

ANNE FRANK IN THE WORLD EXHIBIT

TEACHER GUIDE



Purpose

The purpose of this guide is to prepare teachers and students to view the exhibition, *Anne Frank in the World, 1929-1945*, while incorporating perspectives and themes highlighted in the Facing History and Ourselves program. Through over five hundred photographs, the exhibition documents the lives of the Frank family during the Holocaust and provides an in-depth profile of a totalitarian society in which racism and discrimination determined governmental policies in domestic and foreign affairs. Looking at how Nazi society operated compels the viewer to think about choices he or she is making today, living in a democracy in the final decade of the twentieth century. The journalist and television producer Bill Moyers has suggested just how crucial it is for citizens to accept responsibility in our modern society and the dangers if we do not:

The problem of democracy is the problem of the individual citizen who takes himself or herself lightly historically. If you do not believe that you can make a difference, that you matter, you are not going to try to make a difference, you are not going to try to matter. And, you will leave it to someone else, who may or may not be concerned, or may not have the best interests of your values or democracy's values in mind.

What I find increasingly frustrating is when a student comes to me and says, 'I just do not believe that anybody does matter.' And, I say, 'Shame on you for taking yourself so lightly historically... Every school that I went to from elementary school to junior high school, to high school, to the three colleges I attended, to the graduate school I went to was there because over time other people whom I would never meet and who had died and gone on, had brick by brick, dollar by dollar, classroom by classroom, book by book, put that institution into place... Unless people today realize this, that the school, the church,... everything we have, comes to us through contributions of others over time from the past, how else are students going to realize, 'I have to build the next school, or the next church or synagogue, or the next library or the next book on the shelf, or the next television program.'

The stories of Anne Frank and the millions of victims of modern day dehumanization bring us to understand this need to prevent and react—to confront our own responsibility.

This guide is divided into six sections. The first two introductory sections—Society and the Individual and Who is Anne Frank?—examine the relationship between the individual and society, both in our own era and in the era of the Third Reich. Sections three through six consider the four principal themes of the Anne Frank Center USA's exhibition.

1. Due to her innocence, Anne Frank clearly cannot be blamed for her ultimate death. Therefore she has become a universal symbol for all those who experience the injustice of discrimination.

2. Hitler did not seize power. He was legally brought to power by ordinary citizens who were promised 'a Germany for Aryans only,' making Jews the scapegoats for all problems.

3. Ethnic, cultural and religious background does not determine someone's stand in matters of human rights. It is a strictly personal choice.

4. As long as we fail to look at all other people as individuals and continue to stereotype entire groups of people, racism, antisemitism and other discrimination will go on.

Through the *Anne Frank in the World: 1929-1945* exhibition, Facing History and Ourselves and the Anne Frank Center USA have been able to introduce these four themes to tens of thousands of students across the United States.

These themes are embedded in the Facing History and Ourselves program, a program in which students think about their own decision-making while they reflect on the decisions individuals, groups and nations made during the Holocaust. Many of the readings and questions in the guide are drawn from the Facing History Resource Book, *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior*, and the Facing History manuals *Elements of Time* and *Choosing to Participate*.

Section One: Society and the Individual

At the heart of the exhibition *Anne Frank in the World: 1929-1945*, is the story of the Frank family and how the world events affected their lives in Frankfurt, Germany, later in Amsterdam, Holland, and finally in the transit camp Westerbork and on the transports to the death camps. Like so many other European Jews, the Franks were victims of persecution simply because they were Jews and not for anything they had done. Other groups of victims in the Third Reich included: Gypsies, homosexuals, Slavs, Russian P.O.W.s, Jehovah's Witnesses, blacks, handicapped, and political dissidents. As manifested in the photographs in the exhibition, choices for these victims became increasingly restricted in the Nazi era. For Jews, choices totally vanished during the era of the Final Solution.

We also see photographs of individuals such as Anton Mussert, leader of the Dutch Nazi Party, and Baldur von Shirach, head of the Hitler Youth, who made deliberate choices to sustain the Nazi program. Photographs of youth such as Hans and Sophie Scholl, who initially supported the Hitler Youth but later sacrificed their lives to oppose the Nazi regime, remind us that there were individuals who deliberately rejected the totalitarian regime. The photos of those who helped the Franks in hiding suggest the courage certain individuals chose to exhibit in seeking to assist victims of Nazi oppression. In addition, there are the pan shots of large crowds of men, women, and children, who showed support for the Nazi regime although they were not necessarily members of the Party.

Since individual choices of ordinary people are central to *Anne Frank in the World*, it is appropriate to prepare for viewing the exhibition by thinking about our own decision making process. What factors influence how we make choices? What factors influence how we think about others? How do we know who we are amid the media messages, pressures from family, church and school? How does peer pressure affect our identity? In what ways do we disguise our true identity?

Usings for Section One:

1. Creating an identity diagram, as suggested in the introductory section of *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior*, offers a point of departure for self definition. Place yourself in the center of the diagram: then think of all the possible factors that influence who you are and how you think about yourself—religion, school, family, hobbies, travel, animals, ethnicity, class, role models, media, disguises.



2. Select someone in your class or an adult in your life and draw an identity diagram by just observing him or her and by interviewing others. How do you decide what to put on the chart? How do you account for conflicting descriptions?

3. Have you ever been mislabeled? How would you go about trying to challenge the label?

4. Design a mask that would be the appearance you would want others to see you as. Do you wear more than one mask?

5. Plan a video of your life. What visuals would you use? What words or phrases would you want to include? What else could you incorporate to identify who you are, e.g. music, artifacts, sports, clothing?

6. The poem on page three "Will They Ever Learn" by Myron Magcauas, a Facing History student from northern California, is from his journal. Read and discuss his understanding of the power of stereotyping and labeling. Is his journal like a diary?

Section Two: Who Was Anne Frank?

Anne Frank was born in Frankfurt, Germany on June 12, 1929. Her father, Otto, came from a prominent Jewish family engaged in banking and business for generations in Frankfurt. In 1925 at the age of 36 he married Edith Hollander of Aachen, and their first daughter Margot was born a year later.

The Frank family moved to Amsterdam in 1933 soon after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor. The two sisters quickly adapted to the Dutch community of Merwedeplein (a section of Amsterdam largely populated by refugees); they had a wide circle of Jewish and non Jewish friends and did well in their schools. Anne received a diary on her thirteenth birthday, June 12, 1942, just three weeks before the entire family went into hiding in the Secret Annex to avoid being rounded up and deported by the Nazis.

Anne regarded her diary as her closest friend with whom she could share her innermost feelings.

Let me put it more clearly [Anne wrote in her second entry, June 20, 1942] since no one will believe that a girl of thirteen feels herself quite alone in the world, nor is it so. I have darling parents and a sister of sixteen. I know about thirty people whom one might call friends—I have strings of boyfriends, anxious to catch a glimpse of me and who, failing that, peep at me through mirrors in class. I have relations, aunts

Will They Ever Learn

As I look down, on this world of mine,
Several questions cross my mind.
Why do they stare when I walk through the Hall?
Why do they think I can run with a ball?
Why do they think I swear all the time?
Why do they think I'll resort to crime?
Why do they think I like to fight?
Is it because I'm dark, not light?
I hear them talk behind my back
About my skin because it's black,
Too black to be friendly, too black to be smart.
Don't they know it breaks my heart
To hear them tease without concern.
I wonder if they'll ever learn.

by Myron Magcauas

and uncles, who are darlings too, a good home, no—I don't seem to lack anything. But it's the same with all my friends, just fun and joking, nothing more. I can never bring myself to seem to be able to get any closer, that is the root of the trouble....

Hence, this diary. In order to enhance my mind's eye the picture of the friend for whom I have waited so long, I don't want to set down a series of bald facts in a diary like most people do, but I want this diary itself to be my friend, and I shall call my friend Kitty.

