TPS Professional Development Activity Template

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School or Institution: Braintree High School (Braintree, MA) / Mass Council for the Social Studies (Mass.)
Projected Date for Implementation: April 2017 (pilot) / Fall 2017

Title of Activity	"The Courage to Remember" unit for Holocaust Remembrance Week (April 3-7, 2017)
Overview	Developed a teachers' guide to present and discuss the Jewish Holocaust during the Second World War in Modern World and U.S. History classes; a look at the chronological history of the rise of the Nazi party, Hitler's rise to power, the Final Solution, Jewish resistance, the role of bystander, and survivors' stories through primary sources.
Essential or Investigative Question	1. Why is this important for us "not to forget" the Jewish Holocaust? 2. What lessons have we as human beings learned from this dark chapter of human history?
Audience	**This activity is best suited for educators of the following grade levels:** • Grades 8-12 teachers **This activity is best suited for educators of the following content areas:** • Social Studies • History (world. US) • Geography • Government & Civics
Time Required	6 hours, either all day workshop, or two (2) 3-hour workshops
Goal	After viewing a display exhibit (16 of the 40 panels from "The Courage to Remember" series from the Simon Wiesenthal Center), meeting survivors, children of survivors, and scholars of the Holocaust, and examining varied primary source materials and documents, participants will discuss the significance and consequences of the role of bystander, and examine present-day acts of bigotry, hate, and genocide in the U.S. and around the world.
Standards	• *MA History and Social Science* (2003) o **WHII.26.** Describe the background, course, and consequences of the Holocaust, including its roots in the long tradition of Christian anti-Semitism, 19th century ideas about race and nation, and Nazi dehumanization of the Jews. o **WHII.28.** Explain the consequences of World War II; the enormous loss of life, including millions of civilians through the bombing of population centers and the slaughter of political opponents and ethnic minorities. • *Common Core State Standards in ELA and History and Social Studies* (2010) o **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1.** Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole. o **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.2.** Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas. o **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7**. Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem. o **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.9**. Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

Objectives	By the end of this PD Activity, participants will be able to: • Incorporate the Jewish Holocaust into the U.S. History and World History curriculum. • Explore and discuss the value and importance of learning history through primary sources. • Analyze a primary source using Library of Congress tools (Analyzing Primary Sources). • Develop strategies for students to utilize historical inquiry for learning through primary sources (e.g., generate meaningful questions for deeper investigation or research) • Access primary sources and teaching resources from loc.gov for instructional use. • How to examine and analyze primary sources of different formats (images, text/transcript, interviews, video/audio, etc.) • Analyze a set of related primary sources to determine multiple perspectives. • Arrange a keynote speaker in the classroom as a primary source.
Digital Resources	• **Primary sources from loc.gov:** o **Title:** Theresienstadt ▪ Date created/published: Unknown ▪ Creator/Author: Unknown ▪ URL: https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/NT-indictments-1.html o **Title: Five starving men in German occupation camp at time of liberation by U.S. Army** ▪ Date created/published: 1945 April ▪ Creator/Author: Unknown ▪ URL: https://www.loc.gov/item/89715812/ o **Title: Jewish shop windows smashed during Kristallnacht, Berlin** ▪ Date created/published: 1938 ▪ Creator/Author: Associated Press ▪ URL: https://www.loc.gov/item/00650720/ o **Title: River of Blood** ▪ Date created/published: 1943 ▪ Creator/Author: Beatrice S. Levy ▪ URL: https://www.loc.gov/item/2008675443/ • **Other resources:** o **Auschwitz Main Gate.** 2007. Roland Fischer. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eingangstor_des_KZ_Auschwitz,_Arbeit_macht_frei_(2007).jpg o **Poster, The Eternal Jew.** 1937. John Stalüter (pseudonym). USHMM. http://sammlungen-archive.zhdk.ch/view/objects/asitem/People$004073356/0 o **Irma Ullmann's German Passport.** 1938. Corey Seeman. Used with permission. https://www.flickr.com/photos/cseeman/13443826825/in/photostream/ o **Interior of the Zerrennerstrasse synagogue in Pforzheim after its destruction on Kristallnacht.** 1938. StadtArchiv Pforzheim. USHMM. National Archives and Records Administration. Used with permission/educational use only. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Interior_of_the_Zerrennerstrasse_synagogue_after_its_destruction_on_Kristallnacht-97573.jpg
Classroom Materials	• Packet: *The Courage to Remember: Teacher's Guide to Teaching the Jewish Holocaust* • Laptop/Chromebook/iPad • LCD projector/Short-throw projector/SMART board

Preparation	• www.facinghistory.org • Useless Eaters: Disability as Genocidal Marker in Nazi Germany by Mark Mostert from Regent University. • http://motlc.wiesenthal.com/site/pp.asp?c=gvKVLcMVIuG&b=395221
Procedure	1. After an introduction from Facing History and Ourselves, participants discuss the importance and necessity to include the Jewish Holocaust as part of the U.S. and world history curriculum. *Why is this important for us "not to forget"? What lessons have we as human beings learned from this dark chapter of human history?* 2. Discuss guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust (see packet, pp. 5-24) 3. Using primary sources to learn about history/the Jewish Holocaust. http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/whyuse.html 4. Learning history through primary sources (instead of/beyond the textbook). Primary source sets: Analyzing photographs: 5. https://blogs.loc.gov/teachers/2011/11/the-library%E2%80%99s-primary-source-analysis-tool-helping-k-12-students-start-analyzing-primary-sources/ 6. Introduce inquiry process and the Stripling Model of Inquiry: http://tps.govst.edu/PDF/StriplingModelInquiry.pdf 7. Search primary sources through Library of Congress (www.loc.gov) 8. Examine and analyze Levy's *River of Blood*. https://www.loc.gov/item/2008675443/ 9. Explore *The Courage to Remember* multimedia site and resource guide for teachers. http://motlc.wiesenthal.com/site/pp.asp?c=gvKVLcMVIuG&b=395221 10. Explore U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum website, https://www.ushmm.org/ 11. Nazi, Eugenics, and the T-4 Program (1920-1950) from www.DisabilityHistory.org, see http://www.disabilityhistory.org/t4prog.html and http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/euthan/hadamar.html. Also discuss article, Useless Eaters: Disability as Genocidal Marker in Nazi Germany by Mark Mostert from Regent University. 12. How to arrange Holocaust survivor speakers for your students. Teaching students on how to prepare and learn from oral history and generate interview questions.

Assessment/ Reflection	• Small group breakouts to discuss and dissect content standards (state curriculum and Common Core) and, using backward design approach, identify desired goals and acceptable evidence of learning; SWBAT ("students will be able to...").
	• Teachers reflect on the following questions:
	  o What are the desired learning goals for students in understanding why it is important to learn about the Jewish Holocaust? How will you know students have realized the importance to learn about the Jewish Holocaust and the significance and impact of this event in human history?
	  o In what ways can the Library of Congress website help students learn about a topic (e.g., Jewish Holocaust) or event in U.S./world history?
	  o What challenges might teachers and students face when using Library of Congress website? Develop contingency plans (a.k.a. "Plan B") and troubleshooting strategies.
	• Utilize shared online folder (e.g., Google Drive, Dropbox, Padlet, etc.) for teachers to access, post and download, activities, resource materials, links, and sample assessments and rubrics.

THE COURAGE TO REMEMBER

TEACHER'S GUIDE TO TEACHING THE JEWISH HOLOCAUST

SPRING 2017

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Photo: Child survivors of Auschwitz. 1945. Photographed by Alexander Voronzow. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum/Belarusian State Archives of Documentary Film and Photography. Copyright: Public Domain. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa14532

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INTRODUCTION

The month of April has been designated, "Holocaust Remembrance Month." Braintree High School is commemorating the event with an exhibit of sixteen posters, from a larger series of forty, entitled "The Courage to Remember." This year, the exhibit will be displayed in the high school media center from Monday, April 3, to Friday, April 7, 2017.

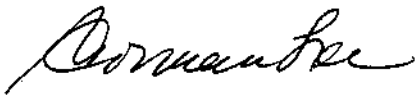
The posters selected, include thirteen framed panels that together reveal the chronological progression of Nazi Germany's policy toward the Jews of Europe and toward the five million additional non-combatant victims of Nazi extermination policy: political dissidents, the disables, gypsies, homosexuals, Russians, Poles, and Slavs. In addition, three posters have been selected which explore specific episodes of the Holocaust in greater detail. The Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the creation of a "show" camp at Theresienstadt, and the efforts of those who saved potential Nazi victims in the face of incredible odds are considered in three posters placed in the display case in the BHS Media Center.

In many ways, April might seem a particularly difficult month in which to revisit the horrors of one of the most tragic events of the twentieth century. With the end of a long winter and the beginning of spring, the study of the Holocaust is like reentering the cold darkness just as we are about to leave some behind. However, April 19, as well as marking the anniversary of the beginning of the American Revolution in 1775, also marks the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943. Like the minutemen of Lexington and Concord, the vastly outnumbered and out supplied Jews of Warsaw beat back the advances of what was, at the time, one of the world's fiercest armies. Commemorating the courage of those who stood up to and successfully held back Nazi aggression in the Ghetto for four weeks, may also draw attention to the parallels between the plight of more recent victims of genocide. In a world that has repeatedly pledged about the Holocaust, "Never again!", events in Cambodia, Rwanda,

Kosovo, and Sudan, supply evidence that the Holocaust's lessons are still relevant and have yet to be fully absorbed and integrated.

Finally, in the wake of September 11, 2001, the demonization of one culture by another is a danger whose repercussions are being felt in the United States today. On that day, a holocaust, or "destruction by fire," claimed the lives of an estimated 3,000 people at the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and in a grassy field in Pennsylvania. Imagine the human losses of that one day in the United States repeated every day for the seven years from 1939 to 1945 and one would approach the loss of human life that reduced the Jewish population of Europe by two-thirds and the Jewish population of the world by one-third. In addition to lives, this meant the loss in Eastern Europe of what had been the spiritual and cultural center of the world's Jews.

For these reasons and more it is difficult, but important and necessary, to find the courage to remember….



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LEARNING STANDARDS

The lessons and activities in this guide are aligned to the *Massachusetts History and Social Science Curriculum Framework* (2003), *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards* (2013), and *Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies* (2010).

WHII.26 Describe the background, course, and consequences of the Holocaust, including its roots in the long tradition of Christian anti-Semitism, 19th century ideas about race and nation, and Nazi dehumanization of the Jews.

WHII.28 Explain the consequences of World War II.

B. the enormous loss of life, including millions of civilians through the bombing of population centers and the slaughter of political opponents and ethnic minorities.

WHII.29 Describe reasons for the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 and summarize the main ideas of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

USII.15 Analyze how German aggression in Europe and Japanese aggression in Asia contributed to the start of World War II and summarize the major battles and events of the war.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

Promote education about the history of the Holocaust and its implications for our lives today.

Why Teach Holocaust History?

The history of the Holocaust represents one of the most effective, and most extensively documented, subjects for a pedagogical examination of basic moral issues. A structured inquiry into Holocaust history yields critical lessons for an investigation of human behavior. A study of the Holocaust also addresses one of the central tenets of education in the United States which is to examine what it means to be a responsible citizen. Through a study of the Holocaust, students can come to realize that: democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained, but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected; silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can however, unintentionally serve to perpetuate the problems; and the Holocaust was not an accident in history -- it occurred because individuals, organizations, and governments made choices which not only legalized discrimination, but which allowed prejudice, hatred, and ultimately, mass murder to occur. It is because of this that we must teach our students tolerance for others. An anti-hatred message must be sent so that as elementary aged students mature and age they can study the Holocaust and know that:

- democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained, but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected;
- silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can—however unintentionally—perpetuate the problems; and

- the Holocaust was not an accident in history—it occurred because individuals, organizations, and governments made choices that not only legalized discrimination but also allowed prejudice, hatred, and ultimately, mass murder to occur.

Questions of Rationale

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

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

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

- The Holocaust was a watershed event, not only in the 20th century, but in the entire history of humanity.
- Study of the Holocaust assists students in developing understanding of the ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society. It helps students develop an awareness of the value of pluralism, and encourages tolerance of diversity in a pluralistic society.
- The Holocaust provides a context for exploring the dangers of remaining silent, apathetic, and indifferent in the face of others' oppression.
- Holocaust history demonstrates how a modern nation can utilize its technological expertise and bureaucratic infrastructure to implement destructive policies ranging from social engineering to genocide.

- A study of the Holocaust helps students think about the use and abuse of power, and the role and responsibilities of individuals, organizations, and nations when confronted with civil rights violations and/or policies of genocide.
- As students gain insight into the many historical, social, religious, political, and economic factors which cumulatively resulted in the Holocaust, they gain a perspective on history happens, and how a convergence of factors can contribute to the disintegration of civilized values. Part of one's responsibility as a citizen in a democracy is to learn to identify the danger signals, and to know when to react.

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

Methodological Considerations

1. **Define what you mean by "Holocaust"**

   The Holocaust refers to a specific event in 20th century history: The systematic, bureaucratic annihilation of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and their collaborators as a central act of state during World War II. In 1933, approximately nine million Jews lived in the 21 countries of Europe that would be occupied by Germany during the war. By 1945 two out of every three European Jews had been killed. Although Jews were the primary victims, up to one million Gypsies and at least 250,000 mentally or physically disabled persons were also victims of genocide. As tyranny spread across Europe from 1933 to 1945, millions of other innocent people were persecuted and murdered. More than three million Soviet prisoners of war were killed because of their nationality. Poles, as well as other Slavs, targeted for slave labor, and because of the Nazi almost two million perished. Homosexuals and others deemed "anti-social" were also persecuted and often murdered. In addition, thousands of political and religious dissidents such as communists, socialists, trade unionists,

Jehovah's Witnesses were persecuted for their beliefs and behavior and many of these individuals died as a result of maltreatment.

2. **Avoid comparisons of pain.**

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

3. **Avoid simple answers to complex history.**

   A study of the Holocaust raises difficult questions about human behavior, and it often involves complicated answers as to why events occurred. Be wary of oversimplifications. Allow students to contemplate the various factors which contributed to the Holocaust; do not attempt to reduce Holocaust history to one or two catalysts in isolation from the other factors which came into play. For example, the Holocaust was simply the logical and inevitable consequence of unbridled racism. Rather, racism, combined with centuries-old bigotry, renewed by a nationalistic fervor which emerged in Europe in the latter half of the 19th century, fueled by Germany's defeat in World War I and its national humiliation following the Treaty of Versailles, exacerbated by worldwide economic hard times, the ineffectiveness of the Weimar Republic, and international indifference, and catalyzed by the political charisma, militaristic inclusiveness, and propaganda of Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime, contributed to the eventuality of the Holocaust.

4. **Just because it happened, doesn't mean it was inevitable.**

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

students to become critical thinkers.

5. **Strive for precision of language.**

   Any study of the Holocaust touches upon nuances of behavior. Because of the complexity of the history, there is a temptation to overgeneralize and thus to distort the (e.g., "all concentration camps were killing centers" or "all Germans were collaborators"). Rather, teachers must strive help students distinguish between categories of behavior and relevant historical references; to clarify the differences between prejudice and discrimination, collaborators and bystanders, armed and spiritual resistance, direct orders and assumed orders, concentration camps and killing centers, and guilt and responsibility.

   Words that describe human behavior often have multiple meanings. Resistance, for example, usually refers to a physical act of armed revolt. During the Holocaust, it also meant partisan activism that ranged from smuggling messages, food, and weapons to actual military engagement. But, resistance also embraced willful disobedience: continuing to practice religious and cultural traditions in defiance of the rules; creating fine art, music and poetry inside ghettos and concentration camps. For many, simply maintaining the will to remain alive in the face of abject brutality was the surest act of spiritual resistance.

6. **Make careful distinctions about sources of information.**

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

   Because scholars often base their research on different bodies of information, varying interpretations of history can emerge. Consequently, all interpretations are subject to analytical evaluation. Only by

refining their own "hermeneutic of suspicion" can students mature into readers who discern the difference between legitimate scholars present competing historical interpretations, and those who distort or deny historical fact for personal or gain.

