of the educators across the state. The committee unanimously voted, on the morning of October 16, 1953, to "request the deletion of the entire text of the Declaration of Human Rights and all author's opinions concerning this document from books recommended in world history."[278] This seeming solidarity belies significant controversy.

In fact, the unanimous decision to recommend deletion of the UNDHR from textbooks evidenced a divergence, rather than a convergence, of opinions. When the recommendation later led to significant media attention and some criticism of the State Board of Education, the chairman of the textbook committee, Bertha Brandon of Waco ISD, admitted to disagreement among the committee members, stating that "author's opinions concerning the document under discussion were causing considerable controversy among committee members."[279] She wrote

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[278] "Minutes of the State Textbook Committee," October 12-17, 1953, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/145-5, Textbook Committee- 1953, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[279] "Letter from Bertha Brandon to JW Edgar," December 29, 1953, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/145-5, Textbook Committee- 1953, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

that the committee had desired to select the best books overall, regardless of whether or not they included the UNDHR. The unanimous recommendation, therefore, served as a way of moving past the debate created by the inclusion of the document in some textbooks. They felt that a general recommendation would "clear the confusion and secure consideration of the books on their general merits."[280] Ultimately, three of the books they recommended contained the UNDHR in their reviewed forms.

Contrary to the textbook adoption process in 1953, earlier years had seen the adoption of materials in which authors held few reservations in praising the UNDHR or the institution from which it derived. The American history textbooks adopted by the Texas SBoE in 1950 not only drastically increased their coverage of the Nazi atrocities in general, but they overwhelmingly did so in the context of the Nuremberg Trials. In fact, 80% of the words devoted to Nazi brutalities and terror came in sections on the war crimes trials.[281] The context of the textbook treatment of the Nuremberg Trials reinforced three themes. First, they emphasized the nature of the trials as the deliverance of justice in the punishment of war crimes and aggressive war. Second, they placed the assault on the Jews, alongside a number of other Nazi atrocities, as a part of the war crimes. Third, the authors presented the trials as an important part of the establishment and justification of the United Nations.

In these works, the UN served as the solution to the problems of the 1930s and 1940s. Whether war, an assault on human rights, or mass atrocities, the UN had resolved such issues during World War II and had brought the perpetrators to justice. Seen as political problems related to expansionist totalitarianism, international cooperation among nations provided the solution. This depiction relied on a contextualization of the persecution and murder of the Jews as a single example of Nazi brutality manifesting from aggressive war demanded by the Nazi system. Since the United Nations defeated the Nazis forces and had brought about justice at Nuremberg, educators surmised, then support for the United Nations seemed the solution to

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[280] "Letter from Bertha Brandon to JW Edgar," December 29, 1953.
[281] The 1950 American History textbook adoption of the SBoE saw an average of 197 words dedicated to Nazi atrocities and brutality among its five textbooks. Of these, only 17% addressed the persecution or murder of the Jews. Two books never mentioned the Jews and two gave only very light coverage to the topic. The largest treatment of the topic, with 32% on the assault on the Jews, occurred in *Our Own United States*, by John Van Duyn Southworth, former head of the History Department of Hockaday Junior College in Dallas, Texas.

avoiding such war crimes in the future. Thus, the authors represented the murder of the Jews alongside other ethnic or religious groups enslaved or murdered during the war. Occasionally, they even discussed the murdered Jews alongside other civilian casualties of the war such as those who died due to aerial bombing or wartime hunger.

In *United States History*, Fremont Wirth, professor at George Peabody College for Teachers, presented the Nuremberg Trials in just such a way. Stating that the "war leaders were brought before a court of law and tried for starting an aggressive war and committing crimes while the war was in progress," Wirth emphasized the preexisting treaties and wartime conferences that made such a trial "just." [282] Just as had earlier textbook authors, Wirth emphasized the global danger of the Nazis, this time with the additional point that they had received punishment for their actions. He noted that the "leaders were charged with starting aggressive war with the aim of enslaving the world."[283] Wirth next described what this enslavement might entail by labeling the type of atrocities the Nazis had meted out on those they conquered as "the murder and ill-treatment of the civilians of other countries, the use of concentration camps, the bringing of more than 5,000,000 people to Germany to work as slave labor, the inhuman treatment of prisoners of war, and the persecution and murder of 6,000,000 Jews."[284] Thus, Wirth echoed the trials themselves in listing the various brutal acts of the Nazis, whether committed against Germans or those conquered, as "war crimes." Emphasizing the war as one of global conquest had the effect of positioning all people in the world, including but not limited to Jews, as potential victims of the Nazi ideology. The Nazis had, it seems, slated all for enslavement or murder.

The UN represented the solution to any continued threats, just as it had solved the problems during War II. Wirth located the discussion on the Nuremberg Trials not directly after the coverage of the war's end, but in a new chapter addressing the purposes and development of the UN. His statement that "the victorious powers, while working to organize for future security,

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[282] Fremont Wirth, *United States History*, (New York City: American Book Company, 1949), 727.
[283] Wirth, *United States History*, 727. This representation corresponds directly to the charges of the trial itself and, thus, demonstrates both the narrative depicted in textbooks but also the ways that society in general seems to have understood the war and Nazi atrocities.
[284] Wirth, *United States History*, 727. The final eight words, regarding the murder of the Jews, consist of the only ones in Wirth's book which address this action.

were also faced with the immediate problem of bringing peaceful conditions to a world which was just emerging from a terrible war" depicted international cooperation, such as that found in the war crimes trials, as the key to future security. [285] The atrocities discussed in his treatment of the trials justified the efforts of the United Nations during the war and the justice served that provided evidence of the ability of the UN to eliminate global threats. Thus, he presented the UN as the hope for a peaceful world, devoid of the types of brutality expressed by the Nazis.

Other authors, too, highlighted aspects of this theme in their books. In *Our Nation*, authors Eugene Barker, head of the history department at the University of Texas, and Henry Commager, professor of history at Columbia University, placed the Nuremburg trials amid the discussion on a number of war-time and post-war conferences. In fact, they tied that "leaders guilty of 'war crimes' were to be tried by special courts and punished," to the requirement that the defeated nations "repudiate totalitarian doctrines and establish democratic governments."[286] Thus, war crimes and totalitarianism went hand in hand, democracy and cooperation seemed the solution. In *Our Own United States*, author John Southworth emphasized the connection between the war and the atrocities by beginning his section on the war trials by stating that "the leaders of Germany and Japan had been guilty of cruel and horrible activities, worse even than the usual horrors associated with war."[287] Southworth, even while noting the atrocities as something beyond war, still situated them within the context of war and, thus, as solved by the war and its outcomes. In *World History*, a world history textbook published in 1947, authors Arthur Boak, Preston Slosson, and Howard Anderson included a picture of the Nuremberg Trials in a section on the United Nations. The caption stated, "To prevent wars such as these men stirred up is one of the important functions of the United Nations."[288] Whether the authors depicted the atrocities as the result of war or of totalitarianism, the UN, clearly represented a bulwark against the threat of Nazi or totalitarian atrocities, both past and future.

Many of these textbook authors looked to the UN as a bulwark against the kinds of

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[285] Wirth, *United States History*, 727.
[286] Eugene Barker and Henry Commager, *Our Nation*, (Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company, 1950),964.
[287] John Southworth, *Our Own United States*, 919.
[288] Howard Anderson, Arthur Boak, Preston Slosson, *World History*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), 556. World history textbooks rarely had as extensive a treatment of the Nuremberg Trials as did American history textbooks. Instead, they usually placed the Nazi terror tactics and atrocities in sections on Nazi policy. Nevertheless, they, in their own way, presented the war and the UN in a similar way.

atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis. In particular, the UN Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) and United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) seemed of special importance to educators. They saw these two parts of the UN as necessary and appropriate parts of educating youth in a form of democracy that rejected war and prevented hatred and bigotry.

In the case of the UNDHR, as well as the subsequent UN Genocide Convention, educators emphasized the necessity and importance of protecting human rights as portrayed in the document, rights which the Nazis had rejected. Declaring its work "notable" among all the UN endeavors, authors Leon Canfield and Howard Wilder emphasized the work of the Human Rights Commission as chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. They emphasized the declaration made by the commission and quoted that it called for the "right to life, liberty and security of person" and forbid limiting rights due to "race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion."[289]

In UNESCO, they saw an organization that could provide youth with a global mindset that might eliminate tensions among people and nations and, thereby, avoid the type of war that had seen the perpetration of such brutality. David Muzzey, Professor Emeritus of History at Columbia University, wrote of UNESCO in the 1950 edition of *A History of Our Country*. In a section declaring the UN the "Hope of the World," he stated that UNESCO seemed to many, "the most promising" of the UN organizations. Muzzey believed that UNESCO, with its focus on education and cultural interchange, seemed the best hope for the future since "it was evident that, in the last analysis, the hope of a secure and peaceful world depended not on the nations' amassing arms against one another, but on the spread of enlightenment among the citizens."[290] Muzzey, like other authors, clung to hope that international cooperation might stave off threats to peace and end the kinds of brutal policies enacted by the Nazis.

The conflict among the educators on Texas' 1953 State Textbook Committee regarding the inclusion of the UNDHR in textbooks, therefore, represented a significant challenge to the accepted representation of the United Nations and its role in promoting peace and human rights.

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[289] Leon Canfield and Howard Wilder, *The Making of Modern America*, (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), 716. Canfield served as a professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson College in New Jersey while Howard Wilder acted as Head of the Department of Social Studies at Melrose High School before becoming the school's principal.

[290] David Saville Muzzey, *A History of Our Country*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1950), 609-610.

In the future, educators would increasingly reject the promotion and positive depictions of the U.N. as methods of contextualizing and teaching the events of World War II. Acceptance, even a partial one, of the arguments of those opposing the UN document signified a continued reinterpretation of the Nazi atrocities among Americans. They now remembered and emphasized the regimes' centralization of power, indoctrination in education, alteration of social norms, while forgetting and minimizing its racial ideology, denial of human rights, and rabid anti-communism.

Though the recommendation to remove the UNDHR from American history textbooks adopted for 1953 alleviated the controversy in the committee, it only brought about more public disagreements when the State Board of Education met to discuss the Committee's recommendations. The first of these disputes erupted among the board members of the SBoE. When the Board met on November 9, 1953, James Edgar, Texas Commissioner of Education, introduced the textbook committee's recommendation and included his own staff's subsequent study of the texts in question with their own suggestions. Edgar's staff ignored the textbook committee's recommendation and only suggested that in one textbook "it would probably be advisable to delete this opinion [on the UNDHR] of the author," though they said nothing of deleting the document itself. In the other work including the UNDHR, the staff did not suggest any action.

During the SBoE meeting, Dr. Will Jackson led those who agreed with Edgar in maintaining, albeit without authorial "opinions," the UNDHR in the textbooks. He set the tone in stating that the discussion constituted something "tremendously fundamental" and argued that if "we can't trust our teachers to give intelligent interpretations when this material is placed in the hands of our children, then we are in a pretty bad state."[291] He, therefore, called for a careful consideration of what implementation of the committee's recommendation might mean.

Indeed, his fears suggest that he saw the committee's resolution as a dangerous precedent, one which brought to mind images of Nazi Germany. In making his case, he believed that though the Board should work to "safeguard anything we put in the hands of our children,"

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[291] "Minutes of State Board of Education, November 9, 1953," March 20, 1954, Official Agenda State Board of Education, Box 1998 130-1, OAH X.257 State Board of Education Minutes and Agenda, Texas State Library and Archives, 28.

he feared even more a time “when we descend to the level of what is, in effect, thought control.”[292] What is more, he tied the possible rejection of the books or removal of the UNDHR to “a disgraceful experience of what borders on book burning” [293] in his own home town of San Antonio and to a broader issue in the nation.

In fact, book burning had developed as a point of contention during the summer of 1953 after President Eisenhower had decried efforts at removing books from American libraries in Germany, a project he declared “book-burning.” Yet attempts to censor or even destroy books proved a local problem just as much as a national and international one. Various localities saw continued pressure to censor or destroy books deemed suspect. In the case in San Antonio to which Dr. Jackson had referred, for example, a woman named Myrtle Hance had complained of some 600 books in the public library which she declared written or illustrated by those declared communist subversives by congressional investigations. Though the library board seemed not to care, the mayor and city manager stepped in to call for branding or burning the books, respectively.

The event became national news as columnists tied it to the very events Eisenhower had spoken against. Further, many connected the efforts of Hance and the city officials to the Nazi book-burnings. Royce Brier, an award-winning journalist of the San Francisco Chronicle, wrote of one San Antonio councilman reportedly calling the San Antonio plan to mark the books, “Hitler tactics.”[294] Linking the events in San Antonio to a “small riot” in Chicago during which rioters burned “pro-Soviet literature”, Brier argued that the events in Chicago “did not differ in spirit…from the burning instigated by Goebbels in Germany in 1933.” He warned his readers that they “Better watch it. They aren’t only after what communists read, which is chiefly their own stuff. They’re after what you and I read—to see that it conforms to their prejudice and

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[292] “State Board of Education Minutes,” November 9, 1953, 28.

[293] “State Board of Education Minutes,” November 9, 1953, 28. The term “book burning” had recently come back into popular parlance, following its decline after WWII, when Sen. McCarthy had investigated U.S. libraries abroad and argued that the State Department under Truman had filled them with communist propaganda. When some books were, evidently, burned, the issue erupted. In a *Houston Post* article entitled “Daniel Backs Ike as ‘Book Burner’ Foe” from June 17, 1953, the paper’s Washington Bureau reported that Senator Hennings argued that the “removal of books from libraries is a ‘totalitarian device’ even in libraries abroad where the Nazi and Communist activities in this field are brought to mind.”

[294] Royce Brier, “This World Today: Your Books on the Vandal Index,” *San Francisco Chronicle,* June 26, 1953, 12.

dictate."[295] Brier's article, which addressed censorship in various localities, signifies exactly what those decrying "book burning" pictured when they opposed such actions. Censorship of books engendered visions of Nazism.

Though maintaining professionalism, Jackson powerfully attacked Smith's position. He intentionally used images of Nazism in a discussion on the possible censorship of a document which the UN had intended as a direct response to the actions of the Nazis. Though the official minutes do not include Jackson's views on the UNDHR, his concern went beyond a discussion of recommending the alteration of a text. Instead, Jackson pointed to dangerous motives of those seeking the document's elimination from textbooks. Speaking indirectly to the motivations of proponents of removal, Jackson argued for acting "on the basis of sound objective conclusions." This statement points to "unsound" and, as he well knew, demagogic opposition to the UNDHR.

Jackson's imagery, thereby, attributed Nazi methods and mentalities to his opponents. He had good reason to do so. Notably, El Paso attorney and SBoE member Eugene Smith and others who opposed the UNDHR reached beyond prior board actions. Though the board often made recommendations or requirements of publishers, regarding alterations made to the textbooks, they usually did so after adopting the books. The textbook committee recommendation called for just such modifications. In the case of the UNDHR, however, Smith sought rejecting, or, failing that, delaying the books themselves. To him, the inclusion of the UNDHR supplied enough reason to reject the books entirely. His attitude moved beyond the regulation of textbook content in which the Board often engaged. Instead, he believed that the board should eliminated entirely a textbook judged appropriate in every other way by the textbook committee. In other words, he felt that a single document he opposed invalidated the entire work.

In order to accomplish the removal of the books, Smith moved to adopt all books that did not include the document and postpone adoption of those which did. Though director of textbook division HA Glass noted twice that such an action created too great a strain on the various ISD's administrations, Smith still pushed his motion. Such a move would have set a precedent for

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[295] Royce Brier, "This World Today: Your Books on the Vandal Index." Californians had their own reasons to be interested in events regarding censorship in education. It proved a key state in conservative school reform. There, Zoll and other conservatives acted in opposition to both the UN and progressive education. For more on the Pasadena school debate, see "Rich, Republican, and Reactionary: Pasadena's Revolt against Progressivism" in Adam Laats' work *The Other School Reformers*.

rejecting recommended books outright and also would have allowed time to marshal pressure groups against it. Even if this did not ultimately lead to keeping the book off of the adoption list, it might have resulted in de facto rejection of the books by making them available to schools only after most ISDs ordered new textbooks.

Smith's actions and subsequent responses of his hometown clarify one of the positions of those opposed to the UNDHR. Smith articulated his opposition to the document in terms of the Red Scare. A few newspapers reported Smith as complaining that the UNDHR "had a 'pink slant."[296] An editorial in Smith's hometown paper, the *El Paso Herald-Post* reported Smith as stating that his "opposition to 'Man's Story' is not to be taken as thought control. Rather I feel the need to protect our public schools from socialistic propaganda."[297] Such statements fed into contemporary fears.

Smith played to, or at least complied with, his base of support in El Paso. The 1949 Gilmer-Aikin laws had altered the method of selecting SBoE members from appointment of nine members by the governor to the election of twenty-one members by the congressional districts of the state.[298] This meant that Smith's seat on the board relied on his popularity in his district rather than, as had been the case previously, adherence to the governor's position.

Some El Paso residents certainly opposed Smith's position. One editor, Richard T. Marshall, responded to Smith's assertion of "socialism" in the declaration by stated that "so does the Post Office contain the seeds of socialism, for that matter!"[299] He further noted that the Declaration of Independence, which the opponents of the UNDHR had opposed placing alongside that document, had far more inflammatory language than the UN document. Nevertheless, those in power and, presumably, the voters who empowered them, disagreed. Some spoke out in agreement with their board member.

Smith quickly gained the support of the El Paso School Board and at least some

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[296] "UN Declaration to be Written without Editorial Comment," *Taylor Daily Press*, November 10, 1953, 1. And Vern Sanford, "Highlights from Austin—John C. White Latest Prospective Candidate for Governor," *The Baytown Sun,* November 18, 1953, 4.
[297] "El Paso Members Hit Approval by State Group," *El Paso Herald-Post,* December 30, 1953, 1.
[298] Dick Smith and Richard Allen Burns, "Texas Education Agency," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 19, 2020, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/met02.
[299] Richard Marshall, "Students Have Right to Broad Education," *El Paso Herald-Post*, January 4, 1954, 18.

influential members of the journalistic community. In December of 1953 the board backed his stand by writing letter of support which stated that "this, Declaration of Human Rights contains the seeds of socialism and we are strongly of the opinion that every word or deed which tends to glorify any socialistic theories should be eliminated from our public schools."[300] They later clarified this position, stating that the UNDHR had "nothing American about it" as it "provides that every human has a right to be protected and supported by the state from the womb to the tomb."[301] This glibly derogatory statement made clear the local school board's view that Smith's opposition to such rights aligned with the author's own beliefs. Smith's position, no matter how sincerely felt, served to heighten fears of communist subversion and garnered support based on Cold War anxieties at the expense of freedom of speech. Indeed, Smith could depict himself as a bulwark in the SBoE against communist inroads. Though Smith may have acted only as an opportunist, one could only describe those with whom he allied as domestic fascists.

Two organizations circulating materials in Texas certainly shaped the beliefs of UN opponents such as Smith. One, W. Henry MacFarland, Jr.'s American Flag Committee (AFC), had grown out of its author's association with the nationally known fascist Gerald Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade. After the Attorney General labeled MacFarland's first organization, the Nationalist Action League, "fascist," he created the AFC in 1950 to fight the expansion of the United Nations.

The second, an extremist newsletter, written by Texas resident Ida Muse Darden, called *The Southern Conservative* reached numerous Texans through its consistent inclusion in more reputable local newspapers.[302] In it, Darden advocated on broad swath of issues precious to the extreme right—segregation, anti-communism, fundamentalist Christianity, etc. She declared her

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[300] "El Paso Members Hit Approval by State Group," December 30, 1953, 1.
[301] E.M. Pooley, "Side-Bar Remarks," *El Paso Herald-Post*, January 4, 1953, 18. They repeated this statement in a March article announcing the banning of the book.
[302] Darden's own editorials were consistently quoted almost in their entirety through the conceit of newspaper editors finding her analysis useful and appropriate. One called her newsletter "one of the best nationalist papers." However, rather than a grassroots darling of nationalist editors, newspaper tycoon R.C. Hoiles owned the papers which quoted Darden. Hoiles was intimately involved in the editorial position of his papers and was an anti-UN and anti-public schools activist. Another common tactic, according to the ADL was for such far-right activists to send a flood of letters to newspapers for publication in "letters to the editors." Stanley Jacobs, "When Bigots Write…Dear Editor," *ADL Bulletin,* December 1955, 4-5. This collection available online at https://digital.lib.uh.edu/collection/southern.

opposition to “radicalism which is rapidly bringing us to the end of the road as a Constitutional Republic.”[303] Darden based her operation in Dallas, Texas and gained the support of numerous “oil men” in the state. Further, newspaper tycoon R.C. Hoiles bought up hundreds of local papers, ones with no competitors, and filled them with anti-UN and anti-public school editors. He involved himself heavily in the editorial positions and, thus, filled rural towns with content such as Darden’s.[304]

Analyzing the debates regarding the SBoE decision on the UNDHR, the efforts of the AFC, and the writings of Ida Darden illuminated the ways that many Americans, conservatives in particular, viewed the UN, the UNDHR, UNESCO and the Nazi atrocities which had been instrumental in shaping their goals. These groups seemed to fear two major threats from either the congressional recognition of the UNDHR itself or teaching it in schools, which they feared might lead to the first. First, they saw the UN as an attempt at world government in which the UNDHR played the role of inserting legally-binding “human rights,” which they feared undermined established American rights. Importantly, though often writing in opposition to “communism,” their statements and positions suggest a more traditional resistance to centralization of power in the federal government and the loss of local and state rights. Further, their representations of communism often mixed generalized understandings of Nazism with those of the Soviet Union. Thus, their attacks on communism, often relied on fear of state power rooted in perceptions of Nazism as much as those of the Cold War.

Second, conservative activists alleged that UNESCO resources would challenge the locally controlled school systems which upheld traditional parental authority and long-standing social norms. In this, too, they relied on American’s understandings of Nazi Germany to heighten fears of this outcome. They believed, it seemed, that political control of educational systems, not the content or ideology taught, endangered Americans. Political centralization of power rather than the Nazis bigotry had sparked the Nazi atrocities. In fact, these activists had reason to reject racial ideology as the motivational force behind the Nazi genocide. Their dedication to parental authority and social norms often served the maintenance of segregation.

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[303] Ida Darden, “Introducing the Southern Conservative,” *The Southern Conservative* 1, no. 1 (January 1950), 1.
[304] Foster, *Red Alert,* 79-80.

These activists attempted the difficult task of discussing genocide and atrocities while carefully avoiding comments that might connect too closely to discriminatory policies across the country. One article by Ida Darden demonstrated how they sometimes accomplished this task. In June of 1951, she wrote an article assaulting the United Nations as an organization designed to dominate the United States and create "World Communism" that would lead to the "disintegration of the Anglo-Saxon race and its absorption by a mongrel breed of international hybrids." To support her claims, she argued that "world planners" created new terms to aid in "the breakdown of segregation in the South." She decried the words "tolerance" and "human rights" as sinister propaganda. Finally, she stated that "although there is no such word in the English language or any other language as 'Genocide' they coined it and threw it in for good measure to be used later in forcing their racial views on the South."[305] Though she had earlier stated that the United Nations had originated with the goal of creating peace through resistance to "predator nations," she refused to place the term genocide into historical context. She simply ignored that the destruction of a people based on race, nationality, religion, etc. had occurred and might occur again. Instead, she denied its reality by describing genocide as a term conjured up simply to accuse the South. She denied the racial aspects of the Nazi atrocities as a way of protecting racist Southern institutions. Her position demonstrates how many Americans failed to recognize racial ideology as a factor in Nazism because that would expose their own white supremacy. Earlier framings of the assault on the Jews, which focused on racism simply as a method of dividing nations, made such an interpretation possible. As long as supremacist policies did not become divisive, then advocates of those policies could elide the comparison with Nazi ideology.

Thus, conservatives linked both their reasons for opposing the UN and its methods—which they depicted as indoctrination and the centralization of state power—to Nazism. By focusing on the devices of totalitarianism rather than the purposes or principles of the various systems, they depicted Nazism as a system of methods bereft of its ideological components. Ida Darden, for example, commented that "Hitler and Stalin of course openly boasted that, if given a

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[305] Ida Darden, "'Commission on Human Rights,' Selected as the Medium for Putting World Communism into Effect," *The Southern Conservative* 2, no. 6 (June 1951), 1-2.

child for his first twelve years, they would guarantee to turn out a Nazi or Communist."[306] School systems, whether the curriculum they employed or the location of the powers controlling them, therefore, served as proof of either totalitarianism or Americanism. Thus, could Darden, in 1950, quote a Houston School Board member who described federal aid for education as "a mess of Nazi spinach" and suggest that the El Paso School Board could not stem "the growth of National Socialism, or Nazism" which derived from its acceptance of federal funding for schools.[307] Even when they spoke as anti-communists, they played on cultural knowledge of Nazism.

Indeed, Darden often used terms and concepts associated with Nazism to tar Communism. Warning of the dangers of UNESCO to America's youth, she published an article by Lillian Roberts which stated that "the slaves and the executions and the concentration camps and all the horrors inseparable from Communism do not upset these intellectuals [who support UNESCO] because they believe that these are necessary instruments of force which must be used to compel humanity to do what is best for it."[308] Though certainly forms of slavery, executions, and gulags existed in the Soviet Union at various times, the terminology—especially concentration camp—used by Darden conjured up images of 1945 and associated them with Communism rather than Nazism.

As with the UN flag issue in New York City, opponents of the UN in Texas often evidenced fear of a global government, whether communist or otherwise. Just as before, these anxieties revolved around the limitation of U.S. sovereignty or of local or state rights. Where proponents of the UN often portrayed its principles as the outflow of American ideals, opponents of globalism saw the organization as a threat which might limit or destroy the nation's positive aspects. Concerned Texan Mrs. H.P. Baskin, in a letter to the SBoE opposing their decision on the UNDHR, urged that the board "reconsider your grave error, and look to the future of our great Nation, and not to a 'One World!"[309] Those who, like Baskin, held such anxiety about UN

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[306] Ida Darden, "Americans Must Be Very Careful In Purchasing Children's Books," October, 1956, 3.
[307] Ida Darden "Federal Aid to Schools is a Government Subsidy," *The Southern Conservative* 1, No. 11-12 (November-December 1950), 3.
[308] Lillian Roberts, "UNESCO—The Greatest Danger to America's Youth," *The Southern Conservative* 3, no. 7-8 (July-August 1952), 4-5.
[309] "Letter from H.P. Baskin to The State Board of Education," November 15, 1953, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

control often pointed to the UNDHR as evidence of such a threat.