During twenty eight months of hiding Anne regularly turned to Kitty to reflect on events inside and outside the annex. On the pages of the *Diary* the young teenager comes of age, struggling to define herself as an independent person. At times she will escape to the attic of the annex. "There with you," Anne writes, "I can be myself for just a while, just a little while." Along with reports of daily squabbles with other inhabitants of the annex, Anne writes of her dreams to be a writer and to return to normal times when she will be free to be herself and can resume her former social activities. Many entries focus on issues that are pertinent to adolescents of any era: How can I be free of my parents, relatives, and teachers telling me what to do and who I am? How do I get others to take me seriously? How do I deal with peer pressure? When is it necessary to obey laws and rules incompatible with my own values? How can I assuage my feelings of loneliness?

The final entry is on August 1, 1944, just three days before the Gestapo and Dutch police break in on the Secret Annex and round up the inhabitants. As in previous entries, Anne is still in the process of discovering her identity and continues to feel misunderstood by the adult world that scrutinizes her every move and word. Being misunderstood greatly troubles Anne, and she does not seem to feel she will ever be properly understood.

A voice sobs within me: 'There you are, that's what's become of you: you're uncharitable, you look supercilious and peevish, people dislike you and all because you won't listen to the advice given you by your own better half.' Oh, I would like to listen, but it doesn't work; if I'm quiet and serious, everyone thinks it's a new comedy and then I have to get out of it by turning it into a joke, not to mention my own family,

who are sure to think I'm ill, make me swallow pills for headaches and nerves, feel my neck and my head to see whether I'm running a temperature, ask if I'm constipated and criticize me for being in a bad mood. I can't keep that up: if I'm watched to that extent I start by getting snappy, then unhappy, and finally I wish I could twist my heart round again, so that the bad is on the outside and the good is on the inside and keep on trying to find a way to becoming what I would so like to be, and what I could be, if... there weren't any other people living in the world.

We learn no more of Anne's inner dialogue. Kitty was left scattered on the floor when the Gestapo raided the Secret Annex. After the raid, Miep and Elli, employees in Otto's former company who had been 'helpers' for the inhabitants of the annex, picked up Kitty. At the end of the war, Miep presented the diary to Otto Frank, the sole survivor of the Secret Annex. Otto carefully edited sections of the diary he considered unsuitable—unfavorable comments about his wife and references to Anne's awakening sexuality. The first Dutch edition appeared in 1947 and since that time the diary has been translated into many different languages and is one of the most well known pieces of Holocaust literature in existence.

Usings for Section Two:

1. Students should be encouraged to keep journals in which they, like Anne Frank, reflect on their inner and outer world, in particular on their reactions to the study of the Holocaust and its implications for their own lives. The Facing History Resource Center has guidelines for journal writing.

2. Create an identity chart for Anne Frank before she and her family went into hiding: select passages from the *Diary* that you find particularly revealing about Anne's pre-hiding identity.

3. Create an identity chart for Anne Frank while she and her family are in the Secret Annex: select passages from the *Diary* that you find revealing about her identity in hiding. Also, create identity charts for Anne's parents, Otto and Edith, from information available in the *Diary*. How do these parental charts compare with the chart on Anne's identity? Make an identity chart for Margot: compare it to Anne's.

4. How does Anne describe the other inhabitants of the Secret Annex? What do these portrayals tell us



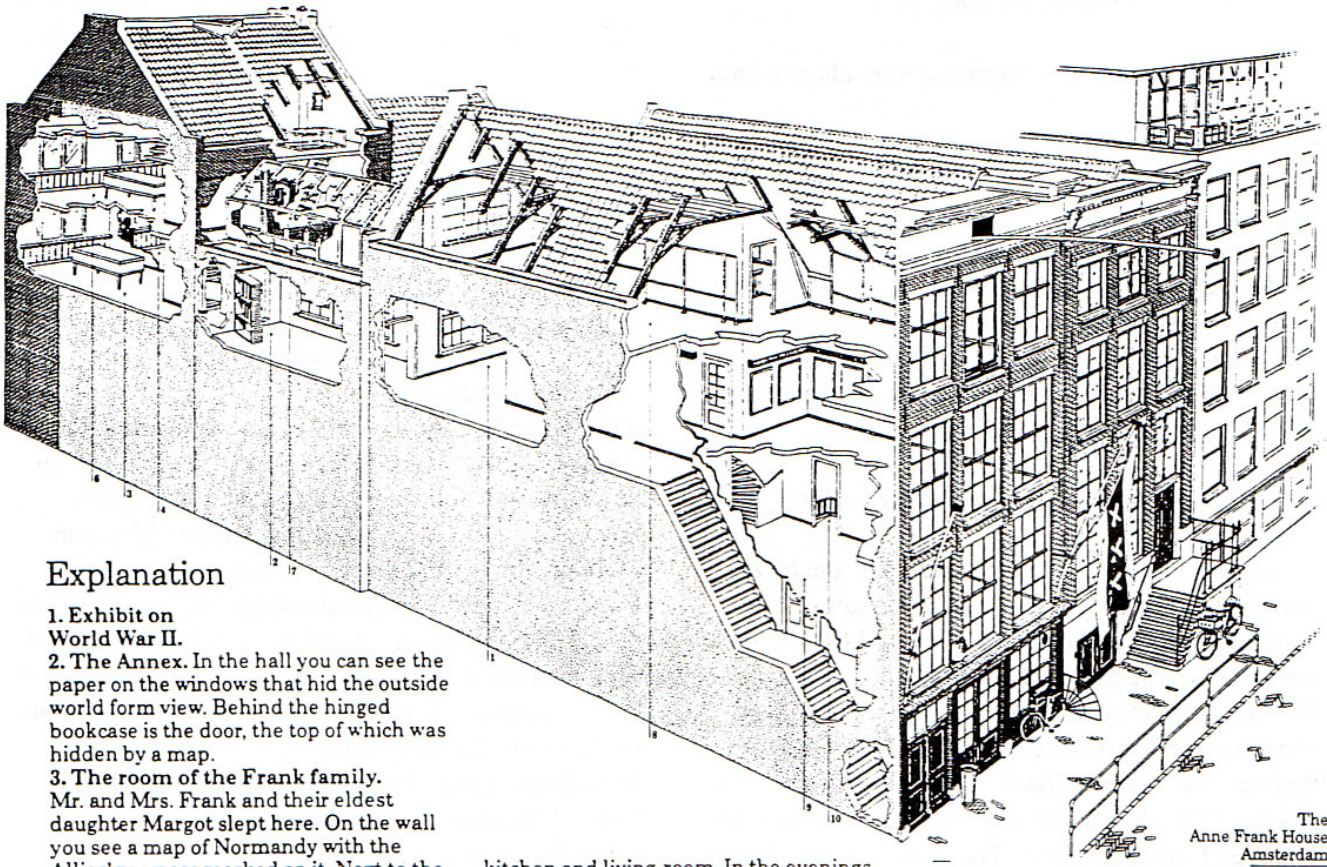
Anne at 13. She received a diary for her birthday on June 12, 1942, and wrote her first entry two days later.

about the identity of the other inhabitants? About Anne's values and personality?

5. Study the diagram of the Secret Annex on page five. Where did Anne find privacy? Select passages in the *Diary* which illustrate how the physical setting affected Anne's moods. What things did Anne do with space in the annex to give an illusion of living in normal times? Did Anne have a private self in her hiding places that was very different from the public self she presented to the inhabitants of the annex? Have you ever felt totally misunderstood as Anne said she felt? How was this different from Anne's experience? Where have you gone to hide from the rest of the world? What things do you do to your space in your home to identify your personality?