7. **Try to avoid stereotypical descriptions.**

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

8. **Do not romanticize history to engage students' interest.**

   One of the great risks of Holocaust education is the danger of fostering cynicism in our students by exposing them to the worst of human nature. Regardless, accuracy of fact must be a teacher's priority. People who risked their lives to rescue victims of Nazi oppression provide useful and important role models for students, yet an overemphasis on heroic tales in a unit on the Holocaust results in an inaccurate and unbalanced account of the history. It is important to bear in mind that "at best, less than one-half of one percent of the total population [of non-Jews] under Nazi occupation helped to rescue Jews." [Oliner and Oliner, 1991, p. 363]

9. **Contextualize the history you are teaching.**

   Events of the Holocaust, and particularly how individuals and organizations behaved at that time, must be placed in an historical context so that students can begin to comprehend the circumstances that encouraged or discouraged these acts. Frame your approach to specific events and acts of complicity or defiance by considering when and where an act took place; the immediate consequences to oneself and one's family of assisting victims; the impact of contemporaneous events;

the degree of control the Nazis had on a country or local population; the cultural attitudes of particular native populations historically toward different victim groups, and the availability, effectiveness, and risk of potential hiding places.

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

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

Similarly, students may know very little about Gypsies, except for the negative images and derogatory descriptions promulgated by the Nazis. Students would benefit from a broader viewpoint, learning something about Gypsy history and culture, and understanding the diverse ways of life among different Gypsy groups.

10. **Translate statistics into people.**

    In any study of the Holocaust, the sheer number of victims challenges easy comprehension. Teachers need to show that individual people are behind the statistics, comprised of families of grandparents, parents, and children. First-person accounts and memoir literature provide students with a way of making meaning out of collective numbers. Although students should be careful about

overgeneralizing from first-person accounts such as those from survivors, journalists, relief workers, bystanders, and liberators, personal accounts can supplement a study of genocide by moving it "from a welter of statistics, remote places and events, to one that is immersed in the 'personal' and 'particular.'" [Totten, 1987, p. 63].

11. **Be sensitive to appropriate written and audio-visual content.**
    One of the primary concerns of educators is how to introduce students to the horrors of the Holocaust. Graphic material should be used in a judicious manner and only to the extent necessary to achieve the objective of the lesson. Teachers should remind themselves that each student and each class is different, and that what seems appropriate for one may not be for all.

    Students are essentially a "captive audience." When we assault them with images of horror for which they are unprepared, we violate a basic trust: the obligation of a teacher to provide a "safe" learning environment. The assumption that all students will seek to understand human behavior after being exposed to horrible images is fallacious. Some students may be so appalled by images of brutality and mass murder that they are discouraged from studying the subject further; others may become fascinated in a more voyeuristic fashion, subordinating further critical analysis of the history to the superficial titillation of looking at images of starvation, disfigurement, and death. Many events and deeds that occurred within the context of the Holocaust do not rely for their depiction directly on the graphic horror of mass killings or other barbarisms. It is recommended that images and texts that do not exploit either the victims' memories or the students' emotional vulnerability form the centerpiece of Holocaust curricula.

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

There is also a tendency among students to glorify power, even when it is used to kill innocent people. Many teachers indicate that their students are intrigued and in some cases, intellectually seduced, by the symbols of power which pervaded Nazi propaganda (e.g., the swastika, Nazi flags and regalia, Nazi slogans, rituals, and music). Rather than highlight the trappings of Nazi power, teachers should ask students to evaluate how such elements are used by governments (including our own) to build, protect, and mobilize a society. Students should be encouraged to contemplate as well how such elements can be abused and manipulated by governments to implement and legitimize acts of terror and even genocide.

In any review of the propaganda used to promote Nazi ideology, Nazi stereotypes of targeted victim groups, and the Hitler regime's justifications for persecution and murder, teachers need to remind students that just because such policies and beliefs are under discussion in class does not mean they are acceptable. It would be a terrible irony if students arrived at such a conclusion. Furthermore, any study of the Holocaust should address both the victims and the perpetrators of violence, and attempt to portray each as human beings, capable of moral judgment and independent decision-making but challenged by circumstances which made both self-defense and independent thought not merely difficult but perilous and potentially lethal.

13. **Select appropriate learning activities.**

Just because students favor a certain learning activity does not necessarily mean that it should be used. For example, such activities as word scrambles, crossword puzzles, and other gimmicky exercises tend not to encourage critical analysis, but lead instead to low level types of thinking and, in the case of Holocaust curricula, trivialize the importance of studying this history. When the effects of a particular activity run counter to the rationale for studying the history, then that activity should not be used.

Similarly, activities that encourage students to construct models of killing camps should also be reconsidered since any assignment along this line will almost inevitably end up being simplistic, time-consuming, and tangential to the educational objectives for studying the history of the Holocaust.

Thought-provoking learning activities are preferred, but even here, there are pitfalls to avoid. In studying complex human behavior, many teachers rely upon simulation exercises meant to help students "experience" unfamiliar situations. Even when teachers take great care to prepare a class for such an activity, simulating experiences from the Holocaust remains pedagogically unsound. The activity may engage students, but they often forget the purpose of the lesson, and even worse, they are left with the impression at the conclusion of the activity that they now know what it was like during the Holocaust.

Holocaust survivors and eyewitnesses are among the first to indicate the grave difficulty of finding words to describe their experiences. Even more revealing, they argue the virtual impossibility of trying to simulate accurately what it was like to live on a daily basis with fear, hunger, disease, unfathomable loss, and the unrelenting threat of abject brutality and death.

The problem with trying to simulate situations from the Holocaust is that complex events and actions are over-simplified, and students are left with a skewed view of history. Since there are numerous primary source accounts, both written and visual, as well as survivors and eyewitnesses who can describe actual choices faced and made by individuals, groups, and nations during this period, teachers should draw upon these resources and refrain from simulation games that lead to a trivialization of the subject matter.

If they are not attempting to recreate situations from the Holocaust, simulation activities can be used effectively, especially when they have been designed to explore varying aspects of human behavior such as fear, scapegoating, conflict resolution, and difficult decision-making. Asking students in the course of a discussion, or as part of a writing assignment, to consider various perspectives on a particular event or historical experience is fundamentally different from involving a class in a simulation game.

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

As in all teaching situations, the opening and closing lessons are critically important. A strong opening should serve to dispel misinformation students may have prior to studying the Holocaust. It

should set a reflective tone, move students from passive to active learners, indicate to students that their ideas and opinions matter, and establish that this history has multiple ramifications for themselves as individuals and as members of society as a whole.

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

Incorporating a Study of the Holocaust into Existing Courses

The Holocaust can be effectively integrated into various existing courses within the school curriculum. This section presents sample rationale statements and methodological approaches for incorporating a study of the Holocaust in seven different courses. Each course synopsis constitutes a mere fraction of the various rationales and approaches currently used by educators. Often, the rationales and methods listed under one course can be applied as well to other courses.

United States History

Although the history of the United States is introduced at various grade levels throughout most school curricula, all states require students to take a course in United States history at the high school level. Including a study of the Holocaust into U.S. History courses can encourage students to:

- examine the dilemmas that arise when foreign policy goals are narrowly defined, as solely in terms of the national interest, thus denying the validity of universal moral and human priorities;
- understand what happens when parliamentary democratic institutions fail;
- examine the responses of governmental and non-governmental organizations in the United States to the plight of Holocaust victims (e.g., the Evian Conference, the debate over the Wagner-Rogers bill to assist refugee children, the ill-fated voyage of the S.S. St. Louis, the

Emergency Rescue Committee, the rallies and efforts of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and the decision by the U.S. not to bomb the railroad lines leading into Auschwitz);

- explore the role of American and Allied soldiers in liberating victims from Nazi concentration camps and killing centers, using, for example, first-person accounts of liberators to ascertain their initial responses to, and subsequent reflections about, what they witnessed; and
- examine the key role played by the U.S. in bringing Nazi perpetrators to trial at Nuremberg and in other war crimes trials.

Since most history and social studies teachers in the United States rely upon standard textbooks, they can incorporate the Holocaust into regular units of study such as the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War. Questions which introduce Holocaust studies into these subject areas include:

The Great Depression:

How did the U.S. respond to the Depression? How were U.S. electoral politics influenced by the Depression? What were the immediate consequences of the Depression on the European economic and political system established by the Versailles Treaty of 1919? What was the impact of the Depression upon the electoral strength of the Nazi party in Germany? Was the Depression a contributing factor to the Nazis' rise to power?

World War II:

What was the relationship between the U.S. and Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1939? How did the actions of Nazi Germany influence U.S. foreign policy? What was the response of the U.S. Government and non-governmental organizations to the unfolding events of the Holocaust? What was the role of the U.S. in the war crimes trials?

The Cold War:

How did the rivalries between the World War II allies influence American attitudes toward former Nazis? What was the position of America's European allies toward members of the former Nazi regime?

World History

Although various aspects of world history are incorporated throughout school curricula, most students are not required to take World History courses. It is in the context of World History courses, however, that the Holocaust is generally taught. Inclusion of the Holocaust in a World History course helps students to:

- examine events, deeds, and ideas in European history that contributed to the Holocaust, such as the history of anti Semitism in Europe, 19th century race science, the rise of German nationalism, the defeat of Germany in World War I, and the failure of the Weimar Republic to govern successfully;
- reflect upon the idea that civilization has been progressing [one possible exercise might be to have students develop a definition of "civilization" in class, and then have them compare and contrast Nazi claims for the "1000 Year Reich" with the actual policies they employed to realize that vision; the dissonance raised in such a lesson helps students to see that government policies can encompass evil, particularly when terror and brute force crush dissent];
- explore how the various policies of the Nazi regime were interrelated (e.g., the connections between establishing a totalitarian government, carrying out racial policies, and waging war); and
- reflect upon the moral and ethical implications of the Nazi era as a watershed in world history (e.g., the systematic planning and implementation of a government policy to kill millions of people; the use of technological advances to carry out mass slaughter; the role of Nazi collaborators, and the role of bystanders around the world who chose not to intervene in the persecution and murder of Jews and other victims).

Once again, since most teachers of European history rely upon standard textbooks and a chronological approach, teachers may wish to incorporate the Holocaust into the following, standardized units of study in European History: the Aftermath of World War I; the Rise of Dictators; the World at War, 1939-45, and the Consequences of War. Questions which introduce Holocaust studies into these subject areas include:

The Aftermath of World War I:

What role did the Versailles Treaty play in the restructuring of European and world politics? How did the reconfiguration of Europe following World War I influence German national politics in the period 1919-33?

The Rise of the Dictators:

What factors led to the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe in the period between the two world wars? How was anti Semitism used by the Nazis and other regimes (Hungary, Romania, U.S.S.R.) to justify totalitarian measures?

The World at War, 1939-45:

Why has the Holocaust often been called a "war within the war?" How did the Holocaust affect Nazi military decisions? Why might it be "easier" to commit genocidal acts during wartime than during a period of relative peace?

The Consequences of War:

What was the connection between World War II and the formation of the State of Israel? Was a new strain of international morality introduced with the convening of the Nuremberg Tribunals? How did the Cold War impact the fate of former Nazis?

World Cultures

A course on World Cultures incorporates knowledge from both the humanities and the social sciences into a study of cultural patterns and social institutions of various societies. A study of the Holocaust in a World Cultures course helps students:

- examine conflicts arising between majority and minority groups in a specific cultural sphere (Europe between 1933-45);
- further their understanding of how a government can use concepts such as culture, ethnicity, race, diversity, and nationality as weapons to persecute, murder, and annihilate people;

- analyze the extent to which cultures are able to survive and maintain their traditions and institutions, when faced with threats to their very existence (e.g., retaining religious practices, recording eyewitness accounts, and hiding cultural symbols and artifacts); and
- apply understandings gleaned from an examination of the Holocaust to genocides which have occurred in other cultural spheres.

Government

Government courses at the high school level usually focus on understanding the U.S. political system, comparative studies of various governments, and the international relationship of nations. The Holocaust can be incorporated into a study of government in order to demonstrate how the development of public policy can become directed to genocidal ends when dissent and debate are silenced. Inclusion of Holocaust studies in Government courses helps students:

- compare governmental systems (e.g., by investigating how the Weimar Constitution in Germany prior to the Nazi seizure of power was similar to, or different from, the Constitution of the United States; by comparing the Nazi system of governance with that of the United States);
- study the process of how a state can degenerate from a (parliamentary) democracy into a totalitarian state (e.g., by examining the processes by which the Nazis gained absolute control of the German government and how the Nazi government then controlled virtually all segments of German society);
- examine how the development of public policy can lead to genocidal ends, especially when people remain silent in face of discriminatory practices (e.g., the development of Nazi racial and genocide policies towards Jews and other victim groups beginning with the philosophical platform elaborated in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, continuing through the state-imposed Nuremberg Laws, and culminating with governmental policies of murder and extermination after 1941);
- examine the role of Nazi bureaucracy in implementing policies of murder and annihilation (e.g., the development and maintenance of a system to identify, isolate, deport, enslave, and kill targeted people, and then redistribute their remaining belongings);

- examine the role of various individuals in the rise and fall of a totalitarian government (e.g., those who supported Nazi Germany, those who were passive, and those who resisted both internally, such as partisans and others who carried out revolts, and externally, such as the Allies; and recognize that among the legacies of the Holocaust have been the creation of the United Nations in 1945, and its ongoing efforts to develop and adopt numerous, significant human rights bills (e.g., the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and the U.N. Convention on Genocide).

Contemporary World Problems

Many schools include a Contemporary World Problems course at the senior high level which allows students to conduct an in-depth study of a topic such as genocide. The focus is usually on what constitutes genocide, and areas of investigation include various preconditions, patterns, consequences, and methods of intervention and prevention of genocide. A study of the Holocaust in Contemporary World Problems curricula can help students to:

- comprehend the similarities and differences between governmental policies during the Holocaust and contemporary policies that create the potential for ethnocide or genocide (e.g., comparing and contrasting the philosophy and/or policies of the Nazi regime with that of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia);
- compare and contrast the world response of governments and non-governmental organizations to the Holocaust with the responses of governments and non-governmental organizations to mass killings today (e.g., comparing the decisions made at the Evian Conference in 1938, to the U.S. response to the Cambodian genocide between 1974-1979, or the response of non-governmental organizations like the International Red Cross to the Nazi genocide of Jews during the Holocaust with that of Amnesty International to political killings in Argentina, Guatemala, Indonesia, and Cambodia in contemporary times; and
- analyze the relationship of the Holocaust and its legacy to the formation of the State of Israel.

Literature

Literature is read in English classes across grade levels and is also used to enhance and strengthen social studies and science courses. The literature curriculum is generally organized thematically or around categories such as American Literature, British Literature, European Literature, and World Literature. Literature, is capable of providing thought-provoking perspectives on a myriad of subjects and concerns which can engage students in ways that standard textbooks and essays do not.

Holocaust literature encompasses a variety of literary genres including novels, short stories, drama, poetry, diaries, and memoirs. This broad spectrum gives teachers a wide range of curriculum choices. Because Holocaust literature derives from a true-to-life epic in human history, its stories reveal basic truths about human nature, and provide adolescent readers with credible models of heroism and dignity. At the same time, it compels them to confront the reality of the human capacity for evil.

Because so many of the stories intersect with issues in students' own lives, Holocaust literature can inspire a commitment to reject indifference to human suffering, and can instruct them about relevant social issues such as the effects of intolerance and elitism. Studying literary responses to the Holocaust helps students:

- develop a deeper respect for human decency by asking them to confront the moral depravity and the extent of Nazi evil (e.g., the abject cruelty of the Nazi treatment of victims even prior to the round-ups and deportations; the event of Kristallnacht; the deportations in boxcars; the mass killings; and the so-called medical experiments of Nazi doctors);
- recognize the deeds of heroism demonstrated by teenagers and adults in ghettos and concentration camps (e.g., the couriers who smuggled messages, goods, and weapons in and out of the Warsaw Ghetto; the partisans who used arms to resist the Nazis; the uprisings and revolts in various ghettos including Warsaw and in killing centers such as Treblinka);
- explore the spiritual resistance evidenced in literary responses which portray the irrepressible dignity of people who transcended the evil of their murderers, as found, for example, in the clandestine writing of diaries, poetry, and plays;

- recognize the different roles which were assumed or thrust upon people during the Holocaust, such as victim, oppressor, bystander, and rescuer;
- examine the moral choices, or absence of choices, which were confronted by both young and old, victim and perpetrator; and
- analyze the corruption of language cultivated by the Nazis, particularly in the use of euphemisms to mask their evil intent (e.g., their use of the terms "emigration" for expulsion, "evacuation" for deportation, "deportation" for transportation to concentration camps and killing centers, "police actions" for round-ups that typically led to mass murder, and "Final Solution" for the planned annihilation of every Jew in Europe).

