

2009

Holocaust Education in Canada: Historical & Curricular Analysis

Angela Della Sottosanti

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/digitizedtheses>

Recommended Citation

Sottosanti, Angela Della, "Holocaust Education in Canada: Historical & Curricular Analysis" (2009).
Digitized Theses. 4108.
<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/digitizedtheses/4108>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Digitized Special Collections at Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Digitized Theses by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlsadmin@uwo.ca.

***Holocaust Education in Canada:
Historical & Curricular Analysis***

(Spine Title: Holocaust Education: Historical & Curricular Analysis)

Thesis Format: Monograph

By

Angela D. Sottosanti

Graduate Education

***Submitted in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education***

***School of Graduate and Post Doctoral Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario***

© Angela D. Sottosanti 2009

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

CERTIFICATE OF EXAMINATION

Supervisor

Examiners

Dr. Robert Macmillan

Dr. Michael Murphy

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Allan Pitman

Dr. Brian Way

Dr. Brock Millman

The thesis by
Angela Della Sottosanti

entitled:

Holocaust Education in Canada: Historical & Curricular Analysis
is accepted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

Date _____

Chair of the Thesis Examination Board

Abstract

This thesis examines the history of Holocaust Education through the examination of the Ontario curriculum from the 1960s to date. The analysis displays that as the events became further separated from memory more study took place in the classroom. The creation of academic works by leading historians also served to provide a platform for study. Numerous programs have also been generated with federal and provincial support in an effort to increase the study of the Holocaust in classrooms and in the community. The essay also examines moral and ethical challenges to studying the Holocaust as well as the varying influences that may be present for educators in an ever growing socially conscious society.

Table of Contents

	Page
Certificate of Exam	ii
Abstract	iii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
The Research Problem	1
Content and Background	3
Chapter 2: Holocaust Education in Canada	13
Chapter 3: Curricula Analysis	20
Chapter 4: Why Study the Holocaust?	40
Chapter 5: Influences to Studying the Holocaust	49
Chapter 6: Moral and Ethical Issues to teaching the Holocaust	56
Chapter 7: Conclusion	68
References	73
Vita	78

Chapter 1: Introduction

I consider teaching about the Holocaust, its roots and consequences, a crucial obligation. It constitutes a necessary part of every young person's education, whatever their national and cultural background. ...there are those who claim that 'we have already heard enough about this.' We will never hear enough about it

(Schwimmer, 2000, 27).

1) The Research Problem

A) Research Questions:

This thesis explores the following research questions in an effort to examine Holocaust education from an historical, educational, and social perspective.

- What are the issues surrounding Holocaust education in Canada?
- What is the history of Holocaust education in Canada?
 - as a discipline
 - as legislated in Ontario
 - as an educational initiative
- How has the study of the Holocaust in the Ontario curriculum evolved since the 1950s?
- What are the major moral and ethical implications that surround teaching about the Holocaust?
- What is the value of the study of the Holocaust

- Is there a need for educators to be ethically responsible in teaching such a sensitive topic?

B) Rationale for the Study

Recent political trends in England that have focused on the sensitivities of students have prompted government officials and educators to question the validity and necessity of Holocaust education. In addition to this, some educators in the British system are hesitant to teach about the genocide because of the fear of angering students who believe in the teachings of Holocaust denial (*Daily Mail*, April 2, 2007). Further, educators have become fearful of offending students from a myriad of different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds which has led to “shallow” lessons on emotive subjects such as the Holocaust (*Times Online*, April 2 2007). These political issues that affect curriculum arise in many nations, especially in a nation as pluralistic as Canada. As educators responsible for teaching about politically sensitive topics we need to be aware of the issues surrounding Holocaust education.

This problem is worth investigating because the Holocaust, as a topic, is rich in content. By studying the Holocaust, teachers can introduce numerous issues and contexts into the classroom that extend beyond the Holocaust. The social importance of this topic can be seen when students apply the lessons learned from this historical tragic event to societal issues in our world today. This thesis examines the issues surrounding the study of the Holocaust in schools.

2) Content and Background

A) Literatures and Theory

Historical Background

Before an examination of the Holocaust as a curricular focus can take place, one must first examine the origins of the term Holocaust. Following the end of the Second World War, the 1948 Israeli Declaration of Independence used the term "Holocaust" (Shoah, 1949), to describe the attempted genocide of European Jewry. In the 1960s and 1970s, the word Holocaust began to be utilized more often, and almost exclusively, in relation to the Third Reich's "Final Solution;" *the planned genocide of the European Jewish population* (B'nai Brith Canada, Holocaust Education in Canada—Definition, Data Collection and Responses, 2007, p. 1). The writings of notable historians Hannah Arendt, Elie Wiesel, and Emil Fackenheim also influenced the popularity of the term in their publications (B'nai Brith Canada, Holocaust Education in Canada—Definition, Data Collection and Responses, 2007, p. 1). Thus, the term "Holocaust" became synonymous with the mass murder of European Jews that had as its purpose the extermination of the entire Jewish population during the Second World War.

As Holocaust scholarship began to emerge and progress as a field of study during the post-modern era, various issues surrounding the teaching of the subject began to emerge. Leading historians began to advocate for the teaching of the Holocaust (Marrus, 1979). However, arrangements arose around when this

education should begin in a student's life and what elements should be studied or removed. Raul Hilberg (1979), Christopher Browning (1978) and Micheal Marrus contend that the study of the Holocaust is less about access to new sources than it is about the change of the historical perspective that will influence future Holocaust research. Given the climate of post modern violence to which students are acclimatized, educators must aim to teach the competing morality of the Holocaust and place less of an emphasis on the violence (Marrus). Toten and Feinberg, leading education scholars, contend that the teaching of the subject, no matter how brief, will have value for students (2001, p. 7-14).

Educational Practice

When preparing lessons on the Holocaust, clear reasons for studying the events must be examined. Deborah Lipstadt contends that perhaps the central goal in studying the Holocaust is that students should become knowledgeable of the issues (1995, p. 29). Given the recent resurgence of discourse on the validity of teaching events such as the Holocaust, the reasons for study should also be identified to ensure that educators have clear objectives and comprehensive historical knowledge when attempting to explicate to his or her students a topic that has had such a profound impact on the psyche of Western nations.

The interest in Holocaust studies and courses has risen immensely since the Eichmann trial (Marrus, 1987, p. 5). The conclusion of the Eichmann trial

placed legal blame on high Nazi officials, including Eichmann, and laid to rest the issue of culpability in the events of the Holocaust. The new-found popularity of Holocaust examination by academics does not resonate with educator knowledge on the topic; there is a disconnect between the two. Henry Friedlander, a noted scholar and Holocaust survivor, has great trepidation regarding its sudden popularity and the quick creation of Holocaust curricula; he asserts that a major issue in Holocaust education is that the lessons often lack a concrete focus by educators which, in turn, may destroy the value of the lessons to be learned through a lack of depth and core knowledge on the subject (1979, p. 520). Friedlander further asserts that,

The problems of popularization and proliferation should make us careful about how we introduce the Holocaust into the curriculum; it does not mean we should stop teaching it. But we must try to define the subject of the Holocaust. Even if we do not agree about the content of the subject, we must agree on its goals and on its limitations. (1979, 522)

Samuel Totten and Stephen Feinberg (2001) assert that several elements influence educators' reasons for studying the Holocaust and these reasons need to be examined. These influences are: (1) the educator's aims; (2) the educator's knowledge of the Holocaust; (3) the specific curriculum the educator is teaching; (4) the abilities and interests of the students; (5) the time allotment for study of the Holocaust; and (6) the resources available (Totten & Feinberg, p. 7).

This study examines the Ontario curriculum that focuses on an analysis of the history of Holocaust education and is likely the first of its kind of relatively recent interest in the Holocaust. As we can see in the 1963 Ministry of Education Curriculum and Ontario Curriculum of 1970, Holocaust education was not predominant until the 1960s and 1970s and failed to examine the curriculum documents as a source of primary research. Through the examination of the curricula developed from the history of the Holocaust, notable trends are examined here as a means to explore Holocaust education as an area worthy of study.

Methods/ Methodology

A) Organization of the Analysis

Starting with the discourse surrounding Holocaust education in England, this study analyzes the reasons for Holocaust study and curriculum in Ontario. This analysis examines the value of the study of the Holocaust and the need for educators to be ethically responsible when teaching such a sensitive topic. This thesis is divided into three parts. First, I examine the reasons why the Holocaust has been determined to be important to study and why decisions were made to include it in curriculum. Second, the thesis provides an historical examination of Holocaust curricula and initiatives in

Ontario. Third, the thesis considers the ethical and moral issues that inevitably result in classroom study of this sensitive issue.