6. In packing to go into the Secret Annex, Anne wrote Kitty: "*The first thing put in was this diary, then hair curlers, handkerchiefs, schoolbooks, a comb, old letters; I put in the craziest things with the idea that we were going into hiding. But I'm not sorry, memories mean more to me than dresses.*" (July 18, 1942). If you were going away for a long period of time, what would you take?

7. For inhabitants of the Secret Annex, birthdays were very special occasions. The Anne Frank Center in New York holds an annual dinner to commemorate Anne's birthday. What would you think would be an appropriate memorial to use for such an occasion given what you know about Anne from her *Diary*? Describe your own birthdays. Do they have similar significance for you as they did for Anne and other inhabitants of the annex?



Explanation

1. Exhibit on World War II.
2. The Annex. In the hall you can see the paper on the windows that hid the outside world from view. Behind the hinged bookcase is the door, the top of which was hidden by a map.
3. The room of the Frank family. Mr. and Mrs. Frank and their eldest daughter Margot slept here. On the wall you see a map of Normandy with the Allies' progress marked on it. Next to the map are a number of lines showing the children's growth.
4. Anne's room. This is Anne's bedroom, which she shared with Mr. Dussel. Anne cut pictures out of magazines and pasted them on the walls.
5. Washroom. (*invisible on drawing*). The toilet and the washroom could only be used outside office hours. Otherwise the noises would filter through to the people working downstairs, incurring the risk of discovery and betrayal.
6. The room of the Van Daan family. A steep stairway leads from the washroom to the room of Mr. and Mrs. Van Daan, which also served as the hideaways'

- kitchen and living-room. In the evenings all the windows had to be blacked out. You can still see the blocks behind which the black slats were placed.
7. Peter's room. Here you see the stairs leading to the attic, with the only window that could safely be opened. The small stock of food was also stored here.
8. Exhibit on Anne and the Diary. Through a corridor put in after the war you come to the exhibit 'Anne and the Diary'. Some of the information given here is also included in the chapter on the reverse side of this folder.
9. Information counter. On the other side of the room you will find panels on current events, giving examples of

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The Anne Frank House Amsterdam

prejudice, discrimination and repression as they still occur in the world today.

10. Exhibition room and exit. Annually changing exhibits are held here on subjects related to the goals of the Anne Frank Foundation.

Section Three: Discrimination is Cruel and Irrational: Ordinary People Become Victims of Discrimination

Dear Kitty,

Years seem to have passed between Sunday and now. So much has happened, it is just as if the whole world has turned upside down. But I am still alive, Kitty, and that is the main thing, Daddy says.

Wednesday, July 8, 1942,

Diary of a Young Girl

Anne's growing up experience took place within the context of World War II and the Holocaust. Interspersed throughout Kitty are references to how events taking place in Holland and other European nations are impinging on the lives of the Frank family. The Nazi invasion and occupation of Holland in May 1940 marked the most decisive event for the Franks for it shaped the entire course of their thought and actions. The *Anne Frank in the World* Exhibition highlights the world events that affected the Franks and thousands of other Dutch Jews during the Third Reich.

Holland Under Nazi Occupation

Upon occupation of the Netherlands, the Nazis introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Dutch Jewish population in 1940 was 140,000, including 24,000 refugees. Amsterdam had the largest Jewish community of approximately 90,000; most were poor or semiskilled and unskilled workers, and a minority were professionals. Between the spring of 1940 and the summer of 1941, Jews were gradually removed from public life. They were excluded from hotels and restaurants; the government required Jews to register with Nazi authorities and expropriated Jewish owned land, selling it to non Jews. Prominent Jews were forced to join a council, which was expected to administer Jewish affairs as the Nazis dictated.

Supporting the Germans were members of the Dutch Nazi Party, which Anton Mussert founded in 1931. As with the Nazi Party in Germany, the Dutch Nazis were avowed enemies of the Communist Party and frequently invoked anti-Communist slogans in their political campaigns. With the Nazi invasion, the Party ascended to prominence: about 25,000 Dutch

men and boys volunteered to assist the Germans in the Waffen SS, army and police. They were particularly eager to participate in rounding up Jews, and at times, proved as brutal as the Germans.

The first mass arrests of Jews, known as *razzias*, began in February 1941. Photographs in the exhibition depict the roundup of February 22, 1941, in which the German and Dutch authorities grabbed over 400 Jewish men and boys from the streets and cafes and beat them before taking them to unknown destinations. The Dutch communists organized an impressive strike to protest the Nazi action but the Nazis countered with swift, harsh measures to restore order.

The increasing pressure against Jews in 1941 and the early months of 1942 prompted Otto Frank to prepare a hiding place in a Secret Annex behind the building where his food products business was located at 263 Prinsengracht. On July 5, 1942, when Anne's older sister Margot received a call up notice for deportation to a labor camp in Germany, Otto decided on the immediate transfer of his family to the annex. Several days later, on July 13th, Mr. and Mrs. van Daan and their fifteen-year-old son Peter joined the Franks in hiding. The final resident of the annex, the dentist Albert Dussel, joined them in November 1942. The diagram of the annex (shown on page five) shows the relationship of the business area and the locations of the rooms for each of the eight inhabitants. Throughout Kitty, Anne laments the physical conditions of life in the annex and describes how fear of being discovered exacerbated tensions among the annexers.

Four of Mr. Frank's employees—Mr. Koophuis, Mr. Kraler, Miep van Santan Gies and Ellie Vosseon—risked their safety to supply the inhabitants of the annex with food and other necessities. Through their daily visits they keep the annexers abreast of progress of the war as well as news of the antisemitic measures against Dutch Jews.

On August 1, 1944, the Gestapo and Dutch police burst in upon the annexers and arrested them. The eight were sent to the transit camp at Westerbork and later to concentration camps in Poland and Germany. As shown in the exhibition the Franks were included

in the last transport to leave Westerbork for Auschwitz on September 3, 1944. Mrs. Frank died in Auschwitz; her two daughters were sent to Bergen Belsen where they died of typhus in March 1944, only weeks before liberation. Otto Frank was the only survivor of the Frank family. The other four inhabitants were also sent to camps from Westerbork: Mr. Dussel was sent to a camp in Germany and died in the Nuengamme camp; Mr. van Daan was gassed at Auschwitz; his wife was sent with Margot and Anne from Auschwitz to Bergen Belsen where all three died of typhoid fever. No one ever learned the final fate of Peter van Daan, sent on the death march from Auschwitz in January 1945.

The Rise of Nazism

In order to understand how Jews like the Franks and van Daans became victims of discrimination in the Third Reich, it is necessary to review the rise of Nazism in Germany and its expansion throughout Europe in the late thirties and war years. Both families fled Germany in the 1930s to avoid the Nazi persecution of Jews and resettled in Holland, a country with a reputation of religious tolerance. Unfortunately, when the Nazis occupied Holland in the 1940s the same measures that afflicted German Jews in the thirties were imposed on Dutch Jews. Studying the rise and spread of Nazism, the following questions recur: Why did neighbor turn against neighbor in the Third Reich? How did the Nazis carry out the ideas originally set forth in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*? How was it possible that the great majority of Germans did not recognize the small steps which were whittling away human rights and justice? What role did terror play in helping the Nazis consolidate their authority? At what point was it too late to prevent the Nazis from carrying out their plans for mass destruction and death of their "enemies"? What avenues are open to Americans in the 1990s to preserve democratic freedoms? What are the principal threats to contemporary American democracy?

The German Empire in which Otto Frank was born in 1889 was a prominent European power. It collapsed in 1918 after being defeated in World War I and the Kaiser fled to Holland for asylum. A group of democratic politicians in Berlin proclaimed the establishment of a German republic, which became known as the Weimar Republic.