Art and Art History

One of the goals for studying art history is to enable students to understand the role of art in society. The Holocaust can be incorporated into a study of art and art history to illuminate how the Nazis used art for propagandistic purposes, and how victims used artistic expression to communicate their protest, despair, and/or hope. A study of art during the Holocaust helps students:

- analyze the motivations for, and implications of, the Nazi's censorship activities in the fine and literary arts, theater, and music (e.g., the banning of books and certain styles of painting; the May 1933 book burnings);
- examine the values and beliefs of the Nazis and how the regime perceived the world, by, for example, examining Nazi symbols of power, Nazi propaganda posters, paintings, and drawings deemed "acceptable" rather than "degenerate";
- study how people living under Nazi control used art as a form of resistance (e.g., examining the extent to which the victims created art; the dangers they faced in doing so; the various forms of art that were created and the settings in which they were created, and the diversity of themes and content in this artistic expression);
- examine art created by Holocaust victims and survivors and explore its capacity to document diverse experiences including life prior to the Holocaust, life inside the ghettos, the deportations, and the myriad of experiences in the concentration camp system; and

- examine interpretations of the Holocaust as expressed in contemporary art, art exhibitions, and memorials.

Conclusion

A study of the Holocaust can be effectively integrated into any number of subject areas. Sample curricula and lesson plans, currently in use around the country, have been collected by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and are available for reference purposes. For further information on the range of materials available, and how to acquire copies of these materials for your own use in developing or enhancing study units on the Holocaust, please contact the Education Department, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW, Washington, DC 20024; telephone: (202) 488-0400.

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Oliner, Pearl M. and Samuel P. Oliner. "Righteous People in the Holocaust." Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review. Edited by Israel Charny. London and New York: Mansell Publishing and Facts on File, respectively, 1991.

Totten, Samuel. "The Personal Face of Genocide: Words of Witnesses in the Classroom." Special Issue of the Social Science Record ("Genocide: Issues, Approaches, Resources") 24, 2 (1987): 63-67.

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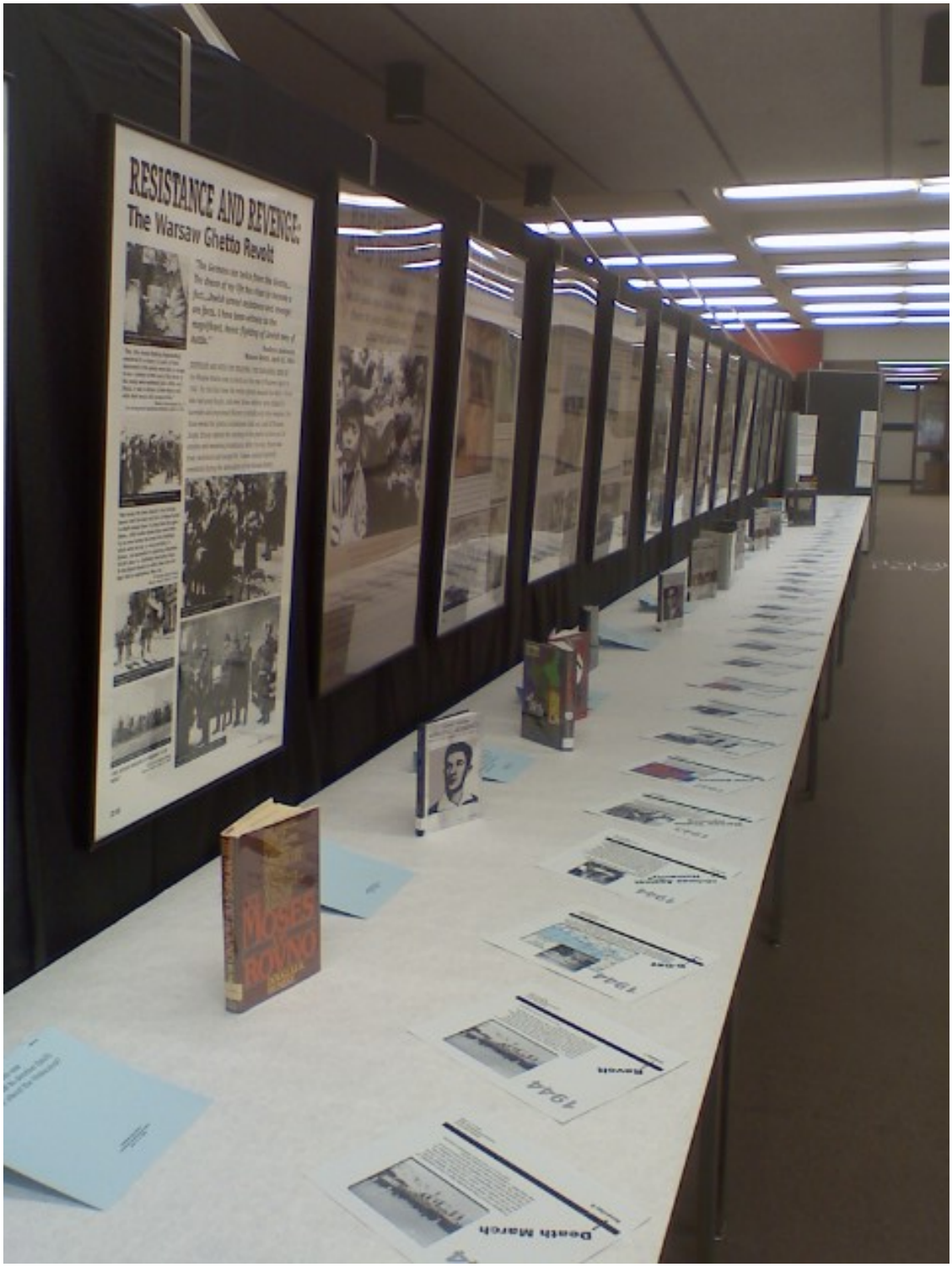


Photo: The Courage to Remember Exhibit at Braintree High School. 2008. Photographed by Gorman Lee.

HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE WEEK AT BRAINTREE HIGH SCHOOL
APRIL 3 – 7, 2017

April 3 – 7, 2017	The Courage to Remember exhibit will be displayed at the Braintree High School Media Center. The exhibit includes sixteen panels from *The Courage to Remember* series from the Simon Wiesenthal Center.
April 6, 2017	Speakers in the BHS auditorium: **Samuel Bernstein**, Northeastern University (retired) and playwright **Edythe Holzman**, playwright and performer, *Yesterday's Nightmares – Tomorrow's Dreams* **Fred Manasse**, Sculptor **Daniel Osborn**, Facing History and Ourselves, Brookline, Massachusetts
April 26, 2017	The Courage to Remember Essay Contest submission deadline

Below is a list of the 16 framed panels which you will visit this week with your class. They are arranged to show how the Holocaust was connected in history at the German level, and at the international level. Please take a few moments to review the panels in order.

Panel #1: "The Courage to Remember: The Holocaust, 1933-1945"
Panel #4: "The Jewish Question: Nazi Policy, 1933-1939"
Panel #14: "All Necessary Preparations: 1939-1941"
Panel #10: "The Reich Expands: 1938"
Panel #22: "The Final Solution, 1941-1945"
Panel #15: "Eastern Europe: The Arena for Mass Murder"
Panel #19: "Blitzkrieg: Invasion and Occupation of the West"
Panel #23: "Death by Design: The Invasion of the Soviet Union"
Panel #20: "No Escape: Greece and Yugoslavia Fall to the Nazis"
Panel #6: "Nazi Propaganda: Slogans, Myths and Images"
Panel #2: "Why the Jews? Patterns of Persecution"
Panel #30: "The Enduring Spirit"
Panel #40: "Remembrance and Vigilance"

Panel #26: "Resistance and Revenge"
Panel #28: "Theresienstadt"
Panel #34: "The Righteous Few: Surviving in Hiding and Rescue"

NAZIS, EUGENICS, AND THE T-4 PROGRAM (1920-1950)

FROM *DISABILITY HISTORY*

It is not widely known that Hitler's extermination policies began with the widespread killing of institutionalized disabled people in Germany in the 1940s, and that the eugenics theories that were the basis for Hitler's policies originated in the United States in the 1920s. Sterilization and euthanasia were not the ideas of the Nazis. Germany, however, was the only country in which the political climate allowed materialization of the final goal of sterilization and euthanasia.

The project that carried out the extermination of children and adults with disabilities was known as "T4." The initials came from Tiergartenstrasse 4, Berlin which was the full address of the Fuhrer Chancellery. The T4 Project included four organizations: the Realms Work Committee in charge of collecting information on candidates for euthanasia from questionnaires sent to hospitals, the Realms Committee for Scientific Approach to Severe Illness Due to Heredity set up exclusively to apply euthanasia to children, the charitable company for the transport of the sick which transported patients to the killing centers, and the Charitable Foundation for Institutional Care, in charge of final disposition of the victims' remains.

At Hadamar Mental Institution, the victims were stripped, dressed in paper shirts and taken to a gas chamber where they were murdered with hydrocyanic acid gas, and the bodies moved to crematoriums by conveyer belts, six bodies to a furnace. The psychiatrist in charge at Hadamar was Dr. Adolf Wahlmann, an active member of the German Mental Hygiene Movement.

After information about the exterminations began to filter down to the German public, some members of the clergy started speaking out against the program. Hitler ordered the T4 program to stop killing patients in gas chambers. Instead the program went underground and victims were poisoned or starved to death. On May 8, 1945, the war ended in Germany. In the extermination institutes, they either kept on killing, or let the patients starve to death. As late as May 29, 1945, a four-year-old feebleminded boy was murdered in Kaufbeuren. Estimates of how many disabled people died under the Nazis range up to 250,000.

The extermination program in Nazi Germany caused eugenics theorists in the United States and Europe to backpedal on their beliefs about eliminating mental illness and congenital disabilities through euthanasia. However sterilization of people with disabilities continued to be a widespread practice well into the 1970s.

Above text was taken from http://www.disabilityhistory.org/t4prog.html

For more information and photos of the Hadamar Mental Institution (Euthanasia center), see:

University of Minnesota Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies
http://chgs.umn.edu/histories/documentary/hadamar/the_occurrence3.html

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum – The Hadamar Trial
https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007265

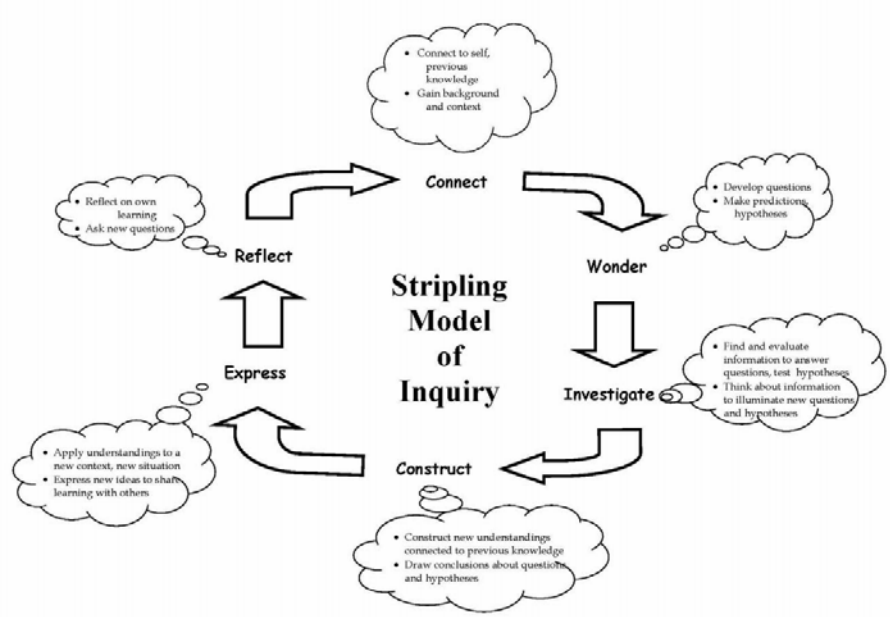
Euthanasia Program
https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005200

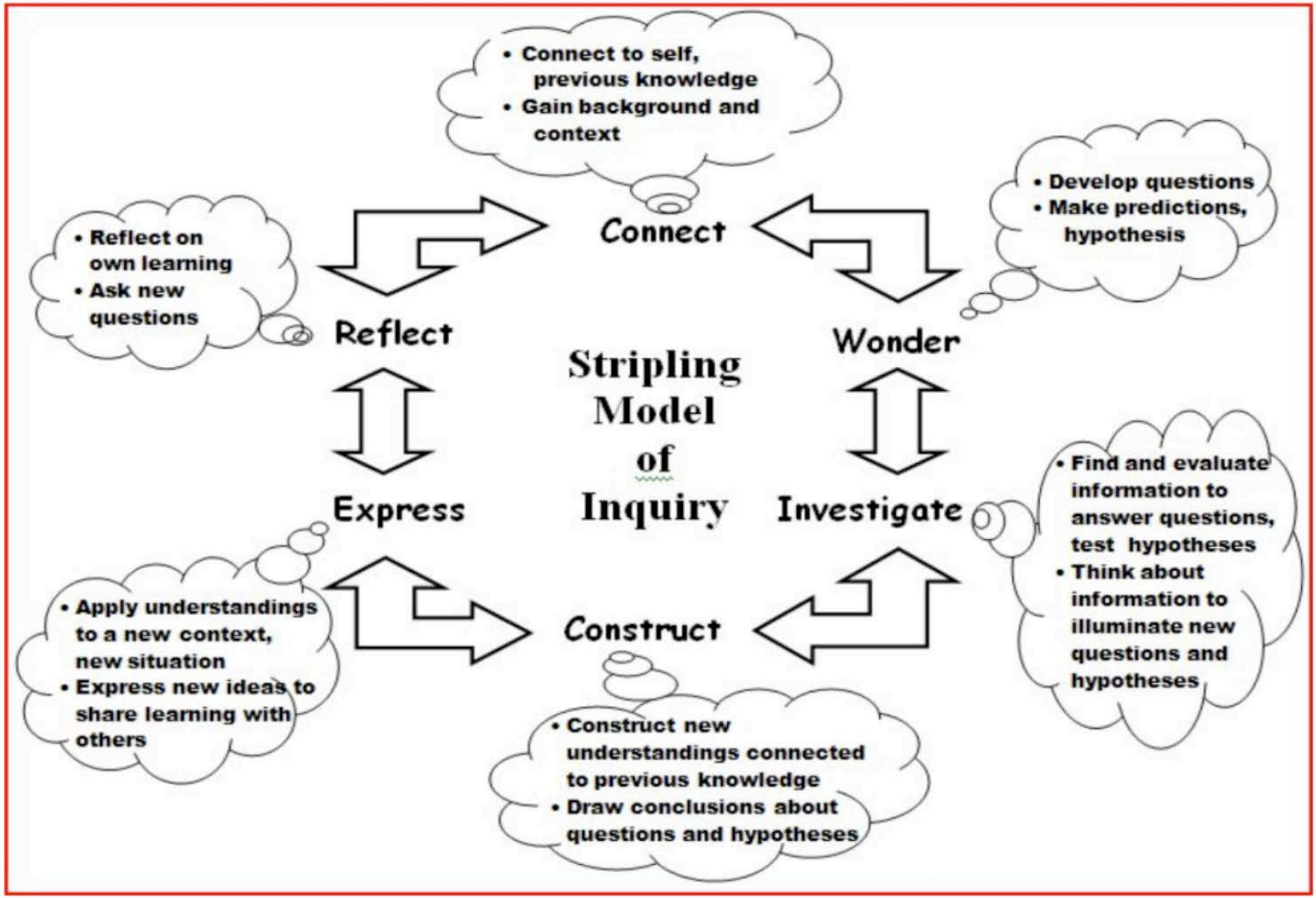
Caution: Sites contain some disturbing images and descriptions. Discretion advised.

PRIMARY SOURCES AND INQUIRY

Inquiry is a process in which students learn through questioning and critical thinking (Library of Congress, 2010). Primary sources engage students with the inquiry process. Primary sources fosters questioning, making inferences, perspectives or interpreting points of view, critical analysis and evaluation, drawing conclusions, and synthesizing and corroborating evidence to think conceptually (Library of Congress, 2010).

"Inquiry is not a collection of process skills and strategies: it is a relationship between thinking skills and content" (Stripling, 2003, p. 6). Below is a visual representation of the process of inquiry in which the process skills are applied to discipline-specific ways. This should be seen as a spiral approach for the inquiry experience that leads to new understanding and questions (Stripling, 2003).