MacFarland's AFC served as one influential source of such anti-UN viewpoints. Even before the UNDHR textbook issue, Texas State Representative Marshall Bell of San Antonio, for instance, sent Commissioner Edgar an AFC newsletter in a letter linking Myrtle Hance's book stamping efforts and UNESCO's educational materials. After he applaudingly noted the efforts of Hance and others at discovering subversive works in the San Antonio libraries, Bell suggested the AFC pamphlet to Edgar and wondered "to what extent has this organization [UNESCO] gotten into our schools." The materials in question served as MacFarland's "Reply to the 'Smear Brigade,'" his name for those declaring his organization fascist. He made this response when numerous groups protested the AFC after U.S. congressman John Wood introduced an anti-UNESCO "report" entitled "The Greatest Subversive Plot in History" into the congressional record. Wood's action gave MacFarland's works significant power as tools for promoting anti-UN positions, including all the anti-semitic, "state's rights," local-power, segregationist sentiments the most vocal opponents of the UN bound into their arguments.[310]

MacFarland, as had Baskin, saw the progressive education as a threat from "'world minded' educators" who sought to destroy local control. MacFarland wrote that opposition to UNESCO and, thereby, the UN meant opposition to "Communism, Socialism, World Federalism and other ideologies aiming toward the radical modification of our national independence and constitutional form of Government."[311] In this, he had a particular understanding of independence and "constitutional form." He sought teaching students "the great liberties secured by our forefathers are protected—by a structure of divided powers, checks and balances, and State's Rights."[312] His highlighting of "state's rights" signifies the overlap between segregationism and anti-globalism in which the numerous domestic, fascist organizations, such as the AFC, resided. It also hints at a fundamental underlying reason for their opposition to

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[310] Some of these included Gerald Smith, leader of the Christian Nationalist Crusade; Allen Zoll, an extremist editor of the National Council for American Education pamphlet; and Conde McGinley, the fanatical anti-semitic editor *Common Sense*. All were notable domestic fascists. In each case, these right-wing extremists called for removing the United States from the UN and making education about teaching Christianity and "Americanism".
[311] W. Henry MacFarland, "A Reply to the Smear Brigade—Further Documented Facts about 'UNESCO' and its Invasion of the American Community and the Sanctity of the American Home," August-September 1952, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/145-17, Non-Subversive Oath, 4, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[312] MacFarland, "A Reply to the Smear Brigade," 4.

UNESCO and the UNDHR, fear of an end to the white supremacy maintained under the banner of "state's rights."

Anti-Semitism appeared consistently in these claims of world government conspiracies. In one publication, *National Progress*, MacFarland had written a "report" entitled, "Statistical Study of the Jewish Population." In it, he had claimed that "internationalism is the springboard of Judaizing the world."[313] His opposition to the UN revolved around the typical ultra-nationalist belief in a Judeo-Communist plot that enamored so many others with whom he joined in attacking the UN.[314] Fears of globalism, under whatever name, often revolved around such conspiracy theories. The opposition to the UNDHR and UNESCO, thereby presented desegregation efforts as part of a global Jewish conspiracy to destroy American principles.

By whatever avenue they came to this belief, many firmly felt that support for the UNDHR might lead to congress signing the document or the genocide convention and, thereby, to the subsequent loss of American sovereignty.[315] Ida Darden expressed these fears when she decried, derogatorily pointing out one member as "a Negro," the UN Human Rights Commission as "born in the distorted minds of neuter-gendered males and emotionally frustrated females" and claimed that they "have labored…to grind out a textbook on human behavior…[which] prescribes and limits the moral, social and political action of every American from the time when he is first laid in a swaddling cloth until that final hour when he's enfolded in a shroud."[316] Yet,

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[313] Forrest Burgess, "Memorandum from Forrest Burgess to SAC: Nationalist Action League Internal Security-X," June 10, 1949, FBI File Number 105-426/First 50 Serials and 1958-1961, Nationalist Action League, 18, Accessed June 20, 2020.
https://archive.org/details/NationalistActionLeagueW.HenryMacFarlandJr.Philadelphia105426/mode/2up

[314] Further, MacFarland had earlier in his career allied with Gerald Smith and, while still heading the Nationalist Action League, had merged his efforts with Conde McGinley's Loyal American Group. Those two both assaulted the UN using much more racially charged than MacFarland. In a pamphlet entitled "What do Christian Nationalists Stand for?" Smith called the UN "a Jewish-Communist instrument for the destruction of the sovereignty of all nations." McGinley wrote an article in his newsletter *Common Sense* entitled "United Nations-World Jewish Plan." In it he argued that "the Jewish plan for world conquest and for ruling the entire world is now well underway. There is every likelihood that the future 'World Government" will be the organization presently known as the United Nations."

[315] In fact, the American Bar Association suggested that this is exactly what would happen in a number of statements over the course of the late 1940s. They reiterated and reaffirmed these statements in the mid-1950s. For information on this topic, see Christopher Roberts, *The Contentious History of the International Bill of Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 72-121. See the racial aspects of these arguments in chapter five of *Eyes Off the Prize* by Carol Anderson.

[316] Ida Darden, "The 'Covenant on Human Rights' of United Nations Has Turned Out To Be the Tail That Wags the Dog," *The Southern Conservative* 3, no. 1 (January 1952), 1. Restated with comment on the ethicity of one member

not only professional pamphleteers wrote in such terms.

Newspaper editors, too, seemed more than happy to broadcast the attacks on the UN through the publication of letters from readers and editorials. Opposition to the UNDHR in the educational system seemingly took hold in 1952 upon increased efforts by UNESCO to teach the declaration in schools.[317] A flurry of letters to the editors of Texas newspapers demonstrate what opponents of the document feared in its teaching and possible passage. They lamented, as John Trimble of Dallas put it, that the UN had "with some success injected into our public school system" the institution's ideals "with its poisonous effect upon parental guidance, patriotism and religious influence." He argued that the UNDHR, which "spearheaded" the UN's efforts "would nullify all of the basic freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution, destroy our sovereignty and establish a socialistic world."[318] The freedoms they mentioned coincide with many of the same that some educators had, during the 1930s and 1940s, believed oppositional to Nazism. Those who later feared the loss of those rights and traditions, therefore, believed that the forces assaulting them could not arise from democracy. Nevertheless, though usually couched in terms of traditional rights or Americanism, the "social and political actions" so cherished by these groups usually centered around segregation and maintenance of white supremacy.[319] Some set this out more specifically in speaking about the rights for which they feared.

One Dallas resident, J.W. Hassell, criticized pro-UN letters by noting of the "so-called United Nations," UNDHR that it called on nations to protect that "Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution."[320]

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of the commission in Ida Darden, "Investigation into United Nations Personnel Starts Rash of Resignations and Window-leapings," *The Southern Conservative* 3, no. 11-12 (November-December 1952), 4.

[317] When searching for the terms "'Human Rights'+textbook" in the newpapers available in the Newspapers database for Texas, the terms can be found on the same newspaper page 156 times. 62 of those occasions occur in 1952 and 1953, 31 times each, the two years both having more data points than any other years.

[318] John Trimble, "Letters from Readers: Poisonous Influence," February 19, 1953, *Dallas Morning News*, 2.

[319] Sally-Anne Way, "The 'Myth' and Mystery of US History on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: The 1947 'United States Suggestions for Articles to be Incorporated in an International Bill of Rights,'" *Human Rights Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (November 2014), 895. Way elucidates that opponents of the UN Human Rights pushes rooted their opposition in legalistic arguments of constitutional concerns, but that the root fear was "that human rights agreements would strengthen federal power to outlaw racially discriminatory practices (such as segregation and lynching)."

[320] J.W. Hassell, "Letters from Readers: Unesco and UDHR," May 19, 1953, *Dallas Morning News*, 2.

Without any further comment, Hassell certainly sought to call attention to the UNDHR's danger to laws against miscegenation. In the regular article "Thinking Out Loud," Lynn Landrum mused whether or not the increasing interest in international education, especially regarding the UN, portended "good or bad." Coming firmly down in the negative, Landrum encouraged readers to consider the UNDHR for themselves. Summarizing the rights which the declaration demanded, the author began by noting disapprovingly that "it favors marriage without restriction on race."[321] Clearly, the cry of "state's rights" by anti-UNDHR advocates meant, primarily, the right to maintain a racially segregated society.

Opponents of the UN wrote not only in newspapers, but also in more direct attempts to shape education. On November 13th, 1953, Commissioner Edgar received yet another letter opposing the UNDHR. It expressed more clearly than others the worldview which rejected the Declaration. In it, Adele Rountree challenged the UNDHR, calling Human Rights "phony rights." She believed the document provided for measures by which an American citizen "could be seized in his home and taken by force before an international tribunal set up in a foreign land and, if adjudged guilty, he would be thrown into a foreign prison." She argued that all of this could occur simply for "criticizing the personalities or policies of a foreign government."[322]

Rountree further included an "account of how we can lose everyone one of our rights under the Constitution by treaty."[323] In that document, an anonymous newsletter entitled "Keep Foreign Police Away!!!", the author presented the case that the UN Charter, and an "international hopper" of further treaties, would place American citizens under the jurisdiction of foreign laws. Moving on to the UNDHR, the author charged that the document, if ratified, would allow for the seizure of American citizens on U.S. soil and the trial of that citizen "before an international tribunal set up in a foreign land."[324] Finally, the author submitted, the UN Genocide Convention offered a telling interpretation of what Americans might face if the Senate approved of the document. The newsletter stated, "Under the proposed United Nations Genocide Convention…if your wife were accosted within our own country by a member of a minority race

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[321] Lynn Landrum, "Thinking Out Loud," December 8, 1953, *Dallas Morning News*, 2.
[322] "Letter from Adele Rountree to J.W. Edgar," November 12, 1953, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, 1, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[323] "Letter from Adele Rountree to J.W. Edgar," November 12, 1953, 1.
[324] "Letter from Adele Rountree to J.W. Edgar," November 12, 1953, 4.

or religious group, if you come to her rescue and attacked or even brought mental harm to this minority group person, you could be arrested, tried in a foreign court, and jailed in a foreign or international court."[325] Again the opponents of the UN and its foundational documents demonstrated that their protestations on behalf of the rights of American citizens relied on racist tropes in service of maintaining discriminatory laws.[326]

Indeed, SBoE member Eugene Smith stated clearly that racial segregation comprised of the central component of his obstruction of the UNDHR in the textbooks. When Jack Binion of Fort Worth, moved to adopt the books on the condition that publishers remove editorial comments but not the UNDHR itself, Smith countered by stating his reasons for opposing the inclusion of the UNDHR. He stated, "My views are immaterial here," then, belying those words, continued, "but there are at least one or two sound reasons why this motion [for adoption] ought to be defeated… The part about the inter-racial marriage is a violation of the statues. It takes spread on the second page. We can take it or leave it, but I have had some children in school." Smith's clear support for segregation, though cast merely as deference to the law, underlay his opposition to the UNDHR.

Ultimately, Dr. Jackson's argument supporting the ability of teachers to educate their students appropriately won out. After some encouragement by Dr. Edgar and textbook chief Glass, the board members determined to vote on the textbooks that day. Jackson argued that "If I didn't have enough confidence in the average high school teacher to interpret this in terms of our social and economic philosophy, I would feel pessimistic of our public school system. With all due respect to my colleagues, and I think difference of opinion is healthy, I can't see how we could justify deleting a thing like that."[327] Then, voting on what Jackson believed the most

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[325] "Letter from Adele Rountree to J.W. Edgar," November 12, 1953, 4.
[326] These southerners did have reason to fear that the UN might weaken their power over their Black neighbors, though not to the absurd degrees they complained of. In 1946, the National Negro Congress sent a report to the UN on the plight of Blacks in the South. It complained of economic and political oppression as well as lynchings and terror. The NAACP would, a year later, send its own report, supervised by W.E.B. DuBois. See Carol Anderson, "From Hope to Disillusion: African Americans, the United Nations, and the Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1947," *Diplomatic History* 20, no. 4 (Fall 1996), 545-547. Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003), 58-59. In another case, in one article the ADL used the UN and statements on Human Rights as an argument in advocating for the end of discriminatory housing. Benjamin Epstein, "Comment: The House I Live In—II," *ADL Bulletin* IV, no. 10 (December 1947), 2.
[327] "State Board of Education Minutes," November 9, 1953, 31.

important decision the board had made in his time as a member began in 1949, the board voted 12 to 3 in favor of including the UNDHR, though with editorializing removed.[328]

Numerous groups declared their support for the SBoE actions as a stand against censorship. Robert McNamara, representative of publisher Scott, Foresman and Company, declared the SBoE vote one in which he saw "Texas in the mass speaking, not the busybody minorities."[329] Mrs. E. T. Smith, the Organization Chairman of the Girl Scouts, wrote that she saw the action as leading "the way to do away—for everymore [sic] with Discrimination."[330] The University of Texas chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, a professional fraternity for educators, released a resolution commending the SBoE for rejecting censorship and for "its courageous, democratic action in behalf of academic freedom and responsibility."[331] In celebrating the victory over those seeking to remove the UNDHR, these groups all ignored the greater reality.

The SBoE had censored *Man's Story.* A letter from Joe Bergin, another representative of Scott, Foresman and Company, notes that the board followed through with removing the textbook author's comments regarding the UNDHR. In the letter, Bergin mentioned four books which the company would remove from its bibliography and a single alteration to the narrative materials, a removal of "the activity on the Declaration of Human Rights."[332] Rather than standing firm against censorship, the board had bowed to pressure by the extreme right and their conservative allies. Though not entirely removed, they suppressed any comments regarding the document made by the authors, in this case USC historian Walter Walbank. They ensured that that no editorialization by those outside their region's peculiar society could occur. Instead, presumably pro-segregation teachers could control what the students learned of the document.[333]

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[328] The meeting minutes show 4 members of the board absent; thus, though not recorded, it seems that two members abstained from the vote.
[329] Letter from Robert McNamara to J.W. Edgar, December 3, 1953, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[330] Letter from E.T. Smith to J.W. Edgar, November 14, 1953, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[331] EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[332] Letter from Joe Bergin to J.W. Edgar, March 4, 1954, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[333] Authorities absolutely patrolled the beliefs of educators. If they went outside the accepted norms, they faced losing their positions. For example, when the local board of education of Grand Prairie Texas viewed five educators as having advocated for particular policies or candidates in the school board election, they fired the teachers. The

In fact, the Texas SBoE textbook division's report on first-year needs for the World History textbooks adopted that cycle record that of the five adopted textbooks, *Man's Story* accounted for the fewest reqests, likely due, in part, to the book's bad press.[334]

In fact, other publishers, seeing what had happened to *Man's Story*, simply worked to censor their textbooks before such public episodes became necessary. D. E. Neale, representing the publishing company Lyons and Carnahan, wrote to Edgar soon after the November, 1953 meeting. He asked, "Since there was some little agitation on World History in regard to the Atlantic Charter, I would appreciate it very much if you would look over this book [*Freedom's Frontier*] and see if the treatment in our book on the Atlantic Charter and the Bill of Human Rights can in any way be objectional to the schools of Texas."[335] The SBoE had not defeated censorship, they had pushed it out of the public eye. A conspiracy based in anti-semitic tropes, segregationist intents, and a framing of Nazi atrocities that presented "Americanism" as their antidote had led the Texas educational bureaucracy to censor books.

Conclusion

In the 1950 textbook, *The Making of Modern America,* authors Canfield and Wilder wrote that the UN Declaration on Human Rights "forbade the abridgement of rights because of 'race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion."[336] In the 1954 edition of the book, the statement simply read that "this declaration set forth 'a common standard for all peoples and nations.'"[337] This seemingly small change signifies a bitter conflict over American support for the UN and the lessons learned from the confrontation with Nazi Germany. Resistance to the UN, UNDHR, and Human Rights advocacy had made a textbook statement of the UN's opposition to racism and other forms of bigotry a poor business decision. Whether the

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news headlines in the NEA's *Defense Bulletin* as well as in local papers. See, "Civil Rights Violation Claimed in Firing of 5 Texas Teachers," *Abilene Reporter News*, September 21, 1949, 5.

[334] The book accounted for only 8.8% of the requests. Estimates of first-year needs reported by 997 School Systems, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

[335] Letter from D.E. Neale to J.W. Edgar, November 30, 1953, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

[336] Leon Canfield and Howard Wilder, *The Making of Modern America*, (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), 716.

[337] Leon Canfield and Howard Wilder, *The Making of Modern America*, (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1954), 716.

authors changed the text due to such pressures or not, the racial aspects of the UNDHR certainly had the potential to make books unmarketable in some states.

Interpretations and understandings of the Nazi atrocities underpinned the debates which had led to the decline in UN support in schools. By framing their opposition to the UN as an effort to protect American civil rights, no matter how contorted the example, conservatives betrayed their interpretation of Nazi totalitarianism. Nazism simply meant the centralization of power which threatened individual's civil, here only applied to white citizens, freedom. This found itself most drastically exemplified in a *Dallas Morning News* article, also published in Darden's *The Southern Conservative*, which provided thoughts on the actions of Governor Faubus during the Little Rock High School integration crisis in 1959. It concluded, "Hitler's first move, after burning the Reichstag, was to take over Germany's school system. The Nazis were ready to march." To Darden and her supporters, methods—national control of schools in this case—served as the key component of Nazism. That Governor Faubus acted to maintain a white supremacist order—so reminiscent of Nazi ideals—did not factor into the account.

Their sidelining of the racial ideology as a key factor in the Nazi atrocities allowed them to ignore such components in their own discriminatory systems and beliefs. For example, Ida Darden, focused on the propagandizing of children as a tool of totalitarianism. She accused UNESCO of turning students against their parents when she published a letter which stated that "Hitler and later Stalin must have started in much the same way. They were certainly successful in training the children to inform on their parents and in many cases even causing them to be shot or sent to concentration camps."[338] The supposed letter made no mention of what the curriculum taught other than that it might lead them to "disregard and later defy what their parents believe."[339] Such arguments assumed that the methods—indoctrination, central control, or destruction of family ties—of Nazism, or totalitarianism, comprised their danger. They ignored or avoided any specific ideological components—such as their antisemitism or Aryan supremacy.

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[338] "Mother Challenges Authority of Teachers to Convert Proud American Children into International Puppets," *The Southern Conservative* 5, no. 7-8 (July-August 1954), 7.
[339] "Mother Challenges Authority of Teachers," 7.

Ultimately, though the UN countered with reports and educational efforts, the assault on the organization ultimately saw success.[340] In fact, a newspaper article included in Commissioner Edgar's files supported the educational goals of UNESCO but also recognized that "school authorities have reported that the number of schools taking part in UN essay contests dropped considerably after the drive against UNESCO."[341] This effort by progressive educators to solve problems of discrimination and ethnic, religious, or racial tension in school children, like those of intercultural education and propaganda analysis, fell to the growing conservative mood.[342] Increasingly, conservative school reformers convinced many Americans that, as a *Dallas Morning News* editorial on the UNDHR debate argued, teaching about "social consequences of our times," schools filled "textbooks with everything but fundamentals."[343] Americans had, seemingly, turned away from education which emphasized teaching about the social, cultural, and economic questions which the events in Nazi Germany had seemed to so readily suggest. Anti-communist efforts in education had stifled the opportunities for educators to deploy programs and curricula which had, in earlier periods, served as the primary avenues for speaking about the Nazi atrocities.

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[340] Michelle Brattain, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (December 2007), 1396-1397. Brattain notes that one result of this defeat of Human Rights activism was that the NAACP and other African American rights organizations turned to focus on domestic civil rights rather than the more expansive and global work.

[341] Hollace Ransdell, "Book-Burners Like Nazis—Race-Baiters, Crackpots War on UNESCO." *The CIO News* XVI, no. 13 (March 30, 1953), EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-7, Textbooks, 1953-1954, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

[342] Michelle Brattain, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: 1396-1397. Brattain notes that one result of this defeat of Human Rights activism was that the NAACP and other African American rights organizations turned to focus on domestic civil rights rather than the more expansive and global work.

[343] "U.N. in Textbooks," *Dallas Morning News*, November 11, 1953, 2.

CHAPTER V
"THE JEWS WERE BEHIND THE NAACP":
DEFINING DESEGREGATION AS RACIAL ANTAGONISM, 1954-1958

Events and debates surrounding an attempt to integrate Mansfield High School in 1956 provide a window into the minds of various groups and individuals regarding segregation, civil rights, the role of the state, and the role the federal government. In all of these, prior understandings of Nazism, the atrocities committed by the Nazis, and the umbrella term of totalitarianism shaped how various Americans explained their own positions. Their reactions to desegregation, the analogies they used and fears they expressed, provide evidence of how they interpreted the events in Nazi Germany. Their statements about school desegregation consistently used accusations of totalitarianism by the federal government which relied on earlier depictions of Nazism

Though some educators did perceive commonalities between the racial ideologies of whites in the South and those of the Nazis, few made such a connection explicit in the curricular documents and articles of the time. When they did teach about Nazism or use analogies conjuring images of Nazi atrocities, they often ignored their racial aspects and instead fixated upon Nazism's perceived political methods.[344] Even when discussing the persecution or murder of the Jews of Europe, they described these assaults as political machinations rather than maintenance of a racially supremacist society.

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[344] Thomas Fallace, "Holocaust Education in the US: A pre-history, 1939-1960," *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings*, ed. Andy Pearce, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 190-204. Fallace argued that the easy comparison of the assault on the Jews to the mistreatment of Black Americans in the South resulted in a decrease in discussions about the genocide of the Jews. As the United States moved toward valuing consensus and shunning confrontation and radicalism, they avoided discussion of the issue of discrimination against Blacks. This, in turn, led them to silence regarding the genocide of the Jews of Europe.

The preexisting interpretations of Nazism, derived in the pre-war and wartime representations, meant that educators and other Americans did not have recourse to Nazi Germany as an example of state policy influenced or determined by racism. Instead, as before, the Nazis exemplified totalitarianism, a category which emphasized political systems and purposes. Programs and curricula had emphasized that the Nazis utilized racism as a technique for dividing their enemies, conquering them, and maintaining power. They had not seen antisemitism and other forms of racism as having served to motivate policy and corrupt institutions. Therefore, when faced with a recalcitrant South over the issue of integration, Americans rarely employed analogies that cast segregationists as fascist. Even when they did so, they focused on their use of police power and mob-oriented demagoguery rather than on the maintenance of racism at the state institutional level.

Americans, both those for and against integration, most often presented their case by applying one of two analogies reliant on preexisting understandings of Nazism. In the first, they fixated upon political repression and a perception of centralized, governmental regimentation of society. For many, Nazism taught the lesson that state control, not the maintenance of ideologies of racial supremacy, would result in such evils as camps—sometimes stated as gulags but often as concentration camps—and "brainwashing." When using such analogies in the realm of education, Americans typically focused on the deployment, or threat of deployment, of federal power. They suggested that increased or irresponsible use of federal power in local concerns naturally led to similar atrocities as those committed by the Nazis and their collaborators.

The second analogy derived from educators 1940s-era representations of Nazi methods of subversion. In this, they transported Nazi atrocities into the broader category of totalitarianism and applied them to communists as well. They relied on cultural memory of Nazism when they

spoke of totalitarianism. Thus, often without their own recognition, they mixed ideas of Nazis and communism together in telling ways. In discussing the integration of schools in the South, many saw the efforts of the NAACP and other organizations as part of communist efforts to divide the Southerners. The accusations they made regarding perceived communist goals and methods ran parallel to earlier interpretations of Nazism. Educators and the sources they used had emphasized the use of division by fifth columnists, particularly racial division, as a means of undermining their opponents. They saw Nazi attacks on racial, ethnic, or religious minorities as part of a political toolbox rather than as essential to the ideology. Thus, this type of fifth-columnist methodology easily transferred to accusations against communist totalitarians. Efforts at alleviating the plight of Blacks caused racial tension. Since Nazis, known totalitarians, had used racial antagonism to "divide and conquer," then attempts to end Jim Crow equated to communist totalitarianism.

By earlier placing both Nazism and communism together in the category of totalitarianism, American educators had enabled the attribution of policies, actions, and methods of their World War II enemy to their new Cold War enemy. Educators and others, thereby, saw the stirring of racial disunity, previously a tactic ascribed to the Nazi enemy, as the product of communist efforts. Sometimes they believed that outsiders, whether foreign or domestic, sought to stir up racial antagonism so as to subvert American society. Others viewed racist pamphlets published by domestic fascists as communist subversion. The goal or content mattered little. If an act resulted in racial antagonism, then some would call it communist. The language of totalitarianism had stripped Nazism of its particularities and credited communism with every practice and policy of the Nazis—whether the use of concentration camps or racialized fifth-column attacks.

By 1954, textbook authors, too, increasingly depicted Nazism and Nazi atrocities in political terms. These works increasingly highlighted the Nazi atrocities as politically motivated. First, the percentage of the treatment of the topic devoted to the assault on the Jews declined while the coverage of the repression of political opponents increased. Second, the authors often represented the persecution of the Jews as a calculated policy implemented in order to gain support for the Nazis or to heighten racial divisions among their enemies. Thus, they downplayed or ignored sincere adherence to racial ideologies as factor in Nazi decision making. As in previous periods, therefore, they saw Nazi action as deriving almost entirely from political causations and calculus.

The nature of this perspective on Nazism had important consequences for how many whitesoutherners, and some other Americans, discussed desegregation. Most importantly, Southern segregationists could tar their opponents with Nazi racial policies as a political tool for dividing opponents meant that they could ignore their own racist views as long as they could portray or view them as leading to order and, ironically, unity. That Americans in the South largely viewed Nazism as a political problem allowed them to focus attention on perceived totalitarian impulses in federal intervention in schools. Whereas in the debates over the UN they had opposed "world federalism" as a totalitarian threat to "Americanism," post- Brown decision they focused on the dangers of the federal government as a threat to traditional rights and ways of life. Even in those cases when opponents of segregation used Nazi analogies, they did so by referring to police power and demagoguery rather than racial ideology.