The Treaty of Versailles arranged for the peace in

Europe. The victorious Allied Powers excluded Germany from negotiations. In the treaty the Allies placed sole responsibility for the war on Germany and stripped Germany of her colonies and valuable European territories. Germany also had to pay reparations for civilian damages incurred during the war.

Germans of many different backgrounds expressed dissatisfaction with the treaty. Not only did they feel that Jews, Communists and political dissidents had "stabbed Germany in the back," but they regarded the Weimar Republic as a form of government that was alien to the German tradition.

Among the scores of Weimar political parties that criticized the republic for agreeing to sign the treaty was the National Socialist German Workers' Party, organized in 1919. Adolf Hitler, born in Austria in 1889 (the year Otto Frank was born) and a soldier in the German army during World War I, became leader, Fuhrer, of the Nazi Party in 1921. Hitler and the Nazi Party blamed Jews and political radicals for the debilitation of Germany. From the Nazi perspective, the creation of a master race of Germans, Aryans, required the elimination of Jews. Despite the fact that Jews had contributed to German culture and professions and that thousands of Jewish males had volunteered to serve Germany in the First World War, the Nazis cited Jews as the cause of the degeneration of German vitality and creativity. As long as Jews remained in Germany, according to the Nazis, they threatened to infect the race. Other groups that the Nazis considered threatening to the purity of the Aryan nations were Gypsies, homosexuals, Slavonic peoples, Jehovah's Witnesses, blacks, mentally and physically handicapped, and political dissidents.

During the 1920s the Nazis garnered support primarily in the southern German state of Bavaria. Between 1924 and 1929 while the German economy began to prosper, the majority of Germans regarded Nazis as ruffians. However, with the onset of the worldwide Depression in 1929, greater numbers of Germans began to listen to the Nazi message. As seen in the photographs of the late 1920s in Germany, the Nazis made considerable inroads among the working classes as they joined striking workers in the trade unions. (For additional background on Weimar see the Facing History Resource Book, Chap. 4).

The Nazis in Power

On January 30, 1933, although Hindenburg

did appoint Hitler Chancellor, he was elected in later elections and was carried to ultimate power by the votes of ordinary people. He swiftly dismantled the republic and established a totalitarian regime. Less than two months after coming to power, on March 23, 1933, the Reichstag (the German Parliament) dissolved itself and from then on Hitler ruled by decree. All political parties except the Nazis were outlawed. Churches, labor unions, and youth organizations became organs of the state. Every medium of communication was used to mould public opinion. Symbols of Weimar disappeared. In the exhibition, for example, there is a photograph showing the toppling of the statue of Friedrich Ebert, the first president of Weimar. In the town of Frankfurt where Anne Frank was born and Jews had long enjoyed acceptance as a respected part of the community, the Nazis seized control of the local government; a Nazi replaced the Jewish mayor in the spring of 1933 and a Nazi flag was unfurled over the town hall.

The Nazis began to put their anti-Jewish measures into effect shortly after Hitler's appointment. Over the next six years these measures escalated, and it became increasingly difficult for Jews to make a living or lead a normal life. Approximately 400 anti-Jewish measures went into effect during these years.

Restrictions were imposed on other non-Aryan groups such as Gypsies and homosexuals. For instance, in July 1933, sterilization measures were approved for mentally and physically handicapped. Gypsies were increasingly segregated from German society and homosexuals and political dissidents were imprisoned in the early camps of Dachau and Buchenwald. In 1937 black children born to German women with African husbands were slated for sterilization.

The greatest number of limitations fell on the Jewish minority. What is most striking as one views the exhibition photographs of the 1930s is the series of little steps against Jews—the creation of ghettos and death camps took place only in the war years. In fact, Jews in Germany during the 1930s developed a flourishing Jewish culture when excluded from the German community and were not always cognizant of the inherent dangers of antisemitic legislation. Otto Frank was fortunate in that he early realized the problems Jews would sustain under the Nazis and prepared to have his family relocate in Amsterdam in 1933 only months after Hitler's appointment. Of the 525,000 Jews living in Germany in 1933, only about

Timeline

The Nazis began to put their anti-Jewish measures into effect shortly after Hitler was appointed Chancellor. Over the next six years these measures escalated, and it became increasingly difficult for Jews to earn a living or lead a normal life. Approximately 400 anti-Jewish measures were enacted over these years: representative of the types of restrictions placed on Jews were the following:

1933

April 7: Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service removes Jews from the civil service unless they had served in World War I

1935

July 25: Non-Aryans are not permitted to serve in the armed forces

September 15: The Nuremberg Laws, the Reich Citizenship Law, and the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor: these measures legalize the Nazis' antisemitic policies and provide a legal definition of Jews

1938

August 17: "As of January 1, 1939, Jews whose first names differ from those permitted under paragraph 1 are required to accept an additional name which will be Israel for males, Sara for females."

October 5: Jewish passports are marked with the letter 'J'

November 9-10: Kristallnacht—a widespread assault on Jewish property throughout Germany that is sanctioned by the government and the arrest of over 30,000 Jewish males required to pay a ransom to be released.

November 15: Jewish children are excluded from state schools

December 8: Jews are excluded from the universities

December 13-16: Jews are not allowed to own or to drive cars, to enter theaters, cinemas, cabarets, public concerts, libraries, museums, public and private swimming pools, and sports grounds. In addition they are not permitted to enter the government district in Berlin. Jews can be ordered to sell their businesses and they have to deposit their stocks and bonds in specified banks.

half managed to emigrate during the 1930s.

By 1939 Jews still in Germany became more aware of the precarious nature of their situation under Hitler. Although the official Nazi policy was to help Jews emigrate, the reality was that very few countries in the world would accept Jews and Jews still in Germany often lacked the financial resources or relatives willing to take the responsibility of sponsoring their European kin. (For additional background see "Flight from Destiny," in *Elements of Time*.)

Opening of World War II

The Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939 precipitated World War II. By the following spring much of eastern and western Europe fell under Nazi control. As shown in the exhibition Nazi policies in Germany during the opening months of the war were a prelude to wartime policies against enemies that threatened the racial purity of the state. Starting in August 1939 certain psychiatric hospitals in Germany were equipped to gas patients that were designated as "unworthy of life."

During the course of the war the Nazis clarified and implemented their policies for racial purity. Initially, in Germany and Nazi occupied territories, the Nazis concentrated Jews in centers known as ghettos. Jews were taken by freight cars to the ghettos where inhabitants between the ages of 14 and 60 were forced to

work. Inadequate food, unsanitary conditions and disease accounted for high mortality rates in the crowded ghettos. While the Franks and other Jews were in hiding, they constantly feared discovery by the Gestapo. Ghetto residents lived in terror of the brutal treatment of ghetto guards. Those who survived were moved to concentration camps.

In June 1941 the Germans broke their agreement with Russia and invaded the Soviet Union. Special commandos of the German army known as Einsatzgruppen followed the army and slaughtered Jewish men, women and children. Typically, the victims were led into wooded areas outside towns: they were stripped naked, forced to dig their own graves and were either shot or buried alive. Perhaps as many as two million met their deaths in this manner. Nazi leaders, however, began to view these procedures as inefficient: members of the commandos were often willing to perform their work but drank heavily to forget about their deeds; it was difficult to predict and control reactions of local inhabitants; the process was time consuming.

The Final Solution

On January 20, 1942, leading civilian and military officials of the Third Reich met at the Wannsee villa outside Berlin to plan the implementation of the "final solution to the Jewish question." The participants



listed millions of Jews that needed to be murdered in occupied territories as well as areas still to be conquered. According to the plans, trains were to transport Jews from all over Europe to death camps located in Eastern Europe under the pretext they would be given work and adequate food.