Stripling Model of Inquiry
Connect
• Connect to self, previous knowledge
• Gain background and context
Wonder
• Develop questions
• Make predictions, hypothesis
Investigate
• Find and evaluate information to answer questions, test hypotheses
• Think about information to illuminate new questions and hypotheses
Construct
• Construct new understandings connected to previous knowledge
• Draw conclusions about questions and hypotheses
Express
• Apply understandings to a new context, new situation
• Express new ideas to share learning with others
Reflect
• Reflect on own learning
• Ask new questions

Linear depiction of the inquiry process (Stripling, 2003, p. 8)

INQUIRY PROCESS
Connect • Connect to self, previous knowledge • Gain background knowledge to set context for new learning • Observe, experience **Wonder** • Develop questions • Make predictions, hypotheses **Investigate** • Find and evaluate information to answer questions, test hypotheses • Think about the information to illuminate new questions and hypotheses **Construct** • Construct new understandings connected to previous knowledge • Draw conclusions about questions and hypotheses **Express** • Express new ideas to share learning with others • Apply understandings to a new context, new situation **Reflect** • Reflect on own process of learning and on new understandings gained from inquiry • Ask new questions

PRIMARY SOURCE SETS: ANALYZING PHOTOGRAPHS

From Teaching with Primary Sources at the U.S. Library of Congress. See also https://blogs.loc.gov/teachers/2011/11/the-library%E2%80%99s-primary-source-analysis-tool-helping-k-12-students-start-analyzing-primary-sources/.

Instructions for students on analyzing photographs

1. Fill in the *Primary Source Analysis Tool* worksheet developed by the United States Library of Congress.
    - In the "observe" column, record details that you can see.
    - In the "reflect" column, compare your prior knowledge to the clues in the images, and then record your hypotheses about what you see. Differentiate the comments that are observations and those that are reflections based on observations. For example, "I see a man holding a pen" is an observation, whereas "The man is writing" is a reflection.
    - Use the "question" column to capture questions you may have as you observe and consider what you know about the items. Aim to generate open-ended questions that will prompt further investigation and inquiry.
2. Share the bibliographic data with students. Discuss what new insights, if any, the information adds, what questions it answers, what question remains.
3. Ask students to form groups of three or four, select one image, examine and discuss it, recording thoughts on the Primary Source Analysis Tool.
4. After each group has completed its analysis, have students discuss their analysis with another group.

Primary Source Analysis Tool

OBSERVE	REFLECT	QUESTION

FURTHER INVESTIGATION

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Why Use Primary Sources?

Primary sources provide a window into the past—unfiltered access to the record of artistic, social, scientific and political thought and achievement during the specific period under study, produced by people who lived during that period.

Bringing young people into close contact with these unique, often profoundly personal, documents and objects can give them a very real sense of what it was like to be alive during a long-past era.

1. Engage students

- Primary sources help students relate in a personal way to events of the past and promote a deeper understanding of history as a series of human events.
- Because primary sources are snippets of history, they encourage students to seek additional evidence through research.
- First-person accounts of events helps make them more real, fostering active reading and response.

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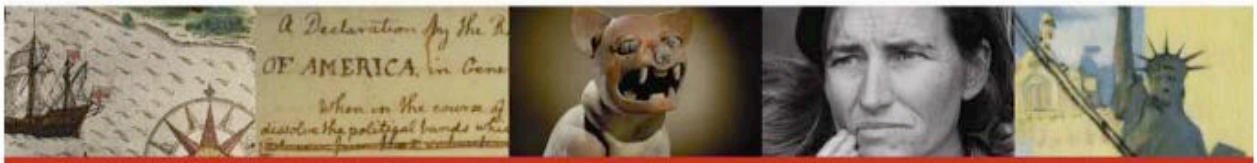
Why Use Primary Sources?



2. Develop critical thinking skills

- Many state standards support teaching with primary sources, which require students to be both critical and analytical as they read and examine documents and objects.
- Primary sources are often incomplete and have little context. Students must use prior knowledge and work with multiple primary sources to find patterns.
- In analyzing primary sources, students move from concrete observations and facts to questioning and making inferences about the materials.
- Questions of creator bias, purpose and point of view may challenge students' assumptions.

3. Construct knowledge

Inquiry into primary sources encourages students to wrestle with contradictions and compare multiple sources that represent differing points of view, confronting the complexity of the past.

- Students construct knowledge as they form reasoned conclusions, base their conclusions on evidence, and connect primary sources to the context in which they were created, synthesizing information from multiple sources.
- Integrating what they glean from comparing primary sources with what they already know, and what they learn from research, allows students to construct content knowledge and deepen understanding.

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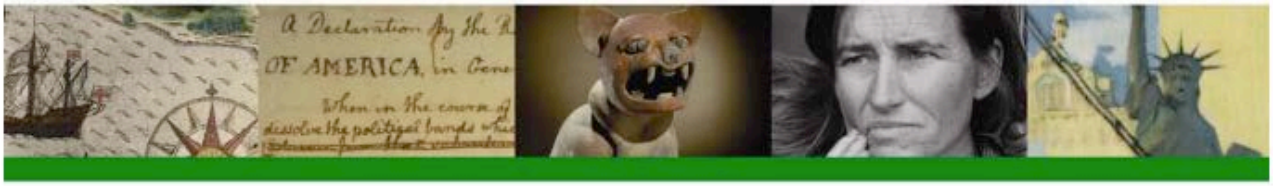
How to Use Primary Sources



A Quick Start Guide

Primary sources are the raw materials of history — original documents and objects which were created at the time under study. They are different from **secondary sources**, accounts or interpretations of events created by someone without firsthand experience.

Examining primary sources gives students a powerful sense of history and the complexity of the past. Helping students analyze primary sources can also guide them toward higher-order thinking and better critical thinking and analysis skills.

Before you begin:

- Choose at least two or three primary sources that support the learning objectives and are accessible to students.
- Consider how students can compare these items to other primary and secondary sources.
- Identify an analysis tool or guiding questions that students will use to analyze the primary sources.

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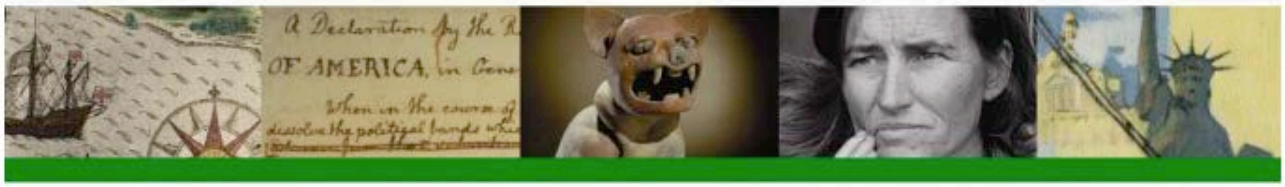
How to Use Primary Sources



1. Engage students with primary sources.

Draw on students' prior knowledge of the topic.

Ask students to closely observe each primary source. • *Who created this primary source?* • *When was it created?* • *Where does your eye go first?*

Help students see key details. • *What do you see that you didn't expect?* • *What powerful words and ideas are expressed?*

Encourage students to think about their personal response to the source. • *What feelings and thoughts does the primary source trigger in you?* • *What questions does it raise?*

2. Promote student inquiry.

Encourage students to speculate about each source, its creator, and its context. • *What was happening during this time period?* • *What was the creator's purpose in making this primary source?* • *What does the creator do to get his or her point across?* • *What was this primary source's audience?* • *What biases or stereotypes do you see?*

Ask if this source agrees with other primary sources, or with what the students already know. • Ask students to test their assumptions about the past. • Ask students to find other primary or secondary sources that offer support or contradiction.

3. Assess how students apply critical thinking and analysis skills to primary sources.

Have students summarize what they've learned. • Ask for reasons and specific evidence to support their conclusions. • Help students identify questions for further investigation, and develop strategies for how they might answer them.

Analysis tools and thematic primary source sets from the Library offer entry points to many topics.

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"The road to Auschwitz was built by hate, but paved with indifference."

– Ian Kershaw (Holocaust/Shoah)

Photo: Auschwitz Main Gate. Photographed by Roland Fischer, Copyright: Used with permission and for educational purpose only, license: CC-BY-SA 3.0. [[File:Eingangstor des KZ Auschwitz, Arbeit macht frei (2007).jpg|Eingangstor des KZ Auschwitz, Arbeit macht frei (2007)]]
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eingangstor_des_KZ_Auschwitz,_Arbeit_macht_frei_(2007).jpg

For more free images of Auschwitz, visit https://pixabay.com/en/photos/auschwitz/.

Image: Poster for the *The Eternal Jew* exhibition. 1937. Author unknown. Published using pseudonym John Stalüter. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Copyright: expired, Public Domain. http://sammlungen-archive.zhdk.ch/view/objects/asitem/People$004073356/0

Image: Yellow Star of David, 1933-1945. Eva Becknmann. RG-06.01.01. JPEG Image, 1.27 MB. Retrieved from Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust. http://www.lamoth.info/?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=961.

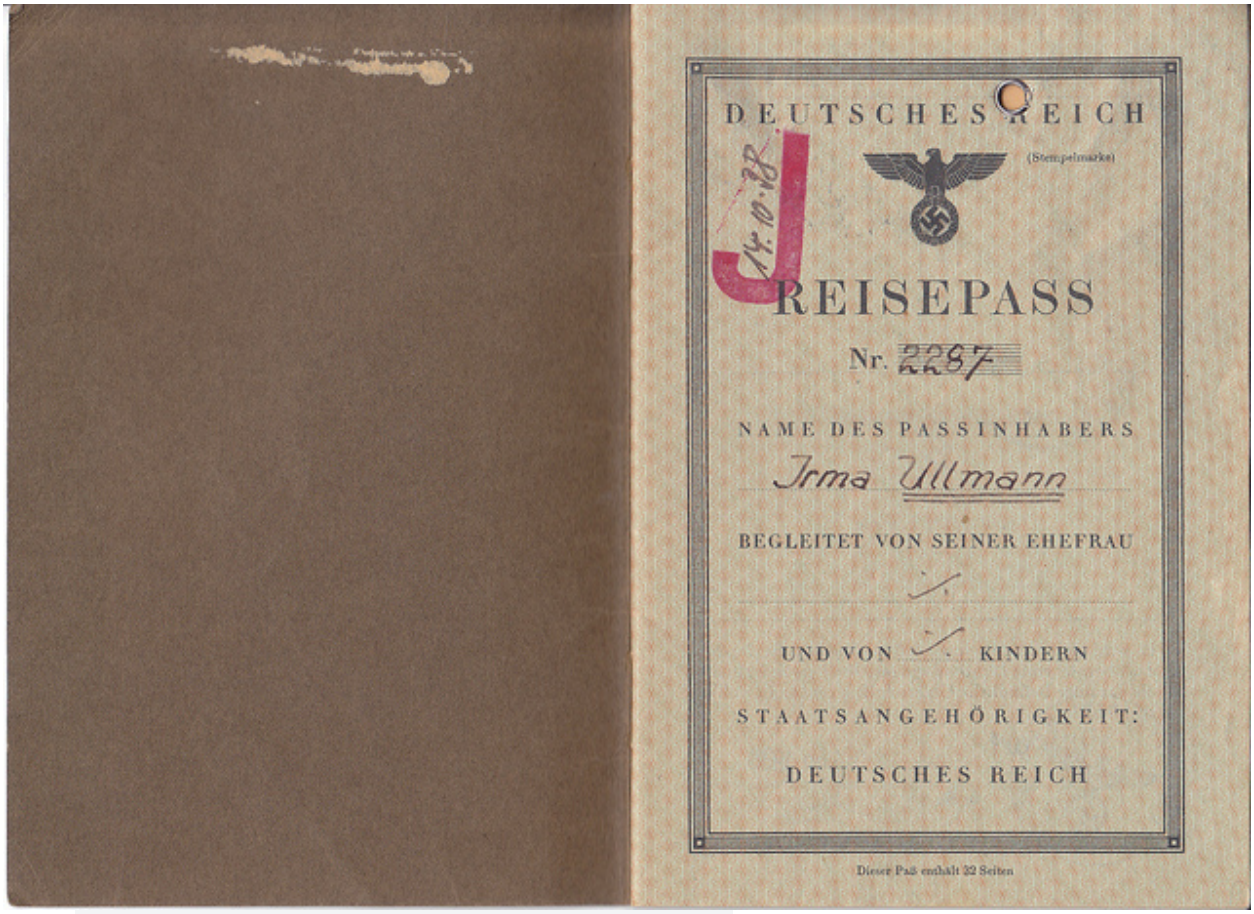

Image: Irma Ullmann's German Passport (Deutsches Reich Reisepass 1938). Digital scan by Corey Seeman in Ullman's Family Documents and Pictures. Copyright granted through Creative Commons for educational purposes only. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/cseeman/13443826825/in/photostream/.

Image: Germans pass by the broken shop window of a Jewish-owned business that was destroyed during Kristallnacht. 1938. Photographed by Unknown. Copyright: Public Domain. Source: USHMM, courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park.

Image: Interior of the Zerrennerstrasse synagogue in Pforzheim after its destruction on Kristallnacht. 1938. Photographed by StadtArchiv Pforzheim. Copyright: Public Domain. Source: USHMM, courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Interior_of_the_Zerrennerstrasse_synagogue_after_its_destruction_on_Kristallnacht-97573.jpg

Image: [Czechoslovakia - Theresienstadt - interor of concentration camp looking toward arch with sign "Arbeit macht frei"] From the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-43768 (b&w film copy neg.). https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/NT-indictments-1.html

Image: (1945) *[Five starving men in German concentration camp at time of liberation by U.S. Army]*. [April] [Image] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/89715812/.

STUDY GUIDE: THE COURAGE TO REMEMBER

The following questions have been created as a possible resource for teachers and students viewing the exhibit and studying the Holocaust.

The questions may be used in any number of ways. For example:

1.) Students may be held responsible for answering the questions to focus their viewing of the exhibit.

2.) Students can be paired up and held responsible for answering some questions, while their classmates answer others. In this way, the amount of writing each student will have to do while going through the exhibit will be reduced. When the class reconvenes after viewing the exhibit, students can share their answers to those questions they were assigned.

3.) Teachers may choose to select one of more questions to focus investigation, viewing, or discussion for the whole class.

4.) Teachers may choose to use the questions as a take-off point for questions, papers, or projects of their own design.

STUDY GUIDE: THE COURAGE TO REMEMBER

1. What root causes of the Holocaust persist in our world today? (Panel #1)

2. Why do you think the series of posters is entitled, "The Courage to Remember…"? (Panels #1 and #40)

3. Why might it be important to remember the events of the Holocaust? (Panels #1 and #40)

4. What characterized Nazi policies in the period between 1933 and 1939? (Panel #4)

5. What characterized the Nazi policies in the period between 1941 and 1945? (Panel #14)

6. How did Hitler's policy toward the Jews of Europe shift dramatically in the period between 1941 and 1945? (Panel #22)

7. What additional groups were also targeted by Hitler? (Panel #22)

8. What happened at the Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1945? (Panel #22)

9. Why did the Nazis select Eastern Europe as the ideal arena for the murder of Europe's Jews? (Panel #15)

10. Art was used by both the Nazis and the Jews of Europe during the Holocaust. How and why did the Nazis use art? What role did art play in the lives of many Jews during the Holocaust? (Panels #30 and #6)

11. What happened in the Warsaw Ghetto on April 19, 1943? (Panel #26)

12. How did the Nazis use Theresienstadt to deceive (trick) the world about the Holocaust? (Panel #28)

13. Why did ninety percent of Denmark's Jewish citizens survive the war? (Panel #34)

14. Who was Raoul Wallenberg and why is he remembered? (Panel #34)

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS:

15. The Holocaust is one example of genocide in the twentieth century. Are there additional instances in which this crime has been committed? If so, where and against whom?

16. What lessons does the history of the Holocaust hold for us in the twenty-first century?

17. How well has the world heeded the familiar cry, "Never again!", in response to the Holocaust? Has the world learned the lessons that history teaches? Justify your reasoning.

18. What responses would you suggest to world leaders to insure the prevention of genocide and crimes against humanity?

SPEAKING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

On **Thursday, April 6, 2017**, invited keynote guest speakers will come to Braintree High School and speak to students and faculty on genocide and on the Holocaust. The presentations will be held in the Grabosky Auditorium and in classrooms. Students, faculty, and the community are all invited (space permitting). The following speakers are scheduled to speak:

Dr. Daniel Osborn teaches at Dean College in Franklin, Massachusetts, and currently serves as the New England Program Associate for Facing History and Ourselves in Brookline, Massachusetts. Dr. Osborn will address Jewish identity and life before the Holocaust; anti-Semitism and perceptions of the other, and Holocaust remembrance through art and culture.