B) Methods of Obtaining Data

The data I examined are derived from the Ontario curricula documents from the 1950s to present. I obtained the documents from university libraries and from the provincial archives. I first performed a literature review and then examined the curriculum documents for themes and trends. I analyzed the documents and the literature in the summer of 2008 and then commenced writing in the fall of 2008.

The basic approach taken was:

- An historical examination of relevant government documents to determine what trends have occurred in Holocaust education.
- An examination of literature to determine the key arguments as to why one should teach the Holocaust.

Research Methodology

Through the examination of the current discourse in the news media and the discussion among those who enjoy the study of history, the topic of Holocaust education seemed to surface frequently. The political pressure in

England to remove Holocaust teaching was especially interesting. It seemed unconscionable to remove such a significant event in human history to please a few. In recognition of this controversy, I believed there needed to be research which examined not only the reasons for Holocaust study, but also the changes in Ontario's curriculum that dealt with the Holocaust.

For this study, I first surveyed the existing research available on the topic of Holocaust education. Much of the research I examined analyzed either how to approach the study of the Holocaust or why the Holocaust must be studied in the classroom, but there was no primary research on the curriculum documents. No one had attempted to look at the development of Holocaust education in an Ontario context or to determine when the study of the Holocaust became a reality in this province's classrooms.

The current research on Holocaust education in Canada was to be limited to Canada and more specifically to Ontario. The main focus of this study was an examination of the progression of change and development of Holocaust Education in Ontario's curriculum. The nature of Canada's cosmopolitan cities was not examined, nor how to approach Holocaust study in various ethnic and religiously based communities.

I chose to examine the Ontario curricula starting with the 1960s because there was little curricular change in the 1950s and the decade was far too present in the memories of the population; the Holocaust had just happened. The

curriculum examined from this period was the senior secondary level western civilization course. This course covered the Second World War extensively; therefore, the analysis of the Holocaust should have been present. I chose not to examine all of the textbooks used because the scope of the study would have become too large to examine the topic thoroughly and these were not the official government policy on Holocaust education.

The focus of my research is a historical document analysis in which I examined the curriculum documents in order to ascertain the trends and changes that have taken place in the education focus in the province of Ontario from the 1960s to present. This type of research allowed for:

- The examination of trends, patterns, and consistency in instructional documents
- The analysis of historical material, especially documenting trends over time.
- The establishment of reliability of the source documents because they are readily available in academic libraries, which are repositories for official governmental documents
- The examination of materials that were complete and available for each decade

Given that the aim of this research was to provide a historical examination of the changes and evolution of Holocaust curriculum in Ontario, a document analysis was the best method for conducting research. A quantitative survey approach

would not have been effective as the aim of the research was not to examine the opinions of students in history classrooms. Regarding the teaching of the Holocaust, today; the aim of the research was to examine the changes in curriculum that have taken place over the past forty years.

The choice not to examine textbooks was deliberate. The goal of this study was to examine official curricular changes dictated by the government, and not to examine the views of publishing companies. The examination of textbooks would also make the study far too broad and not allow for a full historical examination of the curriculum; textbooks are only reflections and interpretations of the official curriculum, which although officially approved, may vary from publisher to publisher.

For the purpose of this study I aimed to examine critically the official curricula and to challenge educators to teach the topic of the Holocaust in both a historical and moral context. In this fashion, teachers can display to students the effects of the events as well as to provide the foundation for the identification of other instances of genocide.

The writings of prominent historians like Michael Marrus (1987) and educational theorists Short and Reed (2000) influenced this approach. These scholars approach the study of the Holocaust in a progressive way with the hope of spreading knowledge of the events by teaching students the lessons as well as the issues of morality that can be learned from the events. The research lends

itself to being examined through a critical lens. Why did the curriculum take so long to catch up with academic publications? (Short & Reed, 2001). Were there social controls at play which withheld the study of the Holocaust? Also, given the sensitive nature of the materials that described the human rights atrocities that took place, to what extent did equity and social justice underlie curricular decisions? These questions cannot be avoided when examining an event of this nature; students and teachers must be aware of the human reality involved (Marrus, 1987).

The early curriculum from the 1960s and 1970s failed to include an examination of the Holocaust as a topic of study. In fact, not a single mention was made of the Third Reich's racial policy or to the social control they exercised over the populace. The 1980s curriculum was still conservative in nature, because it did note the racial ideology of the Nazi party that led to the Holocaust, but once again, failed to single it out as a topic of study. The first curriculum to effectively and thoroughly examine the Holocaust was released in the 1990s. These changes have continued and the current Ontario curriculum examines the Holocaust in various courses, such as law and politics. This study examines the changes and provides an analysis of the background and events of the Holocaust that educators must provide to their students.

Another objective of this study was to examine why there was such a lag between historical events and their inclusion in the curriculum. My own examination of the research on the Holocaust led me to conclude that it was not

until academic works by Raul Hilberg (1979), Christopher Browning (1978), and Michael Marrus (1979) began to surface that school initiatives and lessons examining the Holocaust began to surface as well. This suggests that while educators draw on a wealth of resources, they need to have and be exposed to tangible resources for their lessons, and text books need to be created for their use.

In my study I utilized both primary and secondary sources for my analysis in order to determine the historical context of Holocaust education in Canada and the moral and ethical considerations that educators must make to deal with this topic.

Chapter 2: Holocaust Education in Canada

The goals of Holocaust Education Programs are to provide students with an understanding of the prevalence of Nazi-driven anti-Semitism during the WWII period, develop within students, an appreciation of Jewish culture and to foster students' commitment to anti-racism education and the development of a tolerant and diverse society

~Race Relations coordinator, Nova Scotia School Board (1981)

The conception of the Holocaust in Canada is similar to that of other major western civilizations, especially that of the United Kingdom. Immediately following the Holocaust, there was little discourse surrounding the topic. However, a few trends were present in Canada which made the awareness of the Holocaust unique. The first of these trends was Canada's strong Holocaust survivor community (Short & Reed, 2001, p. 18). Following the Second World War, numerous survivors immigrated to Canada and the environment they found was very conducive to their experiences. Thus a plethora of accounts have surfaced from Canadian Holocaust survivors which have added a "personal" touch to Holocaust study. The second trend present is Canada's unique implementation of multiculturalism as part of the national program of new legislature (Short & Reed, 2001, p. 18). This focus has fostered a more accepting community where citizens are free to express their cultural uniqueness, and, in turn, to preserve many of the accounts and rhetoric which would have otherwise been lost to time.

In Canada and North America as a whole, the Holocaust as a discipline of study emerged in the 1970s after a long period of avoidance. Prominent Canadian historian Michael Marrus asserts that when he entered the field in the 1960s, there was no literature on the topic and one would never hear of the Holocaust as a topic of study in a lecture (1995, p. 27.) Marrus further asserts that historians would write on the Third Reich while neglecting to examine the Holocaust and how it shaped policy for the Nazi regime (1995, p. 27.) The curricula and textbooks of the time also did not have the Holocaust as a topic of study until well into the 1970s.

The trial of Adolf Eichmann, which came to a close in 1962, had a profound impact on Holocaust rhetoric and historical works (Marrus, 1987, p. 5-8). Following the trial, Hannah Arendt's writing on the trial proceedings, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963), evoked discourse on the events of the Holocaust. This discourse emerged because Arendt turned the Holocaust into, "an event in its own right" (Novick, 1999, p. 144). Thus, the creation of the Holocaust as a discipline of study emerged and a plethora of publications followed by scholars such as Raul Hilberg, Christopher Browning, and Michael Marrus. As academic writing began to be created, these publications would soon directly influence the direction to be taken by Ontario curriculum of the 1980s.

i) History of Holocaust Education in Canada

As a nation, Canada is unique in its cultural makeup and this pluralism has influenced the public policies of the nation. Since Canada's origins, before and after the Conquest, Canada has been multicultural. This diversity became increasingly more evident after World War Two with the influx of people from Europe and elsewhere. This influx served to influence the government of Pierre Trudeau which enacted a policy that advocated the principles of multiculturalism. The Multiculturalism Act of 1971 states that there is no "official culture" and no ethnic group takes precedence over another (Ministry of Canadian Heritage, 1971). This "ethnocultural preservation and growth became goals of public policy" (Troper, 1991, p. 234). As a result of the Multicultural policy of the 1970s and 1980s, provinces developed curricula that aimed to capture multicultural issues and concerns. In turn, school boards funded courses that illustrated the traditions and experience of Canada's ethnic groups and supported courses that endorsed the reduction of prejudice (Short & Reed, 2001, p. 22). These curricula and policies created a forum for Holocaust education to be accepted and widely practiced because Holocaust education could serve the purpose of challenging prejudice and discrimination and encourage a perspective that valued diversity.