The major death camps—Chelmno, Auschwitz, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka and Maidanek—were located in strategic areas of occupied Poland, close to major centers of Jews. For example, Warsaw Jews were sent to Treblinka while Jews from Lublin and Lvov were sent to Belzec in 1942. Auschwitz, the largest camp, received Jews from all Nazi occupied countries outside Poland.

For a variety of reasons, people in surrounding areas did little to intervene. Only a small minority of individuals made decisions to save Jews, especially the children. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of Jewish children—between a million and a million and a half—were captured and perished during the Holocaust. Only about 100,000-200,000 Jewish children survived the war.

In 1945 the Allied Forces liberated the camps as they moved in to defeat the Germans. Otto Frank, the only inhabitant of the Secret Annex to witness liberation, returned to Holland. Since he had not seen his family after arriving at Auschwitz, he was unable to describe what had happened to Edith, Margot and Anne in the camps. Nevertheless, female prisoners who were with the Frank women at Auschwitz and Bergen Belsen have explained how illness and malnutrition sapped the Franks of their energy. Mrs. Frank did not even have strength to leave Auschwitz in December 1944 when her daughters were sent off to Bergen Belsen. Typhus debilitated Margot and Anne in their final weeks.

Usings for Section Three:

1. Using selections from Anne Frank's Diary, trace the implementation of antisemitic legislation in Holland. In the entries for the years 1942-1944, when does it appear that Anne realizes the full extent of the danger posed by German occupation for Dutch Jewry? Are there groups in the United States of the 1990s that you believe are subjected to discriminatory legislation based on their identity as part of a group rather than any specific acts they have done personally? As a teenager have you ever experienced discrimination from the adult world?

2. How do you explain the fact that during the

Great Depression democracy survived in the United States while it rapidly vanished in Germany? In particular, consider what are the components of an education for citizenship. Ask relatives and neighbors who were attending school in the 1930s how schools prepared them for their roles as citizens. Given the recession and social discontent in the United States in the early 1990s, how do you think Americans will be able to preserve the essence of their democratic tradition as they did in the era of Franklin D. Roosevelt?

3. Holocaust survivors recalling their childhood in the 1930s often refer to humiliations they sustained as Jews in their schools and neighborhoods. (See the testimonies of Frank S. and Walter K. on the video montage "Childhood Memories" available in the Facing History Resource Center). Do you ever recall seeing classmates humiliated for being different? What was their reaction to such treatment? What is so hurtful about being called names and teased for being different? In light of what you have seen in the Exhibition and what you have witnessed in your own schools, do you agree with the old saying: "Sticks and stones may hurt my bones but names will never harm me"?

4. Schools were key places where the Nazi ideology of hatred was disseminated. What examples can you find in contemporary news about American society that show that certain youth today are being educated for hatred? What strategies can you suggest for countering such education?

5. In the postwar decades television has been a significant medium in keeping people abreast of current affairs. During the Gulf War, for instance, viewers could watch daily the military activities and listen to reports from the front. How did radio serve a similar function in the 1930s and 1940s? Select entries from Anne's *Diary* that suggest the significance of radio broadcasts. How do you think it would be different to learn news from the radio rather than television? Ask your grandparents and neighbors who grew up in the 1930s about what the radio meant to their childhood experience.

6. Compare photographs in the exhibition depicting the atrocities in the ghettos and concentration camps for Jews under the Nazis with the conditions in Bosnian camps of 1992 that were revealed in newspaper and magazine photographs as well as on nightly news broadcasts. What analogies do you find between the current terminology of "ethnic cleansing" and the Nazi policy for making Europe *judenrein*?

Section Four: It is Ordinary People Who Discriminate

Dear Kitty,

To our great horror and regret we hear that the attitude of a great many people towards us Jews has changed. We hear that there is anti-Semitism now in circles that never thought of it before. This news has affected us all very, very deeply. The cause of this hatred of the Jews is understandable, even human sometimes, but not good. The Christians blame the Jews for giving secrets away to the Germans, for betraying their helpers and for the fact that, through the Jews a great many Christians have gone the way of so many others before them and suffered terrible punishments and a dreadful fate.

Quite honestly, I can't understand that the Dutch, who are such good, honest, upright people, should judge us like this. We, the most oppressed, the unhappiest, perhaps the most pitiful of all peoples in the world.

I hope one thing only, and that is that this hatred of Jews will be a passing thing, that the Dutch will show what they are after all, and they will never totter and lose their sense of right. For anti-Semitism is unjust!

—Diary of a Young Girl

“How do average, even admirable, people become dehumanized by the critical circumstances pressing in on them?” asked the late philosopher Hannah Arendt. Several of the photographs in the exhibition suggest how the Nazi propaganda created a climate of hatred among the German people and people in Nazi occupied areas to hate Jews and other non-Aryan minorities. In her *Diary*, Anne primarily stresses the negative aspects of Nazi propaganda. However, it is significant to note the twofold nature of the Nazi message: The German people, the Volk, are strong, creative and healthy and make a powerful nation, but enemies lurking within threaten to sap Germany vitality and strength.

Photographs in the exhibition juxtapose an Aryan mother and her children with a non Aryan mother and her children. Here we see vivid visual images of what the Nazis meant by true Germans who are part of the Volk and their enemies, “outsiders” of the German community. The Aryan mother and her children are healthy and happy; the children look at one another as they play and obviously have a feeling of belonging.

By contrast, the non Aryan mother and her children bear sad countenances and have a dark complexion, totally devoid of the healthy glow so evident on their Aryan counterparts.

Nazi propaganda played a key role in turning neighbor against neighbor in the Third Reich. It stereotyped the enemies of the community and identified these enemies with the economic, social and political difficulties confronting the nation. For instance, Nazi propaganda portrayed Jews as parasites and offered a scientific explanation that Jews were in an arrested stage of development. Thus, Nazi literature and art represented Jews as “bugs” or “parasites” that had to be removed so that the society could flourish.

The Nazi propaganda of hate, built on ancient racial theories and religious myths, ascribed the same customs and attitudes to all Jews. Such stereotyping distorted the reality of diversity among Jews in twentieth century Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe. For instance, there were Orthodox Jews who maintained strict religious traditions, habits and customs. Other Jews were assimilated in the secular society and disregarded religious observances. There were also assimilated Jews who followed some rituals but were not as observant as Orthodox Jews about their religious heritage. An important function of Nazi propaganda was to disseminate negative stereotypes in order to create “outsiders”. In the exhibition, the scenes of carnivals in German cities in 1934, 1936 and 1938 reveal how the negative imagery of Jews had become integrated into everyday popular culture.

The Exhibition documents the special interest Nazis took in indoctrinating youth with their ideology in every aspect of their life—school, family and extracurricular activities. Textbooks in all subjects, including mathematics, stressed the superiority of the Aryan/ Nordic race. A common subject in Nazi schools was race science in which students practiced measuring heads (an activity shown in one of the exhibition photographs) to determine an individual’s racial characteristics.

What was the impact of the Nazified curriculum and culture? Adults remembering their childhood and youth during the Nazi era suggest that the propaganda had an enormous effect, as Anne Frank observed in

Kitty. Rudolf Hoess, a former commandant at Auschwitz, described at his trial the potency of his Nazi training:

Don't you see, we SS men were not supposed to think about these things; it never even occurred to us. –And besides, it was something already taken for granted that the Jews were to blame for everything... We just never heard anything else.

Marion Pritchard, a twenty-year-old student of social work in Amsterdam during 1940, recalls seeing the Nazi film *The Eternal Jew* with her non Jewish friends, who did not think the propaganda had influenced them. Subsequently, one of Marion's friends admitted that she had begun to think of the Jews as different after viewing the film; she could not help having this feeling even though she intended to do what she could to help Jews.