"The Jews were Hitler's Favorite Scapegoat"

In the years immediately preceding the *Brown vs. Board* decision, World History textbooks selected by the Texas SboE, most published by the premier textbook publishers of the

country, presented the atrocities committed by the Nazis as political acts. They accomplished this in two ways. First, their discussion of the persecution and murder of the Jews, though still a substantial portion of the topic, fell. The treatment of the racial ideology of the Nazis saw a similar decrease. Second, the content of the books often pointed to political purposes in the Nazi assault on the Jews. This included linking such persecutions with those on communists, socialists, and anti-Nazi priests. Ultimately, these representations aligned with wartime propaganda such that the two together suggested that the Nazis persecuted and murdered the Jews of Europe for political purposes.

Over the course of the first decade following the end of World War II, the textbooks adopted by the Texas SboE Textbooks, for example, increasingly focused on the Nazi persecution of political opponents and non-racial victims while decreasing their coverage of Nazi

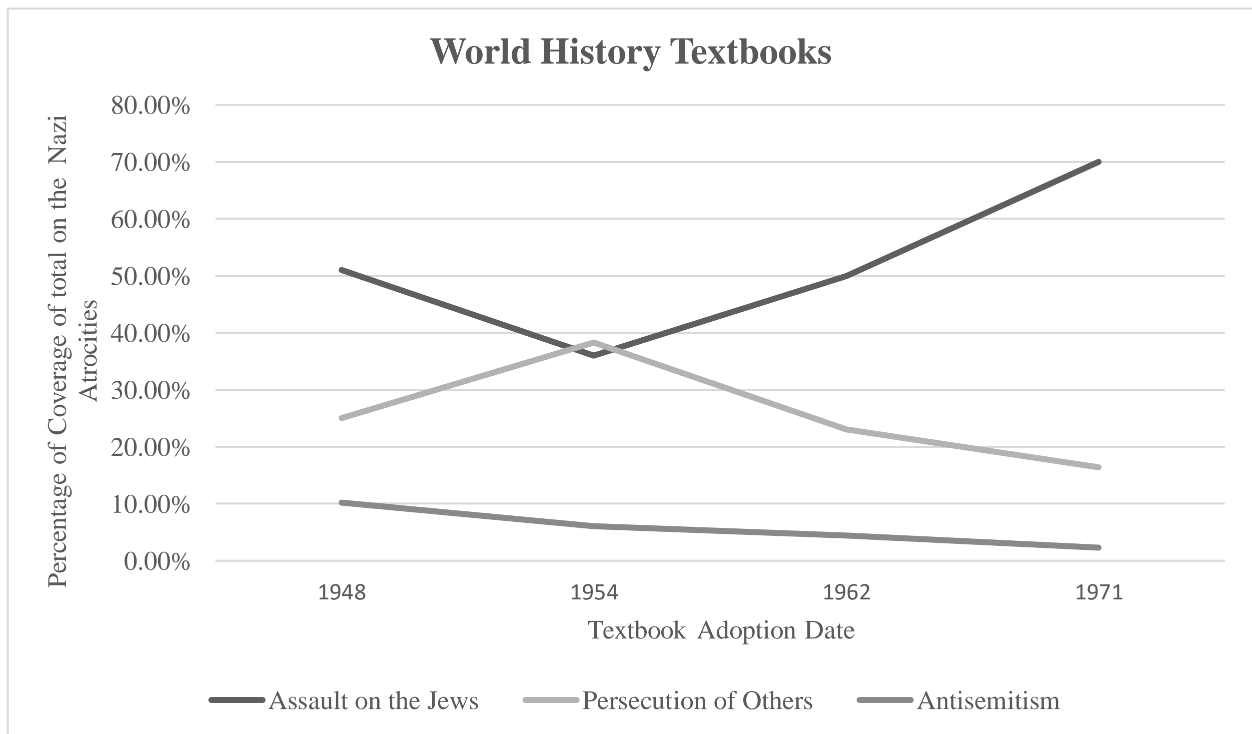

Table 1: The percentage of coverage of topics in the treatment of Nazi atrocities in Texas World History Textbooks adopted by Texas.

antisemitism. The World History textbooks adopted by Texas schools in 1954, for instance, dedicated 38% of their coverage of Nazi atrocities to the persecution of political opponents and the Churches, up from 25% in books selected in 1948. The treatment of the persecution and murder of the Jews, dropped from 51% in 1948 to 36% in 1954, the lowest percentage of overall coverage in any textbooks adopted by Texas between 1945 and 2000.[345] This represents a dual change from the way that textbook authors had previously presented Nazi atrocities. They decreased discussions of antisemitsm while increasing the coverage of political oppression. Though this changed in future years, the decline correlated with some of the most intense years of racial struggle, particularly as it applied to education, in U.S. history.

Two editions of one textbook, adopted in both 1948 and 1954, demonstrate this trend. In the two versions of *The World's History*, by Eric Lane, Eric Goldman, and Erling Hunt, maintained almost the same number of words dedicated to discussing the Nazi atrocities, but decreased the percentage of that treatment that discussed the Jews by 22%. While the 1947 edition spent 90 total words describing Nazi persecution in general or political terms, the 1954 edition increased this to 135 words, 50% more than the earlier version. At the same time, the treatment of the persecution and murder of the Jews fell from 194 in 1947 to 148, representing a decrease of 23%. Though, perhaps, modest in the scope of the entire textbook, such shifts, which played out generally among the other textbooks as well, suggest a redirection among educators

[345] The textbooks in the 1948 cycle had dedicated an average of 131 words to the Nazi persecution of political enemies and Christians out of an average of 572 per book. In 1954, the adopted books averaged 201 on the same topic out of a mean of 526 words on the Nazi atrocities. An increase of almost 50% while the total coverage remained roughly the same. While the treatment of the persecution and murder of the Jews comprised almost 268 words on average in 1948, by 1954 the adopted books, two of them newer editions of the same titles, had only had average 191 words on that same topic.

and publishers of the period away from discussing the complicated topic of racial hatred and its consequences.

A small change in the text between the two editions demonstrated further how authors viewed events as primarily political. Even in 1947, the authors of Harcourt's *The World's History* portrayed Hitler's persecution of the Jews as political maneuvering. They wrote of Hitler that he "knew that the easiest way to win the support of disgruntled Germans was to give them a few things on which they could blame their troubles. The Jews were Hitler's favorite scapegoat."[346] Yet, by adding three words one paragraph prior in the 1954 edition the authors emphasized the demagogic character of Hitler's antisemitism. Though the 1947 edition remarked that in addition to the Versailles Treaty, "Jews, also, were hated by many Germans,"[347] the 1954 added "Hitler realized, too…" to the beginning of the sentence. [348] This slight alteration had a drastic effect on the weight of the sentence. In the first, the authors simply noted German antisemitism. In the second, they emphasized Hitler's use of antisemitism to gain power and insinuated that Hitler's persecution of the Jews originated in the intention to maintain power. Even when the remainder of the paragraph in both books noted the existence of antisemitism, they failed to delve into the historical violence which had often accompanied it. Nor did they address its consistent presence as an ideological motivation of extreme right parties. As such,

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[346] Eric Lane, Eric Goldman, and Erling Hunt, *The World's History*, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1947), 695.
[347] Lane, Goldman, and Hunt, *The World's History*, 694.
[348] The first quote comes from Lane, Goldman, and Hunt, *The World's History*, 1947, 694. The second is from Eric Lane, Eric Goldman, and Erling Hunt, *The World's History*, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1954), 640. The nature of the textbook industry is such that sections of editions often go through periods without significant change. Often, alterations are due to decreases caused by space requirements and the addition of material at the end of the book. In this case, however, the changes increased the word count. Thus, it seems more likely that the edits were made to alter the emphasis and meaning of the passage.

antisemitism became an inexplicable hatred that Hitler took advantage of to gain support. The political figure and method mattered more than the ideology.

Even when noting racial aspects in Nazi anti-Jewish positions and policies, other textbooks also emphasized political designs. For example, in the 1947 textbook *Story of Nations*, authors Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown indicated that Hitler utilized antisemitism to hide the Nazis deficiencies. When discussing Hitler's rise to power, the authors wrote that "it was convenient to blame the Jews for many of the problems of Germany, whether or not there was truth in the charge. This developed into the most intense expression of the 'master-race' doctrine."[349] By this formulation, the Nazis did not found their racial policy in antisemitism, but came to that form of racism by convenience and then embraced it. They later wrote that the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority "served as an excuse for the persecution and murder of many thousands of Jews. The Nazis used the Jews as a scapegoat, blaming them for Germany's troubles, and thus calling attention away from their own mistakes. As a 'master race' the Nazis also ordered the ruthless killing of many other men, women, and children in the countries they conquered."[350] The authors, thereby, rooted Nazi persecution of the Jews in the political necessity of hiding their own deficiencies. Their phrasing even insinuated that the Nazis murdered other peoples in accordance with their racial ideology, the assault on the Jews served as a political act.[351]

Such changes as these represent not just the alterations made by a few historians, but of social and cultural movements. In the 1950s, many of these textbooks, after the initial

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[349] Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown, *Story of Nations*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1957), 535.
[350] Rogers, Adams, Brown, *Story of Nations*, 538.
[351] Other works which made similar insinuations include *Story of Civilization* (1938) and *The Making of Today's World* (1946).

publication, might see editorial teams work to make changes to subsequent editions. As demonstrated in chapter 3, these changes could reflect simple considerations of space, but also might occur due to requests of important purchasers of textbooks, such as the State of Texas.[352] The content of textbooks, therefore, derived not only from authors interpretations, but from the financial and editorial needs of publishers, the political positions of school and state authorities, and the pressures of private activists.

Sometimes the authors simply presented the Nazi antisemitism as a situational tool by only mentioning its political usages without discussing its centrality to Nazi ideology. In the 1954 version of *Man's Achievement Through the Ages,* authors William Habberton and Lawrence Roth never stated the depth or origins of Nazi antisemitism when discussing their anti-semitic statements and policies. At the same time, they noted that "glad to blame someone for their plight, they [Germans] accepted the idea that it was all the fault of the Jews and the socialists."[353] By failing to address the underlying origins of and Nazis' strongly held adherence to antisemitism, Habberton and Roth intimated a shallow political purpose. Antisemitism served, in their narrative, as a useful instrument in the Nazi toolbox of control.

This kind of representation had two consequences. The belief that Nazi atrocities derived from political failures and errors—often expressed as a lack of democracy—provided limits on how Americans might frame and consider contemporary events. First, it allowed segregationists to challenge federal interference as the kind of state centralization which threatened democracy

[352] Hillel Black, *The American School Book*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1967), 146. Hillel noted that the business model of textbook publication combined with the state adoption method of Texas to lead publishers to a willingness to alter textbooks for national audiences based on the desires of Texas educational officials. Chapter 3 of this work notes one such instance.

[353] William Habberton and Lawrence Roth, *Man's Achievement Through the Ages,* (Chicago: Laidlaw Brothers, 1954), 635.

and led to totalitarianism and atrocities. Even those sympathetic to Civil Rights who used Nazi analogies to condemn segregationists did so within the framework of political, rather than ideological motivations. Second, the attribution of Nazi antisemitic policy to strategic efforts at gaining and maintaining power hearkened back to ideas about the use of racial subversion by the Nazis. Segregationists would play on these characterizations of Nazism to attribute similar methods to communists. They suggested that communists sought to use issues of race to divide Americans and take control.

"It's Going to Take a Lot of Concentration Camps"

A crowd of almost 300 hundred men and teens stood outside the Mansfield High School building as the Texas sun began heating the air into the mid-90s on Thursday, August 30, 1956. Though the wind reached into the 20s, the crowd heard no sound of fluttering from the school's flagpole. Instead, if they looked up, they could see a straw effigy, painted black, hanging from it. It bore a sign with the words "Stay Away N-----s" marked across it.[354] Other warnings of violence, too, dotted the town of under 1,5000 residents. The previous day had seen another dummy hanging across the main street of town with signs saying, "This negro tried to enter a white school" and "This would be a horrible way to die."[355] Some young men among the crowd sat in a car with "Bounty $2.00 a Doz. For N----r Ears" painted on the side.

The white crowd gathered in protest of the August 17th ruling by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals that required Mansfield High School to allow black students into the school. This represented the first attempt at forced integration in a Texas high school. With the mayor and

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[354] "Rangers Asked in Race Crisis," August 31, 1956, *The Houston Post*, 7. Notes on the weather during the day come from observations at Love Field in Dallas found at https://www.wunderground.com/history/daily/KDAL/date/1956-8-31.
[355] *Hanged in Effigy*, August 31, 1956, *The Houston Post*, 7.

chief of police having surreptitiously left town before these events and with no other protection from the mob forthcoming, no black students attempted to register that day. The next day only saw an increase in tension.

The threat of harsh weather did not force those seeking to keep black students out of the high school in their homes. Even more segregationists, estimated around 500, milled about the school grounds than had on Thursday. Registering white students smiled happily as they passed under a new black effigy, which hung directly above the doors into the school. When reporter Irwin Frank asked when someone would remove them, superintendent R.L. Huffman stated, "why don't you take them down. I didn't put them up—I'm not taking them down." Expressing similar sentiment, principal Willie Pigg noted that "they might be there until Christmas. I'm not taking them down."[356] What is more, Huffman actively provided information to the mob.-When members of the crowd told the superintendent that they had checked entrances through which black students might enter the school, he stated "now remember, there's two doors in back. Now I'm not telling you what to do, but I'm just telling you about these doors."[357] Governor Shivers refusal to send protection for black students attempting to register and the clear posture of the schools administrators served as only the first ways that the mob had aid from the authorities.

Some law enforcement officers from Tarrant County sought to intervene to some degree, but the crowd swiftly forced them to back down. With the mayor and chief of police missing,

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[356] Irwin Frank, "Writer Finds Hate Ruling Actions of Mansfield Mob," September 1, 1956, *Dallas Morning* News, 3. Notably, Willie Pigg served as superintendent of the school system in 1965 when the Mansfield school district, now needing federal money withheld due to the districts segregated status, finally integrated. He argued that in 1954 "they weren't ready for it. The attitude has now changed." More information on the crisis can be found in Robyn Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools: Eisenhower, Shivers, and the Crisis at Mansfield High* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

[357] "DA Aide Roughed Up by Anti-Integration Mob," September 1, 1956, *The Houston Post*, 14.

Tarrant County Sherriff Harlon Wright stepped in as best he could. He faced a crowd which threatened to bring guns if he tried to forcefully bring black students to register, though he never sought to accomplish that. Ultimately, he settled for rescuing a couple individuals unfortunate enough to have drawn the ire of the crowd.[358] Termed "outsiders" by the mob, a couple press members and Tarrant County assistant district attorney Grady Hight, who said "the wrong things," all found themselves in need of Wright's aid.[359] Amidst this storm, and with tornadoes touching down across the surrounding area, the administrators locked the school doors at the scheduled time of noon.

Though the county authorities had attempted to reconcile the white citizens with the court, state authorities aligned strongly with the segregationists. The threats of violence, according to Governor Shivers, did not necessitate intervention in spite of NCAAP attorney L. Clifford Davis' request.[360] Only on Friday afternoon, following the attacks on the press and others, did Shivers send two Texas Rangers. Arriving just in time to miss the violent white crowds and also avoiding any possible necessity of protecting black students attempting to register, the Rangers found nothing amiss. Shivers, however, used the opportunity to recommend the transfer out of the Mansfield school district "any scholastics, white or colored, whose attendance or attempts to attend Mansfield High School would reasonably be calculated to incite violence."[361] At the same time two other states, Tennessee and Kentucky, saw their governors aiding "law and order" by sending troops to protect black students from segregationist mobs.

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[358] Frank, "Mansfield Mob," 3.
[359] Frank, "Mansfield Mob," 3.
[360] "Rangers Asked," 1.
[361] "Shivers Given Praise for Mansfield Action," September 11, 1956, *The Houston* Post, 6.

Shivers used the same phrase but in his case he did so in defense of the status quo of segregation.[362]

Yet, the governors' pleas to "law and order" underlined a fundamentally similar goal—avoiding federal involvement. Claims at acting to keep peace, whether on behalf of Black student entry into schools or in service of maintaining segregated schools, served as arguments against action by the federal government. Further, this fear rested partly upon the belief that such involvement might result in increased federal control, an outcome they viewed as communistic. Yet, their understanding of communism relied on prior representations of Nazism. Some segregationists expressed fear of "outsider" instigated racial antagonism and even believed that the federal government might create concentration camps to enforce its, in their minds, anti-democratic goal of desegregation.

Though one year later President Eisenhower would send in federal troops to ensure the integration of Little Rock High School, the President remained inactive during the Mansfield protests. When addressing the press after a week of segregation related incidents across the country, Eisenhower laid out a maze of steps for enforcing the court-ordered integration. The Mansfield case demonstrates the improbability of such circumstances actually occurring and resulting in integration. Eisenhower's Justice Department sat on the federal order issued by Judge Joe Estes until the issue had resolved itself—which ultimately occurred when the NAACP determined that attempting to send the students to the school would endanger them.

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[362] The president and his Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, both stated that the administration would look at the court order in the Mansfield case. Brownell also said that they always looked to see how they could help local authorities in carrying out the Supreme Court mandate. Eisenhower, whether due to the upcoming elections or another consideration, failed to call in troops to uphold court ordered integration as he would a year later. "Mansfield Case Goes to the Supreme Court," September 24, 1956, *The Houston Post*, 16. Walter Hornaday, "Ike Backs Action in Mansfield Row," *Dallas Morning News*, 2.

More tellingly, the President provided only ambiguity on the role of the states in forcing integration. By emphasizing the preservation of "law and order," Eisenhower provided rhetorical cover for the actions of Governor Shivers. Shivers sent Texas Rangers with orders to, according to the NAACP, "move out any Negro child who applied to Mansfield High School."[363] Governor Frank Clements of Tennessee, on the other hand, forcibly integrated schools in Clinton through the use of the National Guard. Eisenhower provided no guidance on whether he supported or opposed either use of state power. In fact, he focused primarily on avoiding federal enforcement.

Eisenhower's comments on the issue hinted at the tack that radical segregationists would take in their attempts to secure executive non-intervention in the fight over integration. In his statements on the various disturbances, including the one in Mansfield, he had observed that "when police power is executed habitually by the federal government we are in a bad way" and that "until the states show their inability or their refusal to grapple with this questions properly, which they haven't yet, at least as any proof has been submitted, we'd better be careful about moving in and exercising police power."[364] Though clearly hedging his bets and warning state leaders that they needed to comply with court orders, he also nodded to the dangers that lay in the use of state police power to enforce integration.

Others noticed. Bem Price, an Associated Press analyst in Washington, D.C. picked up on how some might use the President's statements when he noted that Eisenhower "had an excellent point. Russia and Red China exercise police power at the national level. So did Hitler and Mussolini."[365] Price's statement makes clear that when white Americans made statements

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[363] "Eisenhower Hit by NAACP for Weak Stand, Lack of Leadership, on School Desegregation Riots," September 14, 1956, *Arkansas State Press*, 6.
[364] Walter C. Hornaday, "Ike Backs Actions in Mansfield Row," *Dallas Morning News*, September 6, 1956, 1.
[365] Bem Price, "Mansfield Racial Case Raises Delicate Issue," *The Austin Statesman,* September 13, 1956, A6.

regarding the possibility of federal overreach, they not only feared "communism" but Nazism and fascism as well. Eisenhower had given added weight to an argument that segregationists already had and would continue to employ—federal intervention on behalf of the Supreme Court order might result in the United States becoming like its Cold War or World War II enemy.

In spite of Eisenhower's non-interventionist position on the events in Mansfield, extreme segregationists discussed the possibility of federal action as Hitlerian. When Tennessee Governor Clements travelled to Houston for a speech, a group of Texans, including one leader of the Mansfield mob, picketed it. One sign, referring to the troops he sent in to enforce integration, read, "Where's the storm troops?"[366] Such attacks had a two-fold effect. First, they served as a pre-emptive strike at those who might in the future call for such a use of troops. Second, it radicalized more moderate segregationists who might now perceive a looming Nazi-like crack-down by troops—state or federal.

Yet, the Nazi analogy cut both ways. When discussing the response of the federal government to the incident at Mansfield, John Morsell, the assistant to the executive secretary of the NAACP, released a statement applauding the use of the National Guard in forcing integration Clinton and in a similar incident in Sturgis, Kentucky. He noted that "In Clinton and Sturgis, peace was soundly achieved by thwarting these who sought violent overthrow of the law." At the same time, though, he condemned inaction in Mansfield. "In Mansfield a cheap and temporary peace was purchased," he stated, "by surrendering to those who threatened violent overthrow of the law. Recent world history contains a number of deadly parallels to this kind of

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[366] Anti-Integration Texans Picket Talk by Clement," *Dallas Morning News*, October 3, 1956, 8.

appeasement."[367] Morsell's wording recalled images of the Munich Conference and tied the effective capitulation of the Eisenhower administration to the obstructionist actions in Texas to the similar failure of Prime Minister Chamberlain to oppose Hitler's demands over Czechoslovakia. Even in comparing segregationists to the Nazis, civil-rights leaders focused on analogies of state power rather than racial policy.

Not only the Mansfield incident, but the issue of desegregation more generally, especially the 1957 events in Little Rock, sparked numerous segregationists to employ analogies that cast the federal government as totalitarian. M.B. Sherrill, organizer of the "Pro-Southerners," a pro-segregationist, anti-black, anti-semitic, anti-communist group, also connected desegregation to Communism in an open letter he sent to Texas Education Commissioner J.W. Edgar. While calling for southerners to unite in protection of their "Free Way of Life," Sherrill urged all Southerners "sick and tired of northern Communist[s]…interfering in our Southern Racial Problems" to join him in opposing desegregation.[368] Sherrill's letter also contained a list of statements by similarly angered pro-segregationist pamphleteers and organization heads. Harry Pyle, Chairman of the "Pro-Southerners," wrote that "if we don't awaken and some of our RED Blooded Southern people clean up out[sic] political parties, then we can expect to see Black

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[367] "Integration Resistance in General is Slight," *The Houston Post*, September 9, 1956, section 2 page 6. A Google Ngram search of English language books shows that the term "appeasement" drastically increased 12-fold between 1933 and 1942. Use of the term dropped precipitously from that point on until, in 1960, it had fallen over half from its peak use. This suggests that its increased usage originated in the Munich Crisis and Adolf Hitler. Further, there was no significant boost following the discussions of the UN or the end of the Korean War. A study of a set of Texas newspapers between August 30 and September 30, 1956 shows that though most uses of the term "appeasement" applied to US engagement with Egypt's leader Gamal Nassar, Argentinian ruler Juan Perón, or the Soviet Union. However, there is evidence to suggest that the term "appeasement" hearkened back to memories of Munich. On August 31, three Texas papers ran a column by George Sokolsky which likened Nasser to Hitler and asked "how long the principal nations can afford to appease Nasser and what his next step will be after the next appeasement."

[368] M.B. Sherrill, "Open Letter to 'Fellow Southerners,'" April 30, 1954, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Segregation, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.

Communist ruling our South, just as the Republican Carpetbaggers did after the Civil War."[369] An M.B. Sherrill quote summarized that "Communism and the Black menace is one and the same thing."[370] Sherrill and other radical pro-segregationists, including the seven quoted in his editorial sheet, clearly conflated Federal action on behalf of Civil Rights in the South with communist rule. Yet, as previous chapters have shown, many correlated Nazism and communism. When they spoke of communism, they often played on the cultural memory of Nazism.

Other articles of Darden's make clear how easily she connected communism and Nazism. In 1959, she argued that implementing Civil Rights legislation and the integration of schools would require a massive appropriation of funds because "it's going to take a lot of concentration camps" to subjugate the South.[371] The next month, she published a letter from "an uninhibited patriot in West Texas" who claimed that the two of them had spoken the truth against the state so often that they would not need to fear a concentration camp where they might receive "brainwashing." Instead, she wrote that she would "be seeing you [Darden] in the liquidation center."[372] In May of the next year, she wrote of a University of Pennsylvania decision to require fraternities to admit minorities. After providing her version of the details, she pondered, "when and where they will start building concentration camps?"[373] Her continued association of

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[369] "Pointed Paragraphs From Those Who Know," April 30, 1954, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Segregation, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[370] "Pointed Paragraphs From Those Who Know," April 30, 1954.
[371] Ida Darden, "Congress May Have to Appropriate Big Money for Concentration Camps," *The Southern Conservative*, Volume 10, No. 1 (January, 1959), 5.
[372] "Anonymous Letter," *The Southern Conservative*, Volume 10, No. 2 (February, 1959), 6.
[373] Ida Darden, "'Orders' Fly Think and Fast in Pennsylvania," *The Southern Conservative*, Volume 11, No. 6 (June, 1960), 6. According to a Google Ngram search of English language books, the term "concentration camp" rose ten-fold from 1933 and 1946, when it peaked. This then fell 2/3 by 1958.

state authority with images of Nazi Germany suggests that abuse of power, rather than racial ideology, served as the key signifier of Nazism.

Darden's statements demonstrate that segregationists' views regarding communism correlated it with Nazism through their mutual categorization as totalitarian. Her comments suggest that segregationists often used "communism" as shorthand for any increased centralization of state power. They argued that the use of police power by the federal government to enforce the constitution, within the states equated to a communist police state. They did not make a connection between the ideology behind that power's use, only to its use. As such, in these arguments, they used communist to mean totalitarian—a term filled with images and memory of the Nazis.

In many cases, opponents of desegregation openly utilized the broader categories of dictatorship and totalitarianism. On October 6, 1957, the *Dallas Morning News* ran an article providing various Texan's viewpoints on integration. The paper quoted Emmett Whitehead, editor of the *Rusk Cherokeean*, as having responded to events in Little Rock by stating that "the President of the United States is as powerful as Hitler, Stalin, and other dictators. These dictators backed up their wishes with the use of soldiers. So did Eisenhower."[374] Whitehead suggested that the use of power, without regard to the policies enforced by it, tied totalitarian dictators together. After Little Rock, Eisenhower fit the bill to many.