Ms. Edythe Holzman will present a 55-minute creative memoir entitled, "Yesterday's Nightmares – Tomorrow's Dreams (Anne Frank and Me)." This performance intertwines Ms. Holzman's family's history during the Holocaust and Anne Frank's life at that time. This dramatic presentation includes both events of the day as well as her dramatically-created episodes. It explores the effects on Ms. Holzman (when she was thirteen) and others of seeing the play "*The Diary of Anne Frank*" on Broadway in 1955. It further examines attitudes, prejudices and behaviors from Anne Frank's time to the present.

Dr. Samuel Bernstein, a playwright and Professor of English at Northeastern University will be presenting to Grade 10 students as part of their Modern World/U.S. History curriculum on the Holocaust. He will share his story and his work, *Olympics Uber Alles*, which he co-wrote with Ms. Margureite Krupp, on the 1936 Olympics in Berlin.

"I am a tenured full professor in the Department of English at Northeastern University, where I have taught for 52 years. My areas of specialization are dramatic literature and creative writing. A book I wrote entitled The Strands Entwined is a study of the merging of realistic and absurdist strains in the drama of the United States. I have also published articles on the writing of America's distinguished playwright, Eugene O'Neill. Speaking on dramatic literature and related matters has taken me to many parts of the world. Besides scholarly writing and lectures in foreign places, I have written many plays, several of which have been presented as full productions and/or stage readings in New York City and Boston. Some time ago, I won the DeKalb Literary Arts Journal National Short Story Competition. Among my artistic endeavors that relate to our session today is the writing and production of a play called Olympics Uber Alles, which I wrote with Ms. Margureite Krupp, a writer of German background. That play recounts the difficult and disappointing experience of two Jewish athletes who were denied the opportunity to participate in the 1936 Berlin/Hitler Olympics."

Mr. Fred Manasse was born in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1935, and was hidden in France during most of the war with his brother. He moved to the United States in 1945, where he eventually became an electrical engineer at Bell Labs and earned a Ph.D. in Physics at Princeton University in 1962. He served as a professor at several universities including Princeton, Dartmouth, and Drexel, and finally Professor and Associate Dean at University of New Hampshire until his retirement in 2002. Dr. Manasse began to devote his time toward creating art in stained glass, ceramic and bronze sculptures. He soon realized that his experiences in Nazi Europe deserved to be represented by sculptural work in addition to his written and oral presentations. One of his works, "My Disapora," won top prizes in a national exhibition in Cape Cod and the Bonnar competition for the NAA. Dr. Manasse continues to create and exhibit his works around New England.

"*I was born in Frankfurt Germany in 1935 and was put on a kinder transport along with my older brother to Belgium after Krystallnacht in 1938. My father sailed on the St. Louis in 1939 to Cuba but was denied entry as were all of the passengers. He came back to Europe and lived in Brussels until it was invaded by the Nazis in May of 1940. We were taken to Vichy France and along with 100 other boys and girls who had also been in Brussels were hidden in France during most of the war with my brother. However, my father was sent to Auschwitz in 1942 where he was murdered. My mother and sister were also exterminated at Auschwitz. After escaping France over the Pyrenees to Spain and*

then Lisbon, Portugal we finally arrived in the USA (NYC) in early 1945 and lived in a variety of foster homes in NY until I graduated from City College in NY, married and worked as an electrical engineer at Bell Labs. I won a fellowship to study at Princeton University, after I got my PhD in Physics in 1962, I served as Professor of EE at several universities (CCNY, Princeton, Dartmouth, Drexel, UNH) as well as being a consultant to several companies (Sanders, Loral, Ferrofluidics). In 1976, responding to the call by Pres. Carter for work in renewable energy, I started my own solar energy company, AETA, and ran it for 10 years, installing hot water and photovoltaic systems in numerous homes and commercial businesses in NH and MA. I also worked in the Defense electronics Industry for more than 20 years. After I retired in 2002, I carried out one of my hobbies, working in stained glass and then, discovered ceramics. After several years of study at Framingham State and at the Harvard-Radcliffe ceramics studio, I decided to concentrate on sculpture and changed to working with live models and oil based clay to create more figurative work. In all of my sculpture I want to let my passions and emotions dominate the pieces I create rather than slavishly trying to make accurate representations of what I see directly. I work in clay and cast in bronze. I have recently learned to carve in stone."

Ms. Barbara Aharoni and Mr. Harry Shamir. Barbara is the daughter of survivors and a Holocaust educator herself. She teaches at a local synagogue and is the chair of the Plymouth chapter of No Place for Hate! Harry Shamir was born in November 1938, in Bologna, Italy, under the Fascist regime of Mussolini. In 1942, his parents and he escaped the Nazis and fled from Vichy France to Switzerland in rather dramatic fashion. He tells the story in about half an hour. Unlike a TV drama the story remains, unforgotten. His grandparents along with 76,000 other French Jews kidnapped in August 1942 by the Vichy government willing collaborators, were murdered in Auschwitz or died transported there in train cattle cars.

ESSAY CONTEST: *THE COURAGE TO REMEMBER*

All BHS Grade 10 students are encouraged to participate in "The Courage to Remember" essay contest. View "The Courage to Remember" exhibit between April 3, 2017 and April 7, 2017, and then reflect upon your experiences in an essay of approximately 1000-1200 words.
The top three essays will be awarded prizes in May. Prizes will be announced at the Braintree High School Academic Awards in May 2017.

Directions:
In a typed (word processed), double-spaced essay of approximately 800-1000 words, please reflect on the following three-part question:

The title of the historical exhibit you have viewed is "The Courage to Remember…"

a.) Why do you think it might take "courage" for people to remember the events of the Holocaust?
b.) To what extent has your own personal courage challenged this week by the act of "remembering" the Holocaust?
c.) Finally, how has finding the "courage to remember" the Holocaust helped you to honor the past, and how will it help you to shape the future as a citizen of Braintree High School and the world?

TIMELINE AND SUBMISSION DEADLINE

April 3-7, 2017	Students view "The Courage to Remember" exhibit.
April 26, 2017	Students submit final draft of essay to their Social Studies teacher.
May, 2017	Top essays awarded prizes at BHS Academic Awards night.

THE COURAGE TO REMEMBER
ESSAY CONTEST SCORING RUBRIC

I.)	Comprehensiveness of response	1	2	3	4	5
II.)	Depth of thought	1	2	3	4	5
III.)	Depth of feeling	1	2	3	4	5
IV.)	Historical accuracy	1	2	3	4	5
V.)	Maturity of writing style	1	2	3	4	5
VI.)	Clarity	1	2	3	4	5
VII.)	Cogency	1	2	3	4	5
VIII.)	Cohesiveness of essay	1	2	3	4	5

TOTAL POINTS:

Useless Eaters:
Disability as Genocidal Marker in Nazi Germany

Mark P. Mostert, *Regent University*

The methods used for mass extermination in the Nazi death camps originated and were perfected in earlier use against people with physical, emotional, and intellectual disabilities. This article describes the historical context of attitudes toward people with disabilities in Germany and how this context produced mass murder of people with disabilities prior to and during the early years of World War II. Several key marker variables, the manipulation of which allowed a highly sophisticated Western society to officially sanction the murder of people with disabilities, are examined. Important implications must continually be drawn from these sad events as we work with people with disabilities at the dawn of a new century.

Would you, if you were a cripple, want to vegetate forever?
—Dr. Tergesten, in the propaganda film *Ich Klage an!* (*I Accuse!*, 1941)

Even given the passage of time and the necessary exposure of many people to commonly known historical events about Nazi Germany, some facts are more familiar than others. Historically, the focus has remained on the state-sanctioned genocide of the war years, which resulted in the extermination of Jews and to a lesser extent other populations, such as the Gypsies, political prisoners, and homosexuals (Yahil, 1987). In secular terms, images of death camps and the Nuremberg Trials represent the nadir of a humanitarian conflagration that began with the invasion of Poland in 1939 and ended with Germany's surrender and political and physical partitioning in 1945.

However, relatively little attention has been paid to significant precipitating historical events that served as a catalyst for what later became known as the Holocaust. These events, rooted in powerful societal and scientific perceptions of difference with parallel extensions in state policy and action, were intensified and codified with the rise of National Socialism and Hitler's assumption of power in 1933 (Aly, Chroust, & Pross, 1994; Friedlander, 1995). Official notions of difference, which would later find their most diabolical expression in the murder of the Jews, were first expressed in state-sanctioned killings of children and adults with a wide range of physical, emotional, and intellectual disabilities.

I draw on the relatively few but important sources available in English to illustrate a neglected historical aspect of perceptions of people with disabilities for several purposes. First, I provide a description of the historical context undergirding perceptions of and attitudes toward people with disabilities in Germany and how this context produced mass murder of people with disabilities prior to and during the early years of World War II. Second, I examine several key marker variables, the manipulation of which allowed a highly sophisticated Western society via state law and policy to sanction the murder of people with disabilities. Third, I provide a brief synopsis of implications that can be drawn from this conflagration that influence work with and on behalf of people with disabilities in the 21st century.

People with Disabilities in Germany: Historical Underpinnings

The idea of societies disposing of people with disabilities was hardly new at the dawn of the 20th century. There is ample evidence that both medical and legal debates across Europe, including in Germany in the 19th century, included fatal solutions for inmates of asylums and others with physical, emotional, and intellectual disabilities. These historical attitudes gathered momentum, however, in the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries.

Treatment Prior to World War II

Along with the rest of Europe after the Enlightenment, Germany sought to address difficult issues related to people with disabilities. As in the United States, late-19th-century German efforts to meet the needs of this population consisted largely of custodial care either privately by family members and church

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institutions or in state asylums. These efforts were reflected in a significant increase in the number of publicly sustained German asylums, which increased from 93 in 1877 to 226 in 1913 (Burleigh, 1994). There was also a concomitant increase in the number of private institutions providing various levels of residential care to those with a wide spectrum of disabilities. This state of affairs remained relatively stable until World War I.

The outbreak of war in 1914 precipitated significant changes for people with disabilities across Germany. The logistics and material requirements of fighting a major conflict soon had social and economic repercussions among all sectors of the population. For asylum inmates, the most debilitating outcome was the wartime rationing of food. Caregivers, despite their best efforts, were unable to compensate for their patients' nutritional losses. At the Berlin-Buch asylum, for example, the average daily caloric intake for inmates decreased from 2,695 in 1914 to 1,987 by January 1918 (Burleigh, 1994). Unable to supplement their meager rations via hoarding or purchases on the public black markets, inmates soon deteriorated. In addition, most asylums strictly adhered to cost-cutting measures of less heating and clothing. Medicine, a critical need for the war effort, was relatively scarce for those in custodial care. These high levels of deprivation and neglect, along with overcrowding and poor sanitary conditions, soon led to marked increases in communicable diseases and elevated mortality rates. The relatively stable pre–World War I annual institutional mortality rate of approximately 5.5% escalated to 30% by the end of the war. In real terms, by 1918, more than 140,000 people had died in psychiatric asylums across Germany (Burleigh, 1994).

The privations of the war had a marked effect on perceptions of disability among institutional caregivers and the public. Caregivers generally acknowledged the deplorable state of affairs in asylums but also understood the necessity of shifting resources to those able to conduct the war effort. Among the general public, the war effort's reallocation of resources also highlighted the divide between those who were healthy and able to contribute and survive unaided, and those with disabilities, who could not. Thus, by the end of World War I, an implicit but palpable public perception of higher economic worth was attached to people without disabilities, and lesser worth was attributed to people with disabilities. Later, the economic worth of human life under the Nazis proved a key distinction for creating and sanctioning genocide against people with disabilities.

By 1918, a trend toward institutional contraction emerged. Many private and public asylums had closed. Others were transformed into convalescent homes for injured soldiers or hostels for refugees. Still others stood empty as supporting funds were redirected to convalescing patients with predictable recoveries who would again enter the workforce to help the country recover economically. Also, asylum populations remained low because of the now exorbitant cost of admitting and caring for new patients. These circumstances soon generated various models of cheaper outpatient treatment that controlled expenses and bolstered progressive social reforms attempting to soften the image of asylums as nothing more than prison warehouses.

Societal tensions generated by deprivation, war, and notions of peoples' relative worth based on their ability to contribute to society continued to affect people with disabilities in institutions across Germany until the late 1920s, precipitating rapid and radical attitudinal changes even as the medical and psychiatric communities continued to struggle with custodial issues related to asylum inmates. It was clear, however, that extensive and expensive care could not be expended on people who could not immediately aid Germany's economic recovery. In practice, this meant that among asylum inmates, attempts were made to distinguish those who could be at least partially rehabilitated (the "curable") from those who could not (the "incurable"). By this time, two perceptions were firmly fixed among German medical professionals and laypeople alike. First, even the much lowered number of asylum inmates had to be further reduced in the long term, given the country's restricted economic outlook. Second, because many of those with disabilities were now more visible through outpatient programs, their infirmities and their sometimes inappropriate or undesirable behavior were often considered a threat to public decency and social order. Accordingly, inappropriate public behavior by people with disabilities was often dealt with in terms of legal action and through the criminal justice system, thus melding disability and criminality in the public mind. Professional and public debate had raised the imperative of social control to prevent the proliferation of asylum inmates, including those with disabilities, whose characteristic behaviors were now firmly perceived to be at best undesirable and at worst criminal.

The identification of many more people with disabilities in outpatient care and the consequent necessity that at least some proportion of these persons needed inpatient care led to a renewed expansion of institutionalization. By 1929, the number of psychiatric patients in all levels of care had almost doubled from the years immediately following World War I. Economic considerations were exacerbated by the Depression beginning in 1929, and inpatient populations grew rapidly as many families of previously deinstitutionalized persons, no longer able to support them, returned them to private and state-run facilities. It was at this point that the seeds of genocide were sown among professionals and ordinary German citizens alike. The juxtaposition of severe economic constraints, crowded asylums, the attachment of levels of economic viability to human worth, and the sense that people with disabilities formed a burdensome and often criminal element in society all significantly added fuel to ethical debates concerning euthanasia and sterilization. By the late 1930s, there was open discussion among many asylum administrators about actually killing inmates.

Euthanasia and Voluntariness

Historically, euthanasia has meant a voluntary request for death without suffering by the patient. However, in the 17th century its meaning was modified to grant the right to *alleviate suffering* exclusively to physicians. While the meaning and implications of euthanasia changed somewhat over time, it was universally accepted that the act of euthanasia was always voluntary. That is, when individuals exercised their right to voluntarily choose the timing and the manner of their death as a means of ending their suffering, it was a physician's responsibility to assist them (Proctor, 1988). However, in the 1890s the meaning of euthanasia in Europe, and especially in Germany, came to include two other aspects. First, the notion of a voluntary "right to die" was extended to mean that in some instances the request for euthanasia could be made by persons other than the suffering patient. Second, the extraordinary levels of care accorded the terminally ill and asylum inmates again raised the issue of negative human worth and underlined the possibility of involuntary euthanasia; that is, the economic burden that terminal illness or caring for the insane placed on families, caregivers, and the community was a factor to consider in decisions for euthanasia. In one sense, therefore, the debate quickly shifted from the idea of a "gentle death" itself to who would request or abet the patient's demise. Subsequent branches of the debate took up the notion of suffering among humans as comparable to that of animals and the implication that in certain instances humans could be disposed of in the same way—quickly and painlessly. The distinction between voluntary euthanasia and involuntary killing was thus effectively eradicated, and an ominous term was coined for the first time: "life unworthy of life."

In 1920 the concept of living beings not worthy of the life they embodied gained impetus with a tract published by two university professors, Karl Binding and Alfred Hoche. *Permission for the Destruction of Life Unworthy of Life* articulated key implications for people with disabilities. Binding and Hoche called for the killing of people with disabilities, whom they viewed as "incurable idiots" having no will or sense of living. Killing them, therefore, was hardly involuntary euthanasia, that is, the imposition of others' will upon them. This shifted the burden of human existence from simply being alive to requiring an explicit justification for living. For Binding and Hoche, therefore, the right to live was to be earned, not assumed. One earned the right to live by being a useful economic contributor to society. Chief among the individuals they saw as being useless were those who seemed to have little or no human feeling, or in their terms, "empty human husks" whose only societal function was the consuming of precious resources while contributing nothing to society in return. In Binding and Hoche's terms, they were "useless eaters" whose "ballast lives" could be tossed overboard to better balance the economic ship of state. In speaking of those with disabilities, and explicitly advocating involuntary euthanasia, Binding and Hoche wrote,

> Their life is absolutely pointless, but they do not regard it as being unbearable. They are a terrible, heavy burden upon their relatives and society as a whole. Their death would not create even the smallest gap—except perhaps in the feelings of their mothers or loyal nurses. (Burleigh, 1994, p. 17)

Furthermore, Binding and Hoche drove home the economic argument by calculating the total cost expended in caring for such people. They concluded that this cost was "a massive capital in the form of foodstuffs, clothing and heating, which is being subtracted from the national product for entirely unproductive purposes" (Burleigh, 1994, p. 19).