Usings for Section Four

1. Provide working definitions for propaganda, discrimination, indoctrination. Do these terms always have negative connotations? Can you find examples of these practices in American life? In your own school?

2. In the carnival scenes of the 1930s in the exhibition, which people are defined as “outside” the community? What is happening to this group in 1934, 1936, and 1938? How do you account for the changing imagery? Although carnivals are times for play and entertainment, why are such representations in the 1930s threatening to minorities? What do you think was the general reaction of the German people to such imagery at public festivals?

3. Study the photograph of the jazz musician in the exhibition and reproduced here. Why do you think the Nazis had such contempt for African Americans? What are the stereotypes embodied in the photograph? Is it just African Americans being criticized in this photograph?

4. *[Hatred] it is when a person wants to aggrandize himself at the expense of the other. It is when a person sees in another person 'the other.' It is when a person sees in the other person always the stranger—not even the enemy, but a stranger—which means that the only link between that person and the other is a link of suspicion and violence and ultimately death. Death is a link. Elie Wiesel, 1991.* How did Nazi propaganda contribute to the process of making Jews seen as the ‘other’? Can you think of groups in the United States today that are depicted as ‘the other’?

Why is it so easy to assign certain labels, stereotypes and traits to a group and not recognize the variety of individuals within a group? What strategies can you propose for people to look at one another as individuals rather than ‘the other’.

5. During World War II the United States conducted a propaganda campaign against Japanese Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Japanese are seen as a menace to peaceloving societies in the Western World with threatening faces and grabbing hands and long fingernails. Do you still see similar negative images of the Japanese in the 1990s? To what extent does contemporary propaganda play upon negative feelings about Asians that have persisted over the last two centuries?



The Nazis labeled the art and music of Jews and blacks as degenerate. This sign pictures a black jazz musician with the Star of David, a Jewish symbol, pinned to his lapel as a mockery of both.

Section Five: How Did Neighbor Turn Against Neighbor?

As Anne noted in her diary, the responses from non victims of Nazi policy to the persecution of Jews and other victims were extremely diverse:

Dear Kitty,

There is something fresh every day. This morning our vegetable man was picked up for having two Jews in his house. It's a great blow to us, not only that those poor Jews are balancing on the edge of an abyss, but it's terrible for the man himself.

The world has turned topsy turvy, respectable people are being sent off to concentration camps, prisons, and lonely cells, and the dregs that remain govern young and old, rich and poor. One person walks into the trap through the black market, a second through helping the Jews or older people who've had to go 'underground'; anyone who isn't a member of the N.S.B. [Dutch Nazi Party] doesn't know what may happen to him from one day to another.

Thursday May 25, 1944,
Diary of a Young Girl

Dear Kitty,

...There are a great number of organizations, such as 'The Free Netherlands,' which forge identity cards, supply money to people in hiding, and it is amazing how much noble, unselfish work these people are doing, risking their own lives to help and save others. Our helpers are a very good example. They have pulled us through up till now and we hope they will bring us safely to dry land. Otherwise, they will have to share the same fate as the many others who are being searched for.

Friday January 28, 1944,
Diary of a Young Girl

Dear Kitty,

...I don't believe that the big men, the politicians and capitalists alone, are guilty of the war. Oh no, the little man is just as guilty, otherwise the peoples of the world would have risen in revolt long ago! There's in people simply an urge to destroy, an urge to kill, to murder and rage, and until mankind, without exception, undergoes a great change, wars will be waged, everything that has been built up, cultivated, and

grown will be destroyed and disfigured, after which mankind will have to begin all over again.

Wednesday May 3, 1944,
Diary of a Young Girl

The *Anne Frank in the World: 1929-1945* Exhibition illustrates the diversity of responses among non victims to the Third Reich that Anne discusses in entries throughout her *Diary*. On the one hand, there are photographs of individuals who adhered to Nazi ideology and carried out Nazi policy without regard to the lives of victims. On the other hand, there are photographs representing individuals and groups who took a stand against Nazism and risked their lives to save Jews and other victims of Nazi brutality. There are also scenes of large numbers of people who remained bystanders, hoping they would not be caught up in the maelstrom and trying to remain as inconspicuous as possible amid a sea of nameless faces. In essence, non victims during the Third Reich had choices as to whether or not they would discriminate against groups designated as "enemies" of the state.

For victims, choices increasingly narrowed between 1933 and 1941. With the implementation of the Final Solution between late 1941 and 1945, Jewish victims were left in a situation of "choiceless choice" in which they had no viable moral choices but primarily sought means to survive in the "topsy turvy" world Anne described in her *Diary*. Non Jewish victims during the war years had more restrictions on their choices than at any other time in the Third Reich.

Perpetrators

Studies of perpetrators reveal that there were those who ardently believed in the Nazi ideology and saw themselves as saviors of the Aryan race by carrying out the policies. Others in the Nazi hierarchy appear to have become involved as a means of advancing their careers: opportunities for professional growth abounded for individuals who became proficient in the Nazi organizations and followed leadership from upper echelons of the bureaucracy. In either case, the perpetrators did not exercise critical judgment. Conforming

Rescuers

to the bureaucracy and obeying orders took precedence over thinking for themselves.

Both ideologues and careerists comprised the German administration in the Netherlands. Arthur von Seyss-Inquart, the Reichskommissar for Holland during the war, was a career Nazi who took exceptional pride in making the German control of Holland as smooth as possible. Much more fanatic about his work was Harms Rauter, the Higher SS and Police Leader, serving under Seyss-Inquart. He was obsessed with creating perfect Aryans and regarded his task of supervising the roundup and deportation of Jews as a sacred mission. Rauter and his SS officers were largely responsible for the *razzias* in 1941 and 1942. In 1943, after learning about the crushing of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, Rauter decided that Amsterdam must be emptied of Jews, quarter by quarter. By the fall of 1944, over 115,000 Jews had been deported from Holland, the great majority from Amsterdam. At least 105,000 perished. The Germans, through efforts of men like Rauter, almost achieved their goal of making Holland free of Jews.

The historian Christopher Browning has uncovered particularly disturbing evidence about perpetrator behavior in his monograph *Ordinary Men*—the study of a single unit of 500 men (Reserve Battalion 101) who became involved in implementing the Final Solution in Poland. Ultimately, this unit participated in shooting some 38,000 Jews and the deportation of 45,000 Jews to the extermination camp at Treblinka. These men were not supermen, specially trained and indoctrinated for service in the SS. Rather, they were middle-aged family men. In sifting through the trial records of 200 of these men, Browning has found that only about 10-20 percent took the option of not participating in the killing. The overwhelming majority participated because they felt they had to conform; they might not have faced punishment for refusing to take part in the actions. Browning's findings raise some of the very questions that Anne posed in her *Diary* as she considered the vegetable man who became a victim for helping Jews: Why did so few in battalion 101 decide to remove themselves from the killing? Why did so many in the battalion become swept up in the killing process? What kind of world was it in which respectable people suffered persecution while the perpetrators of atrocities governed society?

During the Third Reich the Nazi morality prevailed and was widely disseminated in Germany and Nazi occupied territories. According to this moral code, the state took precedence over individuals and non Aryans were a danger to state security and did not deserve to have their rights protected. Individuals or groups who opposed the Nazi views or offered help to those designated as “enemies” were subject to imprisonment or death (after the establishment of death camps). Repeatedly, Anne Frank referred to the risks that “helpers” for the Secret Annex took when they procured supplies for the annexers and visited their friends in hiding.

Within this context, it is all the more incredible to learn of the individuals and groups of people who jeopardized their lives and the lives of their families and neighbors to help Jews and other victims of the Nazi regime. There were also Jews who took enormous risks to join the underground. These individuals have come to be known as “rescuers”. Some have rejected the title of “Righteous Gentiles” because they do not necessarily think of themselves as “righteous” or special: they believe that rescuing was the only human course of action.