As already mentioned, one of the main reasons for Holocaust education becoming a focus for Canadian Jews was the size and "vitality" of survivor communities, specifically in Toronto and Montreal (Short & Reed, 2001, p. 22). Thus, as a result of the size and influence of these communities, Holocaust

education developed earlier in Ontario than elsewhere and at an escalated rate.

ii) *Educational Initiatives*

The Jewish communities in Canada have created a myriad of educational programs that have served to foster the rate of growth of Holocaust education. One of the first organizations which served to demonstrate a support for Holocaust education was the National Holocaust Remembrance Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1973 (Short & Reed, 2001, p. 22). By the late 1970s, local committees, comprised of numerous Holocaust survivors, became strong in over twelve Canadian cities; the Toronto chapter (Toronto Jewish Congress) became predominant. In 1978, the Toronto Jewish Congress began a Holocaust education committee run by survivors and educators who were the offspring of survivors, and educators with an interest in multiculturalism (Short and Reed, 2001, p. 22). The committee created summer Teacher Training Forums, a long-term partnership with school boards, professional development for educators, lecture series, the production of curricula, and an annual Toronto student seminar on the Holocaust (Short and Reed, 2001, p. 22). These programs and materials served to provide a public vehicle for promoting the awareness of the importance of Holocaust education in the province of Ontario.

Another group which has served to foster the importance of Holocaust education is the League for Human Rights of the B'nai B'rith who organized the

Holocaust and Hope educational program. The program was created in 1986, with the Holocaust denial movement as a backdrop. The aims of the program are to have educators tackle history and become "witnesses themselves" (Mock, 2000, 125). The program mandates a three week tour of Germany, Israel, and Poland, and upon return, the participants are requested to join a committee that aims to provide professional support to educators who are interested in teaching issues of the Holocaust, such as, countering Holocaust denial. The layout of the program is as follows:

The Student Study Tour is highlighted by a 3-day visit to the Massuah Institute, a teaching and residential facility in Israel dedicated to familiarizing young people with the facts, meaning and implications of the Holocaust through a unique and in-depth program of audio-visual materials, documentary sources and survivor testimony. In addition to visits to Holocaust education centres, there will be time allotted for touring in Jerusalem, Galilee, and Israel's Mediterranean coast. (Holocaust & Hope, 2009)

The program aims to accept participants from all over Canada from all faith and from all schools (including public schools).

Programs which aim to aid the educator in Holocaust education do exist; however, the larger issue remains that programs of this nature are time consuming and may not be geographically or financially accessible to all. The most notable aspect of these programs is the collaborative relationships forged with school boards. These programs are an invaluable resource because outside agencies that are also aware of curricular concerns and have collaborative

connections with boards can make materials more readily available to the individual educator.

iii) Legislation in Ontario

As a province, Ontario has attempted to aid in the growing Holocaust awareness. Holocaust Memorial Day was introduced as a bill in the legislature in 1998. The draft of Bill 66 was the first display of acknowledgment of the importance of the influence of the Holocaust in Canada. The bill was designed to focus on human rights and highlight Canada's multicultural framework; its introduction reads:

Such a day would provide an opportunity to reflect on and educate about the enduring lessons of the Holocaust. This day shall also provide an opportunity to consider other instances of systematic destruction of peoples, human rights issues and the multicultural reality of modern society. (Government of Ontario, 1998, p.1)

In response to Bill 66, in 2003, the Canadian Government passed Bill C-459 to establish a nation-wide Holocaust memorial day. The bill is similar to Ontario's in that it advocates that the federal government is, "committed to using legislation, education and example to protect Canadians from violence, racism and hatred and to stopping those who foster or commit crimes of violence, racism and hatred" (House of Commons Canada, 2003).

The intent of Bill 66 and Bill C-459 are important: as they aim to promote and safeguard Holocaust education in schools. However, the bills fail by not directly affecting curricula and educational initiatives in Canada; albeit, they do draw

attention to the importance of the topic and thus may aid in the Holocaust remaining a current topic of discourse at national and provincial levels. Further, these bills need to be more concrete in their directions as these bills can then serve as a resource for provincial curriculum writers and decision makers in order to foster the permeation of Holocaust discourse throughout the public school system.

Chapter 3: *Curricula Analysis*

An examination of Ontario curricula displays a progression of the history of Holocaust education. The analysis presented here is likely the first study of its kind; other published works observed that Holocaust education was not predominant until the 1960s and 1970s, and failed to examine the curriculum documents as a source of primary research. Historian Harold Troper examined early curriculum but did not examine the past twenty years where the most significant change has taken place. Through the examination of curricula following the Holocaust, notable trends are identified in the treatment of Holocaust education as a subject worthy of study.

Popular research suggests Holocaust education emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Marrus, 1987, p. 5-8). However, the examination of curricula offers a different perspective and challenges this assertion. Indeed, Holocaust education did experience a surge following the Eichmann trial in the 1960s, but the popularity does not resonate in the Ontario curriculum of that era. This suggests that social trends do not immediately affect policy and time is required to make changes to the curriculum.

For the purposes of this study, curriculum can be defined as the core subjects that students must take in their educational career. Therefore, curriculum can be understood as,

1. Curriculum as a body of knowledge to be transmitted.
2. Curriculum as an attempt to achieve certain ends in students - product.
3. Curriculum as process.
4. Curriculum as praxis. (Smith, 2000)

Although curriculum is a combination of the above influences one has to recognize the political implications of curriculum

What is of particular importance in this study is that curriculum changes were very much part of the political climate of the period; curriculum is as much political as it is educational and curriculum changes and revisions often are central to provincial re-election. Historically, curriculum changes in Ontario have taken place as political parties change through the election process. Thus, one party removes the old and brings in the new, which contains the parties' political objectives.

As we have moved farther away historically from the events, we have achieved a level of political correctness when examining the Holocaust (Short & Reed, 2007, p. 5-31). Given the modernist context of the present political climate, the current curriculum has captured the Historical realities of the Holocaust more than its predecessors. The study of history has also become more sociologically driven in recent decades as has the curriculum (Short & Reed, 2001, p 21-32).. Thus as political trends drive history itself it also affects the creation of

curriculum. Below is an examination of Ontario's curricula from the 1960s to present.

1960s

In the 1960s Holocaust education in Ontario was still undeveloped as evidenced in the curricular objectives for the pertinent subject areas. For example, an examination of the *1963 Ministry of Education Senior Division Curriculum* displays this void. Although at the time a relatively new term, the curriculum makes no direct reference to the events of the Holocaust as a historical reality and, in fact, the term "holocaust" does not appear anywhere in the document. Section IV of the document covers the period of the Second World War (The World From 1919 to 1945). The document does, however, note the presence of fascist or totalitarian nationalist movements in Europe during this period, but the document fails to refer specifically to any of the regimes' actions or ideological beliefs. Thus, one could teach the Second World War without giving mention to the underlying catastrophic events that occurred during the war.

Below is a listing of the notations in the Ontario Ministry of Education document that skim the Holocaust, but again, fail to acknowledge the event.

- "The First World War greatly intensified the development of nationalism

by the formation of new nations and by the creation of conditions that make possible the rise of such extreme national movements as Fascism and Nazism" (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1963, p. 23).

- "The policies of Germany and of Italy proved disruptive to the established order" (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1963, p. 24).
- "Recent economic and social trends:
 1. Significant developments: power, transportation, and communication; industry
 2. Problems (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1963, p. 24).
- "Totalitarian Experiments . . .
 - In Germany under Hitler" (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1963, p. 23).