Even before the Central High School showdown, immediately prior to the Mansfield crisis, some had seen glimpses of Hitler in the actions of the federal government. R. D. Martin of Longview, Texas wrote into the *Dallas Morning News* on September 12, in anger over the

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[374] "Mood of Texas: How it Feels on Integration," *Dallas Morning News*, October 6, 1957, 4.

Supreme Court decision. He responded to a letter from August 30 of the same year in which Walter Wray of Dallas urged accepting the court decision, even while noting that he believed it harmful to his city.[375] Martin retorted that protests against the Brown decision served as a bulwark of democracy for "when people fail to voice their opinions long and loud, they face the same fate as Germany under Hitler."[376] Martin likened opposition of segregationists to the Supreme Court decision to those who could have, but failed to, oppose Nazi power. In doing so, he played on some of the popular understandings of Nazism. The emphasis on certain American traditions as the antidote to Nazism, combined with the perception that equated Nazism most simply with the overreaching use of state power led some segregationists to see Eisenhower's actions as little different from Nazism.

Especially following the photos of soldiers enforcing integration at Central High School, memories of German "storm troopers" imposing Nazi edicts blended with communist state control in the images portrayed by radical segregationists. In the most notable example, Long-serving Georgian Senator Richard Russell exchanged telegrams with Eisenhower in which he expressed his disapproval of the President's actions in Arkansas. In his message, the Senator accused the soldiers sent by Eisenhower of "applying tactics which must have been copied from the manual issued the officers of Hitler's storm troopers."[377] He further accused the president of using "armed totalitarian police state methods" at the high school.[378] Russell, representing the segregationist legislators and other radical state's rights advocates, utilized an association of

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[375] Walter L. Wray, "Letters from Readers: Disrespect of Courts," *Dallas Morning News,* August 30, 1956, 2.
[376] R. D. Martin, "Letters from Readers: Respecting Courts," *Dallas Morning News*, September 12, 1956, 2.
[377] "Faubus Considers Closing Up School," *The Austin American*, September 29, 1957, A4. It is unclear exactly which Nazi troops Faubus considered stormtroopers—whether SA or SS. Nevertheless, his usage makes clear that he saw them of using coercive state power against one's own people.
[378] "Faubus Considers Closing," September 29, 1957, A4

Nazism with images of state police power in an attempt to discredit the President's actions. Eisenhower, however, openly rejected such a characterization. He rebuked the senator, stating that "I completely fail to comprehend your comparison of our troops to Hitler's storm troopers. In one case military power was used to further the ambitions and purposes of a ruthless dictator; in the other to preserve the institutions of free government." He went further in pointing out that the police powers of Arkansas, not the federal government, had threatened the rule of law by attempting to "frustrate the orders of the court."[379] Though he forcefully opposed Russell's representation of federal action, Eisenhower, nevertheless, still spoke in the long-established norms of using the Nazis as analogy—he spoke of police power. Others, however, began to challenge Russel's equivalence of the National Guard and Nazi storm troopers for another reason.

Famed journalist Dorothy Thompson chastised both Russell and Roosevelt for their failure to fully apply the Nazi analogy appropriately. Having seen the rise of the Nazi Party first hand—indeed having interviewed Hitler in 1931—during her time as a foreign correspondent, Thompson knew of what she spoke.[380] First brusquely declaring Russell "off the beam" in his comparison of Eisenhower's actions to "Hitler's use of storm troopers," she then turned her attention to the President.[381] She noted that Eisenhower had erred in failing to elaborate regarding not just the dissimilarity between his actions and those of Hitler, but in failing to call attention to the similarities between the actions of Faubus and Hitler.

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[379] Marvin Arrowsmith, "Eisenhower Accuses Faubus of 'Inciting,'" *The Austin Statesman*, September 28, 1957, 1.
[380] For more on Dorothy Thompson's understanding of Nazism and the Nazi atrocities, see Michaela Hoenicke Moore, *Know Your Enemy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 52-60.
[381] Dorothy Thompson, "Troops to Little Rock an Error by President," *The Austin Statesman*, October 4, 1957, 4.

She argued that the segregationists, led by Faubus, paralleled Hitler's Nazis in two ways. First, because the Nazis believed in rights only for Aryans, she concluded that "had Hitler been involved in the federal-Arkansas struggle he would certainly have supported the segregationists[sic] applauded Governor Faubus, drafted the male members of the mob demonstrating before Little Rock High into his storm troopers, and employed them to resist the orders of the federal court."[382] For Thompson, the racial ideology of the Nazis played a central role, both in the reasons for which they acted and in how Americans ought to understand them and apply the analogy of Nazism to various situations. Second, she also argued that "Hitler's party and movement began in the states and was directed against the liberal central government."[383] She, thereby, argued that Faubus' actions constituted more than simply a challenge to the federal government on behalf of state's rights, but an assault on the federal government itself. Further, more than any other commentator she rooted her statements in the Nazi path to power, rather than the immediate postwar and wartime regime. She noted that Faubus used the National Guard to encourage, rather than discourage, "mob spirit" and that he sought not to "protect a handful of colored students in the exercise of their federally declared constitutional rights but to prevent their exercising them, with applause from the threateners of violence."[384] Her analysis, backed by her personal observations of the Nazi rise to power, suggests that some Americans recognized parallels between the segregationists and the Nazis. Further, they recognized that the center point of these similarities lie in an ideology of racial superiority and the willingness to resort to violence to maintain it.

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[382] Thompson, "Troops to Little Rock," 4.
[383] Thompson, "Troops to Little Rock," 4.
[384] Thompson, "Troops to Little Rock," 4.

Another journalist who experienced Nazism firsthand also found the segregationists' position at Little Rock similar to Nazi Germany. Karl Lankau, chief editor of the *Lübecker Nachrichten* of Lübeck, Germany, offered his insights while on a tour sponsored by the U.S. State Department, a tour during which he spoke with Governor Faubus. In an article in the *Atlanta Daily World,* the oldest African American paper in Atlanta, Lankau, who had served as a German paratrooper during the war, noted "many ways segregation practices toward the Negro in the South resemble oppressive tactics towards Jews and other minorities in Germany by Adolf Hitler."[385] Though published in southern newspapers, both Thompson and Lankau spoke as outsiders to the segregationist regimes. Nevertheless, Americans had clearly made linkages between the methods and ideology of the Nazis with those of radical segregationist leaders.

One Texas politician had even warned of dangerous consequences that might result from segregationist's purposes and methods even prior to the events in Mansfield. Tom Moore, the Waco district attorney campaigning for the position of Attorney General of Texas, argued that interposition, by which states might declare federal acts unconstitutional, would result in a decrease in the security of American's rights. Forecasting the scenario which played out in Mansfield, where the local school board had voted for integration, Moore noted that those advocating state's rights as a bulwark against the infringement of liberty often ignored the rights of more local governments. With discussion of states utilizing interposition in the political battle, Moore argued that "If you can defy the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation, you can defy it on any ruling…That means that none of us would have any assurance that we will retain our

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[385] "German Editor Finds Jim Crow Like Hitler Days," *Atlanta Daily World*, November 1, 1957, 1.

freedom."[386] Moore believed that segregationists, not federal authorities, presented the true threat to guaranteed rights of Americans.

In order to strengthen his assertions, he invoked images of Nazism. After presenting segregationists as a danger to society, he stated that "the oldest trick in the book for a demagogue is [to] call on people's hatred with one had to divert their attention from what he is doing with the other hand. Hitler enslaved all of Germany with one hand while he kept the people's attention diverted by persecution of the Jews."[387] When asked if he intentionally compared present state officials to Hitler, Moore stated, "Yes. Allan Shivers and his cohorts have stolen the state government from Texans by using labor and Negroes as whipping boys."[388] Moore sympathized with the state's black residents as victims of a similar assault as that faced by the Jews in Nazi Germany. An attack which he saw as resulting from demagogues using racial hatreds to obtain political control.

The debates over desegregation in Texas and elsewhere in the South demonstrated ways that Americans had internalized images of Nazi oppression and atrocities. Though they often expressed the perceived threat of federal police power as communist they relied heavily on the correlation of that system with that of the Nazis. While a few outside observers noted similarities between Nazi persecution of the Jews and the treatment of Blacks in the Jim Crow South, most white Southerners seemed to have ignored or minimized the racial aspects of the Nazi regime.[389]

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[386] "Interposition Doctrine 'Dangerous,' Says Moore," *The Houston Post,* June 9, 1956, 3.
[387] "Interposition," 3.
[388] "Interposition," 3. Though Moore lost the Attorney General election, he later made a name for himself when, as a state legislator, he offered a bill on April 1, 1971 which praised Albert DeSalvo—the Boston Strangler—for his "activities and unconventional techniques involving population control and applied psychology." When the bill passed, he removed it and censured his fellow legislators for not reading bills before voting on them. He also opposed, as part of the "Dirty Thirty," the corrupt Texas Speaker of the House Gus Mutscher.
[389] Though, notably, Southern Jews were some of the most vocal proponents of desegregation and Civil Rights.

"Russia's Avowed Plan to 'Confuse, Divide, Conquer'"

Though textbooks and educators of the 1950s increasingly focused on state centralization as the key feature of Nazi Germany, the assault on the Jews still played a significant role in their treatment of Nazi atrocities. However, as discussed, they framed the persecution and murder of the Jews as a political calculation meant to gain support and deflect criticism. Further, wartime education had focused on Nazi racial policy as a tool meant to divide enemies, domestic and international, in order to better defeat them. These lessons penetrated Southern segregationists who connected efforts at desegregation with the Nazi policy of creating racial antagonism among their enemies. Their expressed fear of communist or totalitarian subversion betrayed a particular engagement with the memory of the Nazi assault on minorities. In it, they saw heightened racial conflict as a tool of the Nazis during WWII and then transferred that interpretation to communism in the postwar.

What is more, in many cases, segregationists' accusations of subversion by "outsiders" often betrayed considerable antisemitic attitudes. These writers often hinted at Jewish manipulation of Blacks to create racial disunity in the South in order to bring about a communist government. Thus, Jews often served as the conspiratorial "other" who challenged Southern racial institutions and protected the assumption that "genuine" Americans would not challenge the traditional American ideals espoused by Southerners. Again, events related to Mansfield offer insights into how Texans interpreted Nazism and its anti-Jewish policy and actions.

With the black students unregistered at Mansfield High School and the issue back in the courts and awaiting Eisenhower's review, the battle over desegregation in Texas broadened. With the NAACP not wanting to endanger students, the state now took the offensive. Texas officials had latched onto an opportunity presented by one of the students who had taken part in

the lawsuit against the Mansfield school. A *Houston Post* article from September 1st contained a quote by seventeen year old student Charles Moody in which he stated, “I’ll go to the Mansfield school if the NAACP makes me.”[390] It further summarized Moody as having “preferred attending the Fort Worth Negro school he attended” in years prior. This statement, whether Moody’s true feelings or those expressed in the face of threats of violence against the students attempting to integrate, provided the state grounds for an investigation against the NAACP. It heightened the belief, among many, that the NAACP had instigated racial tension in Texas.

Beginning in September of 1956, the state of Texas began a legal assault, along with similar actions by other southern states, on the NAACP.[391] Their became clearer on September 22 when Attorney General Shepperd’s long-time friend, District Judge Otis Dunagan, signed a temporary injunction halting the organization’s operations in the state, pending a request for a permanent one the following week.[392] When asked about the case, Shepperd clarified that he charged the NAACP guilty of barratry, evasion of taxes as a foreign franchise, and participation in politics as a charitable organization.[393] He claimed that the organization had “solicited

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[390] “DA Aide Roughed Up By Anti-Integration Mob,” *The Houston Post*, September 1, 1954, 14.
[391] This attack on the NAACP was part of a large-scale assault made by numerous states. Some sought to make the membership rolls of the organization a public record, while others attempted to make it illegal for public employees to be members. Both would, by their nature, purge advocates for civil rights for blacks from public service. For an example of how this worked in Georgia, see Kevin Kruse, “The Paradox of Massive Resistance: Political Conformity and Chaos in the Aftermath of Brown v. Board of Education,” *Saint Lewis Law Journal* 48, no. 3 (Spring 2004), 1009-1036. For an overview of the assault as seen from the times, look to Walter Murphy, “The South Counterattacks: The Anti-NAACP Laws,” *Western Political Quarterly* 12 (1959), 371-390.
[392] Dunagan, operated in the heavily pro-segregationist East Texas town of Tyler. Shepperd had selected Tyler as the location for his court order because “a number of defendants were in that area.” Dunagan, later refused a petition to move the site of the trial, which would also change judges. He also stated in October of 1956 to not “think this a suit against the n----- people…It’s true it [the NAACP] is an organization for n----- people.” He also felt compelled to state that “I ain’t got nothing against the n----- people.” “Not Against the Nigger People,” *The Texas Observer*, October 24, 1956, 1 & 8.
[393] In this case, charge of barratry consisted of the NAACP engaging in the process of soliciting employment by inciting students and parents to engage in an attempt to integrate a school in order to bring about a lawsuit. During the case against the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall made note of Shepperd’s own offer of legal aid to the segregationist protesters charged in the Clinton, Tennessee protests. He then stated, “The NAACP does not

recruited and coerced students and parents of students to take steps that otherwise they would not have taken, which has resulted and will continue to result in racial hatred and inflame communities."[394] The case against the NAACP simultaneously relied upon assumptions about outside instigation and served as evidence of them to southerners. Sheppherd cast the NAACP as subversives seeking to stir up racial tension where none existed.

Throughout the next eight months, the NAACP waged, and lost, a court battle for its right to serve black Texans in legal matters. Judge Dunagan's issuance of a permanent injunction against the NAACP in May of 1957 resulted in its effective removal from state legal matters into the 1960s.[395] The state legislature used the absence of the substantial power of the NAACP's legal teams to pass and maintain numerous laws which focused on maintaining segregation even in the face of the Brown v. Board of Education decision. These laws effectively neutered the possibility of integrating Texas schools.[396] Though by the time of Dunagan's decision both Shivers and Shepperd had left office, the removal of the NAACP's attorneys made challenging these laws significantly more difficult and aided the delay of integration in the state.

Texas had succeeded in making the NAACP what many had always depicted it as, an organization of outsiders. In fact, this viewpoint underlay two of the key components of the trial. Shepperd's charge that the location of and direction by central offices in New York proved it an

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volunteer legal aid to anyone unless aid is requested." Robert Hayes, "Hearing on NAACP Concluded at Tyler," *Dallas Morning News*, December 13, 1956, 14.

[394] "NAACP's Activity in Texas Blocked by Judge's Order," *Dallas Morning News*, September 22, 1956, 2.

[395] Over the course of this period, the NAACP was relegated to only taking part in activities deemed educational and charitable. It lost significant membership. Other southern states, too, assaulted the NAACP in various ways. In many, states sought to make membership rolls public and to fire teachers who were members.

[396] One law required a successful petition and then referendum accepting integration before a community could integrate and allowed resegregation by the same method. Another stipulated numerous subjective standards—such as "the effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students… the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils…[and]the home environment of the pupil"— necessary for transferring students between schools.

alien corporation operating without a permit not only threatened the organizations status in the state of Texas, but also presented its actions as foreign to Texan's interests. With the charge of barratry, Shepperd declared the NAACP's actions subversive. In fact, in his petition to the court he had stated, "For over 100 years the white and colored races in said state have lived together peacefully and in harmony without strife or litigation and that, were it not for the activities of the defendants, they would now and in the future continue to do so."[397] According to Shepperd, the NAACP's attempts to bring about the enforcement of the Brown v. Board ruling had served "to incite racial prejudice, picketing, riots and other unlawful acts."[398] Both in the case and his comments regarding it, Shepperd represented the NAACP as a subversive, outside organization undermining Texas society and schools. In this, he was not alone.

Often, accusations of NAACP subversion came in the form of accusations that they acted as "outside agitators" who threatened to divide peaceful communities where whites and blacks alike appreciated segregation. Governor Shivers himself insinuated that integration could only lead to violence. In the midst of the Mansfield protest, he stated, "I hope the Supreme Court will be given an opportunity to view the effect of its desegregation decision on a typical law-abiding Texas community."[399] Shivers depicted coerced peace as the determinative evidence necessary to prove the functioning of an appropriate democratic community. In this, he echoed the wartime focus on performed unity.

When the mob at Mansfield organized, their acts and words exhibited this fundamental distrust of outsiders and saw them as a dangerous threat to their society. This genuinely held fear

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[397] "Court Order Halts NAACP in Texas," *The Austin Statesman,* September 22, 1956, 1.
[398] "Attorney General Gets Writ and Cites Racial Disputes—Hearing on Friday," *New York Times*, September 22, 1956, 17.
[399] John Mashek, "Mansfield School Takes No Negroes," *Dallas Morning News,* September 1, 1956, 3.

led to the attacks on or threats to assistant DA Grady Hight, photographers Maurice Levy and Grady Yoder, and Reverend D.W. Clark during the Mansfield riot. As another reporter, Irwin Frank, left town a group of men forced him off the road and questioned him on the roadside. In another incident, a pair of men challenged his presence in the city and stated, "We wanted to make sure you weren't some—damn instigator from out of state." Other men in the mob had earlier clarified, just who they meant by such statements. At one point, Frank reported that the protesters claimed that they did not hate the black children attempting to register but did abhor "the outsiders stirring up this trouble. It's the NAACP getting these little n----- kids to register."[400] Governor Shivers encouraged such interpretations when he reported that a statement put out by the NAACP constituted "another scheme to stir up hatred in Texas."[401] According to these participants in the events in Mansfield, the racial anxiety originated in outsiders sowing dissension, not in any real dissatisfaction with the segregated status quo. These attitudes mirrored claims that bigotry of the 1930s and 1940s had derived from Nazi subversion.

Fear of outside influence comprised one of the most pressing concerns for segregationist protesters and their supporters throughout the 1950s. In letters to J.W. Edgar, the Texas Commissioner of Education, interested Texans expressed worry that those outside the community had invaded it and that they sought to sow dissension among the state's African American population. They characterized the state population, white and black as overwhelmingly opposed to the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education. Outside actors, they suggested, sought to undermine the positive racial relationships that had

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[400] Irwin Frank, "Mob Rule and Hatred Spark Mansfield Row," *The Houston Post*, September 1, 1956, 14.
[401] "Shepperd Charges NAACP Attempt to 'Stir Up Hatred,'" *The Houston Post*, September 7, 1956, 4.

blessed Texas. In these missives, they often presented the actions of the NAACP and other "outsiders," such as the Supreme Court, as having acted in Un-American ways.

A letter by a Mrs. L.C. Bechtol of Houston demonstrates how many letter writers presented their case. Bechtol first affirmed that she spoke not just for the whites of Texas but that "colored children don't want to attend our schools any more than we want them to." Later, she claimed that "our negro and white children attending the same schools is an insult to both races." She then pointed to the difficulties that forced integration might cause when she wrote, "all we can expect is heartache and unhappiness among both races." Having stated that trouble did not lie with the people of Texas, she pointed to the problem. She called on Edgar to "run the undesirable and trouble makers out of our state—and country." She further bemoaned, "when will our leaders…wake up and clean up the trouble makers, regardless of their color?"[402] Claiming again that segregation served black children best, she inquired "Why is all this being forced on both races? Well, it isn't from true Americanism!" In this final statement, Bechtol associated the segregationist cause, seemingly that it represented the freedom of groups to remain set apart "the way God intended," with American ideals. She hearkened back to earlier uses of "Americanism" that emphasized adherence to traditional forms of Christianity and democracy. Bechtol's letter represents mindset of many of those who wrote Commissioner Edgar following the Supreme Court decision in 1954.[403] One that often presented those "trouble makers" as outside Texas, and often American, society. As one Texas citizen stated while

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[402] L.C. Bechtol, "Letter from Mrs. L.C. Bechtol to J. Edgar," June 5, 1954, EDU I.03 TEA Records, 1929-1971, 1978/174-5, Segregation, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, Texas.
[403] Bechtol, "Bechtol to Edgar," Junee 5, 1954.

congratulating the white citizens of Mansfield for their stand, “were not they invaded by a foe great as the South ever had—the nine Justices and the NAACP?”[404]

In some cases, southerners used terms to express these fears of subversion which had earlier served in wartime anti-Nazi propaganda. In 1954, Bessie Bizzell Mayrant of Palestine sent a letter to Commissioner Edgar in which she discussed the dangers of integration. She then included a final note on a single page separate from the rest of the letter. It read, “Russia’s avowed plant to ‘confuse, divide, conquer’ is 2/3 accomplished, lets not forget that. We’re confused, divided—." Though for much of her letter she blamed communist subversion she tied igniting racial division to undermine a society to a phrase harkening back to language popularly associated with wartime unity efforts. As had so many others, she drew little distinction between perceptions of Nazism and her views of communism.

In such statement as those of Bechtol and Mayrant, southerners attached World War II era interpretations of Nazi fifth-column methods and Cold War anxieties over communist subversion to pre-existing Lost Cause mentalities.[405] Though long-held assumptions about Northerners’ dangerous influence over “naïve” southern Blacks and the fears of communism stood out most clearly in their statements, they still contained hints of how southerners understood Nazism. Their words depict a set of Americans who saw the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime as, primarily, methods for creating dissent and undermining democratic systems. They expounded from this that inter-group conflict, particularly that based in race, threatened the democratic consensus and, thereby, constituted totalitarian subversion. The term “divide and

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[404] J. Dulaney, “Letters from Readers: Enemy Invasion,” *Dallas Morning News*, September 7, 1956, 2.
[405] For a description of how Cold War concerns and the Lost Cause ideology aligned, see Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle Red Scare*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004).

conquer," one used consistently during World War II to describe Nazi fifth-column methods, demonstrates how ideas about Nazism buttressed segregationist positions.[406]

One Texas teacher demonstrated just how much Americans ignored racial ideology and associated Nazis and communist methods. Writing to J. Edgar Hoover, one unnamed teacher of English and History in Pattison, Texas expressed concern over "hate literature" distributed "at school by a few of our white boys" only days after Eisenhower sent the 101st Airborne to Little Rock. They feared that the pamphlets might result in what the teacher described as an end to "friendly relationships in this community" between blacks and whites. The documents, a number of *The American Nationalist* pamphlets produced by Frank Britton, portrayed efforts at integration as a plot by "New York Jews." Britton described forced "racial mixing" in all realms as the ultimate goal of the Jewish controlled NAACP. Faced with such clear racism and bigotry, the teacher struck upon the idea that the documents might comprise a part of a subversive plot. They wrote the following:

> I am wondering if such literature were distributed throughout our Southland at that time; and I am wondering too if Communists are the guilty ones whose aim was to stir up race hatred and dissension. As I am not familiar with the names of all Communist fronts, I am wondering if the address on this "hate literature"…is supported by a subversive group. Probably if this is not known or registered as a communistic group, investigation of this editor and organization may be profitable as we do not need 'hate' mongers during this critical period in history.[407]

In spite of the name of the organization producing the materials, the teacher seemed unable to conceive of the pamphlets as having a domestic or fascistic origin. Only a foreign ideology could

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[406] The term "Divide and Conquer" does seem to have clear links to the WWII era. A Google Ngram search of "divide and conquer" demonstrates that it drastically gained popularity over the course of the 1930s with a high point of usage in 1944. From that point it decreased in usage until the mid-1960s.

[407] Forrest Burgess, "Letter to J. Edgar Hoover," November 4, 1957, FOIA: American Nationalist-Frank Britton-HQ-2. Accessed at https://archive.org/details/foia_American_Nationalist-Frank_Britton-HQ-2/page/n71/mode/2up?q=pattison. Date accessed August 19, 2020.

produce such divisive documents, it seems. Further, the Pattison educator failed to differentiate between communism and fascism. Despite recognizing the racist propaganda as "hate literature" and the antisemitism apparent in it, the teacher looked past the noxious racial ideology to the perceived political intent—subversion. With the Nazis defeated and domestic fascism apparently unthinkable, the teacher assumed a communist plot in the antisemitic and white supremacist documents.

Even opponents of the mob actions in Mansfield, Little Rock, and elsewhere demonstrated the transfer of methods attributed to Nazi subversion during the war to communists in the post-war period. When Mable Gray of Houston, Texas learned of the events at Mansfield, she challenged the protesters. Asking, "do you call this loyalty to America?" she answered with "The effigy [was] hung to the flagpole in Mansfield by disloyal Americans." Searching for a reason why her fellow Texans might act in such an unpatriotic way, she could only surmise that "if this is not a form of Communism, I just don't know what it is."[408] The racial disloyalty so associated with Nazism in the interwar and wartime years had become so associated with totalitarianism and, thereby, communism, that some Americans fully associated racial terror with communism.

Others, however, recognized the materials and actions as fascist. On October 25, 1956, the editor of *The Mansfield News* published a letter by the novelist John Griffin in which he warned his fellow citizens about certain propaganda entering Mansfield.[409] In doing so, he

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[408] Mable Gray, "Sound-off: Disrespect to Flag, says Mrs. Gray," *The Houston Post,* September 7, 1956, Section 2, 8.

[409] Griffin, a white man, later wrote the famous book *Black Like Me*, based on his experiences after traveling the south with darkened skin and a shaved head. He noted ill treatment by many whites and the depraved interest white men expressed in his sexual life (as a black man). When his efforts were discovered, after he ended the trip but

specifically noted that these documents originated in fascist organizations. He argued that these organizations presented themselves as "anti-Communist and very pro-American," but constituted "subversive and anti-American" forces as dangerous "as the most revolutionary Communists." He argued that accepting such groups in order to defeat communism provided a choice "not between Stalin and a George Washington, but between Stalin and Hitler."[410] He recognized that pamphlets, such as *Common Sense* and those produced by The National Citizens Protective Association (NCPA), espoused openly fascist views in not only their anti-black but also their antisemitic and anti-democratic rhetoric.[411]

Further, such pamphleteers represented the perceived communist plot in ways that drew heavily upon earlier presentations of Nazi totalitarianism. They argued clearly that calls for racial equality constituted efforts at stirring up racial hatred and dividing Americans. The June 1954 issue of *The White Sentinel*, another publication which John Griffin listed as common in Mansfield at the time of the protests, exemplifies this formulation. Its author wrote the following:

> One of the chief aims of the Communist Party in America is to cause friction, hatred, discontent and disunity. That is another reason why the Communists, pro-Communists and left-wingers are so anxious to force the negro down our throats. When the negro was segregated and made to stay in his own place, there was no racial friction. The more the darkies are foisted upon us, the more bitterness and dissension there is. The Supreme Court ruling has weakened America internally by spreading dissatisfaction, unrest and hatred. The reds can sit back and laugh well knowing they have won a great victory without firing a shot.[412]

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before his work was published, his hometown citizens of Mansfield hung him in effigy, and he fled with his family to Mexico for nine months.