Binding and Hoche's polemic was furiously debated across Germany. One strident critic of the Binding and Hoche position was Ewald Meltzer, the director of an asylum in Saxony, who held that many of his charges did indeed have the ability to enjoy life inasmuch as their disabilities would allow. In an attempt to support his belief, Meltzer surveyed the parents of his patients to ascertain their perceptions of disability and euthanasia. To Meltzer's astonishment, the survey results showed a widely held contradiction among the parents that although they had strong emotional ties to their children, they simultaneously expressed, with varying degrees of qualification, a "positive" attitude toward killing them. In fact, only a handful of respondents completely rejected all notions of euthanasia (Proctor, 1988). The results of this survey were a harbinger of future public and official perceptions and actions toward people with disabilities. Meltzer's survey was later used as a major rationale for the killing of thousands of people with disabilities under the National Socialists, whose long-held social perceptions of difference coupled with official state prejudice delineated a series of genocidal markers that doomed significant numbers of people with disabilities during the Nazi era.

Genocidal Markers of Disability

Scientific research of the late 19th century was overshadowed by Darwin's ideas of biological determinism, including its most radical form, eugenics, which had begun to establish genetic markers predictive of physiological characteristics. The fate of people with disabilities in Germany may be understood by examining a similar series of genocidal markers, with corresponding sequelae, which determined the real-world fate of "useless eaters."

Marker 1: Darwinism and the Biology of Determination

Nineteenth- and early-20th-century Germany, like the rest of the Western world, had been significantly influenced by two powerful scientific impressions. First, the prominence of the biological sciences had been established by the revolutionary

ideas of Charles Darwin, who provided reasonable explanations for distinct differences among many observed natural phenomena. Darwin and his contemporaries focused on inequalities within all living species, including humans. Darwin's ideas of evolution emphasized the struggle for survival and the notion that only the strongest and most able of any species would survive as genetic progenitors of future generations, thereby safeguarding the health, and ultimately the endurance, of that species. In short order, these ideas were applied to humans in the form of Social Darwinism, which held that in humans, both biological and social traits were passed from one generation to the next.

Thus, as scientists busied themselves with measurement, classification, and definitions based on physical, biological, and social similarity and difference, they not only reinforced popular social prejudices but enshrined them as irrefutable scientific fact. By the early 20th century, scientists had amassed a great deal of pseudodata portending to show differences between individuals, genders, and ethnic groups by rank ordering any population trait from superior to inferior. For example, individuals were judged as superior based on their race (White, with northern Europeans deemed superior to southern Europeans and Slavic ethnic groups) or their wealth (wealth was superior to poverty). In addition, levels of socially appropriate behavior (law-abiding, self-regulating, restrained, and conformist) were judged superior to socially inappropriate behavior (criminality or antisocial behavior; Friedlander, 1995). These and other classifications soon precipitated both informal social changes and more formal legal measures. Darwin's ideas gained widespread acceptance in Germany, where they nudged the predisposed intelligentsia toward accepting social inequality as presumptive long before Hitler's National Socialist party swept to power in 1933.

Second, an offshoot of Darwinism, Social Darwinism, held that not only biological traits but also social characteristics and their resultant behaviors were genetically determined. Social Darwinism's ideas of difference, therefore, in the form of eugenics, appeared to have immediate and effective application for a number of societal problems, such as "hereditary" social traits (e.g., socially inappropriate or criminal behavior). Here the rationale was simple: All visible traits of human difference were genetically determined. Thus, just as eye and hair color were genetically determined, so were drunkenness, sexual promiscuity, and other socially inappropriate behaviors. A simple extension of these perceptions led to the idea that an effective way of controlling or eliminating these problems was by sterilization, incarceration, or death.

Having established the concept of social heritability and its consequences for individual inequality, similar rankings of desirability were soon applied to entire groups of people, including grouping people by class. That is, the more "inferior" (i.e., lower class) the person, the more likely they would be to engage in undesirable social behavior (e.g., sexual promiscuity) and often criminal behavior (e.g., prostitution). This logic was then used to extrapolate that because many individuals from impoverished backgrounds committed undesirable social and criminal acts, and far fewer from among the wealthy, the entire lower class was characterized by criminality. People with disabilities, many of whom displayed inappropriate behavior or abnormal physical appearance, were among the groups of people thus classified. Based on these perceptions of difference, the next logical step was to control and eventually eradicate undesirable biological and social differences through eugenics.

Marker 2: Eugenics

The term *eugenics* was coined by the naturalist and mathematician Francis Galton in 1881. Eugenics was described by its leading American proponent, Charles Davenport, as "the science of the improvement of the human race by better breeding" (Friedlander, 1995, p. 4). The eugenicists believed Mendelian laws governed the heredity of human physiological traits (Darwinism) *and* social traits (Social Darwinism). Genetics, therefore, could be manipulated to enhance social ends. This assumption encouraged research on the transmission of social traits and the classification of individuals, groups, and whole societies on a scale of human worth.

Predictably, the results of these efforts isolated individuals and groups of people who appeared to have less intelligence, higher levels of antisocial behavior, and, therefore, by definition, less human worth than those higher up on the ability and prosocial behavior scales. In turn, the emphasis on human worth by rank allowed the eugenicists to study different segments of the scale. More often than not, they chose to study the lower end, including study of individuals with lower intelligence and those they considered socially deviant. Eugenics captured the imagination of researchers in Europe, England, and the United States. In the United States, politicians purportedly promoting the public good were quick to recognize eugenics as a powerful tool for shaping public opinion against people with disabilities. Such awareness fueled laws in many states for the involuntary sterilization of people with disabilities, the most famous case perhaps being that of a Virginia woman with mental retardation, Carrie Buck, named in the 1927 landmark *Buck v. Bell* case (Winzer, 1993).

Prior to World War I, the German eugenicists concurred with their American and British colleagues regarding a scale of human worth, dividing the German population into those who were superior (*hochwertig*) and inferior (*minderwertig*). Thus, eugenics asserted that the "feebleminded" (a generic, inaccurate term covering everything from mental retardation to alcoholism) were almost always so because of inherited inferior characteristics. From these assumptions, they "saw the cause of the social problems of their times, such as alcoholism and prostitution, as inherited feeblemindedness, and viewed the manifestations of poverty, such as intermittent employment and chronic illness, as a hereditary degeneracy" (Friedlander, 1995, p. 6).

However, without the political heterogeneity that encouraged diverse views within the genetics movement in the United

States and, to a lesser extent, in England, German eugenicists' views were much more radically homogeneous. Until Germany's defeat in World War I, the German eugenicists concentrated on "positive Eugenics," through the encouragement of higher birth rates among superior populations, which reflected the German eugenic concentration on class rather than race. However, a precursor of future troubles appeared in a eugenic faction that favored the concept of the Nordic racial ideal and despised its inferior counterpart, the anti-Nordic (Friedlander, 1995). It was this concept that eventually dominated German eugenic discourse and became enshrined in the Nazi idea of Aryan supremacy.

The two genocidal markers of Social Darwinism and eugenics were firmly in place in the professional and lay psyche when the National Socialists, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, were elected in January 1933. Thereafter, German acceptance of humanitarian inequality mixed with Hitler's racist convictions to produce the political ideology of the "Thousand Year Reich," a major component of which was the elimination of those deemed inferior (Friedlander, 1995). Furthermore, these two markers became the bedrock of increasingly coercive official policy, eventually killing thousands of people with disabilities. These two genocidal markers were then enacted in the real world, first by involuntary sterilization.

Marker 3: Forced Prevention of Disability

Discussions of eugenic sterilization in Germany became more prominent in the early 1920s and were bolstered by contemporaneous debates about the worth of human life, although sterilization was illegal in Germany until Hitler became chancellor. One of the first official acts undertaken by the Nazis was the enactment of a sterilization law in 1933, less than 6 months after their election. Grandly titled the Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring, it decreed compulsory sterilization for persons characterized by a wide variety of disabilities. The law also established a mechanism for deciding who should be sterilized, which consisted of 220 regional Hereditary Health Courts, each made up of a judge and two physicians. People in or recently discharged from institutions were particularly vulnerable to this law for obvious reasons. Approximately 30% to 40% of those sterilized between 1934 and 1936 were patients in asylums across Germany (Burleigh, 1994). The sterilization law reached many categories of the "heriditarily sick," including persons with mental retardation (200,000), schizophrenia (80,000), Huntington's chorea (600), epilepsy (60,000), blindness (4,000), hereditary deafness (16,000), grave bodily malformation (20,000), hereditary alcoholism (10,000), and other specified groups (Lifton, 1986).

The law was repeatedly amended to close loopholes that might allow some persons with disabilities to escape sterilization. For example, an amendment was added to cover women with a "hereditary disease" who became pregnant prior to sterilization, or women who were impregnated by men with such "diseases." In such cases the law officially sanctioned abortion and simultaneous sterilization (Friedlander, 1995). The law also stipulated heavy penalties for physicians carrying out such actions on persons or unborn children legally judged to be healthy.

Also in 1933, the Nazis enacted the Law Against Dangerous Habitual Criminals, a law that further blurred the distinction between bona fide criminal behavior and inappropriate social behavior that characterized many people with disabilities. The law stipulated that these criminal *asozialen* (asocials) could be committed to state asylums, held in indeterminate protective custody, and, in the case of sex offenders, officially castrated (Friedlander, 1995).

These and other laws were the precursors of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which, while directed primarily at Jews, also regulated marriage among people with disabilities. For example, the Marriage Health Law prohibited marriage between two people if either party suffered from some form of mental disability, had a "hereditary disease" as previously defined by law, or suffered from a contagious disease, particularly tuberculosis or venereal disease.

To this point, while Nazi law had become increasingly segregationist and isolationist for people with disabilities, it had not yet sanctioned murder, even though it is clear that as early as 1935 Hitler voiced thoughts that he would use the cover of war to murder psychiatric patients in fulfillment of a long-held belief that he had articulated in *Mein Kampf* (Yahil, 1987). However, Hitler understood that state-sanctioned homicide would depend on other factors to severely curb public outrage until war became reality. The war, Hitler reasoned, would provide both a distraction and an excuse for officially killing those deemed undesirable. One such factor was the use of propaganda to convince the public of the desirability of some lives over others.

Marker 4: Disability Propagandized as Life Unworthy of Living

By 1938 the tide of public and official benevolence toward people with disabilities had begun to turn. The public mind now characterized people with disabilities as a separate, different, often criminalized group of less economic value than their counterparts without disabilities. German literature and art soon depicted lives unworthy of living in a host of propagandistic projects (Lifton, 1986; Michalczyk, 1994). For example, two 1935 silent documentaries produced largely for distribution among Nazi Party functionaries and sympathizers depicted persons with severe physical and intellectual disabilities in staged scenes to show them to their greatest disadvantage (Burleigh, 1994; Lifton, 1986). Other films were produced for wider audiences. A 1935 propaganda sound film, *Das Erbe* (*The Inheritance*), depicted, in a pseudoscientific format, the medical, social, and economic consequences of hereditary disabilities. Other films soon followed. The 1937 film *Opfer der Vergangenheit* (*The Victim of the Past*) went much further, comparing healthy, ideal German citizens with institutional-

ized people with severe disabilities and adding that Jewish mental patients were creations in violation of natural law. The film proposed the solution of compulsory sterilization.

Propaganda was not limited to film, however, but also appeared in German literature. An exemplar of this work is the novel *Sendung und Gewissen* (*Mission and Conscience*), which was turned into a very popular film, *Ich Klage an!* (*I Accuse!*). In the story, a beautiful young woman suffering from multiple sclerosis decides that her life is no longer worth living and requests a "merciful death" at the hand of her husband, a physician. In the film's death scene climax, he administers the fatal injection to his wife, who dies peacefully to the strains of soothing piano music played by a friend in the next room. At his trial, the doctor heroically refuses to allow his colleagues to invent an alibi for the murder and challenges the court by asking, "Would you, if you were a cripple, want to vegetate forever?" Predictably, the court acquits the physician because his actions were merciful, not murderous, a notion reinforced in the closing scenes, where the words of the Renaissance physician Paracelsus are recalled, that "medicine is love" (Proctor, 1988).

This type of propaganda, fueled by then current perceptions of disability and euthanasia, profoundly affected the German public. By the late 1930s, requests for mercy killing were being received by Nazi officials. For example, requests were received from a woman ill with terminal cancer and from a man who had been severely injured and blinded in a construction accident (Burleigh, 1997). The state was also receiving similar requests from parents of newborns and young infants with severe physical and intellectual disabilities (Lifton, 1986).

To this point, Nazi involvement with mercy killing, while implicit, appears to have been muted and uninitiated by the state. However, social perceptions of disability had been radically modified, and requests for mercy deaths were increasing and were generally viewed as more acceptable, whether conducted by individual citizens or the state. Essentially, disability was widely acknowledged to be a legitimate justification for murder.

Marker 5: Disability as Justification for Individual and State-Sanctioned Murder

The threshold for beginning official killing of people with disabilities was reached in 1937 and 1938, when publicly reported cases of "mercy" killing galvanized the population. Two cases are most often cited. The first, an act of individual commission, involved the murder of a German male with emotional and behavioral disorders by his father. The second, the case of the Knauer child, signified a critical shift from individual citizens' responsibility for and commission of "mercy killing" to that of the state. These two cases heralded a significant shift from voluntary requests by the suffering individual for "merciful" death to decisions to kill made by others based only on the disability of the victim.

In 1937, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* reported the case of a farmer who shot his adolescent son to death as the boy slept. Charged with murder and facing the death penalty if convicted, the father justified his actions by suggesting that his son's emotional disabilities made the boy "mentally ill in a manner that threatened society" (Proctor, 1988, p. 12). At trial, in addition to the harm-to-others defense, the father's attorneys and Nazi Party officials argued forcefully that the son had been an unnecessarily heavy financial burden on the family. The father was sentenced to only 3 years in prison, of which he served 1.

The Knauer child was a frail child with several severe disabilities. While the case has become quite mythologized, it seems that she was blind, without one leg and part of an arm, severely mentally retarded, and suffered from chronic convulsions (Friedlander, 1995; Lifton, 1986; Proctor, 1988). Her father petitioned the Nazi authorities to grant her a "merciful death" but received no official response. Subsequent to this request, in the winter of 1938–1939, the Knauer child was admitted to the University of Leipzig's pediatric clinic after attending physicians discussed her plight with her persistent father. Aside from the child's obvious physical and intellectual disabilities, the father asserted that the child, by remaining at home, was causing his wife significant psychological and emotional stress. He requested that the physicians proceed by "putting it to sleep." Initially, the doctors refused, reminding the father that such action was against the law. Undaunted, the father, encouraged by the child's grandmother, petitioned Hitler directly to sanction the child's death (Gallagher, 1990). Arguably, the persistence of this one man became the catalyst for official genocide.

Hitler's personal attending physician, Karl Brandt, was dispatched to Leipzig to examine the child and to evaluate the extent of her disability. Brandt testified at his Nuremberg trial that he discovered in Leipzig a "creature . . . born blind, an idiot—at least it seemed to be an idiot—and it lacked one leg and part of an arm" (Burleigh, 1994, pp. 94–95). Brandt had prior instructions to meet with the Leipzig consulting physicians to confirm the father's view of the child. He had further been directed that should the child indeed be severely disabled, he should instruct the attending physicians, in the name of the state, to "carry out euthanasia."

In his trial testimony after the war, Brandt emphasized that part of the rationale in this approach was to absolve the parents and doctors of any guilt or incrimination if they were responsible for the child's death. Hitler, on behalf of the state, assumed responsibility for the death of the Knauer child, directing Brandt to assure the physicians that any legal repercussions resulting from their actions would be quashed. Hitler's personal assurance was also relayed, via Hitler's deputy, Martin Bormann, to Franz Guertner, the minister of justice (Burleigh, 1994). Clearly, the state now both sanctioned murder and offered absolution from guilt for the perpetrators.

The attending Leipzig physicians appeared to have offered little resistance, assuring Brandt that the Knauer child should die. Citing their professional experience on the maternity wards, they informed him that it was "quite natural for doctors themselves to perform euthanasia in such a case without

anything further being said about it" (Burleigh, 1994, p. 96). Shortly thereafter, a junior physician administered a lethal injection to the child while the nurses were taking a coffee break.