Thus, in the 1963 Ontario Curriculum, the Holocaust is not noted as a significant element in the history of the Second World War; textbooks of the period also fail to directly cover the Holocaust as a topic of study (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1963, p. 23-27). An interesting observation is the presence of economic and social trends as a category in the curriculum and the presence of "problems" under that section. This section provides the educator with no direction as to what the social problems were during the war. Also of note is the vague nature of early curricula. Educators were given topics to teach, such as those listed above, but no direct instructions as to what the end of term objectives were for the educator. The 1963 Ontario history curriculum reads as a

list of historical topics for educators to examine in the classroom; however, the document fails to provide educators with any concrete direction as to how (or in what detail) to examine a topic. The 1967 Hall-Dennis Report mandated the curricular changes that took place in the 1970s. There was a shift because prior to this point, political and utilitarian history predominated and social history was not yet examined; thus a focus was not placed on social historical events.

1970s

The Ontario curriculum of 1970, History Senior Division, displays similar findings to that of the 1963 curriculum. The Holocaust, or any topic related to it, is not mentioned in the document. The document provides a list of suggested topics for the educator that is, "organized for convenience in traditional order" (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1970, p. 10). Again the curriculum document prescribes topics surrounding the Holocaust, but fails to note it as a topic of study, topics from the document include:

- "Catastrophe and Europe's Decline
 - Fascism
 - The totalitarian experience of the Second World War (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1970, p. 10).
- Studies of such leaders as . . . Hitler" (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1970, p. 10).

The 1970 curriculum is even more vague than its predecessor in that it provides very basic lists of topics for educators to examine. It does not offer the educator any suggestions for how to teach these topics or the reasons for doing so, albeit the document does note, "Selection is at the discretion of the class and the teacher in order to facilitate a learning experience where individual needs and aptitudes can be accommodated" (Ministry of Education, History Senior Division, 1970, p. 10). Thus, the reading of the document does suggest that educators can teach specific topics that resonate with his or her students and that fit with the broad framework, but the absence of the Holocaust as a subject of study could speak to the historical neglect or to a belief it was not a topic worthy of study.

The examination of the curriculum of the 1970s also displays how political influences altered curriculum writing. The Hall-Dennis Report (1967) supported the decentralization of curriculum to the school/teacher level. Therefore as the curriculum reads, only broad guidelines for the curricula were to be elaborated by the Ministry. Thus, this curriculum is open ended and allows teachers to remove or add topics at their own discretion. This notation in the curriculum document ensures that there is no educational standard from school to school. Educators could simply disregard a topic without justification and have the subject open to personal or local preference without consideration of the social importance of any one topic for which no provincial standard was present.

1980s

The 1987 Ontario curricula is the first which directly refers to the Holocaust within the document. The senior history course, *Twentieth Century World History*, has a unit on the Second World War in which the Holocaust is a topic to be examined. This curriculum is more specific in nature than its predecessors; however, the document fails to provide educators with concrete objectives for study. Instead, it notes large general topics which require more specific examination of key issues. The broad topics in the curriculum which refer to the Holocaust are listed below:

- The background and scope of the Holocaust (Ontario Curriculum, 1987, p. 43).
- Technological developments that altered the nature of warfare (Ontario Curriculum, 1987, p. 43).

Again, the curriculum of the 1980s was directly influenced by political change. Following the Hall-Dennis Report, Radwanski (1987) called for the tightening up of curricula and suggested that the curricula should be written centrally. Thus the curriculum became more specific and educators had clear guidelines as to what topics they should cover and this created a standard across the province. Radwanski's recommendation was a product of the perceived lack of uniformity across the province that grew out of Hall-Dennis.

The 1987 curriculum contains only one specific notation to the Holocaust which is the “the background and scope” of the events (Ontario Curriculum, 1987, p. 43). Thus, while the Holocaust is finally present in the curriculum, the way the objective is written gave educators no details of the specific topics or content to be taught. With its inclusion in the curriculum, teachers could not ignore the Holocaust as a topic of study.

1990s

The 1992 *Ontario Curriculum* which reflected a further tightening of curriculum resulting from the Radwanski Report recommendations makes numerous direct references to the Holocaust and the significance of the event in the history of the 20th century. Students had a number of curricular expectations that went far beyond the rote nature of traditional history courses. The Grade 12 course, *World History: West and the World* (university preparation) regarding Holocaust education reads as follows:

- Technology, science, and industry had inspired optimism and a faith in progress and unparalleled material development, but these forces had also produced an unparalleled destructive capability. This capability causes us to question the nature of our rational world because the course of the twentieth century has been dominated by horrific episodes, totalitarianism, the Holocaust, and the nuclear arms race (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies, Grade 11& 12, 2002, p. 8).

- World War II Part I – The Nazi Revolution (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 9).
- Why Hitler? Why Germany? (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies, Grade 11& 12, 2002, p. 9).
- The moral problems of the Nazi regime as embodied in the Holocaust (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies, Grade 11& 12, 2002, p. 9).
- An analysis of the rationalization of evil. Is anyone innocent? (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies, Grade 11& 12, 2002, p. 9).
- Demonstrate an understanding of the key factors that have led to conflict and war...and genocides, including the Holocaust (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies, Grade 11& 12, 2002, p. 17).

An examination of the curricular content displays that, by the early 1990s, Holocaust consciousness was a part of the Ontario curriculum. The students were expected to examine many of the larger issues surrounding the Holocaust, such as the notion of guilt and how technology aided such an atrocity. Students also examined the precursors to such events and the political climates that may exist for a nation to follow a destructive leader. This curriculum is an example of the overall aims of historical study in which educators must look beyond the facts to uncover key trends and themes. This curriculum equipped educators with pre-determined aims which made curricular objectives and lesson planning more

streamlined.

The Current Ontario Curriculum

The current Ontario Curriculum, modified by the Liberal government after 2003, states that the Holocaust is part of the teaching expectations in numerous history courses. These criteria demonstrate the historical and social implications of the Holocaust for students. The discussion below outlines where the Holocaust is found in the various courses.

World History: The West and the World (Grade 12 - University)

The final secondary history course is a comprehensive survey of western history from the middle ages; thus, not a lot of time can be spent on one topic. However, the objectives of the curriculum still include the teaching of the Holocaust. The objective focusing on the Holocaust reads as follows:

- analyze key factors that have led to conflict and war (e. g. genocides, including the Holocaust) (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies Grade 11 & 12, 2005, p. 195).

Students are to examine how the ideology of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism led to Nazi occupation and ultimately the outbreak of the Second World War. When comparing the 2005 curriculum to that of 1992, one can see that fewer

objectives in the 2005 curriculum are focused on the teaching of the Holocaust; the 1992 Ontario Curriculum focuses on the ideology of totalitarianism, Nazi policy, and the implications of the Holocaust.

World History Since 1900- Global Perspectives (Grade 11 - Open)

The course, Global Perspectives, also contains teaching on the Holocaust. Students are to examine how elements of the Holocaust have affected society as a whole. The curricular expectation reads,

- explain how genocides that have taken place since 1900 have affected not only the victims and victimizers but also the world at large (e.g., famine in Ukraine, the Holocaust, mass executions under Pol Pot, Rwandan genocide, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia). (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies Grade 11 & 12, 2005 p.176)

Students are to examine the incidence of genocide and its larger implications, not only for the society affected, but for global society as a whole.

Canadian History Since World War One (Grade 10 - Academic)

The *2005 Revised Ontario Curriculum* defines the Holocaust as “a term used to refer to the systematic, state-sponsored persecution and annihilation of

European Jewry by the Nazis and their collaborators between 1933 and 1945” (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies Grade 9 & 10, 2005, p.72).

Again, the expectations for the students are clear and laid out for the educator as to what objectives the students should meet upon the terms completion. Below are the expectations for the course:

- explain the impact in Canada of the experience and memory of the Holocaust (e.g., immigration of Holocaust survivors; introduction of human rights legislation; policy dealing with hate crimes and Nazi war criminals; nature of response to occurrences of genocide/ethnic cleansing in the world after World War II; participation in International War Crimes tribunal. (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies Grade 9 & 10, 2005, p 46)
- analyse significant events related to the Holocaust (e.g., the rise of anti-Semitism and Nazism; Kristallnacht; establishment of ghettos, concentration camps, and death camps) and Canada’s response to those events. (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies Grade 9 & 10, 2005, p. 47)
- analyse Canada’s responses to some of the major human tragedies since World War I (e.g the Holocaust). (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Studies Grade 9 & 10, 2005, p 49)

were present in many curricula, such as politics and law. This presence displays the shift of perceived importance of the Holocaust because the study of the events carried into various disciplines. This shift is demonstrated below.