[410] John Griffin, "Letter to the Editor," *The Mansfield News*, October 25, 1956, 2.

[411] The fascist origins of McGinney's *Common Sense* have been addressed previously, but Griffin tied the National Citizens Protective Association to Gerald L.K. Smith through its leader John Hamilton, an associate of Smith's.

[412] "A Victory for the Kremlin," *The White Sentinel* IV, no. 6, 8. Secured from: https://archive.org/stream/NationalCitizensProtectiveAssociation/National%20Citizens%20Protective%20Assn-St.%20Louis-1#page/n53/mode/2up

This formula paralleled in significant ways that by which Mary Riley had earlier attributed Hitlerian subversion techniques to "left-wingers in New York City." Both described preexisting, nominally peaceful relations between groups which disunity destroyed. In both cases, the protest of racism served as the subversive act which led to disunity. Both downplayed or ignored the actually of racism or bigotry. It also harkens back to the pro-unity film *Greater Victory* in which one of the Nazi POWs explained how they would undermine America through developing racial divisions. Though these similarities do not denote a direct lineage, the correlation of communists with approaches which they had previously attributed primarily to Nazis resonated powerfully with many of Americans.[413]

Yet, though he recognized the connection between the racial ideology of the pamphlets and those of the Nazis, Griffin still viewed the Nazi atrocities in ways common to those he opposed. First, he viewed sending such letters to the South during the "crisis situation" as a an attempt to "foment hatreds for purposes which have nothing whatsoever to do with the segregation problem."[414] Though Griffin himself opposed segregation and had aided Austrian Jews in escaping Nazi-occupied Europe while a part of the French underground, he, unlike Dorothy Thompson, nevertheless disassociated segregation from Nazi racial policies. To him, Segregationists became fascist when they utilized racial issues to divide. He, like many others

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[413] Notably, such pamphleteers utilized a similar way of attacking African Americans as conservative and far-rightists had attacked Jews during and immediately after World War II, they tarnished them with the brand of communism. Additionally, they often did so by depicting, as is so common among rightists, Jews as global communist conspirators. Hence they tied the NAACP to "New York Jews" and Jews to communism. The editors of *The White Sentinel*, one of the pamphlets least prone to assault Jews, printed a story in its August 1953 issue in which it claimed European Jews met under communist auspices and discussed starting World War III, after which they would allow only marriages between whites and blacks in order to create "a mongrelized race." Other such pamphleteers took a less circuitous route and simply labeled the ADL or the NAACP as Jewish communist controlled institutions.

[414] John Griffin, "Letter to the Editor," 2.

cast fascism as an ideology which provoked racial hatred in order to accomplish its goals. Racist beliefs and behaviors did not serve as an essential, ideological component and driving force of fascism, but as a tool.

Second, though Griffin recognized fascist subversion in the racist documents of Conde McGinney and John Hamilton, leader of the NCPA and associate of infamous fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, he also allowed that other efforts in the South might have resulted from communist efforts. By couching his case against these propagandists in terms of a comparative to the dangers of communist subversion, he accepted, or at least gave a nod to, arguments that integration efforts stemmed from communist subversive activities. His final statement that "it would be just as dangerous to support a Fascist or Nazi organization as it would be to support a Communist one" surely called for a kind of balance by all those true Americans not at either extreme. A call for moderation. Unfortunately, the letter does not demonstrate whether he did so to assuage the segregationists or out of genuine belief that NAACP integration efforts evidenced communist subversion. The effect, however, seems clear. Even in his attempt to inform Americans about the threat of fascist efforts, Griffin confirmed that racial conflict stemmed from "outside" agitation, whether communist or Nazi.

Griffin's work on the Mansfield issue also pointed to another theme underpinning many of the claims of outside—barely concealed antisemitism. A story in the Bulletin of the Anti-Defamation League provided a link between the views espoused by otherwise unremarkable Texas citizens and the rabid segregationist pamphleteers who tied anti-black discrimination and antisemitism together. In their story, the ADL noted that Mansfield mob identified the desegregationists as communist. Based on eyewitness interviews compiled by Griffin, author Harold Berman wrote of "W.C.C. [White Citizen Council] members calling for defiance of the

'communist-dominated' Supreme Court."[415] He also reported that the citizens of Mansfield had come under a barrage of "hate material which were brought or mailed in and distributed." He listed mailings from various White Citizens Councils, Conde McGinley's *Common Sense,* and Frank Britton's *The American Nationalist* as three of these sources.[416] These publications promoted the "recurrent themes, that school desegregation was a 'communist plot to mongrelize the white race…the Jews were behind the NAACP.'" [417] The far-right interpretation of desegregation as a Judeo-Bolshevik plot against America underpinned the "outsider" narrative which many more seemingly moderate segregationists espoused.

In fact, many of the rabid segregationists had cut their teeth on antisemitism during the pre-war and wartime period. As Jerome Bakst, of the ADL noted, the agitators wanted "far more than the mere preservation of segregation in the South. They seek political power. They seek a racist, totalitarian America, modeled after Hitler's Germany."[418] Many of the notable opponents of segregation listed in Bakst's article held antisemitic beliefs or had previously worked with others who held them. John Kasper, a major figure in the unsuccessful opposition to desegregation in Clinton, Tennessee, had published antisemitic works and sold them out of his bookstore prior to the Brown decision. In his 1957 pamphlet "Segregation or Death," Kasper wrote that "Ultimately, we in our young movement envision the complete legal disenfranchisement and legal expulsion of the Jew from American national life."[419] Far-right

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[415] Harold Berman, "It Happened in Mansfield," *The ADL Bulletin*, March, 1957, 7.
[416] *The Mansfield News* also published a letter to the editor which also stated that *Common Sense* and Citizens Council literature had been distributed throughout the town prior to the protests.
[417] Harold Berman, "It Happened in Mansfield," *The ADL Bulletin*, March, 1957, 7.
[418] Jerome Bakst, "Angry Young Men of Hate," *The ADL Bulletin,* March, 1959, 4.
[419] "Angry Young Men of Hate," 8.

activists such as Kasper saw the battle over desegregation as part of a larger conflict, one which pitted "Americanism" against outsiders.

Inevitably, pamphleteers and other activists described those outsiders as Jews. They relied upon long-running depictions of Jews as disloyal and subversive communists. This, potentially, could remove Jews from their wartime acceptance in American society and politics, which relied upon their association with mainstream Christianity through the concept of Judeo-Christianity. By connecting Jews with communism, and thus "godlessness," they could ostracize Jews once again.[420] Additionally, in their association of Jews with communism, far-right agitators and the segregationists who listened to them, relied on other fascists concepts of Jews as well.

Though some relied upon the idea of Judeo-bolshevism to smear Jews, others utilized the antisemitic trope of Jews as "race-mixers" who sought to degrade "pure races." Unlike some other manifestations of this canard, in segregationist literature, Jews utilized Blacks to destroy the white race rather than through their own "blood." *The Virginian*, a Citizen's Council publication edited by William Stephenson, included an article which stated that "Jewish obsession with race-mixing often (reaches) neurotic extremes…Jewish spokesmen tirelessly use the big lie in an effort to soften up white resistance to race mongrelization."[421] Such characterizations challenged the idea of Judeo-Christian cooperation and hearkened back to the antisemitic ideology of the Nazis and others.

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[420] Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe,* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2018). In pages 218-236, Hanebrink notes how the idea of Judeo-Christian culture, focused on shared faith in God, served to include Jews in American society first against the Nazis and then against the Soviets. However, the association of Jews with communism always threatened this framework as it associated them with "godlessness."
[421] As quoted in Arnold Forster, "The South: New Field for an Old Game," *The ADL Bulletin* 15, no. 8 (October, 1958), 1.

These openly antisemitic statements demonstrate the clear link between the antisemitic fascistic activists throughout the country and the fight to maintain segregation. In fact, the Arnold Forster, writing in the *ADL Bulletin* went so far as to surmised that “the issues of desegregation give him [the professional anti-Semite] his sanction for operating. But they are not his real concern. His movements and materials are more anti-Semitic than anti-Negro. His central theme is that the ‘communist-Jew’ is behind the drive for integration. The cause of all social upheavals.”[422] Forster’s data set, he began by considering anti-Semites who began writing about desegregation, certainly led him to overstate his conclusion. Nevertheless, southern segregationists did exhibit antisemitic mindsets. Ida Darden rarely mentioned Jews, yet, she felt compelled to challenge an ADL statement that characterized her as antisemitic with an antisemitic diatribe. She stated that her paper had not made any anti-Jewish statements because she had no intention to “attack the worldwide underground movement of professional Jews” who had “millions of dollars at their command.”[423] Though often circumspect, the far-right activists tied antisemitism and segregation together.

The ADL, some members of the press, and others recognized parallels between radical, if not all, segregationists and the Nazis. Most southerners, however, seemed oblivious to them. In fact, they exhibited a mindset that suggests a very limited understanding of Nazism. When they conjured up images of Nazism, they did invariably pointed to the overwhelming use of state power. They rarely addressed the racial ideology of the German regime. Instead, they built upon the idea of racial antagonism as a political tool used by totalitarians to subvert democratic

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[422] Forster, “The South,” 1.
[423] Ida Darden, “We are Forced to Re-State Purposes of Paper,” *The Southern Conservative* 1, no. 7 (July-August 1950), 8.

societies—there meaning the segregated society of the South. Nothing about this contextualization connected the often virulently antisemitic activism that spearheaded the opposition to desegregation to the Nazi genocide of the Jews.

Conclusion

It might seem odd that Southern segregationists succeeded in using accusations of Nazi-like actions to tar their enemies and motivate the populace. Nevertheless, they did, in part, because preestablished understandings of Nazism emphasized political repression by a powerful national government and the undermining of opponents through the use of racial divisions. These analogies both aligned with most Southerners preexisting dedication to segregation and also offered plausible, in their minds, justification for defending the Jim Crow system. To do otherwise would, they believed, play into the hands of communists. Many Southerners seemingly did view both the Supreme Court decision and the possibility, and eventuality, of federal intervention as akin to or evidence of a totalitarian or communist plot.

It might seem just as strange that many desegregationists did not accuse proponents of Jim Crow of beliefs similar to those of the Nazis. Yet, they, too, often saw totalitarian use of force and agitation in the actions of governors or communist subversion in the efforts of segregationists. The prior representations of fascism and communism as foreign ideologies meant that they did not see the Southern segregationist regime as domestic fascism. Even if they believed that some Americans acted in ways similar to fascists, they assumed that did so because of outside, alien influences.

Additionally, numerous pro-segregation agitators and domestic fascists had cultivated antisemitic attitudes in the country which limited sympathy for Jews which might have led to a greater willingness to consider their plight under the Nazis. Many even chose to broadcast or

accept the same canards of Judeo-bolshevism and race-mixing which the Nazis had broadcast. The accusations against Jews further served to dampen discussion of their victimization by the Nazis. This limited discussion of Nazi racial policy which, in turn, served well the proponents of segregation by minimizing the association of that regime with the southern one.

Totalitarianism served as the key by which Americans could attribute foreign, fascistic subversion to other's actions in a time after the country had defeated the global threat of fascism. Accusations based in specific images of Nazism—military marches, the Gestapo, racial antagonism, and fifth-column attacks—gained powerful resonance when attached to the country's contemporary geopolitical opponent, the Soviet Union. Hence, many connected the ideas and memories previously associated with Nazism to communism through their categorization as totalitarian.

CHAPTER VI
"CLEARLY THERE IS NEED TO EDUCATE YOUTH IN THE MEANING OF NAZISM": DEFINING THE MURDER OF THE JEWS, 1958-1964

Throughout the 1950s, New York City educators consistently utilized Nazism and atrocities committed under that regime in comparisons with the treatment of Blacks in the Jim Crow South. They did so without standard Holocaust curriculum or lessons. They did not center these discussions around the murder of the Jew, but instead referenced the Nazi atrocities in lessons about a limited set of other topics—usually anti-Black racism in the South. In a period that emphasized consensus and finding mutual ground, formal lessons on racism in the South only developed gradually over the course of the decade. Thus, the lessons on racism and the murder of the Jews generally remained informal and student directed.

Yet, by the early 1960s, circumstances had aligned to bring about more direct discussions about the city's curriculum on the Nazi atrocities. First, the continuing Civil Rights movement and the recognition of the city's own problem of segregation meant a growth in discussions about racial discrimination. This, in turn, meant an increase in the classroom instruction which associated the assault on the Jews with the treatment of Blacks—though almost exclusively eliding issues of Northern racism by focusing on problems in the South. Second, geopolitical events such as the Eichmann trial and increasing ties between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany brought attention to the particularity of the Jewish experience under the Nazis. Third, a wave of antisemitic incidents swept through New York City and the rest of the country. This emphasized the need to educate students about the dangers of antisemitism.

The alignment of these events led numerous educators to call for more information about the murder of the Jews during World War II. Some focused on a greater contextualization of the Nazi atrocities apart from Soviet violations. Many Jewish educators, however, sought emphasize the unique nature of the Nazi assault on the Jews. They marshalled a decade and a half of private memory and recognition of the assault on the Jews.[424] Thus, they spoke with passion and brought what had remained an almost exclusively Jewish contextualization of the Nazi genocide to the

[424] See Hasia Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love*: *American Jews and the Myth of Silence After the Holocaust,* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

American educational system. They began to introduce the persecution and murder of the Jews in ways that separated it from, rather than attached it to, other Nazi atrocities, communist brutality, and domestic comparisons.

In New York City schools, therefore, the first official expectations for the classroom treatment of what would become known as the Holocaust, resulted from the perceived failures of prior contextualizations of the murder of the Jews to limit antisemitism or address concerns of survivors regarding Germany. The presentation of the assault on the Jews as part of a broad assault on democracy had facilitated the incorporation of Jews into American society during the wartime era; however, by the early 1960s, many recognized that it had also left a generation without formal education regarding the dangers of antisemitism that the Nazi genocide should have served to teach them. As prior chapters have shown, amidst that lack of formal curricula various forms of antisemitism had festered below the surface of American society. This included clearly antisemitic uses of the memory of Nazism which downplayed the nature and intent of the assault on the Jews. These failures occasioned the beginning of a move toward the inclusion of the murder of the Jews as a required topic of discussion in New York City schools and set them on the road toward the Holocaust curricula that teachers developed a decade or more later.

The debates which erupted over the Board of Education's attempt to address the issue of de facto segregation in its schools highlights how the two interpretations of the Nazi assault—one emphasizing political goals and the other dedication to racial ideology—on the Jews could inform perspectives. For many, the racial ideology of the Nazis still mattered less than the political centralization of the regime. They feared that the Board's perceived solution, bussing, represented a loss of freedom reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Still others, however, suggested that the assault on the Jews emphasized the importance of redressing the discriminatory policies. Others challenged the association of the Nazi genocide of the Jews with American racial problems and sought to see that event taught apart from domestic contexts.

"An American Brand of Hilter's Racism Showed Its Ugly Head Here"

In 1963, the New York City Board of Education suggested that schools improve intergroup relations by taking part in the Panel of Americans, an organization that used a group of adult panelists from "varied ethnic backgrounds." The Board hoped that the Panel of Americans would help aid in the roll out of its "Plan for Integration" of its schools, which had

remained to that point segregated in fact, if not in law. The panelists discussed topics ranging from "vocational planning" to "interracial and intercultural tensions" in order to show students the experiences and thoughts of a diverse set of people. Some teachers and students became so excited by the panels, that they organized their own and set about discussing their own experiences and viewpoints.

In one panel, whose organizing teachers reported their experiences in *Strengthening Democracy*, student-guided discussion led to a conversation that displayed how students understood and learned from their knowledge about the Nazi atrocities. As the class teacher and Panel of Americans organizers worked to find the best student panelists, one Jewish student shared her mother's experiences in concentration camps and in seeing the murder of her family. The young girl then expressed her unwillingness forgive the Germans as the "mother had brought up her daughter to hate all Germans, sight unseen." The students of the class responded to the girls' statement by attempting to change her stance regarding Germans as they felt it inappropriate to "condemn and prejudge individuals by attributing guilt to all members of a nationality." They wondered whether "she thought all Germans had been Nazis, or whether any had worked in opposition to Hitler." This both presented their own view of Nazism and served to assuage the guilt over general U.S. inaction on Civil Rights over a long period. Whatever the basis for their question, she remained unmoved and maintained her "hatred" of Germans.

The students of the class responded to the girls' statement by attempting to change her stance regarding Germans. They felt it inappropriate to "condemn and prejudge individuals by attributing guilt to all members of a nationality." They paralleled what they likely saw as their own position vis-à-vis the Jim Crow South when they "asked if she thought all Germans had been Nazis, or whether any had worked in opposition to Hitler." They then attempted an analogy. Referring to recent events in Birmingham, where local white law enforcement had met peaceful protest with extreme violence and where white supremacists had recently bombed a church, they asked whether or not "she ought to be included in the charges of prejudice and barbarity being made against Americas?" The article then described how "soon she was worrying about how she would deal with her mother if she decided to treat without prejudice any German she met." [425]

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[425] Harburger and Zaluskin, "The Panel of Americans," 5.

This story reveals that students easily equated the Nazi genocide with anti-black racism in the United States—even to the point of silencing victims of Nazism. They had sought to use their perceptions of German opposition to Nazism to bolster their own patriotism and moral stances.

This panel represents the smattering of similar conversations which occurred across the country in schools where no specified curriculum on the Nazi atrocities existed. Though textbooks and curriculums made mention of the topic, they presented it primarily within the context of discussions of the war or of totalitarianism. In both cases other issues—the war itself and the threat of communism respectively—tended to overshadow and even eliminate treatments of Nazi atrocities. The connection, such as that made by the panelists, between the Nazi assault on the Jews and the racism against Blacks in the United States only found organized voice briefly in the 1940s in the "intercultural education" movement. Even during that decade, however, educational organizations—teachers associations, anti-discrimination societies, and religious groups—provided the impetus behind intercultural education programs. Schools offered opportunities for teachers to enact such programs but did not always mandate them or make them a key part of their curriculum. As NYC BoE coordinator Edward Reich lamented in November of 1946 "generally speaking, there are few efforts to make teachers more conscious of intercultural problems. Few teacher groups have undertaken any work in this direction. A few schools have intercultural committees of one kind or another."[426] This general ambivalence among many educators toward anti-racism education became outright opposition over the next few years.

As the Cold War began, American educators increasingly came under pressures, internal and external, which minimized race and racism as an important topic of discussion. Many educators of the late 1940s and the 1950s, influenced by psychology rather than anthropology, began to view discrimination as the actions of maladjusted individuals who simply needed acculturation. As one New York City teacher stated when discussing the best method to educate against prejudice, educators must "encourage them [students] to confront their own shortcomings, for 'brotherhood begins with self-hood.'"[427] Simultaneously, anti-communists

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[426] Edward Reich, "Minority Problems in Public Schools," *High Points* 28, no. 9 (November 1946), 49.
[427] Jacob Luria, "Book Reviews: The Fears Men Live By," *High Points* 38, no. 6 (June 1956), 74.

attacked the earlier programs which had combatted racism by informing students about the scientific similarity of humans and the corresponding illogic of racism.[428] Ultimately, though some teachers continued to discuss the "controversial" topic of racism, most educators had adopted alternative understandings of the origins of discrimination or silenced themselves under the pressure of McCarthyism.

As the assault on racism through education collapsed, advocates of desegregation and other anti-racism measures moved to judicial methods. Thus, the 1950s became a decade of filled with visible rifts over issues of racism, particularly in education due to the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. Nevertheless, due to pressures in education to avoid discussion of race, these events saw little overt discussion in the early 1950s.

This reticence to discuss domestic racism, particularly the issue of segregation, may have also had a secondary effect on educator's discussions of the murder of Europe's Jews. Those within school systems had long recognized certain similarities between the racism buttressing Jim Crow in the South and the racial ideology of the Nazis. In fact, the analogy between the two served as one of the few ways that American educators, at least those not in the South, did discuss the Nazi atrocities. This, however, did not lead to a plethora, but rather a dearth of curricula on the murder of the Jews. The pressures that silenced classroom discussions of race eliminated one of the primary venues in which educators might have examined the Nazi atrocities.[429] Certainly no national, regional, or institutional programs attempted to address domestic racism through analysis of the Nazi assault on minorities.

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[428] Zoe Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 156-170. Burkholder places the similar incidents to those found in chapter 3 of this work in the context of how educators taught about race. She notes that between 1948 and 1951, intercultural education programs in the United States had dropped precipitously. A new approach, championed by Rachel Du Bois, emphasized the celebration of various cultures and their traits as essential in fighting bigotry.

[429] Thomas Fallace, "Holocaust Education in the US: A pre-history, 1939-1960," *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings*, ed. Andy Pearce, (New York: Routledge, 2018), 190-204.

Instead, as in the case of the Panel of Americans, the lack of formal programs left educators to broach the subject of segregation through their own initiative, which occasionally resulted in analogies with the assault on the Jews. While Southern teachers fought against what they saw as the stirring of racial antagonism, some educators in the North did encourage education that supported Black civil rights. They used the pressures of the Cold War, and the possibility of the use of Southern racism as Soviet propaganda, to escape the bounds of consensus culture that restrained them.[430] As they did so, they often discussed African American civil rights through a comparison with the brutalities of the Nazi regime. Thus, the teaching of intercultural education and anti-racism had no departmental home, but instead saw teachers from various disciplines attempt, individually, to instill in students the ideal of human equality.

In science classrooms, intrepid teachers emphasized the equality of human biology. In 1947, Herbert Chaimas, after losing his personal battle to maintain the intercultural education teacher in-service program in New York City, delivered a speech to his fellow faculty at Lafayette High School. In it, he used the illogic of Nazi racial science to accuse domestic prejudice. He argued that teaching about the circulatory system could help remove students' harmful racial assumptions. He pointed out that "it is an interesting sidelight that the fanaticism and false biology of the Nazi caused a shortage of blood plasma for the German armed forces since they would not use blood from Jews." Then, tying Nazi ideology to domestic racism, he continued, "many of us have recognized an overtone of this outlook in our own country."[431] Of course, as chapter two of this work showed, this outspoken advocacy for using science to teach against racism led Chaimas and many of his compatriots to face the ill-will of the New York City school administration.

Nevertheless, the association between American racism and the Nazi racial ideologies usually derived from a broad assignment during which students brought up the comparison. In an English class, one teacher reported a discussion of racism derived from the efforts of an

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[430] See Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) and Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011). Dudziak and Borstelmann place Civil Rights decisions into the context of the Cold War and note how Cold War pressures could effect U.S. lawmakers and citizens in their decisions on race, both for and against civil rights.
[431] Herbert Chaimas, "Biology Aids Understanding and Unity," *High Points* 29, no. 2 (February 1947), 54.

immigrant student. For the assignment, students chose seven short stories aligned with a self-selected theme. They then read, analyzed, and presented those works. One student "who came from Europe" and likely a DP or refugee from the war, proved, according to the teacher Bernice Bernadsky, "extremely interested in prejudice and intolerance." She selected seven stories which "presented the problems faced by Negroes, the Chinese, victims of Nazi persecution, and victims of intolerance in the United States." Having placed domestic racism alongside "Nazi persecution," the student led the class to "an active discussion of the subject."[432] Nevertheless, the student-generated nature of this structure meant that such conversations might not consistently occur.

Occasionally, the recognition of Brotherhood Week, which the National Conference of Christians and Jews developed in the 1930s, could also lead to such discussions, though, again, often student initiated. In 1955, Irving Hyman, of New York City's Tottenville High School offered a lesson plan in which a panel of four students would react to various "problems," followed by a class discussion. Hyman suggested monitoring student responses to a scenario in which they moved to South Carolina and were denied admission to the nearest school, all-black. Following this discussion on segregation, the teacher might then present a problem in which a history class saw "an avowed Communist" and "an avowed neo-Nazi" dominating discussion. Though not directly paired, by presenting the issue of segregation and Nazism, even in its domestic and contemporary form, one after the other, Hyman suggested a similarity between them. Notably, of the 10 issues discussed, four touched upon segregation and anti-black racism and two connected to Nazism or the war in Europe.[433]

In another Brotherhood Week lesson plan, Lillian Howitt of Junior High School 50 in Brooklyn suggested a lesson that would allow students to connect Jim Crow with the Nazis. Under the subject of "How government policies are responsible for creating differences among people," Howitt listed two topics. First, she suggested discussing the effect of ghettoization on the Jewish people. Next, she "education policies" and then "Education of the Southern Negro

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[432] Bernice Bernadsky, "Short-Story Projects in Summer School," *High Points* 30, no. 6 (June 1951),46.

[433] Irving Hyman, "A Lesson on Problems of Brotherhood and Civil Liberties," *High Points* 37, no. 1 (January 1955), 37. The remainder of the problems presented addressed religious antagonism (3) and civil liberties for communists (1).

today."[434] Though she did not make a direct link, she certainly positioned students to do so. Her lesson plan made it likely for students to find the connection between the policies of segregation utilized in Nazi Germany and the Jim Crow South.

The tendency among educators to describe events of racial violence through Nazi analogy likely encouraged students to engage in discussions as those above. *Strengthening Democracy*, the New York City Board of Education's journal for encouraging "democratic" education, often represented both racial violence and discrimination as similar to Nazi policies or actions. The authors of the annual article, "Pluses and Minuses in Human Relations," which provided a ledger book of events on the topic, consistently evidenced this tendency. In both the 1951 and 1952 editions of "Pluses and Minuses," a subsection entitled "Storm Trooper Tactics" described "native fascists" and "a teenage gang pattered on the Hitler youth" as having "molested" and bombed the homes of blacks.[435] These representations aligned with the previously established tendency to associate Nazism with political violence and the use of force. In this way, they still presented segregationists as similar to the Nazis when they acted violently or used particular methods but not necessarily because of their adherence to a racist ideology.