This attitude is evident in the ‘helpers’ for the Secret Annex. For instance, Miep van Santan (Gies after her marriage in 1941) had worked for Otto Frank since he came to Amsterdam and felt a close personal relationship with him. After the Nazi invasion she was incensed about what the Germans were doing to Jews and applauded efforts of the Dutch resistance. Her husband, Hank Gies, felt the same, and the couple endangered their own safety and freedom to offer full support to the Franks when they went underground.

The “helpers” were not alone in their work. There were a number of Dutch youth who objected to the brutality of the Nazis. University students in 1940-1 protested the elimination of Jews from the faculty and took part in early strikes organized by the Communists. According to Anne, these protests continued after 1941. *All students who wish either to get their degrees this year, or continue their studies, Anne told Kitty on May 18, 1943, are compelled to sign that they are in sympathy with the Germans and approve of the New Order. Eighty per cent have refused to go against their conscience. Naturally they had to bear the consequences. All the students who do not sign*

have to go to a labor camp in Germany.

It is particularly important to note the complexity of factors that motivated rescuers. Some of the rescuers were antisemitic but nonetheless felt it imperative to save Jews because they were abused human beings. Others engaged in the rescue activities for monetary compensation while others felt compelled to do what they could to oppose the terror and injustice of the Nazi regime.

National or group efforts at rescue depended on a variety of circumstances: the degree of Nazi control of an area, the local traditions of governing and religion, the amount of antisemitism in the area before the Nazi occupation, the geography of an area. The case of Denmark illustrates the multiplicity of factors that entered into an organized rescue effort.

The Germans allowed for local authorities to carry on governing Denmark because the Danes were regarded as Aryans. The Danes took advantage of their autonomy. Having had a long democratic tradition and a highly assimilated Jewish population, the Danes were unwilling to carry out the antisemitic measures that the Germans dictated. Not only did many Danes wear a Yellow Star to demonstrate their identification with the Jews, but they worked as a country to plan and carry out the transfer of more than eighty percent of the Jewish population to neutral Sweden. The Danish record should be compared with nearby Holland where a high percentage of the Jewish population was sent to death camps.

Bystanders

Most studies of the Third Reich find that the majority of Germans and inhabitants of occupied countries did not show the zeal displayed by men like Himmler and Rauter. Nor do we find great numbers of individuals involved in rescue work. Even in Holland, where there were individual efforts to protest Nazi occupation and the mistreatment of Jews, the protest dissipated and was effectively silenced by harsh Nazi reprisals. By 1945 more than 75 percent of the Jewish population had been sent to concentration camps. The greatest number of people seem to have been bystanders, individuals unwilling to take a side one way or another and just hoping they would be left alone. The Holocaust survivor Miles Lerman has aptly remarked on the significant role bystanders played in allowing the Holocaust to occur. "A perpetrator is not the most dangerous enemy," Lerman argues. "The

most dangerous part is the bystander because neutrality always helps the killer."

Just as we have found with individual behavior, the great majority of nations in the world community remained passive and failed to respond decisively to the Nazi threat. During the summer of 1938 when there was ample news coverage of the Nazi treatment of Jews in Germany and Austria, members of 32 nations met at Evian, France to decide the fate of the German Jewish refugees who were seeking asylum from Nazi violence against Jewish citizens. All but one nation, the Dominican Republic, refused to liberalize quotas for Jewish refugees. The Dominican Republic invited Jews hoping this would help to lighten the skin color of the population and provide inexpensive agricultural labor much needed in the struggling country. During the war, world leaders failed to respond to reports of the atrocities against Jews and other minorities within Nazi-occupied Europe.

The photograph of the SS St. Louis in the exhibition reminds viewers of the failure of Americans to respond to the plight of Jews in Europe. In the summer of 1939 over 900 German and Austrian Jews boarded the SS St. Louis in Hamburg, Germany and were headed for Cuba where they had purchased landing visas. When the liner came to Havana, local authorities refused to honor the landing papers and forbade the passengers from disembarking. The ocean liner then turned to American shores. Outside Miami, the U.S. Coast Guard assured that the St. Louis would not be able to land in Florida and kept close watch to prevent passengers from trying to swim ashore. The captain of the St. Louis had no choice; he returned to Europe. Fortunately, efforts of the American Joint Distribution Committee enabled the passengers to disembark in France, England, Belgium and Holland so they would not have to return to Germany.

Usings for Section Five:

1. In the book *Elements of Time*, Rachel G., a Holocaust survivor, reflects on her experience:

How on earth this [the Holocaust] happened. It's beyond me. I can't understand how people went that far to denounce other people, to hurt other people, to build, to actually build things to destroy a human race. And by the way, not only Jewish people suffered, I mean I can tell you of nuns who were shot.

I'm a little confused. I must admit—not a little, a lot. Because when I found there is good and bad in all of us ...if there were a lot more like the gentiles who saved me, this could not have happened. So those people were very unusual people.

From your own experience discuss the range of human behavior you have witnessed in times of emergency or disaster. How do you explain the great differences in responses of individuals?

2. At his trial in 1961, Adolf Eichmann, who had orchestrated transports of Jews to death camps between 1942 and 1945, claimed he was not guilty of the atrocities since he had been a cog in a gigantic bureaucratic machine. He maintained that he had just followed orders. How do you judge desk murderers like Eichmann and his Dutch counterpart Seyss-Inquart? How do their actions compare with the men in the Einsatzgruppen units that murdered innocent people in trenches? What individuals and groups do you think were responsible for the mass murder of Jews and other victims during the Third Reich?

3. The Dutch have created a monument entitled “A Woman and a Deer”, in which a woman holds her hand out to a deer, to commemorate rescuers of Dutch Jews during the war. How do you explain the selection of a woman and deer to symbolize caring? What type of monument would you consider appropriate for recognizing courageous behavior?

4. The “Dockworker” is a monument to the Dutch resistance that took place in February 1941 in response to Nazi roundups of Dutch Jews. The caption under the photograph reproduced below reads, “There is a ceremony every year on February 25th to commemorate the February Strike. It is a demonstration against fascism and racism of today as well.” How is this worker



There is a ceremony every year on February 25th to commemorate the February strike. It is a demonstration against the fascism and racism of today as well.

represented? What symbols or monuments exist in the United States that celebrate heroic stances against injustice?

5. Locate photographs in the exhibition that illustrate bystander behavior. What makes it difficult to represent bystander behavior visually? Can you find any photograph that captures the decision making process that individuals went through in deciding how they would respond to Nazism? What actions did the American government take with regard to Haitian refugees?

Section Six: Discrimination Still Goes on Today

The *Anne Frank in the World: 1929-1945* Exhibition ends with stern reminders of the ongoing challenges that confront the contemporary world. Photographs of skinheads, neo-Nazi gangs, racial assaults, Holocaust ‘deniers’, and antisemitic graffiti are featured in the closing panels. Viewers are encouraged to think about ways to combat prejudice and discrimination in the closing years of the twentieth century. Are there ways to prevent the abuse of human rights and utter disregard for human life that occurred in the 1930s and 1940s? What can we do in our own schools and neighborhoods to promote caring and tolerance for one another? What policies can democratic governments support? What are the risks and benefits of having the United Nations involved in a crisis situation?

The acts of violence and brutality depicted in the final section of the exhibition have taken place within a climate of intolerance that has been building over the last decade. The Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center reviewed the decade of the 1980s and concluded that “The level of hate violence in America has reached crisis stage. The... killing of a black youth in Bensonhurst, N.Y., was but the most highly publicized example of a surge in violent bigotry that threatens not only our city streets, but our suburban neighborhoods and college campuses as well.” The report goes on to explain that the youth involved with Skinhead groups are the “nightmarish outcome of a trend toward militancy and violence” that has been fostered for the past ten years by the white supremacists. The 1992 eruptions between Hassidic Jews and African Americans in Crown Heights, New York suggest that the antagonisms and tensions of the 1980s have persisted with the same tenacity in the 1990s.