Canadian and World Politics Grade 11 Open

The course *Canada and World Politics* provides an examination of the role of social and political events and changes in peoples' lives. The course builds upon, "the Civics and Geography programs, preparing students to participate more fully in other courses, such as law, history, and, in the Catholic system, the senior morality course" (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Politics, 2005, p. 1).

- identify the causes and consequences of non-governmental international conflict and violence (e.g., terrorism, ethnic conflict, organized crime).
- responsibilities of states in the international community are parallel to the rights and responsibilities of citizens in democratic national communities (e.g., based on analysis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Geneva Conventions. (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Politics, 2005, p. 257)

The Holocaust is not explicitly referenced in the curriculum; however, ethnic conflict is at the heart of the Holocaust. Also, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was created in response to the Holocaust atrocity. This declaration is designed to protect people from catastrophic events like the Holocaust; thus, the

aim of this section of the course is for students to understand modern events of genocide, parallels that exist, and the responses taken by world bodies.

Grade 12 Law University Preparation

The law course aims to provide students with a context for the evolution of international law with a focus on human rights issues. The circumstances surrounding the Holocaust serve to display how one historical event can impact changes in law.

- identify domestic laws, past and present, in various countries (e.g., Nuremberg Laws) that conflict with the principles of international law and explain how they violate those principles International Treaties.
- evaluate the effectiveness of international treaties for the protection of human rights. (e.g., Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Ministry of Education, Law, 2005, p. 245)
- identify historical and contemporary examples of conflicts between minority and majority rights. (Ministry of Education, Law, 2005, p. 242)

Again, the Holocaust itself is not directly referenced, but the Nuremberg laws, Hitler's prescriptive announcement of the treatment of the Jews in Germany under his command, are a topic of study. These laws were a precursor to the

death camps. Students have to become aware of the events that led to the Holocaust in order to understand the legal changes that resulted.

Canadian and World Politics 12 University

The Canadian and World Politics course examines the nature of fascism as well of the use of propaganda in political campaigns, and racial profiling that was used by the Nazis'. As students learn these key concepts, they become aware of what made the Holocaust possible. The objectives are:

- explain the relationship between changes in information, telecommunications, and military technologies and their uses (e.g., development of the Internet; propaganda, military, and commercial uses of satellite telecommunications) and changes in international, political, and economic relations. (Ministry of Education, Canada and World Politics, 2005, p. 259)
- describe the main characteristics of the world's major political ideologies (e.g., fascism, conservatism, liberalism, socialism, communism)
- explain the key arguments for and against the processes of "globalization" in economics, politics, and culture (e.g., opportunities for exchanges and international cooperation; likelihood of hegemony or domination of weaker by stronger nations)
- analyze how predominant social and cultural beliefs and ideologies can affect minority groups both positively and negatively (e.g., through

immigration policies and multiculturalism programs; through racial profiling, restriction of rights, genocide, or ethnic cleansing) .(Ministry of Education, Canada and World Politics, 2005, p.260)

A multitude of issues arise when examining the curriculum of this course. One issue that is often overlooked in teaching is the role that technology and multinational corporations played in making the Holocaust a reality. The Nazi party contracted IBM to create a comprehensive list of the Jewish population throughout Europe (Black, 2001). Few ever question how technology can equally be responsible for societal problems.

The notion of hegemony, the influence of the majority over others, is also an objective which ties into issues of anti-Semitism in Europe. The Holocaust is much more than a series of facts and dates because it raises questions of humanity and societal change. Students must move beyond the rote nature of facts and dates and implement "historical thinking," which is the examination and comprehension of the impact of historical events.

When examining the various disciplines currently present in the Ontario Curriculum, one can see that issues surrounding the Holocaust—genocide, human rights, government power, cultural hegemony—are issues that are being brought to the forefront of study in several disciplines.

Curricular Conclusions

After examining the evolution of the Ontario curriculum and the inclusion of the Holocaust, some general conclusions can be made.

- The early curricula, circa 1960s and 1970s, fails to mention the Holocaust in a direct fashion; however, these curricula do note the presence of the Third Reich and nationalist fervor in Europe.
- Holocaust consciousness was not present in the Ontario curriculum until the 1980s even though current popular research suggests it became commonplace in the 1970s.
- The 1987 curriculum does examine the Holocaust as a historical reality for the first time; however, it fails to offer anything more than the listing of the topic as an objective of study.
- The first curriculum to be prescriptive and provide rational objectives for educators in the 1992 curriculum.
- The current curriculum dictates that educators will teach the Holocaust in all courses where the events are historically applicable.
- The current curriculum also advocates for the teaching of the Holocaust in multiple disciplines such a law and politics.

Early curriculum fails to include Holocaust teaching for a variety of reasons.

The first is the dominant belief that the 1950s and 1960s were too close temporally to the actual events (Marrus, 1987, p. 160-180). Thus, educators and

curriculum writers wanted to avoid resurfacing a sensitive subject. The second dominant argument is that there was little scholarship on the topic at this time. Hence, if few writings exist, educators have no material upon which to base their lessons. Third, the Holocaust was not a common term until the writings of Arendt and the popularization of Holocaust writings. Micheal Marrus contends that as we move further from the events, more truth will be uncovered because sensitivity will fade (1987, p. 160-170) .In the 21st century, we now had a curriculum which aims to examine the Holocaust holistically instead of within a narrow framework of prescriptive facts and dates.

Several reasons can be put forth for the gradual increase of the Holocaust in Ontario curricula documents. First, the 1980s was the first era where the curriculum was to become a document that was more prescriptive than the broad framework recommended by the Hall-Dennis Report (1967) for educators. Curriculum documents moved from being a broad description of subjects to be taught to a comprehensive analysis of what to teach. These documents contained content and methods for educators to adapt to their own classrooms. Thus, as the curriculum became more detailed the documents also became more descriptive and began to breakdown large historical topics and concepts into smaller sub categories; hence the Holocaust became a topic unto its own.

Second, the emergence and popularity of social history served to aid the study of the Holocaust. Social history began as a way to attract diversity in the study of history. As Michael Marrus stated, the Holocaust was neither a subject

of study nor an academic topic of research until the latter part of the 1960s (1987, p. 160-170). The field slowly began to grow with time. Social history became a respected and viable sub-discipline within history and these topics made their way into the Ontario curriculum. Given the vast number of publications on the Holocaust available today, the popularity of the subject has grown; this popularity is directly affected by the societal changes in perspectives taking place (Short & Reed, 2003).

Last, current curricular initiatives strive towards tolerance and diversity (Short & Reed, 2003, p. 14-23). Numerous programs have been created that aim to create a collective and cooperative school environment. These programs aim to strengthen student relationships through understanding and relating to those who have differences. The Holocaust is a direct reflection of the dangers of intolerance and hate and students learn from the problems of past generations. The next chapter outlines why the Holocaust is worthy of study

Chapter 4: Why Study the Holocaust?

The Holocaust is a central event in many people's lives, but it also has become a metaphor for our century. There cannot be an end to speaking and writing about it. (Aharon Appelfeld, 1996)

When preparing lessons on the Holocaust, clear reasons for studying the events must be examined. Deborah Lipstadt contends that perhaps the central goal in studying the Holocaust is that students should become knowledgeable and distinct in their opinions and in their grasp of the material (1995, p. 29). Given the recent resurgence of discourse on the validity of teaching events such as the Holocaust, the reasons behind the need to study such emotive events must be examined. Furthermore, the reasons for study should also be identified to ensure that educators have clear objectives and comprehensive historical knowledge when attempting to explicate such a morally profound and complex topic to their students. Consequently, a comprehensive examination of the reasons for studying the Holocaust should help educators to develop their objectives, expectations, aims, historical understanding and assessment techniques.

As already examined, the popularity of Holocaust studies and courses has risen immensely since the Eichmann trial (Marrus, 1987, p. 5). However, the new-found popularity of Holocaust examination by academics does not reflect

educators' knowledge of the topic; there is an apparent disconnect between the two. Henry Friedlander, a noted scholar and Holocaust survivor, has great trepidation regarding this popularity and the quick creation of Holocaust curricula; he asserts that a major issue in Holocaust education is that lessons often lack a concrete focus which, in turn, may destroy subject matter through a lack of depth and core knowledge on the subject by educators (1979, p. 520). Friedlander further asserts that,

The problems of popularization and proliferation should make us careful about how we introduce the Holocaust into the curriculum; it does not mean we should stop teaching it. But we must try to define the subject of the Holocaust. Even if we do not agree about the content of the subject, we must agree on its goals and on its limitations. (1979, 522)

Friedlander speaks to the notion that educators need to have a common goal and focus when examining the issues of the Holocaust to ensure that certain core issues and concepts are introduced in the classroom. Friedlander's arguments are at the heart of the issues surrounding Holocaust education today; he highlights the need for objectivity.