At other times, the authors of the column did make such connections. Unlike in Southern discussions of segregation and Civil Rights, New York City educators recognized at least some degree of similarity between Nazi Germany and the Jim Crow South due to their racial ideologies. In February of 1950, the article told of an attempt by a judge in Mississippi to bribe, through a contingent fifty thousand dollar offer, Jefferson Military College to alter its charter to "exclude 'any person of African or Asiatic origin and that the school teach the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin races." Summarizing, the authors then wrote, "thus an American brand of Hilter's racism showed its ugly head here."[436] In 1956, the authors of "A Balance Sheet in Human Relations During 1955," the new name for the "Pluses and Minuses" article, reprinted the words of the French magazine *Franc-Tireur*. After introducing the comments as "typical" of the sentiments recorded in the French paper, they quoted, "there is still in certain corners of a

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[434] Lillian Howitt, "Brotherhood Week," *High Points* 40, no. 1 (January 1958), 57-58.
[435] "Pluses and Minuses in Human Relations During 1951," *Strengthening Democracy* 4, no. 4 (January-February 1952), 7. "Pluses and Minuses in Human Relations During 1952," *Strengthening Democracy* 5, no. 4 (February 1952), 8.
[436] "Pluses and Minuses in Human Relations During 1949," *Strengthening Democracy* 2, no. 5 (February 1950), 2.

great democracy a racist dogma of state, as anti-semitism was a state dogma under Hitler. "[437] When, in 1955, an all-white jury acquitted Roy Bryant and J.W. Milam of the murder of fourteen-year-old Emmett Till, *Strengthening Democracy* depicted the action as akin to totalitarianism.[438] To some degree, northern educators emphasized the racial ideology as an essential component of the Nazi regime. In either case, that such references, comparing Nazi racism to domestic anti-black actions, required so little context or analysis suggests a comfort and familiarity with them.

"Failure to Educate the People Against Nazism in the Last Sixteen Years"

When Panel of the Americans director Gladys Harburger and curriculum assistant Flora Belle Zaluskin published the info on the panel in *Strengthening Democracy*, they did so in a context very much different from the prior decade. By January 1964, a confluence of events had altered how many people, but particularly Jews, viewed the murder of the Jews and what they saw as an appropriate presentation of that event. Certainly, the publication of Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* altered how scholars approached the topic and the Eichmann Trial had drawn public attention.[439] Yet, they did not prove the impetus for the first institutional efforts at developing an official curricular position on the teaching of Nazi atrocities or the murder of the Jews.[440] Instead, more immediate and personally felt events likely motivated the first push toward emphasizing Nazi atrocities in curricula. In particular, an outbreak of

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[437] "A Balance Sheet in Human Relations During 1955," *Strengthening Democracy* 8, no. 3 (January-February 1956), 8.
[438] "A Balance Sheet, 1955," 8.
[439] These two events are often listed as seminal events in Holocaust memory. See Deborah Lipstadt, *Holocaust: An American Understanding*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 2016), 46-57; David Cesarani, *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, ed. David Cesarani and Eric Lundquist (London: Routledge, 2012), 1; and Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 127-145. Certainly, they both had importance. However, timing suggests that, at least for Jewish educators and those in locations with large Jewish communities, they were not the initiating causes of the increased interested in curriculum discussing the murder of the Jews.
[440] In the case of HIlberg's book, no reference document available from the NYC or Texas Boards of Education suggested it as a resource during this time. The Eichmann Trial saw a single page report written in *Strengthening Democracy* in which the author focused almost exclusively on the debate over whether the trial constituted a "fair trial"—which he answered in the affirmative. He mentioned the Jewish people as victims at a single point in the article. Edward Kolevzon, "Perspective on the Eichmann Trial," *Strengthening Democracy* XIV, no. 4 (March 1962), 2. There were a greater number of articles that discussed Soviet Antisemitism than that addressed the Eichmann Trial.

antisemitic actions which gripped the country in 1960 spurred many on to increase student and community knowledge about Nazism and antisemitism.

In early 1960, Americans could consistently find newspaper reports of antisemitic acts taking place throughout the country. Beginning with the painting of a swastika on a synagogue in Cologne, Germany on Christmas morning of 1959, antisemitic incidents occurred across Western Europe and the United States. On January 3rd of 1960, various synagogues and Jewish organizations in New York City saw swastikas painted on them, often by youth. Throughout the next few months, reports of such incidents in the city often filled the columns of the *New York Times*. By late January some locations, such as Kansas City, had seen bombings of synagogues. The ADL stated that between Christmas 1959 and the end of January in 1960 they had received 416 reports of antisemitic vandalism.[441] These events understandably led to significant concern among the Jewish community. Nevertheless, Americans did not always interpret these events in the same way.

A few conceived of the vandalism and violence as a national, or even global, fascist conspiracy. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress, believed that "some international cooperation" must have existed between fascists of various countries.[442] Bernard Abrams, commander of the Jewish War Veterans, called for a commission "to conduct searching analysis into current manifestations of Nazi and Fascist resurgence."[443] Such fears of a growing antisemitic movement seemed founded when, on January 27th, a trio of youth, sought to harass attendees of a rally held by the Committee to Stop the Revival of Nazism and Anti-Semitism. These boys carried antisemitic papers to distribute and at least one was a member of the fascistic National Renaissance party.[444] In other cases, police found large numbers of youth involved in neo-nazi movements.[445] Nevertheless, as the ADL stated, after both their own investigation and those of law enforcement, that "the desecrations…were not the handiwork of any nationally or internationally organized movement."[446]

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[441] "Acts of Anti-Semitism," *The ADL Bulletin* 17, no. 2 (February 1960), 4.
[442] Peter Kihss, "City Police Guard Seats of Worship," *New York Times*, January 5, 1960, 2.
[443] "President Scores 'Virus of Bigotry,'" *New York Times*, Janaury 14, 1960, 1.
[444] "Nazi Tactics Trap 3 in Union Square," *New York Times,* January 27, 1960, 27.
[445] "Bombing Inquiry Finds 'Nazi' Group," *New York Times*, January 30, 1960, 14.
[446] Milton Ellerin, "To Take Credit or Not," *The ADL Bulletin* 17, no. 4 (April 1960), 6.

From early on, more saw the defacement of the buildings as the work of imitators of the original. Police Commissioner Stephen Kennedy stated, “I believe these are isolated instances. I do not believe that they represent any group or plan of action.”[447] Within a week, many considered juveniles responsible. One article argued that the painting of swastikas represented “a special form of delinquency—probably juvenile…but there is no evidence that it stems from any kind of organized movement.”[448] As these events multiplied across the nation—occurring in California, Uta, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Kansas by January 11—commentators consistently noted that they seemed the work of young imitators rather than political instigators. Benjamin Epstein, national director of the ADL stated that the events seemed caused by “imitated behavior where a young, or an older person with a young mind, or a bigot, was excited by the dramatic aspect of this thing [the Cologne swastika vandalism] and decided that he would do likewise.”[449] The events continued into the late spring of 1960, with young boys often playing the role of the vandals.[450]

With so many of the defacements resulting from the actions of youth, some naturally focused on a failure of education. This came in two forms. First, commentators on these actions often connected the acts with a kind of derangement. With the development of wartime unity messaging and the subsequent embrace of the “colorblind ideal” in the late 1940s and early 1950s, American educators taught a performative anti-racism which did not focus on changing actual beliefs, but on behaving with appropriate “tolerance” as an American. Educators had determined that discriminatory behavior represented an individual issue of social maladjustment rather than as one of societal problem stemming from systemic racism. [451] Vandalism of synagogues denoted a lack of adjustment to society rather than a bigoted viewpoint toward Jews. Thus, the statements questioning the mental wellness of the vandals reflected an educational position that emphasized helping students adjust themselves to society and learn to live within it.

The second emphasis on education hearkened back to the wartime presentation of racism as a lack of knowledge. Though primarily speaking of the swastika graffiti in West Germany, the

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[447] Kihss, “City Police Guard Seats of Worship,” 2.
[448] “Swastika Smear,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1960, 20.
[449] Spiegel, “7 Arrested,” 15.
[450] “Vandals are Caught,” *New York Times*, April 8, 1960.
[451] Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, 157-163.

New York Times quoted the Israeli ruling party's newspaper as stating that such acts originated in the "failure to educate the people against Nazism in the last sixteen years."[452] After two weeks of almost daily reports of antisemitic graffiti, the New York City Superintendent of Schools, John Theobald, assured the press that the schools would address the issue through increasing support for human relations programs.[453] Those outside public education also saw their own responsibility in failing to properly educate youth. The Dean of Union Theological Seminary, Dr. John Bennett, noted the responsibility of some protestant Sunday School lessons in teaching antisemitism. He argued that Christian ministers could do much to educate their congregants, including youth, in the contributions of Jews and the wrong of condemning "Jews for 'rejecting Christ' as the Messiah."[454] Such declarations suggest that many, both inside and outside of formal education, saw knowledge about the nature of Nazism as a bulwark against antisemitism.

The rash of antisemitic vandalism brought about at least two efforts to increase knowledge related to Nazism and the assault on the Jews, both addressing the treatment of the topic in textbooks. In the first, the Anti-Defamation League called for a new study to update the previous 1949 work of the American Council on Education on the topic of the representation of minorities in textbooks. The resultant *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary Textbooks* sought to analyze how schoolbooks discussed the Jews, minorities under Nazism, "American Negroes," and immigrants.

The 1960 vandalism served as a key impetus for the study. Benjamin Epstein, the national director of the ADL, specifically noted those incidents in his forward. Importantly, he tied the vandalism not only to antisemitism, but to discrimination against all minorities. Epstein first argued that American leadership in the world demanded a "truly universal outlook on different people." He then addressed the desecration of synagogues. Noting those cases "with apprehension," the director then stated that the offending teenagers' "conduct [was] seemingly stimulated for the most part by a deep-seated, irrational prejudice against minorities."[455] As with

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452 "City Police Guard Seats of Worship," 2. Though this statement also represents the tensions surrounding the remilitarization of West Germany, it also notes a recognition of the role of education in decreasing bigotry.
453 "President Scores 'Virus of Bigotry,'" 2.
454 "Sunday Schools and Bias Linked," *New York Times*, January 18, 1960, 7.
455 Bemjamin Epstein, forward to *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary Textbooks*, by Marcus Lloyd, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961), 3.

the trend in textbooks of the 1950s and 1960s, antisemitic acts represented the dangers of racism. In this context, the antisemitic graffiti had the effect of making the murder of the Jews relevant to Americans but, again, bereft of its particular nature.

Though the study addressed the treatment of Jews and blacks separately, the section on Nazism considered that regime's assault on all minorities. The author of the study, Marcus Lloyd, highlighted a few points which he viewed as essential to appropriate coverage. He included among these an adequate discussion of "Hitler's 'super race' theory, including how "Jews and other minorities proved useful scapegoats;" the escalation of persecution of all his victims "in successive stages;" and a discussion of the Jewish victims "but also" others such as clergy, political opponents, and Poles. In each case, Lloyd carefully presented the Nazi assault on the Jews as greater in scope or degree but similar in intent and method. Thus, he validated the most typical way that textbooks already presented the Nazi genocide of the Jews. This had the effect of focusing broadly on racism while sidelining the specifics of antisemitism. The ADL walked the line of emphasizing the need for specific examination of the treatment of the Jews while presenting this plea within the existing framework, which focused on the Nazi atrocities more broadly.

The authors of *Why the Swastika?*, a pamphlet produced by the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations Press, also responded to the vandalism by addressing the importance of schools and textbooks in combatting bigotry. They focused on, among others, two important areas—the mental make-up of the youth and their knowledge about Nazism. In the first case, emphasized the role of "emotional deprivation" and "psychopathology."[456] The authors highlighted even more clearly, however, the role of a lack of education regarding Nazism. This, they suggested, allowed antisemitic beliefs to remain and led the students to fail to recognize the significance of the symbols they used.

The authors argued that education about Nazi Germany might offer a partial solution to the problem of such incidents. After stating the need for churches to address antisemitism, the authors argued that "clearly there is need to educate youth in the meaning of nazism."[457] Though

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[456] "Why the Swastika?" (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1962), 10, 18,
[457] "Why the Swastika?" 36-37.

they recognized that "it is not likely that students whose psychological needs and social mileau lead them to use anti-Semitism to bolster their faulty personalities will be influenced by classroom teaching alone," they still sought for students to learn "that the swastika spells depravity and horror." Thus, they suggested that "the Hitler era…be given far more extensive treatment in social-studies classes."[458] Whether as treatment for psychopathy or to forestall a societal forgetfulness about Nazism, education seemed the answer.

New York City's Curriculum Council also responded to the flurry of antisemitic incidents. On April 24th, 1960, a chapter of the American Jewish Congress adopted a resolution commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943. In it, they urged that the "world-wide significance of the heroic resistance of the Jews of Warsaw be given proper and adequate recognition in the textbooks used by the schools in the City of New York; and that the monstrous crimes of Hitler be taught to our children." Seeming to recognize that a focus on only the plight of the Jews might come to naught, they tied this goal to a desire for students to "appreciate the heroic struggles of peoples all over the world to preserve freedom."[459] Such efforts as this demonstrate the psychic shock that the surge of antisemitic acts caused. Further, it demonstrates that for many, education about the Nazi genocide seemed to provide the solution. Simultaneously, it presented Jewish resistance within the confines of the earlier interpretations—notably, they had fought for democracy because the assault upon them primarily represented an attack on democracy, not on the Jewish people. They displayed a reflexive recognition, borne of necessity, to frame the assault on the Jews more broadly.

Such public engagement as the above letter, along with the likely impact of the vandalism among the teachers and administrators of New York City, led to efforts at shaping the textbooks of the future. Within a month of seeing the letter from the chapter of the American Jewish Congress, Curriculum Council Chairman and Associate Superintendent Ethel Huggard initiated the process of urging textbook publishers to increase their treatment of the Nazi atrocities. On June 21st, she presented a letter "relative to the treatment of the subjects of communism and

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[458] "Why the Swastika?" 36-37.
[459] "Minutes of the Curriculum Council," *Curriculum Council Minutes* 1, (Sept. 1958-June 1960), May 18, 1960, 1, Series 665, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

fascism in textbooks used in the schools" to the Board of Superintendents for comments.[460] By October 19th, Huggard had sent a reworked letter and held the responses of some publishers.[461] In the spring of 1962, the Committee of Instructional Materials, the group which had originally requested sending the letter, provided guidance to teachers on how to address the topic of the Nazi atrocities while the textbook publishers worked out how to better incorporate that topic in their accounts.

The contents of the letter to publishers and the announcement to teachers clarify how the curriculum experts and superintendents envisioned the teaching of the Nazi atrocities. The Board of Superintendents insistence that the letter refer "to the course of study," meaning the required curricular expectations set out on any given course, meant that Huggard's communication offers a rare connection between textbooks publishers and classroom teachers.[462] In fact, Huggard specifically noted that "a scholarly weighing of proportions in particular curriculum areas" demonstrated how the necessities of curriculum might influence the coverage of topics in textbooks.[463] She revealed how administrators envisioned textbook authors connecting the historical materials to classroom needs and, at the same time, how teachers might address the Nazi crimes in their classes.

Further, though both documents— the letter to publishers and the guidance for teachers—seemed simple expressions of curricular expectations passed on to those affected, closer analysis reveals the tensions inherent in reshaping history curriculum. Notably, the committee pushed back against two norms in materials related to the Nazi atrocities. First, they worked around the anti-communist mindset of the period which pressured educators to avoid to enthusiastic an expression of themes that aligned with communist positions—such as anti-fascism. Second, they challenged, if obliquely or unintentionally, the presentation of Nazi brutality as politically oriented.

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[460] "Minutes of the Board of Superintendents," June 24, 1960, Series 281, Box 2, Folder 24, Administration Board of Superintendents, Office of the Secretary Harold Hay Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[461] Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate these responses in the Records of the New York City Board of Education.
[462] "Minutes of the Board of Superintendents," June 24, 1960.
[463] "Minutes of the Curriculum Council," *Curriculum Council Minutes* 2, Sept. 1960-June 1963, October 19, 1960, 5, Series 665, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

The committee members accomplished the first of these by presenting their call to textbook publishers for greater coverage of Nazi atrocities within the context of anti-totalitarianism. They consistently restated the commitment to teaching students about the threat of communism. When describing the course in which they expected coverage of Nazism, they wrote that "the official course of study for Modern World History calls for a comprehensive treatment of oppression and persecution, not only under Nazism, but under communism and fascism as well."[464] They further listed one unit, the "Threat of Modern Totalitarian State," as the most appropriate for such discussions. Finally, they also presented the requested increase in textbook accounts of Nazi brutality as an attempt to equalize them with those of communism. They wrote that "it would seem reasonable to expect textbook writers to include these topics, treating them just as they would treat other instances of oppression under other totalitarian regimes."[465] Finally, they assured readers that they adequately called for the discussion of communist actions when they wrote that "in addition to the basic course of study," teachers used current events to address "the lengthening record of oppression in the communist-controlled areas of Europe and Asia."[466] In fact, the letter spent a similar amount of time noting the curricular attention to communism as it did to Nazism. This way of presenting their request emphasized anti-totalitarian, rather than merely anti-Nazi goals.

Though educators often contextualized Nazism in the context of communism, the degree to which the Committee highlighted the city's anti-communist program suggests more than that. The letter's contents imply intentionality in the emphasis on the school system's attention to the brutality of communist regimes. By highlighting that the materials would simply match that of the treatment of communism, the Committee lessened the possibility of claims that the focus on Nazi atrocities would come at the expense of anti-communism.

At the same time, the Committee's letter suggested a reframing of Nazi atrocities at the same time that they also discussed them in the familiar framework of totalitarianism. Though most of the letter firmly located the call for greater textbook treatment within the context of anti-

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[464] "Minutes of the Curriculum Council," *Curriculum Council Minutes* 2, Sept. 1960-June 1963, October 19, 1960, 5, Series 665, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[465] "Minutes of the Curriculum Council," October 19, 1960.
[466] "Minutes of the Curriculum Council," October 19, 1960.

totalitarian language, some parts suggested a growing focus on race as a motivation in the Nazi atrocities. Most notably, when introducing the subject of the letter, the Committee wrote of complaints about the "serious deficiencies in textbook treatments of Nazi atrocities against minority groups." Though not directly denoting Jewish victims, the statement clearly called for a greater recognition of the assault upon the Jews and other minorities oppressed by the Nazis. Further on, the Committee again mentioned minority groups, stating that some textbooks lacked "in adequate treatment of Nazism, particularly in regard to Nazi persecution of minorities." The use of the term "minorities" highlighted racism in ways that "oppressed groups" or other terms often used did not. They later specifically noted "Nazi brutalities and mass executions."[467] This differentiated the Nazi atrocities from the description of communism found in the letter. When discussing that system the authors focused on attacks on "political, economic and social freedom" or the "destructive effect of any form of totalitarianism on the liberties of the individual." It called for a more rigorous discussion of the nature and ultimate consequences of Nazi policies rather than on the vaguer assault on "ideals" which had pervaded many accounts. Though subtle, these calls represent a change in expectation toward presenting a fuller and more detailed account the Nazi assault on the Jews and others.

The committee members walked a fine line in adjusting the representation of the assault upon and murder of the Jews in textbooks. As noted in prior chapters, emphasizing human rights, racism, and antisemitism in conflicts risked the possibility of sparking opposition. Thus, in a similar fashion to the pre-war and wartime organizations, Jewish and non-Jewish, which had elided the specific discussion of Nazi antisemitsm, the committee members emphasized Nazi atrocities as primarily totalitarian and, therefore, focused on anti-democracy. However, as this presentation of the assault on the Jews had clearly not eliminated antisemitism among Americans, they also sought to increase information on the racial and antisemitic nature of the Nazi atrocities.

They had two possible reasons for this, neither exclusive of the other. First, this approach downplayed Jewish particularism to invalidate claims of Jewish manipulation or self-interest. Always a danger in a bureaucracy which included large numbers of Jewish administrators and

[467] "Minutes of the Curriculum Council," October 19, 1960.

teachers, by calling for the "adequate treatment" of the Nazi assault on minorities, the letter writers avoided an antisemitic backlash. Second, as had already occurred in textbook coverage of the topic, this approach made the discussion of Nazism and its brutality applicable to and acceptable by a greater portion of the population. It allowed larger discussion of the assault on the Jews without isolating Jewish Americans.

As the previous chapters have noted, though antisemitism had declined in America throughout the 1950s, there remained the risk of it bubbling to the surface. The attacks on synagogues in 1960 had brought with it fears of a return to the wartime heights of bigotry. Though ultimately much of the country abhorred the graffiti and violent attacks as the work of antisemitic crackpots, the events nevertheless shaped the way that Jews and Jewish organizations acted in the immediate aftermath.[468] Notably, they rethought the current educational presentation of Nazism and called for greater attention to Nazism and Nazi atrocities.

The statement printed in the Spring of 1962 edition of *Curriculum and Materials*, the Board of Education's publication discussing various topics related to instruction and classroom resources, suggests similar purposes and outcomes in regard to classroom instruction. In a column entitled, "Curriculum Policy Changes in Relation to Textbooks," the Committee on Instructional Materials addressed a number of recent efforts at altering textbook coverage. Each case focused on the treatment of minorities or their history. In addition to the policy statement delivered on the coverage of the persecution of minorities by the Nazis, they also pointed to a announcement entitled, "The Inclusion of Representation of Non-White Individuals in Textbook Illustrations." They noted increased interest in textbook coverage of "the effect and application of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision and the textbook treatment of present minorities."[469] Minority rights clearly stood at the center of the committee's efforts.

Notably, they mentioned contemporary issues as a reason for teachers to alter their lessons in favor of increasing their coverage of minorities. Thus, they argued that "occasionally, for example, shifts in emphasis in the treatment of phases of recent history occur, particularly

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[468] Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 163-164.
[469] "Curriculum Policy Changes in Relation to Textbooks," *Curriculum and Materials* XVI, no. 3 (Spring 1962), 9. Located in Series 669, Box 1, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

when their significance comes into better perspective."[470] The events of the 1950s Civil Rights movement and the recent vandalism and bombing of synagogues had clearly refocused educators on the issue of racism. Importantly, more intentional, systematic discussion of the Nazi atrocities seemed one way to address this problem.

Within the context of these efforts at improving the representation of minorities in textbooks, the administrators urged teachers to utilize resources that might improve classroom lessons on these topics. They called on teachers to study and adhere to the NYC school districts course of study documents as well as supplementary materials found "the columns of such periodicals as 'Curriculum and Materials' and 'Strengthening Democracy.'"[471] Even in leiu of improved textbook treatments of the Nazi genocide, they expected teachers to educate their students on the topic in a way that would improve American democracy through decreasing racism.

By the early 1960s, New York City educators struggled with a tension in how the addressed the murder of the Jews and other Nazi atrocities. The long-standing approach, which focused on the events as a result of totalitarian centralization of the state and anti-democracy, held significant power in the midst of the Cold War. Though this successfully served to buttress American belief in its own institutions and superiority, it failed to solve the problem of discrimination domestically. Over the course of the 1950s, the long-running struggle over Civil Rights and the increase in antisemitism combined to emphasize race and ethnicity as central factors. The Nazi assault on minorities, especially the Jews, offered an approach to address racism and antisemitism in the United States.

"The Tragedy of the German Jewish Community has Taught Us"

The event which had sparked the Panel of Americans movement in New York City, a 1964 plan for integration of schools, also reveals changing ways that Americans understood Nazism and the murder of the Jews. Many viewed the Board of Education's plan for integration in remarkably similar ways to those espoused by opponents of desegregation in the South. Though not as overtly segregationist, most declared equality of races and opposed separate

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[470] "Curriculum Policy Changes in Relation to Textbooks," Spring 1962, 9.
[471] "Curriculum Policy Changes in Relation to Textbooks," Spring 1962, 9.

schooling, they saw centralized attempts at forced integration as, in some cases, analogous to Nazism. However, some Jewish Americans provided new viewpoints as they emphasized the role that the Nazi assault on the Jews played in their views on domestic racism. Thus, just as educators had used the murder of the Jews as an example of the dangers of racism, so, too did some Jews began to present the victimization of European Jews as providing understanding and knowledge on issues of discrimination against minorities. If the former universalized the murder of the Jews as one atrocity among many caused by Nazi racism, then the latter both privileged what some had begun to call the Holocaust while also continuing to allow it to serve as a primary example of racism.[472]

Though many in the city had applauded the Supreme Court ruling in 1954 and though the city had no legal policy of segregation, the city's schools lacked real integration. Due to the policy of neighborhood schooling and the highly racialized nature of New York City housing, schools maintained de facto segregation. According to Kenneth Clark of the "Intergroup Committee on Public Schools," the Board of Education even intentionally maintained segregation through bussing white students away from schools seeing an increase in the black population.[473] The Board struggled to create a coherent plan for desegregation. With civil rights groups pushing for desegregation and teacher organizations unwilling to accept the reassignment of teachers, the Board sought some answer to the problem of segregation.

In 1963, the NYC Board of Education adopted a plan for solving the city's problem of segregated schools. Rather than creating a policy of desegregation, the Board chose to integrate schools by attempting to balance the racial makeup of its schools. Thus, the "Free-Choice Transfer Policy" served as a lynchpin of their approach. In this system, students in schools with high percentages of "Negro and/or Puerto Rican" population could apply to bus to other schools.[474] Though the Board's new policy had no requirement for students to bus to new schools, a rumor emerged of plans for such a system. Even before the Board submitted the plan

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[472] For a discussion on the origins and early uses of the term "the Holocaust," see Gerd Korman, "The Holocaust in American Academic Writing," *Societas* 2, (1972), 251-270.
[473] Kurt Conklin, "We Can't Let Chicago Outdo Us, Can We?' Sex Education and Desegregation in New York City's Public Schools," *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (November 2013), 352.
[474] New York City Board of Education, "Plan for Integration," Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 354, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

to the Commissioner of Education for the State of New York, a flood of letters from fearful parents poured into the offices of the Board of Education President Max Rubin.