What are the causes of this escalation of hatred and violence? What is leading to the increase in the number of racial incidents on college campuses? Who are giving the messages of hatred? What groups are attracted to these messages? Why are youth drawn to the far right?

Surveying a few of the spokespersons and groups that preach hatred in the American political landscape offers insights into how political, social and cultural antagonisms are created and sustained. As we examine these individuals and organizations, keep in mind

that headlines from cities across our country are daily documenting the plight of the unemployed and homeless. When these people come in contact with immigrants seeking refuge and rescue, competition for limited resources imposes enormous stresses on our society. These socio-economic conditions have led to greater numbers of Americans feeling forgotten and excluded from the mainstream.

David Duke and the NAAWP

The visibility of David Duke since the early 1980s is suggestive of the increasing prominence of the Radical Right in American political culture. Duke’s antipathy for non white minorities and his proposed biological solutions are reminiscent of the rhetoric of Hitler’s Nazi Party half a century ago.

David Duke was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1950. Fascinated with Nazism throughout his adolescence, Duke organized a white supremacist youth group at his university. Following college, he worked his way up the hierarchy of the Louisiana Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Dressing in suits rather than the traditional robes of the Klan, Duke set out to give a new more respectable image to the Klan. After personal disputes with Klan leadership, he created his own National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) in 1980, an organization dedicated to the creation of a racially pure United States.

In 1988 Duke ran for President, seeking support from a variety of right-wing organizations. Duke’s presidential race was unsuccessful, but the following year he won a seat on the Louisiana State Legislature. In 1991 Duke contemplated entering the 1992 race, but lack of sufficient public response soon discouraged his efforts. Nevertheless, he now speaks of the 1996 campaign, and in Louisiana he has created a clearinghouse for the distribution of right-wing publications and maintains a network of communications with leading neo Nazis and White Supremacists throughout the country.

The Metzgers and White Aryan Resistance

Like David Duke, Tom Metzger has taken a leading role in disseminating ideas of the far right.

Metzger, a television repairman in Fallbrook, California, has had a long career in radical right politics. In the 1960s he belonged to the John Birch Society and in the 1970s he became a leading member of the Klan in California, developing close ties with David Duke. In 1978 he ran an unsuccessful campaign for the position of county supervisor in San Diego; two years later he ran for the U.S. Congress in the Democratic Primary and again lost. In 1982 he made an unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate.

Thwarted in his efforts to enter the political mainstream, Metzger founded his own organization called the White Aryan Resistance (WAR) in 1983 and perfected sophisticated communications systems for publicizing the ideals of white supremacists. A year later he started a show on cable entitled *Race and Reason*, which currently appears on fifty cable stations. He also established updates on answering machines that inform callers of the white supremacists' message.

Metzger's greatest impact has been on youth. Working with his son John who runs the youth division of WAR called the Aryan Youth Movement, Tom Metzger has indoctrinated hundreds of youth with his racist ideas and the Aryan Youth Movement has alliances with youth in Tulsa, Portland, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Detroit, New York, and Toronto. It is estimated that at least half of the affiliated youth are Nazi Skinheads, youth who not only subscribe to the National Socialist philosophy of white supremacy but act upon these ideas using violence against non white individuals and groups.

The power of Metzger's ideas was vividly brought to light in the Metzger Trial of 1989. A year earlier three Portland Skinheads in the East Side White Pride Gang had beaten an Ethiopian student, Muguleta Seraw, to death. The youth were found guilty and given long sentences. However, B'nai B'rith and the Southern Poverty Law Center decided to take further action. The two organizations charged Tom and John Metzger with wrongful death and conspiracy. Morris Dees, the prosecuting attorney, established that Dave Mazzella, a youth indoctrinated by the Metzgers, had gone to Portland as an agent for WAR to recruit support for the Metzgers. The jury found the Metzgers liable on all counts and awarded the plaintiffs twelve and a half million dollars in economic and punitive damages. The large fine and loss of property incurred by the Metzgers have not silenced their message. Interviewed after the trial, Metzger maintained that

he felt freer than ever to tell youth to fight the fight for white America without regard to legal scruples. In January 1992 Tom Metzger himself was arrested and given a six month sentence for participating in a cross burning in California.

Los Angeles Riots

Nothing so shocked the American public about the levels of violence and hatred in our contemporary society as the Los Angeles riots in May 1992. An all white jury in Simi Valley, California found four white policemen not guilty of mishandling the black motorist Rodney King. The acquittal came despite the fact that a videotape of the police beating Rodney King during his arrest was offered in evidence. The afternoon the verdict came down, racial violence broke out in Los Angeles. Within days, almost a billion dollars worth of property damage had occurred to businesses owned by whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asians. At least 49 deaths were attributed to the widespread violence; more than 2000 others were injured, many of them seriously. The situation seemed so grave that a riot control force of 22,000 people—highway patrol, National Guard, Army, Marines, and riot trained FBI, Border Patrol and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents—maintained a dawn to dusk curfew and sought to contain the civil disorder. Cities throughout the United States were on alert to avoid the spread of Los Angeles turbulence to other large cities.

The Los Angeles riots are among the most serious urban outbreaks in the twentieth century. They have been compared to the East St. Louis Riots of 1917 and the more recent Watts Riots of 1965. Although the final reports have not been completed, preliminary investigations suggest that the uprising resulted from economic and racial tensions that had been building for years as well as the general climate of violence and hatred that had been nurturing American youth in urban, suburban and rural communities.

Usings for Section Six:

1. Describe an incident of hatred and violence that has taken place in your school or community recently. Who were the perpetrators? Victims? What were the causes? What preventive measures were taken?

2. Japan bashing has been a favorite occupation among white gangs in California and the Northwest

in recent years. What factors do you think have led to such actions?

3. “As a rule, human beings do not kill other human beings. Before we enter into warfare or genocide, we first dehumanize those we mean to ‘eliminate.’ ...The human imagination systematically destroys our natural tendency to identify with others of our specials.” (Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy*, p. 25) How does the rhetoric of white supremacists such as David Duke and Tom Metzger contribute to the dehumanization process of non whites?

4. Compare the views of Duke and Hitler on racial purity:

Duke wrote in his *NAAWP News* in 1986 “What the public is not told is that Hybrid Vigor only exist for one generation, and then if certain traits are to be sustained there must be very controlling breeding of subsequent generations. If general mixing is allowed, there is always degeneration in the population.”

Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*: “If, for example, an individual specimen of a certain race were to enter into union with a racially lower specimen, the result would at first be a lowering of the standard itself but in addition, there would be a weakening of the offspring as compared to the environment that had remained racially unmixed.”

Given what we know of the Final Solution that followed years of racist propaganda by the Nazis, should Duke be forbidden from expressing his views that resembled those once articulated by Hitler? Is Duke protected by the First Amendment? If Duke does express such views in public, are there effective ways to offer alternative views?

5. Design an event or activity for your school that could help foster better understanding among students of diverse ethnic, religious, cultural, and economic backgrounds. What are the major obstacles you foresee in carrying out your plans? Who and what organizations would offer you assistance? Where can you seek funding and adult guidance?

[By] looking at hatred honestly, by thinking and talking about it and sometimes just by acknowledging our own capacity for it, we open the possibility of a moral response, the first small gesture toward seeing another not as the stranger, not the enemy, but simply another human being. There is a world beyond hate. It leads not to utopia, but to civilization, one step at a time, one person to another.

Bill Moyers from “Beyond Hate”

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