Another major concern is that educators often avoid the teaching of emotive historical topics because of student sensitivities and because teachers may lack the knowledge of the events to determine what ought to be taught (Toten & Fienberg, 2001, p. 8-22). There are a plethora of unit plans, teacher guides, workshops, and programs available for the educator to utilize, but it is the educator's responsibility to examine the validity and appropriateness of these

tools because some materials can foster a superficial and inappropriate interpretation of the Holocaust. Thus, we need to examine the reasons why and how the Holocaust should be studied.

A problem that is central to Holocaust education is the comfort level and knowledge of educators. Educators who state that the Holocaust is too controversial to teach to students, whether it be for the emotional reactions it creates or for ethnic reasons, often do not have a sound understanding as to why the material should be taught (Daily Mail, April 2 2007). Hence, they attempt to avoid teaching the topic altogether. A clear set of reasons for study would focus the planning of the lessons and alleviate much of the educators' stress, which in turn, should make the lessons more significant and relevant. The alternative is to avoid studying controversial events in general, but ignoring pivotal historical events denies the realities of human history and what has shaped our current realities. To disregard is to be ignorant of human struggle, which supports Elliot Eisner's argument that what schools fail to teach is equally significant as to what they do in fact, teach (1979, 83). Eisner further explains that, "I argue this position because ignorance is not simply a void; it has important events on the kinds of options one is able to consider, the alternatives one can examine, and the perspectives with which one can view a situation or problem" (1979, 83). Therefore, educators have a duty to provide their students with a full curriculum that does not avoid topics or themes because they are difficult to approach and may result in a sense of unease for themselves and their students.

Since the conclusion of Eichmann trial, the recent popularity of Holocaust scholarship, and the entrance of the Holocaust into educational circles, numerous reasons have surfaced which advocate why the Holocaust should be studied. Below is a list of those reasons that advocate and justify the necessity of Holocaust education in schools.

i) The Examination of Human Behaviour (Totten, 2003, p. 34-45)

Through the examination of the Holocaust, students can develop a concrete understanding of the implications of the actions of humans and the consequences of said actions using the Eichmann trial as a template. Students can also discuss the collectivity of human behavior using the German populace as a case study.

ii) The Examination of the "W's" (who, what, when, where, why, and how) of the Holocaust (Totten, 2003, p. 34-45).

Educators can clarify the facts of notable events of the Holocaust in order to provide students with a background that will facilitate historical thinking (moving beyond the facts towards understanding of the events). Historical thinking can be introduced when examining broader issues such as trends, events and circumstances which fostered a fervor which made the Holocaust a reality.

- iii) *The Holocaust will be Utilized as a Model for the Comprehension of the Implications of Racism, Stereotypes, and Prejudice in any Society*** (United States Memorial Holocaust Museum, 2001, p. 2).

Examining the inherent racial undertone of the Holocaust will aid students in developing awareness for the value of acceptance and tolerance. The events also display the negative results and the societal implications of such attitudes if there is no intervention. In Canada's pluralistic society, diversity is a daily reality that must be brought to the forefront of educational issues. The issues of the Holocaust can be integrated into school initiatives which foster tolerance of such diversity.

- iv) *The Awareness that Miniscule Ethnic and Racial Prejudices can be Easily Transformed into Far More Serious Ones*** (Lipstadt, 1995, p. 29).

The rhetoric used by the Third Reich in its origins was less aggressive, and, far less racially motivated in the regime's original intent; however, the rhetoric later became transformed into a systematic genocidal plan. Students need to be aware of the signs of the development of prejudice in order to combat it.

- v) ***For in the Context of the Advocating for Civic Virtue which is Tied to Responsible Citizenship*** (Friedlander, 1979, p. 533). ***The examination of the Holocaust in an archetype for the potential dangers of remaining quiet, indifferent, and unresponsive in the face of others' persecution and violation of their human rights*** (United States Memorial Holocaust Museum, 2001, p. 2).

Educators need to make clear to their classes that one of the reasons why the Holocaust was possible was "the apathy of others." The notion of civic duty and responsibility needs to be examined.

- vi) ***The examination of the Holocaust as a "watershed" event in the entire history of humanity*** (Parsons and Totten, 2003, p.1)

The Holocaust was a unique event in human history, especially in scale, and for the resulting in changes in international law. The events also mark great historical changes regarding issues of human rights and accountability have changed the nature of society. The Holocaust is not a single passing event without significance; other events, such as Rwanda, Darfur, and attempts at Aboriginal assimilation in North America can also demonstrate parallels.

- vii) ***The examination that the Holocaust was not an accident in history as it was the conclusion of a myriad of historical events and circumstances*** (Parsons and Totten, 1993, p.3).

Students need to be aware of the political climate existent in Europe prior to the Second World War as these events made the rise of Fascism possible in Europe in the 1930s and 40s.

- viii) ***To promote understanding*** (Short & Reed, 2004, p. 1).

An examination of the events of the Holocaust will allow students to examine copious socio-economic factors which will, in turn, allow students to "stimulate a discussion of the antecedent variables that predispose some of us to acquire these attributes [prejudice, obedience, conformity, and altruism] and others to reject them" (Short & Reed, 2004, p. 1). The historical events can give students a modern context for such actions and attitudes (eg. Cambodia, Darfur, Rwanda), and how these might compare.

- ix) ***To examine how "a modern nation can utilize its technological expertise and bureaucratize infrastructure to implement destructive policies ranging from social engineering to genocide"*** (Totten & Feinberg, 2001, p. 5).

Through an examination of National Socialist social policies students can see how deeply embedded the racial fervor was and how these ideas moved from thought to fruition through an organized effort of Nazi leadership. This analysis will allow students to make links to modern examples of genocide (Cambodia, Rwanda, Sudan, and Armenia).

- x) ***To develop in students an awareness of the value of pluralism and diversity that is present in society*** (specifically in a multicultural nation like Canada) (Totten & Feinberg, 2001, p. 7-10).

The issues surrounding the Holocaust have a unique resonance in a nation such as Canada because of the varied population and ethnic. Linguistic and cultural histories of its peoples. Students need to understand that pluralism only serves to strengthen people as it provides various perspectives and identities.

The above are key reasons why we need to defend and promote Holocaust education in our schools. Educators need to devise or adapt their own reasons for study that will guide their teaching. The individual educator needs to understand clearly why he or she is studying the events. Without such understanding, the examination may become superficial, and students will lose the lessons learned from this event. In the next chapter, the topics to be

examined are the influences / reasons for studying the Holocaust and the ethical considerations educators must take.

Chapter 5: Influences to Studying the Holocaust and Ethical Outcomes

Educators must be ethically responsible when teaching historical material (Toten & Feingberg, 2001). When examining the events of the Holocaust, educators must make students aware of the moral and ethical lines that were crossed: the degradation of human beings, humiliation, of entire ethnic groups and ultimately mass murder. Students often blindly believe and accept information that educators provide; it is only with maturation that students begin to dissemble and to challenge their teachers. That being said, adapting ethical corollaries created by Heydon and Wang (2006) to the study of historical topics, such as the Holocaust displays the necessity for educators to consider the ethics surrounding teaching such topics.

The political issues arising in England, regarding the place of Holocaust education (Daily Mail April 2, 2007) display how central ethics are to the justification for the teaching of the Holocaust. In any nation, including Canada, educators must be ready to defend their teaching practices in order to justify what they teach. Conversely, educators need to be aware that ethics also serve as a foundation for detrimental historical education such as the denial or refusal to teach topics. Those ethics related to social justice can display the societal benefit that the examination of the Holocaust can promote. Thus, ethical outcomes from a social justice perspective serve to explicate why teaching the

Holocaust is a necessity and demonstrate that educators must defend this practice.

The reasons why others want to defer or negate the teaching of historically emotive topics such as the Holocaust are a direct result of ethical conduct at play. Rachel Heydon and P. Wang (2006) presented corollaries that exist in early childhood education programs. Although this article focuses on the early years, these outcomes are adapted here to exhibit how ethical conduct can affect the perception of the study of the Holocaust while displaying the necessity to study such subjects in the classroom.