Unlike Texas, where those writing letters to the Texas State Board of Education in 1954 declared their outright opposition to desegregation, in New York City, very few parents espoused openly segregationist sentiments. Nevertheless, while stating their support for desegregation in a general sense, they objected to efforts that they perceived as negatively impacting their children. A November 8, 1963 letter by Joan Addabbo, represents the content and character of the majority of the letters.

Without irony, for segregation in the city's housing served as the vehicle for the problem in schools, many parents expressed the importance of the quality of schooling in choosing their home. For Addabbo, the "major reason for choosing this apartment was the nearness and high calibre of the school." Like many who wrote to Rubin, Addabbo recognized the disparity between schools and sought to provide her children with the best education. However, these parents also ignored that their actions only reinforced the discrepancy of education provided between the schools. They often did see that their statements evidenced this disparity and, therefore, usually quickly noted the importance of proximity of the school for maintaining the child's security, moral and religious education, and extracurricular activities. Addabbo emphasized that children "need their mother's love, attention and reassurance at regular intervals during the day."[475] Others, however noted their children's attendance at after school programs for religious education or the possibility of traffic accidents due to bussing.

Most parents also provided some kind of statement in which they expressed support for desegregation, but vehemently opposed the supposed plan. In a majority of the letters, parents stated that they felt pity for the students in inferior schools. Addabbo, less sympathetic, simply stated that "every child should be in the school of his parents choice." However, those same parents used forceful language to depict the rumored scheme as a violation of their rights. Addabbo argued that, though "an ardent believer in the civil rights of every American," she refused that any "individual or group will gain their rights by stealing mine." In some cases, the

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[475] Joan Addabbo, "Letter from Joan Addabbo to Max Rubin," November 8, 1963, Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 354, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

parents resorted to stronger analogies to express their opposition. Addabbo, for example, denied "specialized kind of effort to right the wrongs of the past. She therefore rejected "the school of thought that I am responsible for the sins of our ancestors." To emphasize her hostility to this thought, she added, "there is no need for me or my children to be sacrificial sheep on the altar of any human being."[476] Each parent who chose to more stridently state their resistance utilized different analogies and language, though the general thrust remained the same.

In many cases, these parents and representatives of parent organizations perceived totalitarian impulses in the Board's assumed measures. In most cases, these letter writers used this analogy to emphasize a perceived violation of their rights as Americans. Barbara Sely, writing in July of 1963, certainly thought so. She first argued that "all parents have the right to have their own neighborhood schools" before then stating that "I believe in the Constitutional Right of all Americans to decide their own way of life." Sely rooted her opposition to forced bussing in a remarkably similar way to that expressed by Southern segregationists. She argued for a hidden constitutional right to complete freedom from government intervention in education. As with opponents of desegregation in the South, Sely then compared such interference with "un-American" forms of government. She wrote of the right to "refuse to accept the totalitarian concept that it [one's way of life] shall be decided for them by official 'planners.'"[477] Sely saw in attempts to integrate the schools, a threat of planned structuring of society, a seemingly totalitarian principle.

Others, however, made more specific analogies. George and Elizabeth Biggart, who specified their power as registered voters, tarred the efforts with the brush of Nazism to emphasize the threat they saw in the alleged measures. Following a lengthy letter filled with descriptions of the dangers of "indecent" neighborhood, the couple concluded by stating that their children would not "grow into good citizens, respectable and respected," if the students "are forced by these Gestapo measures to attend schools in distant undesirable neighborhoods."[478] As

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[476] Joan Addabbo, "Letter from Joan Addabbo to Max Rubin."
[477] Joan Sely, "Letter from Barbara Sely to Max Rubin," July 3, 1963, Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 357, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[478] George Biggart and Elizabeth Biggart, "Letter from Biggarts to Max Rubin," June 26, 1963, Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 357, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

in other occasions, the parallel they drew between forced bussing and the history of Nazism relied on little historical knowledge, but instead served as a shorthand simply meaning centralized planning and rigid enforcement of authority. The "Gestapo measures" in the minds of the Biggarts had little to do with the historical secret police of the Nazis, but instead conjured more general ideas of armed enforcement of state policy. In fact, the Biggarts' moved back and forth between equivalences of the assumed integration policy with Nazism and communism, stating that "We mother will NOT stand for these communistic tacts [sic]."[479] In both cases, imagery of totalitarianism simply signified social planning.

The Executive Board of the Parents and Taxpayers for Neighborhood Schools (PAT) expressed similar sentiments using similar language. The PAT first made the comparison with communism, stating that "it is only in the Soviet Union and communist satellite countries where people are shuttled about in checkerboard fashion without regard to personal feelings." Again, social planning and disregard for individuals served as the primary aspect of this parallel. In the subsequent paragraph, the PAT executive board threatened that they and a number of other such organizations across the city joined together in protest "because of outraged alarm at the possibility of such Hitlerterian policy."[480] Again, as with the Biggarts, Nazism and communism merged as totalitarianism to describe social planning in education that might go against the wishes of some parents. Further, an attached flyer describing the goals of PAT also tied the school Board's assumed actions to slavery, stating "the American belief that children are not chattels of the State." In each of these comparisons, totalitarianism, communist or Nazi, and slavery simply signified the fear of a parental loss of control in the name of social betterment. This, PAT declared such acts "to be totalitarian and un-American." [481]

Letters such as these demonstrate the degree to which Americans had equated Nazism and communism under the banner of totalitarian. They often moved back and forth between accusations of the two systems with no significant change in meaning. This stripped Nazism of

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[479] George Biggart and Elizabeth Biggart, "Letter from Biggarts to Max Rubin."
[480] Bette Bassett, "Letter from P.A.T. to Max Rubin," September 4, 1963, Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 359, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.
[481] "What is PAT?" Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 359, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

its particularities, especially the specifics of its racialized politics. Educators had presented the Aryan supremacist views of the Nazis as a political excuse for generalized assault on all non-Germans and on German opponents, rather than parsing out the various facets and implementations of this ideology. This meant that Americans often fixated on the broad outline of political repression when applying Nazism as an analogy. As the previous chapter suggested, even when Americans saw traces of Nazism in segregationist policies, they often focused on the violent acts or political demagoguery rather than on racist ideology.

Some Jewish Americans eschewed this interpretation and stressed the particularly racial nature of the Nazi assault. By 1963, however, many Jews had become more vocal in speaking out about the assault on the Jews, whether this occurred due to the easing of Cold War pressures, the upsurge in antisemitic incidents, or the increased visibility of racial issues due to the Civil Rights Movement. Yet, they often differed in how they presented the murder of the Jews and sought recognition of it. Whereas some would continue to define the event as offering insights about the persecution of minorities more generally, others attempted to emphasize its unique qualities and differentiate it from domestic forms of discrimination. Some letters to the Board of Education on the bussing issue demonstrate these two diverging ways of discussing the assault on the Jews.

A letter from Hannah Silverman, representing the Jackson Heights Chapter of the American Jewish Congress, embodies the long-established utilization of the murder of the Jews as an avenue for domestic racism. First, having clearly looked into the actual plan as outlined by the Board of Education, the letter contained no repudiation of forced bussing. Instead, it informed Rubin of the chapter's resolution backing the Board's efforts in integration. They rooted this support in "the tragedy of the German Jewish community [which] has taught us that we cannot, and must not, remain passive as long as freedom and injustice exist anywhere in our great nation."[482] Quoting Rabbi Prinze, President of the American Jewish Congress, the resolution continued, stating that "America must not become a nation of onlookers. America

[482] Hannah Silverman, "Letter from Hannah Silverman to Max Rubin," November 14, 1963, Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 354, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

must not remain silent."[483] For them, the assault on the Jews could serve as a guide for understanding racism and its consequences. Further, it provided for Jews, "an historic sense of compassion," based in experience of victimization. Ultimately, then, the murder of the Jews could provide important insights into racism and warn against possible outcomes. By speaking to anti-black racism in America alongside statements rooted in an understanding of the Nazi holocaust, the Jackson Heights Chapter noted some degree of, if not equivalence, then of comparability.

For Elaine Miller, however, such a difference of degree suggested incomparability. Though she did not directly discuss the Nazi assault on the Jews, she maintained an attitude that presented that event as incomparable. In this, though not necessarily in the posture toward discrimination she derived from this position, she represented others who opposed comparisons between the Nazi atrocities and other examples of racism. In her letter to Mayor Robert Wagner, which his office forwarded to those of Superintendent Rubin, Miller strongly opposed the possibility of forced bussing. Though residing in Miami Beach while her husband served in the military, Miller and her family "had always thought that…we would return to the city."[484] Nevertheless, she threatened, the Board's rumored policy on forced bussing caused them to "take stock of the situation" and select "Westchester or across the River in New Jersey," instead of the city.

Miller's appeal to the mayor in opposition to forced bussing followed the line of many others, except in her identification as a minority. She presented "neighborhood schools" as essential for child development and, as some others had, described the "terrible" schools of Harlem and presented that boroughs' children as living in "rat-infested, "husbandless" homes. Yet, she had no sympathy and implied that minorities complaining of poor schools had only themselves to blame. She argued, "if society is open and one can buy a house, attend a school, and seek a job on the same basis as anyone else the members of a minority group should be satisfied." She believed that her position "as a member of a minority group with a much greater

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[483] Silverman, "Letter from Silverman to Rubin."
[484] Elaine Miller, "Letter from Elaine Miller to Robert Wagner," July 15, 1963, Series 379, Subseries I, Box 13, Folder 357, Integration (1), Max Rubin Files, Records of the New York City Board of Education, Municipal Archives, New York City Department of Records, New York City, NY.

history of persecution than the Negro," provided her with a vantage from which to judge the opportunities available to all. Miller presumed that her connection to the murder of the Jews, through her membership in the victimized group, provided clearer understanding of the plight of minority groups in the United States. Here, membership in a victimized minority group provided experience with racism that could validate, or invalidate, that of others. Again, the persecution of the Jews served to represent racism generally.

As Jewish Americans became increasingly comfortable speaking about assault on the Jews as a particular event, their statements regarding that event diverged from those of other Americans. Many non-Jewish letter writers used the analogy of Nazism as shorthand for central planning or social restructuring. They continued to understand the murder of the Jews as an extreme consequence of Nazi centralization of power and authority. American Jews, however, began suggesting that the Nazi genocide, something directed specifically at Jews, gave them insights into racism and discrimination. To some degree, they had decoupled the event from its political context and attached to it a primarily racial one.

"Nothing Which Happened in Birmingham Could Begin to Compare with the Calculated Extermination Policy"

The story of the young Jewish girl in the *Strengthening Democracy* article evinced a forceful and illuminating response. Herman Arthur, a teacher in New York City's High School of Fashion Industries, challenged the presentation of the assault on Europe's Jews described in the panel. He disputed the panel article on two counts. First, Arthur "was dismayed to read that…the slaughter of Jews under Hitler was equated with the Birmingham church bombings and other racist events in that city."[485] Second, he suggested that the lesson failed to denote and emphasize the full horrors of the Nazi Germany. His letter represents the first time that the Board of Education of New York City printed a statement that articulated a "particularist" position on the murder of the Jews, ie one that emphasized the Nazi assault on the Jews as both different from the Nazi persecution of other groups and which eschewed comparatives and correlates with contemporary issues.

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[485] Herman Arthur, "In the Mail: Birmingham and Nazi Germany," *Strengthening Democracy* XVI, no. 3 (May 1964), 3.

In support of the first point, Arthur articulated the "enormous differences of both degree and kind" between the two events. In Germany, he noted, "the mistreatment was the product of a deliberate, government-invoked policy carried out at all levels by an elaborate bureaucratic machinery." The events in Birmingham, he argued "reflected defiance of the established law of the land and the courts by one small segment of the population." Thus, Arthur simultaneously cast the events in Germany and Birmingham as the responsibility of every citizen on one hand and only a few rogue participants on the other. As to the "degree" of the "manifestations of hate," in the two events, he stressed their incomparability. "With the one exception of the church bombing," he wrote, "nothing which happened in Birmingham could begin to compare with the calculated extermination policy, the death camps, the torture chambers, the fiendish 'medical' experiments, and the other paraphernalia of the Nazi regime." In total, his statements both ignored the abuse of protesters by police, rather than a few individuals, in Birmingham and fixated the comparison with Nazi Germany to the Final Solution while ignoring the earlier periods of persecution. He decried what he saw as efforts to "soften or eliminate hatred for Germans" which might "slide into false sentimentality to the effect that prejudice against Germans on the part of a concentration camp victim is just the same as prejudice against Negroes or Puerto Ricans, or Southerners."[486]

For his second point, Arthur argued in support of increased and detailed education on Nazi Germany. He suggested that with detailed knowledge of the atrocities committed by the Germans under that regime, students might challenge their assumptions about America's erstwhile ally. In this he exhibited some exasperation, common among Jewish Americans, at the seemingly friendly view of American students toward Germans. He argued that the reality of Nazi Germany presented "such a terrifying historical fact that if the panelists were at all aware of it (as they should be) they might wind up sharing the Jewish panelist's feelings." Education about the Nazi atrocities might serve to develop more appropriate feelings toward Germany "until we have a better evidence of genuine remorse emerging from that country." [487] This last statement demonstrated how Arthur rooted his denial of equivalence in contemporary, in

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[486] Arthur, "In the Mail: Birmingham and Nazi Germany," 3.
[487] Arthur, "In the Mail: Birmingham and Nazi Germany," 3.

addition to historical, concerns. He had earlier emphasized both the current German regimes' employment of numerous ex-Nazis. For Arthur, both the past and the present swirled about in ways that highlighted the importance of learning about Nazism while stressing the exceptionalism of that regime's assault on the Jews.

In a final statement, he added a single sentence. He wrote "finally, any panel's understanding of the destructiveness of hate would be incomplete without full perception of the nature of Nazism." This conclusion, written almost as an afterthought, might seem to contradict his earlier criticism of a comparison with the Birmingham events. However, it actually suggests a growing representation of the murder of the Jews as both an ultimate symbol of "the destructiveness of hate" as well as an incomparable event from which denied analogy. In other words, his letter symbolizes two seemingly competing forms of thinking about the Nazi genocide which have, for decades formed a cognitive dissonance in the psyche of American cultural memory.[488]

Gladys Harburger, a co-author of the article and director of the Panel of Americans, responded by providing more information on the panel discussion and the purposes of the program. She argued that the article only represented a portion of what occurred on the panel and that "at *no* time did we equate the slaughter of Jews under Hitler with the Birmingham church bombings and the other racists events in that city."[489] Instead, she argued that the panelist recognized "the enormity" of German national guilt, but that they also wanted "the Jewish panelist of German background to consider the possibility of an individual's innocence eve in Nazi Germany, and certainly in Germany today."[490] Though clearly drawing a distinction between the murder of the Jews and the events in Birmingham, Harburger still saw the former as helpful in discussing the latter. She wrote, "Our nation, too, must share in our guilt in race relations, just as all Germans (as a nation) share in their national guilt."[491] Through clarifying about the panel, Harburger, thereby, espoused a similar viewpoint to Arthur. The "slaughter of

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[488] See Lipstadt, *Holocaust*, 107-117 and Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 239-263.
[489] Gladdys Harburger, "In the Mail: Birmingham and Nazi Germany," *Strengthening Democracy* XVI, no. 3 (May 1964), 3.
[490] Harburger, "In the Mail: Birmingham and Nazi Germany," 3.
[491] Harburger, "In the Mail: Birmingham and Nazi Germany," 3.

the Jews" held a position incomparable to and, at the same time, informative in understanding other events rooted in racism.

Conclusion

Arthur's letter speaks to significant changes occurring in how educators perceived and presented the murder of Europe's Jews in schools during the early 1960s. For almost two decades, teachers had presented the assault on the Jews as a part of the Nazis' anti-democratic attack on numerous groups. Further, though they had perceived similarities in the Nazi persecution of racial groups and the discrimination against Blacks in the South, schools had not created curricula directly associating the two or even addressing them separately. Thus, schools had no established curricula for teaching the murder of the Jews and students only learned of it at the whim of individual teachers and usually as an analogy in conversations about domestic racial issues.

Yet, in the early 1960s, this had begun to change. First, educators had taken note of the lack of established curricula addressing Nazi atrocities and the murder of the Jews. With a wave of antisemitic acts providing immediacy, administrators began to redress this absence. Second, some, such as Arthur, disputed the continued association of the murder of the Jews alongside America's domestic issues. These two challenges to the established presentation of the assault on the Jews represented new avenues that education on that event would take in the future. They foreshadowed both the growth of what became Holocaust education and the debates over universalization of the murder of the Jews.

That varied forms of understanding about the Nazi atrocities remained prevalent meant increasing focus on that topic amplified not one, but multiple interpretations. Sometimes interpretations at odds with the purposes of those advocating for education about the murder of the Jews. For some, Nazi brutality continued to mean a regimentation of society and brutality in enforcing it. For others, Nazi racist ideology, exemplified in the assault on the Jews, signified the most extreme possibilities of racism and offered an important tool in combatting domestic forms of discrimination against minorities. Finally, for a few, the Nazi genocide of the Jews represented something singular that educators should not use as analogy even for violent racist acts. These parallel interpretations would continue even as the Holocaust became the dominant way of remembering Nazi atrocities.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

In May of 2021, the Republican U.S. Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene compared a private company's requirement that its vaccinated employees identify that fact on their name tags to the Nazi demand that Jews wear Stars of David. She tweeted that "Vaccinated employees get a vaccination logo just like the Nazi's forced Jewish people to wear a gold star."[492] After a visit to the USHMM a few weeks later, she admitted her mistake and noted that "there's nothing comparable to it [the Holocaust]."[493] Nevertheless, by July, Greene argued that "People have a choice, they don't need your medical brown shirts showing up at their door ordering vaccinations."[494] Her dogged insistence that any form of governmental coercion equated to Nazi oppression or the murder of the Jews has an extensive history.

As this work has shown, Americans have long associated American concerns with the threat of Nazism in order to add weight to their position. Anti-discrimination groups during World War II presented the danger of Nazi subversion as a reason for Americans to discard bigotry. Those opposing the censorship of textbooks in Texas likened it to the burning of books in Nazi Germany. Pro-segregation activists claimed that armed enforcement of the Brown vs. Board decision equated to Nazi storm troopers. American memory of Nazism has always served as a backdrop for defining and defending American anxieties.

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[492] Marjorie Taylor Greene, Twitter Post, May 25, 2021, 6:22 AM, https://twitter.com/mtgreenee/status/1397150992341377027?s=20.
[493] Andrew Soldender, Twitter Post, June 14, 2021, 5:09 PM, https://twitter.com/AndrewSolender/status/1404561740365537283?s=20.
[494] Marjorie Taylor Greene, Twitter Post, July 6, 2021, 3:54 PM, https://twitter.com/mtgreenee/status/1412515350244114433?s=20.

Schools served as a central location where Americans debated, reified, and challenged the various ways of interpreting the assault on the Jews. Teachers introduced their students to materials not in official curriculum, activists challenged the methods and approaches dominant in schools, and textbook publishers sought to present information in ways likely to offend the fewest of their purchasers. Thus, American public schools often saw significant contestations which, in many cases, derived from or relied on American's interpretations of Nazi Germany and its persecutorial policies.

This led, in part to the significant changes in the presentation of the assault on the Jews. Between 1945 and 1970, textbooks reshaped their presentation of the Nazi atrocities and the murder of the Jews. The changes demonstrate ways that Americans molded the historical presentation of those actions based on, among other considerations, domestic concerns. Throughout that period, Americans often employed imagery of the Nazi assault on the Jews and others in two ways. First, they associated Nazism with the centralization of state authority and police power—a depiction that they contrasted with American democracy. They saw in the Nazis an example of the dangers of propaganda, unchecked federal overreach, and racial antagonism. Textbooks bore this out in their consistent portrayal of the Nazi atrocities alongside discussions of their political calculations. Second, some Americans, particularly those outside the segregated South, attached the assault on the Jews to their discussions of domestic racism. They sometimes sought to emphasize the dangers of American forms of racism through comparisons with the murder of the Jews. Cold War anti-communism and efforts to maintain a hierarchical society in the country meant that when teachers did discuss the Nazi Atrocities in this way, they did so through individually implemented lessons rather than through institutionalized curricula.

Ultimately, though the former of these interpretations remained prominent in the general public into the 1970s and beyond, some school systems slowly formalized the latter.

Textbook treatments of Nazi atrocities aligned with this presentation as well, though with an important caveat. World History Textbook authors increased both their coverage of the murder of the Jews specifically and their attribution of the Nazi atrocities to the regime's racial ideology; yet they decreased their discussions of antisemitism. As figure 7.1 shows, authors almost doubled the number of words dedicated to the assault on the Jews and to attributions of

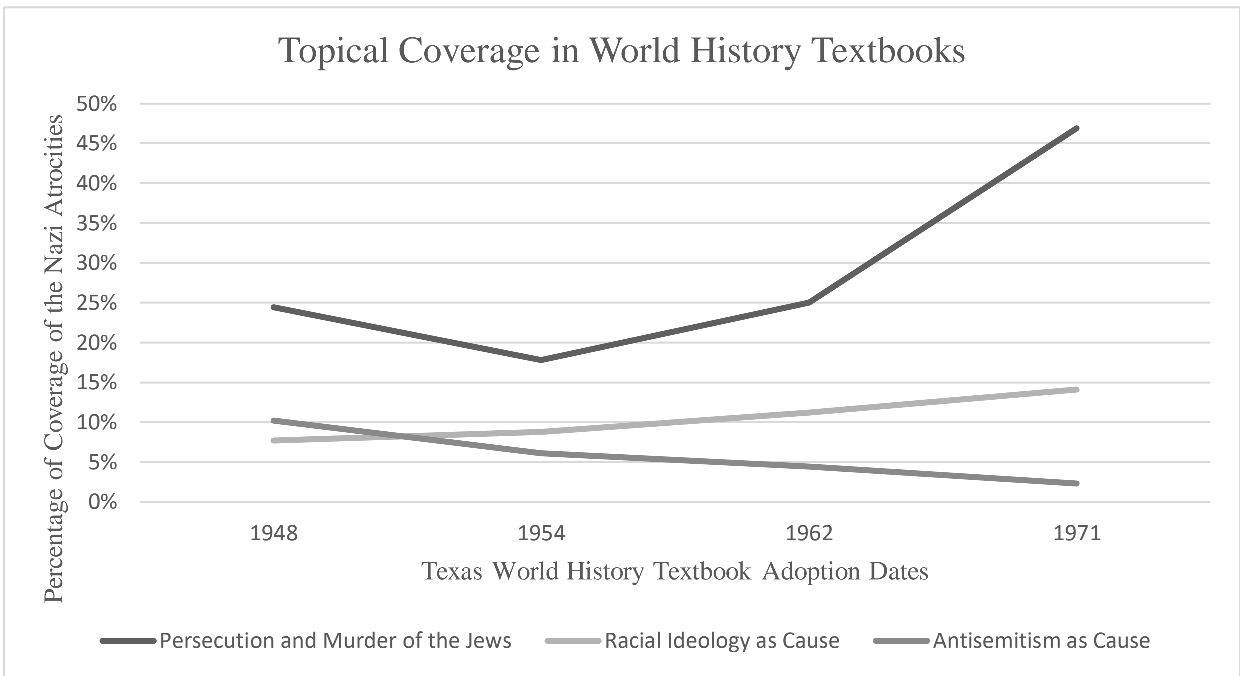

Table 2: Topical Coverage in World History Textbooks adopted in Texas, 1948-1971.

that assault to Nazi racial ideology between 1948 and 1971. Simultaneously, discussions of Nazi antisemitism decreased by two-thirds. In other words, they increasingly focused on the murder of the Jews in treatments of the Nazi atrocities while simultaneously generalizing the causal factor

specific to that assault.[495] Even when, following the successful efforts by educators discussed in the prior chapter resulted in a significant increase textbook treatment of the Nazi assault on minorities, if the authors discussed non-political factors at all, they focused on general Nazi racial ideology—rather than antisemitism—as the cause. This corresponded to educators increasingly common association of Nazi oppression with domestic racism against Black Americans and general lack of focus on the specificity of the attack on the Jews.

Textbook authors broadened the Nazi attack on the Jews into a generalized case of racism in two ways. First, they often presented the persecution and murder of the Jews alongside other oppressive acts in ways that suggested it comprised simply the most egregious example of a host of similar atrocities. In many cases, this also served to depict the murder of the Jews as the consequence of political goals and state centralization. Second, many times, they discussed Nazi antisemitism without noting its historical context and by describing it simply as hatred of a particular race. In these two ways, they facilitated the use of the Nazi assault on the Jews as a useful analogy for discussing domestic racism against Black Americans or in other such cases.

In the 1947 edition of the world history textbook *Story of Nations*, authors Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown serve as an early example of the first way of associating Nazi antisemitism with generalized racism. They wrote, “their [Nazi] policies included the doctrine of race superiority. It served as an excuse for the persecution and murder of many thousands of

[495] In the 1948 cycle, the textbooks averaged 527 words on the Nazi atrocities, 129 on the persecution and murder of the Jews, 41 on Nazi racial ideology, and 54 on Nazi antisemitism. In 1954, authors dedicated an average of 526 words to the Nazi atrocities, 66 to the persecution and murder of the Jews, 46 to Nazi racial ideology, and 32 to antisemitism. In textbooks of the 1962 cycle, there was an average of 451 words on the Nazi atrocities, 113 to the persecution and murder of the Jews, 51 on Nazi racial ideology, and 20 on antisemitism. In 1971, authors wrote an average of 532 words on the Nazi atrocities, 250 on the persecution and murder of the Jews, 75 on Nazi racial ideology, and 12 on antisemitism.

Jews. The Nazis used the Jews as a scapegoat, blaming them for Germany's troubles, and thus calling attention away from their own mistakes. As a 'master race' the Nazis also ordered the ruthless killing of many other men, women, and children in the countries they conquered."[496] Here, racial superiority served political calculations, as it did in many other textbooks. Nevertheless, though racial superiority led the Germans to kill "many thousands of Jews," the Nazis also murdered many others. The Jews served as just one, if perhaps the most extreme, example of the Nazi victims.