Subsequent to the death of the Knauer child, Hitler authorized high-level officials to formally establish a state-sanctioned program to kill children with physical and intellectual disabilities (Burleigh, 1994, 1997; Burleigh & Wipperman, 1991; Friedlander, 1995).

Marker 6: Disability as State-Sanctioned Homicidal Health Policy

The Knauer child's death demonstrated that social and official precursors to widespread, organized homicide of people with disabilities were firmly in place. In May 1939, Hitler ordered the creation of an advisory committee that would pave the way for the widespread killing of children with disabilities. Ironically, 1939 was the year designated by the Nazis as the year of "the duty to be healthy" (Proctor, 1988, p. 177). The children's killing program was to report directly to Hitler's Chancellery through a front organization under the pseudoscientific moniker of the Committee for the Scientific Treatment of Severe, Genetically Determined Illnesses. However, this impressive title belied its function, as it was headed by Hans Hefelmann, an agricultural economist (Lifton, 1986). On August 18, 1939, prior to the German invasion of Poland, which began World War II, this committee produced a secret report, disseminated to all state governments, requiring all midwives and physicians who delivered infants with obvious congenital disabilities to register these children and the nature of the disability, ostensibly

> to clarify certain scientific questions in areas of congenital deformity and mental retardation [such as] idiocy or Mongolism (especially if associated with blindness or deafness); microcephaly or hydrocephaly of a severe or progressive nature; deformities of any kind, especially missing limbs, malformation of the head, or spina bifida; or crippling deformities such as spastics. (Proctor, 1988, p. 186)

The directive applied to children up to the age of 3. Across Germany, these new requirements were officially added to other information routinely required by the state at the birth of any child, such as evidence of venereal or other contagious diseases. As added incentives, midwives were paid for every infant with disabilities so referred. Failure to report these cases resulted in substantial fines. This directive would also later require teachers to report these disabilities among their students in schools.

Information on the registered children was returned to the Reich Health Ministry in Berlin, where a panel of three professionals—physicians, psychiatrists, or a disparate array of related professionals (such as ophthalmologists)—sorted the children's records into three groups. Children included in the first group, their records marked with a minus sign, were permitted to survive. Inclusion in the second group, designated by the phrase "temporary assignment" or "observation," meant that a decision on the child's fate was to be postponed until a later date. Children in the third group, designated by a plus sign on their records, were identified for "treatment" (Lifton, 1986), "disinfection," "cleaning," "therapy" (Glass, 1997), or "selection" (Proctor, 1988), all Nazi euphemisms for extermination. Unanimous votes were required for each child. This process was facilitated by each panelist's being aware of what previous panelists had decided. Decisions were made exclusively on the basis of the information on the registration form, thereby transforming life-and-death decisions by the state into a macabre administrative exercise.

The fate of the "plus" children was swiftly realized. In most instances, parents, weary with the significant care issues their child with disabilities generated, or perhaps being aware of the current national stigma assigned to disability, were often eager to acquiesce to official urgings that their child be remanded to a state-run facility for "expert care." Parents who appeared reluctant to do so, especially single mothers, were coerced to do so by the state's welfare agencies (Friedlander, 1995).

Those designated for extermination were transferred to one of 28 facilities, among them several of Germany's oldest and most respected hospitals, where they were housed in specially designated killing wards. The Nazi authorities took great care to inform parents that their children would be safe in special wards at the clinics, which would "provide all available therapeutic interventions made possible by recent scientific discoveries" (Friedlander, 1995, p. 47). These assurances were always given with the caveat that such endeavors were also fraught with mortal risks.

There is little doubt that hospital staff were complicit in these endeavors. A particularly gruesome account of these circumstances survives in eyewitness testimony to the actions of Hermann Pfanmuller, the physician in charge of the hospital at Eglfing-Haar:

> I took a conducted tour of the madhouse. . . . Pfanmuller led us into a children's ward. The ward made a clean and cared-for impression. In about fifteen beds there were as many children, all aged between about one and five years old. . . . Pfanmuller explained his intentions at some length. . . . "As a National Socialist, these creatures (he meant the aforementioned children) naturally only present to me a burden upon the healthy body of our nation. We don't kill with poison, injection etc., since that would only give the foreign press and certain gentlemen in Switzerland [the Red Cross] new hate-propaganda material. No: as you see, our method is much simpler and more natural." With these words, and assisted by a nurse who worked in this ward,

> he pulled one of the children out of bed. He displayed the child around like a dead hare, he pointed out, with a knowing look and a cynical grin, 'This one will last another two or three days." The image of this fat, grinning man, with the whimpering skeleton in his fleshy hand, surrounded by other starving children, is still clear before my eyes. (Burleigh, 1994, pp. 45–46)

The methods of killing at the institutions varied. In some instances, children were simply starved to death, which was not considered ideal because it took too long (Friedlander, 1995). However, starvation did allow these murders less chance of detection. Other methods included allowing children to die of exposure in the cold German winters by turning off all heat in the institution (Proctor, 1988). At several asylums, children perished after being administered chemical warfare agents. A more grisly approach involved a method reserved for children who were resistant to other poisons or, because of their disability, were unable to swallow the poison in pill form: fatal injections directly into the heart (Glass, 1997). The most popular lethal drug was Luminal, a barbiturate, closely followed by morphine for children resistant to the Luminal. These were usually administered in pill or liquid form. The genius of this form of homicide was the normally expected availability of these medications in hospitals. Also, some poisons killed indirectly over short periods of time by precipitating fatal medical complications that were then reported as natural causes of death. There is evidence that physicians exchanged information about the efficacy of various medications when they visited each other's institutions or met at the Reich Ministry of Health in Berlin (Friedlander, 1995).

The murder of the children also followed a particular administrative and logistical course. As the condition of the child deteriorated following the fatal dose, the parents would be informed that their child was seriously ill, with a quick follow-up via a standardized letter announcing the child's death before parents could arrange to visit their sick child (Burleigh, 1994). This letter always noted that the child had died suddenly and unexpectedly of one of a number of diseases. Popular choices included brain edema and appendicitis. The favorite cause of death, however, proved to be communicable disease, which necessitated immediate cremation to avoid the danger of an institutional epidemic (Proctor, 1988). However, despite this assurance already having been relayed to their families, not all children were immediately cremated. Instead, they were autopsied in the interests of "science" by Nazi scientists attempting to find obtuse causes for the child's disability.

Two examples of these circumstances are provided by Burleigh (1994). In the first case, 4-year-old Klara H.'s 25-year-old mother, pregnant with her sixth child, was unable to cope. Klara, an "idiot" toddler, was nonambulatory, mute, and not toilet trained. Klara's mother, already coping with four other healthy children, was also attempting to tend the family farm while her husband was on active military duty. Klara was admitted to the pediatric clinic at Kaufbeuren, where 2 months later she died of "pneumonia."

In the second example, Anna Maria R., fondly called Annemarie by her parents, spent most of her life, beginning at age 2, in institutions. She was diagnosed as having "feeblemindedness of the highest degree" (Burleigh, 1994, p. 108). Her parents appear to have been very concerned about her welfare, often sending her clothing and candy. They also requested that her hair be cut more attractively than was the usual institutional style. The parents' letters to the staff inquiring after her health always received courteous responses, indicating, for example, that "your child Annemarie is in good health and order" (Burleigh, 1994, p. 109). Indeed, upon admission, Annemarie had been frail and so weak that she could neither walk nor talk. For a while she appeared to improve; at least that was what her caretakers conveyed to her parents:

> Your dear Annemarie has adjusted to life here very well. She is always breezy and happy and shows no traces of homesickness. She is eating so well that she has gained 1kg [kilogram]. I hope that your dear child will yet learn to speak. (Burleigh, 1994, p. 109)

After a sudden, unexpected transfer to another institution for extermination in 1938, the director there issued a more sober case report unfettered by the usual niceties found in letters to families:

> Unchanged over the duration of this report. Dirty. Cannot stand. Very strong arms. Very good appetite, cries a great deal, particularly at night. Lies still in bed, moves her eyes when one approaches the bed, but shows no mimetic change, laughs a lot, but only says "ah," otherwise nothing. Has not developed in any respect whatsoever. Unchanged, lies still in bed. Can only sit up. (Burleigh, 1994, p. 109)

Soon after, a letter to her parents sympathetically informed them that Annemarie had died of "bronchial asthma and heart failure, a case of idiocy" (Burleigh, 1994, p. 107).

By December 1940, it was officially permissible to include children older than 3 for killing, and by late 1941, children and adolescents up to 17 years of age were also ensnared. Initially, Jewish children were excluded from this program because they did not deserve this "easy death." By 1943, however, just before the program was discontinued, it was extended to include healthy children of "unwanted races" (Proctor, 1988). By that time, approximately 6,000 children had perished.

Disability as a genocidal marker was not reserved only for children. As a logical extension of the children's killing program, adults with disabilities were the next group targeted for disposal. The children's program had established the necessary prototypical bureaucratic processes and boasted a host of officials willing to be complicit in mass murder. In the summer of 1939, Hitler directed top-level officials to implement

an adult euthanasia program, issuing a formal directive on his personal stationery that certain officials were "charged with responsibility to extend the powers of specific doctors in such a way that, after the most careful assessment of the condition, those suffering from illnesses deemed to be incurable may be granted a mercy death" (Burleigh, 1994, p. 112).

The letter, dated September 1, 1939, the day of the outbreak of World War II, was actually written a month later and backdated to imply that it was part of the war effort instead of the culmination of years of prejudice against people with disabilities. Furthermore, the use of Hitler's official stationery carried the imprimatur of an official decree while simultaneously circumventing formal legal processes that would have made this plan public. An entire bureaucracy of sham organizations was then created to execute this new project. Surreptitiously headquartered in an unmarked, nondescript villa in Berlin, the program was named Aktion T-4, after the villa's address at Tiergartenstrasse 4. Initial efforts to establish the adult killing program included augmenting the three-man panels that had decided the fate of so many children. Swiftly, high-level officials who had directed the children's program asked several asylum directors and prominent academics to initiate the program, ostensibly to free up hospital beds and nursing staff for war casualties. Almost all of them agreed.

At about the same time, German soldiers were engaged in the mass murder of institutionalized patients across occupied eastern Europe; the first of such killings occurred in northeastern Germany and in occupied Poland in early January 1940 (Proctor, 1988). Field officers informed Himmler, for example, of "the elimination of approximately 4,400 incurably mentally ill from Polish insane asylums" (Proctor, 1988, p. 189). In this action, patients from several asylums were rounded up, taken to nearby woods, and individually shot in the back of the head. Between 1939 and 1944, almost 13,000 Polish psychiatric patients were killed in this way (Burleigh, 1994). However, in such instances, it quickly became evident that the perpetrators' close proximity to the resulting gore exacted a heavy psychological toll that could be reduced only by using less grisly methods.

The logistical necessities involved in killing large numbers of asylum inmates were also problematic within Germany itself. After rejecting several improbable solutions (such as mass train wrecks), it was decided that carbon monoxide gas would be the most effective. The choice of gas was reinforced after attempts to destroy groups of Polish asylum inmates by tying several of them together and blowing them up with dynamite proved too unsavory (Friedlander, 1995). A human experiment on the effectiveness of the gas was conducted in January 1940. A number of senior officials responsible for Aktion T-4, including many asylum directors and several others who would later make their names infamous at Auschwitz, gathered at a defunct prison near Berlin. Approximately 20 naked asylum inmates were herded into a prototypical gas chamber by psychiatric nurses. The enthusiastic onlookers watched closely as the inmates died from carbon monoxide poisoning. Eight further inmates were administered lethal injections, but when the poison had little immediate effect, these inmates were gassed as well (Friedlander, 1995). Buoyed by the dreadful success he had just witnessed, Viktor Brack, one of the top Aktion T-4 officials, victoriously declared the importance of using physicians to administer the gas through his oft-repeated motto: "The needle belongs in the hand of the doctor" (Proctor, 1988, p. 190).

This gassing process was then repeated several times to refine its efficacy. Soon after, gas cylinders were delivered to six regional killing centers across Germany. The first center to engage in experimental gassing, which quickly got the adult program under way, was housed in an isolated castle at Grafeneck, which for many years after its purchase by a religious order had served as an asylum for persons with mental retardation. Grafeneck boasted workshops, livestock farming, and a small local trade in eggs and honey. Confiscating Grafeneck from the owners, the Nazis quickly transferred the inmates to other institutions. Arriving in plainclothes, men of the SS Death's Head division converted the castle into an extermination center. A few hundred yards from the castle, a gas chamber and crematorium appeared. Based on the logistical experiences of killing children with disabilities, similar administrative networks for registering the adult victims and the sham system of notification of next of kin were put in place. The euphemistically named Community Foundation for the Care of Asylums was the official unit responsible for hiring the killers and building staff, acquiring the gas, and later recycling gold teeth and selling jewelry from the dead. Another sham organization, the Community Patients' Transport Service, Ltd., transported asylum inmates from other institutions to the killing centers.

In contrast to the bureaucratic patina exuded by upper-level officials, the personnel actually carrying out the killings were chosen for their brutality and uncompromising Nazi dedication. It was at Grafeneck and other killing centers that many of these personnel honed their murderous skills for the death camps in which they eventually became guards, camp commanders, and generic sadists. As always, physicians were recruited as the persons responsible for actually turning on the gas that flooded the death chambers.

Elaborate administrative procedures similar to those in the children's program established who the adult murder victims would be. Asylum directors were required to register specific groups under their care, including those suffering from schizophrenia, epilepsy, senile dementia, and feeblemindedness; those who had been institutionalized longer than 5 years; the criminally insane; foreign nationals; and "racial aliens." In the rare instance that an asylum director refused, perhaps fearing some egregious purpose behind the registrations, roving groups of registrars were dispatched to obtain the information (Burleigh, 1994). All data were returned to Berlin, where the fate of the victims was quickly decided in the same manner as in the children's program. Notice was then given to the asylum directors to prepare the victims for transport to the killing centers,

which functioned between January 1940 and August 1941. The Community Patients' Transport Service's buses, painted gray with white windows, would arrive at asylums across Germany. Inmates identified for execution were made ready for the journey by asylum personnel, usually under the pretense of some kind of pleasant outing. They were then led to the buses and boarded with the help of nurses and orderlies, who were assigned to every bus. Those who refused were forcibly placed aboard. No provisions were made for food or much comfort for the journey.

In spite of everyone's best efforts, many inmates sensed their fate. Some attempted to escape, while others appeared more resigned to their deaths. For example, Helen M., an inmate committed for epilepsy, managed to smuggle two letters out of the asylum at Tretten. In the second she wrote:

> Dearest Beloved Father: . . . Today I must write these words of farewell as I leave this earthly life for an eternal home. . . . Father, good father, I do not want to part from you without asking you and all my dear brothers and sisters once more for forgiveness, for all that I have failed you in throughout my whole life. . . . always think that I am going to heaven where we will all be united together with God and our deceased dear ones. . . . I won't lament, but shall be happy. I send you this little picture by way of a memento, your child will be meeting the saints in this way too. . . . Please pray a lot for the peace of my soul. See you again, good father, in heaven. (Burleigh, 1994, pp. 142–143)

Helen M.'s father's efforts to save his daughter were too late to prevent an official letter of condolence from the asylum informing him that she had died of "breathing problems."

When patients arrived at one of the six killing centers, they were unloaded via a covered wooden corridor. Wheelchairs or stretchers were provided for the infirm. The inmates were escorted to a large room, where they were completely undressed and supplied with military overcoats. Most groups were either male or female. If the group was mixed, however, separate changing facilities were used. In a separate examining room, patients were relieved of their coats and examined naked. Their identities were checked and they were closely observed by a physician, who attempted to match the size and appearance of the patient with a sham cause of death that was shortly to follow (Friedlander, 1995). Patients were then weighed, photographed, stamped with a number, and given a piece of cardboard with a corresponding number for retrieving their clothes later. Those who possessed gold dental work were further marked with an X on their backs. Others were also carefully marked if they were deemed appropriate for "scientific" autopsy after death. Most patients' fears were allayed by these seemingly routine medical procedures, which they had all undergone many times before.

The gas chambers were approximately 10 feet by 17 feet wide and 10 feet high, paneled with ceramic tile. Benches lined the walls, hiding a 1-inch perforated pipe that encircled the chamber. A sturdy metal door included a rectangular viewing window. Victims were told they were to enter this "inhalation room" for therapeutic reasons (Friedlander, 1995). Subsequently, at other killing centers and in the death camps, gas was delivered via shower heads, thus further allaying victims' fears and eliminating the rather puzzling "inhalation" premise (Friedlander, 1995).