1. "Proximity serves as a precondition of [ethics]" (Heydon & Wang, 2006, p. 130). As we move further from the events of the Holocaust, our ethical and emotional "impulses" begin to diminish. With this distance it then becomes easier for others to "dismiss, discount or discard" (Heydon & Wang, 2006, p. 130) the importance of historical events because we have become farther removed. Thus, as Holocaust survivors continue to diminish in numbers, there is a duty, for us as a society, to keep the stories and the memory of this important event alive so that we can continue to remember the lessons learned.
2. In terms of racial or ethnic indifference driving the removal of Holocaust education, "reciprocal...relationships create a humanizing environment" (Heydon & Wang, 2006, p. 130-131). Thus, "perceiving the other's

humanity helps one to respond ethically to him/her” (Heydon & Wang, 2006, p. 130-131). The introduction of material that may be controversial can only serve as a method for students to become tolerant of the defining features of various groups and grow to understand them.

3. Both educators and students must be ethically responsible and the purpose of curricula is to inform both students and educators of their responsibilities (Heydon & Wang, 2006, p.134). Educators cannot shirk their responsibilities because of the fear of dissent from students when, in fact, the fear of controversy should signal the inherent importance of the subject matter and the need for the material to be studied. This ethical corollary can be applied to all educational topics.

The teaching of emotive historical topics such as the Holocaust, can only serve to foster an environment that is ethically sound where students can grow to understand not only the past, but also each other. Fundamentally the ethical responsibility of educators to teach about responsibility to others is of primal importance (The Standards of Practice for the Teaching Profession, OCT) Educators have a responsibility to teach about the events in the face of any problems that may arise. The outcomes should be a reminder to students and educators of some of the issues that are represented strongly in Holocaust education.

Samuel Totten and Stephen Feinberg (2001) assert that several elements influence educators' reasons for studying the Holocaust and that these need to be examined. These influences are: (1) the educator's aims; (2) the educator's knowledge of the Holocaust; (3) the specific course the educator is teaching; (4) the abilities and interests of the students; (5) the time allotment for study of the Holocaust; and (6) the resources available (Totten & Feinberg, 2001, p. 7).

Educators have to ask themselves what their aims are for teaching history, and more specifically, the history of the Holocaust. Does the educator want to teach only the factual basis of the events? Are the social implications to be explored? Will an interdisciplinary approach to the topic aid the students understanding? Should a context for the circumstances that made the events possible be explored? Educators must ask themselves these key questions to help them to develop an instructional strategy for the topic

Educators must also be aware of their goals when approaching the teaching of the Holocaust. They must: consult reputable sources (to provide a valid basis for their examination of the facts and dominant themes); use an appropriate pedagogy and curricula; and develop lessons and educational resources that provide students with a depth of understanding (Totten and Feinberg, 2001, p. 7). Most importantly, teachers need a sound knowledge of the topic and the curriculum. Presently, not all educators are comfortable with all areas of the curriculum. In Ontario, the current standards of the Ontario College of Teachers only mandate that a secondary educator have three university

history courses to be qualified to teach the subject (Ontario College of Teachers, Regulation 184\97). This knowledge base may leave the educator lacking in knowledge of complex historical topics such as the Holocaust. An educator in this position will need to consult additional sources to bolster his or her knowledge base. This speaks to the educator's need to study the history of the Holocaust before approaching the topic with students in a particular course.

Once the teacher has an appropriate knowledge base the particular course being taught will also influence the educator's approach and curricular expectations because different subjects (e.g., history and politics) have different expectations. Also, if the educator uses an interdisciplinary approach to introduce Holocaust material into English or science lessons, for example, the focus of the lessons may change from historically based to a thematic focus.

The academic levels and the abilities and the interests of the students must also be considered because these will affect the sophistication of the lesson for the educator. In turn, the educator must also be conscious to ensure that he or she is not over simplifying the issues. As already stated, to avoid key elements of the Holocaust is not to do the topic justice.

Perhaps one of the most crucial elements that affects the study of the Holocaust is time. Curricular demands are becoming increasingly more difficult to meet as more material is added to course expectations with each new curricular revision. A secondary school semester is five months in length and each course

requires a myriad of topics to be covered hence no single topic can have much time devoted to its study. For this reason, educators need to plan their lessons carefully in advance to ensure they provide ample time to topics that will mould students and that will allow students to garner a more comprehensive view of the issues. Time is crucial because if lessons are glazed over quickly, a superficial feel for the topic could be the end result, which will only serve to weaken students' understanding or to cause them to ignore the topic altogether.

The supporting material an educator utilizes also affects the objectives of the lesson. An educator can develop sound reasons for study, but if he or she lacks resources to support these objectives, the purpose of the lessons may be lost on students. As part of their professional responsibility, educators should attend in-services and workshops, and gather materials, firsthand accounts, and instructional tools which will bolster the learning experience.

A failure to examine the reasons for the study of the Holocaust, or objectives associated with such a topic, can leave students with a shallow examination of the events. Historian Lucy Dawidowicz argues that most educators are capable of examining the historical events themselves, but fail to foster an understanding as to why the Holocaust occurred or the reasons why to study this event (1992, p. 69). By having clear reasons for studying the Holocaust, educators will be able to examine more analytically true issues that surround the Holocaust; this in turn will equip students with the background and

skills to examine the social, economic and political factors that were at play

(Totten and Fienberg, 1995, p. 325). This examination will only aid educators as:

By developing strong rational statements that focus on the whys and hows of the Holocaust . . . teachers are more likely not only to include absolutely critical information about the Holocaust but also a more well rounded perspective of the events. . . To skip over the initial work (developing rational statements . . .) is to enter in blind. (Totten & Feinberg, 2001, p. 12)

Regardless of their background knowledge and comfort levels educators have a duty to approach the issues of the Holocaust in an open and thorough manner to ensure that the major concerns and objectives are examined in the classroom. In the next chapter, the moral and ethical reasons for studying the Holocaust will be examined.

Chapter 6: Moral and Ethical Issues to teaching the Holocaust

The Holocaust is not simply another event in the history of the world; it has immense ramifications. It colors who we are as human beings and what it means to live in a world in which genocide is common place. For these reasons, it is vitally significant to devise powerful and pedagogically sound lessons that enable students to glean unique insights into the history of the Holocaust and leave them with something of importance to ponder far past the conclusion of the lesson itself. (Totten, 2002, p. 221)

When teaching the Holocaust, educators must be aware of the numerous moral and ethical issues that surround the events. These issues must be examined because they add substance and historical thinking to the chronology of the events. A failure to acknowledge thematic issues surrounding the Holocaust may result in lessons that are void of the historical realities that could lead to a shallow treatment of such a catastrophic event and its aftermath (Short & Reed, 2007, p 55). The examination of these issues will allow students to grasp how and why the Holocaust is important to their lives and to society as a whole. What follows is an analysis of the dominant moral and ethical issues that surround the Holocaust and the strategies that educators can utilize to approach said topics.

Educators must keep in mind that the issues of the Holocaust are complex. Thus, when teaching the topic to secondary students, some of the issues will need to be simplified because students may lack the knowledge base

and experience to comprehend certain realities fully. This section of the analysis strives to tackle topics with the students' limited knowledge base in mind. To a trained historian, these issues may seem overly streamlined, but they are written in a manner to best serve educators who will teach the material to students.

Teaching the Holocaust to Ethnic Minorities

Perhaps the main reason why the validity of Holocaust education is questioned relates to issues surrounding the presence of ethnic minorities in classrooms. The questions are based on the concern that the beliefs of some groups may cause them to see the teaching of emotive subjects as inappropriate and result in less tolerance and understanding (Daily Mail, April 2 2007). Also, as previously noted, educators are often fearful of teaching emotive subjects because of students' pre-existing, albeit uninformed, opinions on such topics. In England, tension between Muslim and Jewish students prompted discourse on the removal of the Holocaust from the curriculum. Similar instances have occurred in Europe with German students and Allied nations where intervention took place far too late (Times Online, April 2, 2007). One of the primary goals is that educators instill students with the lessons learned through historical events, such as the Holocaust, and how history informs us about the changes in the world.