Both the 1950 and 1954 editions of *The Making of Modern America*, by professor of history Leon Canfield and principal and former teacher Howard Wilder, suggested an equality in the Nazi treatment of Jews and other victims of the German state. The authors discussed Nazi Jewish policy in a paragraph on the increasing regulation of the country and the use of force to establish Nazi dominance. They first stated that "every individual had to bow to the will of the state, which encouraged the ruthless use of force to establish supremacy of the 'master race.'" Only after then listing the regulation of schools and labor did the authors address the persecution of the Jews. Most notably, the authors foregrounded the Nazi project of centralizing their authority and power. This presented the regulation of individuals as the primary force behind the Nazi atrocities—including the assault on the Jews. The single sentence in the textbook that Canfield and Wilder dedicated to the assault on the Jews stated that "claiming that it was their intention to establish a pure Aryan race, the Nazis persecuted the Jews and spoke scornfully of the rights of peoples that did not belong to the 'master race.'"[497] Both the placement of this

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[496] Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown, *Story of Nations*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), 538.
[497] Leon Canfield and Howard Wilder, *The Making of Modern America,* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), 692.

statement and the sentence itself suggest an equality between the various form of force used to "establish supremacy of the 'master race.'" Further, the title of the section, "Individuals are unimportant in the Nazi state," further served to flatten the varied application of different Nazi policies.

Some works differentiated between the persecution and murder of the Jews and other Nazi atrocities but only in degree. In these cases, the authors noted the extreme nature, particularly in the intent to exterminate, of the assault on the Jews; however, they did not to provide any deeper context into the origins of the policies. They thereby represented the various forms and nature of the attacks on groups deemed "enemies" as having the same source—the German master race narrative. As authors Emma Smith, David Muzzey, and Minnie Lloyd stated, "on the ground that Germany should belong to the master race, Hitler set to work to 'cleanse' the Reich of all non-Aryans, especially Jews."[498] Though the authors then extensively described the persecution of the Jews, though not their extermination, they did so only as if many were persecuted in a similar manner and for similar reasons.

In the 1961 version of *Story of Nations*, the same authors situated the attack on the Jews in a similar fashion to their 1947 version. As before, they presented the assault on the Jews as rational, political choice meant to hide their own failures. Changing the text significantly, they expanded descriptions of Nazi policies of persecution and extermination. Nevertheless, they continued to place this treatment alongside and, to a great extent, equated with the Nazi persecution and murder of others. Labeling World War II an "all-out war," the authors described the Germans as having targeted civilian forces, enslaved "thousands" in Germany, and executed

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[498] Emma Smith, David Muzzey, Minnie Lloyd, *World History*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1946), 680.

political enemies. In the midst of this discussion, they inserted mention of the treatment of the Jews. They wrote, “You will recall that Hitler blamed all of Germany’s misfortunes on the Jews. After the war we learned that Hitler and his followers had killed some 6 million Jews—men, women, and even children.”[499] This statement, found in between comments on the murder of political opponents and the liberation of the camps and Nuremberg Trials suggested that though the numbers and inclusion of children bear remark, the event itself differed little from the other atrocities noted in the section and paragraph.

1961’s *Men and Nations* by Anatole Mazour of Stanford University and John Peoples of Alameda High School in California, provided another such example. Mazour and Peoples wrote that “according to this [‘master race’] philosophy, the Germans were the Aryans, the master race. All other peoples were inferior. The Slavic Poles and Russians were fit only to serve the Aryan masters. The Negro race he considered hardly human, while the Jews were to be totally exterminated.”[500] In 1969, Sol Holt and John O’Connor, a department chairman and principal in New York City schools respectively, wrote in *Exploring World History* that “Adolf Hitler used this ‘master race’ idea to help make himself dictator of Germany. In his speeches he brought German nationalism to its worst point. He convinced the Germans that they had the right to murder the Jewish people, to destroy the country of Poland, to kill Russians, and to conquer all the nations of Europe.”[501] Over the course of the twenty-five years, most textbook authors represented the persecution and murder of Europe’s Jews as an extreme aspect of Nazi racial

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[499] Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown, *Story of Nations*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960), 732

[500] Anatole Mazour and John Peoples, *Men and Nations*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 620.

[501] Sol Holt and John O’Connor, *Exploring World History*, (New York: Globe Book Company, 1969), 359.

ideology, but one that fit neatly alongside other Nazi assaults as, simply, a natural outcome of the Nazi "master race" philosophy.

This representation continued into the next decade as well. In the 1970 textbook, *America*, Harvard professor Frank Freidel and Princeton director of teacher preparation speculated on the situation of the world had the Nazis won. They wrote that "there were some indications in the way they organized the vast European territories they had conquered and in the way they treated the Jews and other people whose politics or race they did not like." They continued soon after by stating that "the Nazis, as members of the 'master race,' proposed to use the 'subhuman' conquered peoples, so far as they were needed, as slave labor in factories and on farms in their new empire. The remainder, including all individuals with prestige, money, or education, and all Jews, were to be eliminated."[502] In this presentation, the extermination of the Jews differed only in scope from the murder of others.

Thus, while authors increasingly stressed the assault on one particular set of victims of the Nazis—the Jews—they presented the causation of the Nazi atrocities more generally—racial supremacy. This reflected two effects of the way educators understood the Nazi atrocities. First, they presented the danger of racism as a primary "lesson" of the murder of the Jews. This meant that comparisons between the Nazi treatment of Jews and the American plight of blacks seemed particularly apt. Educators no longer needed to parse out the nature of antisemitism or to categorize the persecution of the Jews as religious or racial in orientation. Instead, the assault on the Jews could not easily translate to the ill-treatment of any racial or ethnic group.

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[502] Frank Freidel and Henry Drewry, *America: A Modern History of the United States*, (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath and Company, 1970

Second, the increased focus on racial supremacy represented by the shift in textbooks also flattened the distinction between the plight of the Jews under Nazi rule and that of others. In a period when American educators increasingly recognized the extreme ferocity of the Nazi assault on the Jews, they simultaneously removed the particularity of the cause of that assault. This, thereby, further universalized the Jews as a cypher for any victims of racism. Not only did Jews serve as a symbol of the victimization of all those brutalized by the Nazis but also of potential victims of various forms of racial supremacy. Sometimes authors directly stated this position of the Jews as representative of the assault on all people. As John Good wrote in 1971 textbook, *The Shaping of Western Society*,

> Adolf Hitler unabashedly advocated the right of the 'superior' German race to rule inferior races. He proclaimed this rejection of equality as he slaughtered six million European Jews. Exterminated millions of so-called political opponents, and subjected most of western Europe to his 'master race.' The Allied nations in World War II crushed Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, but Fascist principles have found new soil in which to root. The white supremacist in South Africa and Rhodesia today justify their policy of apartheid in terms reminiscient [sic] of Hitler's Nazi creed.[503]

The extermination of the Jews, a consequence of an adherence to a 'master race' theory, signified the possible, if most extreme, outcome of racist ideology.

Thus, throughout the postwar period, textbook authors and publishers had increasingly focused on racism, in the form of Aryan supremacy, as key to understanding the Nazi atrocities. Usually depicting such racism as politically motivated, they generally ignored or provided very limited information regarding antisemitism in its historical or political context. Yet, at the same time, in their treatments of the Nazi atrocities the textbooks increased the proportion dedicated to

[503] John Good, *The Shaping of Western Society,* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 277-278.

the persecution of the murder of the Jews. This presented the murder of the Jews as the primary example of the consequences of Nazi racism, though only different in degree from the Nazi assault on other groups.

This kind of representation left much up to individual teachers and schools. Though many educators did address the assault on the Jews, no cohesive interpretation emerged. When, for a variety of reasons, Americans began to engage with what they increasingly understood as the Holocaust, they brought with them the preexisting mental categories and interpretations. When some educators and activists, such as Herman Arthur in 1964, began to call for particularist approaches to the murder of the Jews in education, they spoke into a context that had a thirty-year history of presenting the persecution and murder of the Jews to analogize or highlight specific dangers regarding domestic concerns. Thus, even when Americans ultimately and overwhelmingly came to support Holocaust education, they maintained different understandings of what that might entail.

The ways that different Americans understood the Holocaust came to light when, in 1977, the New York City Board of Education called for mandatory Holocaust education in the city's schools. The program they sought to institute, produced by NYC teacher Albert Post, derived from an earlier document which he had developed in 1973 as the first Holocaust curriculum published for large scale distribution in public schools in America. The NYC Board of Education Division of Curriculum and Instruction had worked with Post to expand the earlier guide and the Board pushed to require it in schools.

The new curricula, called by the same name as Post's 1974 work, incorporated both the earlier representations of Nazi atrocities and the more recent attention to the particular plight of Jews under the regime. It placed the Holocaust—presented solely as the intentional murder of

Europe's Jews by the Nazis—as the representative example of genocide. They meant it to fit alongside World History curriculum on World War II. In this way, its authors sought to bridge the gap of between the Holocaust as a particularly Jewish event and the earlier presentation of the murder of the Jews in the context of other Nazi atrocities and alongside discussions of forms of domestic racism. While the bulk of the curriculum detailed the persecution and murder of the Jews, Post did not avoid the association of the event with other genocides, particularly the Armenian genocide and the unfolding Cambodian genocide. What is more, Post presented as one "lesson" of the unit the question of whether U.S. bombing in North Vietnam constituted a genocide. Thus, the curriculum aligned with the kinds of ways that earlier educators had approached the assault on the Jews while simultaneously recognizing the more recent approaches to the event which centralized the Holocaust as particularly Jewish. Further, his work portended the debates that would surround future Holocaust education programs, and indeed his own.[504]

When *New York Times* correspondent Ari Goldman reported on the Board's plan for mandatory Holocaust education, he sparked a fierce debate. In his two articles, he outlined the nature of the plan for the curriculum and reported on the various responses to the program. Importantly, he defined the Holocaust as "the slaughter of Jews by Nazi Germany." Thus, he expressly noted that the curriculum would focus on the persecution of the Jews as separate from the assault on other groups. This set the program apart from prior contexts that had focused on Nazi oppression more generally. Further, Dr. Arnold Webb, executive director of the NYC

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[504] For a detailed analysis of the educational changes which aided in the development of this first Holocaust curriculum for public schools, see Thomas Fallace, *The Emergence of Holocaust Education in American Schools,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Fallace argues that the "affective revolution" in teaching provided them impetus for Holocaust curriculums that could develop appropriate character and social responses in students. Though he recognizes the tension between universalization and particularization, he emphasizes curricular debates and educational trends which surrounded the rise of Holocaust Education.

Board of Education's division of planning and support, claimed that though social studies courses did address what Goldman called "human tragedies," the Board focused on a Holocaust unit because "in this tragic chapter in human history, the intent and scope of mass murder are unprecedented."[505] Those who had developed the program had clearly embraced the contextualization of the murder of the Jews as the Holocaust—an event rooted in antisemitism and which saw the oppression of the Jews as different than that of other Nazi victims.

Readers responded with a flurry of letters. Their reactions signify the ways that the preexisting interpretations of the murder of Europe's Jews conflicted and melded together. A few maintained the same position as Mary Riley, who had seen discussion of the persecution of any group as "divisive. They rejected the attention given to the Holocaust and claimed that such kinds of engagement with the past would lead to increased hatred and antagonism among Americans. Others held a position akin to those who, like many who feared desegregation, emphasized the Nazi's persecution of numerous groups in order to emphasize the mutual threat of totalitarianism. These Americans stressed the dangers to all people inherent in political centralization and often connected Nazi atrocities more broadly to totalitarianism and, thus, to the Soviet Union. They relied on cultural memory which emphasized the Nazi assault on rights of individuals and images of that regime's oppression of political opponents. Others still reaffirmed the plan as an institutionalization of the earlier approach in which numerous teachers discussed the murder of the Jews for its insights into anti-black racism and other forms of discrimination. For them, the importance of such a curriculum rested on the applicability of the Holocaust to discussions of the present. Some embraced the increasingly common viewpoint

[505] Ari Goldman, "Study of Holocaust Started in Schools," *New York Times*, October 7, 1977.

espoused by Herman Arthur in his 1964 critique of the Panel of Americans. They saw the significance of the Holocaust as a purely Jewish phenomenon and believed that it brooked no association with American, domestic events for relevance. Notably, many of these exhibited the kinds of antisemitism or denialist attitudes which had often bubbled below the surface in the various discussions of Nazi atrocities addressed in the previous chapters.

Some respondents feared that such a curriculum requirement would lead to conflict rather than to a greater understanding between Americans. Only the day after the first of Goldman's reports, Ilse Hoffmann wrote that "the proposed addition to the city school curriculum would be divisive and serve no purpose other than to incite new atrocities." Framing her concern in quite similar ways to those expressed by Mary Riley in 1946, she called, instead, for "stressing the positive contributions of all ethnic influences." Thus, she followed in the steps of those who had long sought to minimize discussions of the murder of the Jews. Instead, just as they had, she desired to "talk of progress in our school curriculums and point with pride to human rights, our Bill of Rights."[506] A month later, as letters to the editor about the topic continued to pour in, Eileen O'Connor challenged the trend by which "history in our schools has concentrated on man's inhumanity to man—rather than man's growth in arts and sciences—to the detriment of our society." O'Connor not only foresaw discrimination against "multi-ethnic Americans" as had Hoffman, she believed that "we must not carry all the accumulated tragedy over from generation to generation, from century to century. To do so is to perpetuate war." She called on schools to "drop all such history of hate and will teach constructive subject matter."[507] Together with

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[506] Ilse Hoffmann, "About Writing 'Textbooks on Atrocities,'" *New York Times*, October 18, 1977.
[507] Eileen O'Connor, "'Why Can We Not Leave History to the Ages?" *New York Times*, November 23, 1977.

George Pape of the German-American Committee of Greater New York, who claimed that such a curriculum "creates a bad atmosphere toward German-Americans," the two relied upon one long-standing American approach to discussing the murder of the Jews—elide it.[508] Further, these Americans reflected the earlier discussions when they implied that such efforts to teach about the murder of the Jews intentionally would create divisive racial antagonism.

The response of these Americans to the increasing attention paid to the Holocaust represents the continuation of attempts in education to create a democratic citizenry through the "colorblind" ideal and the emphasis of "positive attributes." Yet this approach, which had dominated education in the 1950s and 1960s, had not resulted in the successful integration of minorities or a decrease in ethnic tension. Further, the Vietnam War, Kent State, and Watergate had challenged both the superiority of American systems and suggested the need for a kind of moral education. Nevertheless, many Americans had long adhered to the belief that discussion of "past tragedies" committed against various groups created enmity rather than peace. As O'Conner stated, "if teaching such reminders of past atrocities and tragedies starts, added to the bitterness among our young black and Indian students in recent years, we will embark on an entire curriculum of hatred and racism."[509] For these educators, parents, activists, or simply interested Americans, topics which addressed the guilt of one group in their treatment of others could only result in calls for restitution which, when denied, would lead to strife and would destroy unity.

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[508] Ari Goldman, "Mixed Reaction on Holocaust Study," *New York Times*, October 8, 1977.
[509] O'Connor, "Leave History to the Ages."

Others opposed the plan as partisan or exclusionary because they believed that it should include other victims of the Nazis. Writing on October 9th, Paul Ronald stated that “I am in favor of introducing subject of the Holocaust into school curriculum if the term Holocaust is not essentially limited to the murder of millions of Jews. A tendency to do that seems to exist.” After listing Free Masons; Jehovah’s Witnesses; clergymen; and French, Russian, and Polish civilians, he argued that to “not give these multitudes of victims their full share would be historically misleading.”[510] While Ronald may have sought to contextualize the genocide of the Jews alongside the persecution and murder of others out of a sense of accuracy, others clearly had further goals for mentioning other victims of the Nazis. George Pape, responding to Goldman’s report, which he claimed gave “a completely wrong impression,” sought to clarify his position on the topic of the Holocaust curriculum. Pape, therefore, wrote that he fully believed that “countless civilians were slaughtered for political purposes during the last half-century, and particularly during World War II, among them Jews who were only killed for being Jewish.” Pape framed the murder of the Jews not as the consequence of Nazi ideology, but as the consequence of “political purposes.” In fact, he next stated that “not among the least of the political systems operating this deliberate slaughter was the Nazi regime.” Pape sought to contextualize the murder of the Jews not only alongside other Nazi victims, but those of other totalitarian regimes—even to the point of downplaying the overwhelming role of Nazis in the atrocities. Thus, Ronald and Pape represent different ways that Americans presented the assault on the Jews as a consequence of totalitarian, political impulses. As such, they sought to group all victims together and to downplay antisemitism and other particular aspects of the Holocaust.

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[510] Paul Ronald, “The Victims,” *New York Times,* October 15, 1977.

In this they maintained the viewpoint of the persecution and murder of the Jews held by most Americans between 1933 and the 1960s. Totalitarianism served as the explanation for assaults on the rights and lives of people across the world. Whether based in political, racial, or religious identity, most curriculum and educators presented the assault on the Jews and others as a feature of totalitarianism. As demonstrated in chapter 2, they believed that even those persecutions taken for in the name of racial purity originated in attempts to "divide and conquer" populations and create racial antagonism. Further, in chapters 1 through 3 it is clear that, in the midst of WWII and then the Cold War, Americans presented such atrocities as essentially totalitarian and, therefore, democracy as the solution. Though many, like Ronald, held this view as part of a firmly held belief in the similarity of the murderous policies, others, like Pape, sought to emphasize communist atrocities by obscuring or diminishing those of the Nazis. This approach had, in 1960, necessitated that Ethel Huggard of the NYC Curriculum Council couch expectations that textbooks appropriately cover the Nazi atrocities within the context of totalitarianism even though the impulse for the letter had come from particularly Jewish concerns.

Further, this focus on totalitarianism relied on the belief that state centralization and political calculations had led to Nazi atrocities. Even when Americans did not correlate Nazism and communism directly, statements that "civilians were slaughtered for political purpose" emphasized governmental organization and state centralization as the cause of the murderous Nazi policies. These interpretations often rejected racial ideology as a motivational factor.

A greater number of those writing letters to the *New York Times* in response to Goldman's reporting and the responses it provoked supported the new curriculum requirement—including approval for tying the Holocaust to contemporary concerns rather than with a focus on

the event alone. Some, such as James Berkley, called for an expansion of the new program by arguing that the school system should include genocide studies, in which "the Holocaust would serve well as a major part of such a study."[511] NYC School Chancellor Irving Anker, though not calling for the study of genocides broadly, did recognize comparisons of that kind. He stated that the curriculum would have students "compare and contrast the injustices perpetrated against the victims of Nazism with injustices against other groups" while specifically mentioning the discussion of the Armenian genocide in Post's curriculum. He believed that the curriculum would "lead our young people to…know and respect one another's differences."[512] Though the Board of Education employee Dr. Arnold Webb had noted the "unprecedented" nature of the assault on the Jews, he also stated that "the story must be told so that our students of all races and religions in our public schools can understand the danger confronting all peoples when human rights are denied to any one people."[513] These statements suggest interest in the Holocaust curriculum which derived not only from recognizing the historical value of such programs but from a belief that studying the murder of the Jews would develop student's moral understanding about contemporary events.

This kind of support for the curriculum had roots in the ways that earlier educators had approached the Nazi atrocities, yet with a flipped focus. Prior to the 1970s, American educators had used the German brutalities to develop the morality of their students. Nevertheless, they did so by inserting the assault on the Jews and others into curriculum designed to promote intercultural education, support for the UN, democracy, or anti-racism. The Holocaust

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[511] James Berkley, "'A Study of Genocide Should be Required," *New York Times*, October 28, 1977.
[512] Irving Anker, "Holocaust Study: 'The Intent Is to Inform, Not Inflame," *New York Times,* November 8, 1977, 28.
[513] Ari Goldman, "Study of Holocaust Started in Schools."

curriculum of the 1970s reversed this by centering student's focus on the murder of the Jews and then considering lessons—ones similar to earlier concerns. Holocaust curriculums taught the murder of the Jews and then sought to apply that learning to develop moral lessons. Earlier programs had focused on particular moral lessons and then invoked the assault on the Jews as an analogy or example of the importance of such morality.

Dr. Yehuda Bauer's response to Goldman's article demonstrated the final perspective on the Holocaust curriculum. In his letter to the *New York Times*, Bauer specifically explained the recontextualization away from study of the Nazi atrocities toward the Holocaust. He argued that though the Nazis murdered Polish priests, Soviet POWs, Catholic clergy and others, "the planned, industrialized mass murder of European Jews…is unique because Jews could not escape—no apostasy, no identification with Nazism, no change of domicile within Nazi Europe helped at all." He further noted that "there were no Nazi plans to murder all Czechs, Poles or others." He declared the Holocaust "unique." When discussing what students might learn in such a class, he stressed the uniqueness of antisemitism within the context of "genocide and war atrocities, the ultimate product of hatred, racism, and the apostacy of baptized gentiles." Bauer firmly presented the intent of Holocaust education as focused on teaching students "how things happen and why," which "might help us in trying to prevent things from deteriorating again—for all of us."[514] In other words, Bauer called for rooting students in a historical approach that avoided connection to specific contemporary concerns, which would, nonetheless, provide understanding that could inform student's future decision making.[515]

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[514] Yehuda Bauer, "'Extreme and Unique' Holocaust," *New York Times*, October 25, 1977.

[515] One important factor in Bauer's understanding was his position as an Israeli scholar who viewed the currents of Holocaust memory and antisemitism in the context of numerous countries, not only the United States. He held an extreme particularist approach and is an outspoken advocate of the Holocaust's "uniqueness." In fact, he criticized

Bauer's vision of Holocaust education represents the long-submerged understanding of the murder of the Jews which had not previously found broad purchase in schools, or the American public more generally.[516] As noted, New York City only specified the necessity of emphasizing the Nazi atrocities against minorities in 1963. Even then, they focused broadly on the Nazi assault on various groups. Further, those teachers who did address the topic had numerous interpretive frameworks by which to understand the Nazi genocide, most of which would not fall within Bauer's. Notably, even the textbooks of the 1977 cycle present a wide variety of contexts for the assault on the Jews. In only one, *Men and Nations*, did the authors present the murder of the Jews as different, in origin, nature, and scope, from other Nazi persecutions.[517] Yet, since at least the statements by the NYC Curriculum Council in the early 1960s, some educators had begun advocating for an increased focus on the murder of the Jews in schools.

The development of Holocaust education as a formalized curriculum did not create the disagreements over purposes or historical interpretations of the assault on the Jews in schools. As this work has shown, they existed long before the drastic increase of Holocaust consciousness beginning in the 1970s. In schools, educators and activists had debated the value of character

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President Carter's statements creating the US Holocaust Memorial Commission as an attempt to "De-Judaize" the Holocaust. Thus, his letter does not represent the position of all scholars of the Holocaust, but did present one position.

[516] In schools, see Fallace, "Holocaust Education in the US" and Christopher Witschonke, "A 'Curtain of Ignorance'". For society more generally see Hasia Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love* and Cesarani and Lundquist, *After the Holocaust.*

[517] Anatole Mazour and John Peoples, *Men and Nations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 669 & 729. The others contextualized the murder of the Jews as an assault on religion, the dual edged sword of science, part of broader attacks on minorities, or the costs of war. Gerald Leinwand, *The Pageant of World History,* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977), 539; William McNeill, *The Ecumene*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973), 686; Paul Welty, *The Human Expression,* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippinscott Company, 1977), 564, 571, 672, & 691-692; Allan Kownslar and Terry Smart, *People and Our World*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Publishers, 1977) 586 & 620.

education and used discussions of the Nazi atrocities in such efforts, for decades prior. The 1930s and early 1940s had seen numerous educators and programs which discussed Nazi oppression in conversations about democratic character. Though the late 1940s and the 1950s had, to a large degree, seen a deinstitutionalization of such teaching, some educators still approached such topics. In other cases, Americans framed their arguments about education through analogies to Nazi oppression and supposed methods. Finally, as others have demonstrated, many Jewish communities remembered particularity of the Nazi assault on the Jews during the period in deep and meaningful ways—even if they did not seek to institute such representations in public schools.[518]

The debates that surrounded the first formalization of Holocaust education originated in conversations in education which occurred prior to the first Holocaust curriculum for public schools. As Thomas Fallace has noted, Holocaust education developed through the 1970s era embrace of what he called the "affective revolution." Yet, this change in educational philosophy did not serve as the impetus for the sudden teaching the Holocaust. Instead, the creation of Holocaust curriculums, recentered the discussions which had previously revolved around democracy, citizenship, and race. Teachers had used the Nazi atrocities in their lessons on these issues. With Holocaust education, however, murder of the Jews became the central theme, and these issues became the connections and applications.

Thus, the period studied in this work represents the "pre-history" of Holocaust education. When approached without the presumptions of a normative contextualization of the murder of

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[518] See Hasia Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love*: *American Jews and the Myth of Silence After the Holocaust,* (New York: New York University Press, 2009) and *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, ed. David Cesarani and Eric Lundquist (London: Routledge, 2012).

the Jews, this “pre-history” suggests a continuity in Holocaust consciousness not previously recognized. American educators did engage with and consider the meaning of the assault on the Jews from the time of the very first anti-Jewish policies. Though Cold War pressures often guided or even limited the ways in which they might discuss the topic, they still did so.

While not as public or official, American educators and others viewed the assault on the Jews in a number of ways recognizable in contemporary, public Holocaust memory. Just as in 2020 and 2021 have some compared federal or state level Covid restrictions to oppressive measures that might lead to a totalitarian genocide, so too did many opponents of desegregation oppose government involvement in schools by using comparisons to the Nazis. The use of Holocaust education in such varied contexts as anti-bullying, anti-discrimination, pro-life, anti-vaccine, pro-vegan, or anti-genocide campaigns echoes earlier efforts by educators to utilize accounts of Nazi atrocities to buttress intercultural or democracy education, oppose desegregation, or vilify the UN. Ultimately, Americans consistently, since the first reports of anti-Jewish persecution, found the Nazi assault on the Jews a useful event for interpreting their world and advocating for their positions. This has resulted in the plethora of, often confused, interpretations that buttress American’s views on any number of concerns today.

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