Sixty at a time, the inmates were locked in the chambers to await their deaths. Troublesome or resistant patients were quieted with an injected sedative or manhandled into the chamber by brute force. A physician then opened a valve, which allowed the gas into the chamber. The reenforced glass opening in the door proved a popular vantage point for many employees, who regularly came to view the executions. Some perpetrators, in postwar testimony, insisted that this "easy death" meant that victims simply "went to sleep." However, to at least one eyewitness, death seemed much more difficult:

> I looked through the window. . . . In the chamber there were patients, naked people, some semi-collapsed, others with their mouths terribly wide open, their chests heaving. I have never seen anything more gruesome. I turned away, went up the steps [where] I vomited everything I had eaten. . . . A few were lying on the ground. The spines of all the naked people protruded. Some sat on the bench with their mouth wide open, their eyes wide open, and breathing with difficulty. (Friedlander, 1995, p. 96)

Within 5 minutes, the victims were unconscious, and within 10 to 15 minutes, all were dead. After a wait of approximately 1 hour, the chamber was ventilated and the marked bodies were transferred either to the autopsy room or to the crematorium for incineration. Prior to cremation, however, the bodies were plundered. Gold-filled teeth and dental bridges were broken from the corpses' mouths and were delivered to the business office. Secretaries stored the foul-smelling teeth in cartons until enough had been accumulated to be forwarded by special courier to Berlin for the Nazi war coffers (Friedlander, 1995). Organs, especially fresh brains, and sometimes skeletons, were harvested at autopsy. They were carefully packed and shipped to the research laboratories of Germany's most distinguished universities. Autopsy activities also provided experience for novice surgeons, who often received academic credit for their efforts (Friedlander, 1995).

The Nazi fascination with difference clearly provided a vast research reservoir of human material. In one instance, in order to study hereditary retardation, 56 inmates with mental retardation, epilepsy, or evidence of significant brain injury were delivered to a research institute, where they were observed, examined, and then killed. Their brains were quickly removed and studied by making comparisons between the autopsied brains and the data collected prior to the patients' demise.

At the killing centers, the logistical problems of burning the bodies far outweighed the relatively simple killing method. Between two and eight bodies were cremated at a time. This protracted process resulted in a backlog of bodies that were often putrefying by the time they were cremated. After cremation, residual bone was crushed in mills or by mallet on specially constructed worktables. Ashes dug from an ever-growing pile were collected in urns, and the nonspecific remains were returned to those next of kin who requested them—at the kin's expense. In these cases, each killing center maintained a tracking map so that not too many urns arrived simultaneously in the same geographical area. This system also ensured that causes of death reported to families in close proximity were markedly different, thereby allaying suspicion. In addition, orderlies were careful not to overfill urns that were supposed to contain the ashes of a child. Concocted causes of death included the now familiar list: communicable diseases such as meningitis, which was possible in people of all ages; pneumonia, a common cause of death secondary to other serious diseases; and cases of stroke, a favored sham diagnosis among the elderly.

There is little doubt that the caretakers at the killing centers knew what they were doing and had become expert at their tasks and that many relished their tasks. At the killing center at Hadamar, for instance, a festive party was held in the crematorium, complete with beer, food, and a polka band. The highlight of the evening was a blasphemous mock burial ceremony over the swastika-festooned corpse of the 10,000th victim gassed at the center (Gallagher, 1990). Unsurprisingly, murderous graduates of Aktion T-4 were the first camp commandants in Sobibor, Belzec, and Treblinka (Aly et al., 1994).

During the life of Aktion T-4, the official body count was 70,273, although postwar German prosecutors put the number at well over 80,000 adults with disabilities. These atrocities had been carried out at more than 100 hospitals, asylums, and medical facilities across Germany (Proctor, 1988). This sad number was not a random achievement, however, but was the precisely calculated goal of the killing program. In the planning stages of the program, Nazi statisticians generated a formula for these deaths. They estimated that for every 1,000 Germans, 10 would need some form of help for their disability. Five of the 10 would require intensive care, and 1 of the 5, the worst of the worst, would need to be killed. Using the 1,000:10:5:1 formula for the German population of 65 million to 70 million citizens, they had, a priori, calculated that between 65,000 and 70,000 persons with disabilities needed to die, very close to the number actually killed (Proctor, 1988). Aktion T-4 statisticians had also recorded the economic triumph of murdering those with disabilities; the 70,273 official "disinfections" had saved the country 885,439,980 Reich Marks (RMs), including 13,490,440 RMs saved on meat and sausage (Friedlander, 1995), 708,350 RMs on jam, 1,054,080 RMs on cheese, and 20,857,026 RMs on bread (Burleigh, 1994).

Resistance to Disability as Genocidal Marker

There is little evidence that asylum directors openly opposed the killing of their patients. However, some questioned the legality of the program, and others deliberately avoided meetings that would have given them no choice but to become personally involved. Some quibbled with the accuracy and utility of the identification process. Scattered instances of delay, deliberate incompetence, and other forms of resistance also occurred. In spite of these efforts, reluctant asylum personnel were often reduced to making difficult choices of who would be taken to the killing centers and who would not.

Soon after the killing program began, there were signs that its secrecy was beginning to fail. Workers from the killing centers talked of their efforts while they relaxed in local taverns. The smoke from the killing centers' crematoria always followed shortly after a gray bus delivered patients to the facility. This intense crematorium activity meant that townspeople had to keep their windows tightly shut, and workers in the fields were often nauseated by the stench of burning flesh (Burleigh, 2000).

Furthermore, while the bureaucratic meticulousness of sham causes of death often held, there were also glaring mistakes that aroused suspicion. In many villages across Germany, for instance, citizens became suspicious when several inmates from the same village or town appeared to have died at approximately the same time, sometimes seemingly from similar ailments. There were other troubling signs. For example, some patients' deaths were officially given as being caused by appendicitis, but families knew that the patient's appendix had been removed several years earlier (Proctor, 1988); other kin received ashes containing hairpins although their relative had been a male asylum inmate (Burleigh, 1994).

By the summer of 1941, there was enough public knowledge to exert pressure on the authorities to discontinue the killing programs. The general outcry was started by parents and families of the deceased, although families were by no means unanimous in protesting the deaths of their relatives with disabilities. Several concerned families approached German legal authorities or, ironically, the Nazis themselves. As the groundswell of protest gained significant momentum, the Nazis did their best to quell rumors and to placate the louder voices of protest. It is generally accepted that the catalyst for the official end to these programs was a fiery sermon delivered by the German Roman Catholic bishop of Munster, Clemens von Galen, on August 3, 1941, which was subsequently circulated around the country. Von Galen openly accused the Nazis of organized homicide of people with disabilities (Friedlander, 1995). The authorities, alarmed that further public exposure would result in a backlash against the regime, quickly shut the programs down.

When the official programs at the six killing centers ceased, the task of euthanasia reverted to hospitals and other institutions across Germany that housed people with disabil-

ities. The preferred methods of killing once again became lethal injection, starvation, and intentional exposure (Proctor, 1988). Such routine killing occurred throughout the rest of the war and even for several months thereafter (Lifton, 1986; Proctor, 1988).

Some Implications for the Present

In retrospect, the Nazi example makes plain that macropolitical and social forces can have a negative impact on people with disabilities. Special education professionals would be well served to use treatment of people with disabilities in a bygone era as an historical touchstone to inform some perceptions of disabilities at the dawn of the new century, including the role of science, the power of ideas, the convergence of macrosocietal conditions, the complicity of the medical profession, and the role of propaganda.

The Role of Science

A major impetus for Nazi ideology was its claim of legitimacy based on the pseudoscience of Social Darwinism, which drove perceptions of difference from benign recognition to active genocide. Not only was the pseudoscientific claimed as science (i.e., as established fact, data based, and replicated over time), but it was used as an instrument of deceit to perpetrate murder. On one hand, the appeal to "science" allowed the willing German intelligentsia to be more easily convinced to support and participate in brutality masquerading as research. On the other hand, the claims of Social Darwinism fed the public's long-held distrust of those who were different, whether racially or in terms of disability (Friedlander, 1995; Lifton, 1986).

The enchantment of the intelligentsia with pseudoscience and the willingness of the public to seize pseudoscientific "facts" as legitimate knowledge remain problems in special education today, albeit in more benign forms (e.g., Kauffman, 1999; Mostert & Kavale, 2002). For example, the unfortunate history of facilitated communication (FC) eloquently demonstrates that fairly nonsensical ideas can be widely and enthusiastically embraced by people who should know better. Many university professors, university teacher-training programs, and school districts across the United States promulgated FC as a cutting-edge intervention for persons with severe communication problems. Furthermore, FC's proponents have attempted to legitimize their claims with "research," which on closer examination is shot through with serious problems of validity and logic (see Mostert, 2001). The results of these actions were extremely damaging, both practically and ethically, to many of the people FC was supposed to assist. The reactions of many members of the public and media, who embraced FC based on the flimsiest of evidence, were hardly less astonishing.

These events emphasize that it is only by careful attention to canons of converging and replicable experimental evidence over time that we have any hope of rooting out pseudoscience, thereby improving the lives of persons with disabilities by the most effective and efficient means. Special educators have a distinct responsibility for understanding the principles and ramifications of experiential and quasi-experimental research, for becoming more informed consumers of educational research, and by becoming more willing to challenge every fad foisted upon them by less-than-neutral parties.

The Power of Ideas

The events described in this article demonstrate the power of ideas and their consequences in the real world. In Nazi Germany, harshly prejudicial ideas toward people with disabilities replaced other, less extreme ideas. Eugenics, for example, did not appear in and of itself sinister, but it was quickly co-opted for nefarious ends. The idea of eugenics was dangerous to people with disabilities because it propelled action with scant regard for decency and compassion. In the marketplace of ideas, eugenics was embraced largely because it served a wider prejudicial purpose, namely, to control and then rid Germany of people deemed different, inferior, and asocial. The minority who resisted were soon silenced in the tidal wave of a demand for conformity to a master race superior to all others. Other, less lethal ideas could have been adopted. For example, energy could have been directed to renewed efforts at understanding deviant behavior, especially behavior resulting from and characteristic of physical, emotional, and intellectual disabilities.

There is ample evidence of special educators co-opting ideas that in and of themselves may have some value for academic debate but that raise serious concerns about significant, negative real-world implications. For example, the application of postmodern ideas to special education research and practice may well prove unnecessarily divisive and counterproductive in treatment of and interventions with persons with disabilities. As Sasso (2001) noted, these ideas may well have some worth at the level of philosophical jousting, but in real terms they may prove damaging to children with disabilities in schools if they negate effective interventions and service delivery.

Convergence of Conditions

Political, intellectual, and social conditions were ripe in Germany in the late 1930s to translate theoretical ideas into action. Forced sterilization would have been less likely had it not had the support of the government, medical and other science professionals, and at least by their silence, the German public. The official act of sterilization, therefore, melded perception of difference, frenzied optimism over the possibilities of genetics, a pressing need to curtail inappropriate social behavior, and the willingness to destroy people with physical, emotional, and intellectual disabilities.

There can be little doubt that at the dawn of this new century, societal forces and other macrosocial conditions are arranged in ways that may have profound implications for persons with disabilities. On one hand, the level and quality of services provided to people with disabilities is perhaps higher than at any other time in history, as is society's acceptance of physical, emotional, and intellectual difference. However, it is equally apparent that perceptions of people with disabilities, especially those with severe and profound disabilities, are increasingly being framed by their societal and economic worth. For example, the worth of people with disabilities is becoming part of profound and difficult debates around abortion, stem cell research, and euthanasia. Special educators must confront the reality that rapid advances in genetic and other medical research have ascribed new and different notions of worth, not always positive, to children with disabilities. For example, it is possible to identify certain disabilities in utero (e.g., Down syndrome), which may change the parents' perceptions of the viability of the fetus.

Abortion of children with disabilities relates to other, even broader biomedical issues, such as stem cell research and organ harvesting (Hershey, 1999a, 1999b). Stem cell research undoubtedly provides enormous potential for new and significant scientific discovery. However, using stem cells that are abortion by-products is ethically problematic for many people. Coupling the undesirability of some in utero conditions with the potential medical and societal worth of these same fetuses postabortion may well meld into increased abortion of fetuses deemed imperfect yet usable for other purposes.

In terms of euthanasia, notions of the economic worth of children with disabilities such as those espoused by Singer (1993) are already well established. In sum, Singer calls for a radical reassessment of what to do with children born with severe and profound disabilities. Through quality-of-life arguments, Singer suggests that the value and fate of newly born children with severe disabilities should be decided according to the child's potential communal worth, including the child's economic worth (Kuhse & Singer, 1985). That is, whether the child is allowed to live or not is completely dependent on the parents' and community's judgment of the child's potential to serve the community, not on the child's inherent right to exist. As with Binding and Hoche, the justification for being allowed to live is based not on the act of involuntarily existing but on societal usefulness.

Concerning the opposite end of the life span, recent developments in the United States and Europe are changing the voluntary nature of a "gentle death" still further, also based, in part, on economic worth. In the United States, Oregon voters have not only designated the power of the state to support physician-assisted suicide, but also established economic criteria for who should and who should not receive expensive health care via Medicaid health-care rationing. Oregon law, for example, specifies denial of treatment for some late-stage terminal illnesses and very low birthweight babies (Smith, 2000). Irrespective of personal preferences on either side of this debate, the Oregon example clearly shows a shift from strict compassion and ethical obligation for treatment of individuals to a more practical medical euthanasia based on collective economic viability. Various U.S. disability groups have strongly opposed such legislation (e.g., Not Dead Yet, 2000). Nor are these issues confined to the United States. The Netherlands, for example, has legislated euthanasia as a citizen's right, legally absolving physicians from criminality in these procedures—an unsubtle reincarnation of Viktor Brack's ghoulish notion that "the needle belongs in the hand of the doctor." In both Oregon and the Netherlands, the state has become an arbiter of decisions about life and death for its citizens, including persons with disabilities. These issues are in urgent need of discussion among special education researchers and practitioners alike.

Complicity of the Medical Professions

It is important to note that the enactment of prejudice against people with disabilities in Nazi Germany could not have succeeded without the complicity of the medical and adjunct professions. Power over life and death was placed firmly in the hands of physicians who became white-coated executioners, having long abandoned the "do no harm" clause of the Hippocratic Oath. Currently, there is evidence of the medical community's again being willing agents in hastening the deaths of people deemed not viable, including people with disabilities, through familiar methods for ending the lives of terminally ill people, such as starvation and death by thirst. Furthermore, there is evidence that "do no harm" is now viewed as a somewhat quaint throwback to a distant, less sophisticated era. For example, many physicians no longer take the Hippocratic Oath before beginning their careers, and many standard hospital treatment protocols now stipulate that staff physicians may override next-of-kin requests for patient treatment if the physician decides that treatment will likely be ineffective (Smith, 2000). Once again, patients, including those with disabilities who are terminally ill, now bear the responsibility of justifying their existence and their need for treatment. This being the case, and with the clear understanding that not all physicians put the greater good ahead of their individual patients, there should at least be some debate about what this means for people with disabilities, many of whom rely extensively on the assumption that their physicians have their best individual treatment interests at heart and will treat them regardless of utilitarian arguments to the contrary.

Propaganda

The Nazis needed a means of influencing public opinion for more active perpetration of actions already planned. Propaganda became a useful tool. Nazi propaganda was created by many leading German artists, authors, and other creative persons impressed by the Third Reich, who lent their credibility and prestige to film, literature, and other public projects. In-

expert in matters of science, but eager to be on the cutting edge of issues of the day, many high-profile celebrities willingly embraced National Socialist dogma.

In a media-savvy age, celebrities and socially prominent persons can have a profound effect on perceptions of disabilities in the wider culture. For example, the American Olympian Bruce Jenner has increased public awareness of learning disabilities by his public acknowledgment that he himself has a learning disability. Others in the public eye have not fared so well: The actor and comedian Jerry Lewis's annual telethon for muscular dystrophy has raised significant amounts of money for research, but he has also been criticized by disability activists for his lack of sensitivity to disability issues (e.g., Hershey, 1999b; New York City Consortium for Independent Living, 2001). It is incumbent upon such public figures to be sure of what they are supporting and espousing before going public to do so, given the persuasive station of their social status.

Conclusions

People with disabilities in Nazi Germany were assumed to be useless, subhuman, of no economic value, and certainly incapable of anything resembling a decent quality of life. These aspects won out over the few protests and documented evidence that, indeed, many people with disabilities, all things considered, lived quite fulfilling lives. Learning these lessons and being aware of similar, if more subtle, problems and conditions facing people with disabilities in this new century should be carefully considered by special education professionals, parents and families, and society at large.

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