Perhaps the main reason why educators have a duty to teach emotive topics such as the Holocaust is to examine issues of intolerance and stereotyping in an effort to foster a classroom environment where understanding becomes the overall goal, because: "Studying the persecution of Jews and that of other minorities during the Holocaust promotes in students a more positive attitude toward cultures unlike their own" (Holocaust Museum in Houston, 2007, http://www.hmh.org/ed_teacher_progs.asp). Through examining the Holocaust, students can see the direct result of hatred when it moves beyond a thought process to a systematic plan for the destruction of another group.

The reality is that some students may be uncomfortable when examining this topic. The Holocaust is a story of bloodshed and many people were affected by the events. Educators must discuss the objectives of the lessons as the first step in their students' learning. The goal is not to shock students; the goal is to expose students to the lessons of such a tragedy and to the need to examine clearly their own set of morals:

Holocaust education provides a pathway for students to confront their present concerns involving loyalty, peer pressure, scapegoating, labeling, conformity, and belonging. By studying the past to understand the present, they learn that human beings possess the power to control their behavior by thought, so they become aware of the importance of making choices and come to realize that one person can make a difference. Abolishing the civil rights of one group can lead to the abolition of those rights for all, so each person must take a stand against evil or eventually risk forfeiting all individual freedom. (Holocaust Museum Houston, 2007, http://www.hmh.org/ed_teacher_progs.asp)

Educators must aim to eliminate the misconceptions that students hold prior to teaching the topic. The media has a great influence on the youth of today and with this influence comes a myriad of misinformation which can erode the truth. Thus, educators should have the truth about events as the basis for their teachings.

Teaching About Other Victims and Other Genocides

The Holocaust is defined as the mass murder of European Jewry, but students must also be informed that the Jewish people were not the only victims. Educators must lead students to understand that nearly 2,000 Jehovah's Witnesses, between 5,000 to 10,000 homosexuals, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a million Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a million Germans with disabilities were eradicated by the Third Reich (Short and Reed, 2001, p. 39). The Nazis, in addition, performed numerous cruelties on the Slavic peoples, and murdered thousands of German political dissenters and thousands of Soviet prisoners of war and civilians.

Equally important is for students to be aware that the Nazis did not hold the same opinions and attitudes towards the various groups they sought out and murdered. They came to make enemies of these various groups because of different historical realities and societal opinions toward the persecuted groups. Students should understand the selectiveness of the Nazi actions and be aware

that the Nazis did not list the entire European populace on a death list. Lucy Dawidowicz asserts that often times Holocaust curricula enlarges the list of the victims of the Nazi genocide and incorporates groups that the Nazis never targeted (2002, p. 75-76). Educators should not minimize the sufferings of any group targeted and murdered by the Nazi party; however, they should be conscious of the reasons why these groups were targeted. For example, Guenter Lewy asserts that numerous members of the Gypsy population who were targeted were exempted from being taken to concentration camps because they were seen to be racially pure- a member of the Aryan master race (1999, p. 383). Jehovah's Witnesses were given the option of renouncing their faith for the opportunity of freedom but this agreement was not an option for those of Jewish descent and faith. Therefore, students need to be aware of the varying circumstances that victims of the Third Reich faced.

While the examination of the Holocaust as a turning point in human history is important, it is also important for students to be aware that other genocides have taken place in the course of history. In examining these other instances of genocide, educators should not emphasize that one episode was of greater importance or that one group experienced greater pain. Educators need to analyze what the stimulus and purposes of the perpetrators were and the impact of the aftermath of the genocidal efforts. Deborah Lipstadt argues other examples of genocide do not need to be examined as different or similar to the Holocaust; the events are, "not a matter of comparative pain—an utterly useless

exercise—but of historical distinction. The issue is not who lost more people or a greater portion of their society, but what was at the root of the genocidal efforts” (1995, p. 27). Students should examine the events which led to the outbreak of genocides in order to uncover what patterns exist for such hatred to take control of a society.

To extend the basic concepts discussed behind the causes and results of the Holocaust, an examination of other genocidal instances could include: the Armenian genocide, the indigenous peoples, the Kulaks in the Soviet Union under the rule of Stalin, Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Cambodia and Darfur. In the recent cases listed, educators can also examine the reality of international aid and other mitigating factors because each case of genocide has its own historical roots which made the events possible.

Holocaust Denial

Emerging at the end of the Second World War, perhaps the most controversial ethical and moral issue surrounding the Holocaust was the modern creation of Holocaust denial. This is the contention that the Holocaust did not occur and is a fabrication of the Jewish populace to foster sensitivities and support. The topic of denial is one that will most certainly make its way into classroom discourse because students often have misconceptions or interest in the topic. James Keegstra, a teacher from Alberta, taught Holocaust denial

beliefs to his students for nearly twenty years before being dismissed from his position for violating his contract. As educators we must ensure curricular objectives are upheld and instances such as this are avoided.

Scholars have varied opinions on the topic of Holocaust denial. Totten and Feinberg contend that Holocaust denial has no place in the classroom when examining the issues of the Holocaust because they feel it is ridiculous to spend time on such "foolish and totally fallacious assertions" (2001, p. 20). They contend that the revisionists are not historians, and thus have nothing of value to add to the course of study. An examination of issues of denial would take time away from important thematic issues that would add to students' understanding. Short and Reed (2001) contend that if denial is raised as a topic in the classroom, educators run the risk of decreasing, and potentially destroying, the validity and worth of Holocaust scholarship. Unless carefully addressed, discussion of Holocaust denial would only make students aware of the revisionists, which in turn may give them some form of credibility (Short and Reed, p. 54). Thus, the examination of Holocaust denial has the potential to destroy or weaken the importance of the educators' messages when teaching the Holocaust.

Taking Totten and Feinberg's (2001), and Short and Reed's (2001) assertions into consideration, some educators may want to tackle Holocaust denial or at least acknowledge its existence. When denial is introduced as a topic within the study of the Holocaust, educators must aim to argue against the

assertions of the revisionists using historical knowledge. Ronnie S. Landau (1998) contends that the most effective method to combat the rhetoric of the revisionists is to give little importance to these individuals in showing that their ideas are inherently flawed. Educators should diminish their claims and “guard against...providing the very publicity they seek” (Landau, p. 11). Perhaps a mere mention of the phenomena as factually unsound is all the educator should note, especially if the students have been given the facts about the Holocaust.

If students are particularly interested in the topic and seek more information than what is provided in class, educators should steer students in the direction of concrete, reputable literature on the subject such as the literature from the Anti-Defamation League and the writings of historian Deborah Lipstadt. This could, in turn, avert classroom time being spent on such a topic and make it an outside research opportunity.

The History of Anti-Semitism

In order to teach the Holocaust as a historical topic, students need to be aware of the history of anti-Semitism in Europe in order to put the events of the Holocaust into perspective. Students should also be informed that Germany, as a nation, was not open to or more accepting of anti-Semitism; anti-Semitism was simply a ploy utilized by Adolph Hitler to gain power over the masses of the German populace.

Educators must inform students that anti-Semitism was not a creation of the Nazi party or the atmosphere that surrounded the Second World War. Students need to be aware that anti-Semitism dates back to before the Roman era. During the Middle Ages, the Jewish populations were restricted to ghettos, were barred from many European countries beginning in the 13th century and were periodically murdered in masses. Thus, students should be aware that anti-Semitic fervor was merely a vehicle for the Third Reich to secure assets and to assign blame for Germany's problems.

By studying the nature of anti-Semitism present in Nazi ideology students can examine the nature of such nationalism as a negative entity and the potential dangers to outsiders existing within a country exhibiting such nationalism as was the Jewish case in European nations. Educators need to show their students that nationalist movements in the 18th and 19th centuries fostered a climate where individuals believed they were ethnically superior to others; thus, as a result, there was increased sensitivity against the Jewish population as nationalist ideology began to identify them as a negative influence in society.

Another belief arguably responsible for the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe arose from the Christian church. The notion of the Jew as Christ's murderer and the Devil may have served to spread further the ideology of anti-Semitism in an environment that was already susceptible to anti-Semitic fervor and propaganda (Short & Reed, 2005, p. 41). Students can focus on some writings by religious leaders and thinkers to examine the anti-Semitic fervor that was already present,

such as Martin Luther's *On the Jew and their Lives*, which some have contended was a Nazi blueprint (Short & Reed, 2005, p. 41). Students can examine the parallels (e.g. burning of the synagogues, restrictions on mobility) between Luther's writings and the Nazi actions. Students should also be aware, however, that not all citizens and Christians at this time would have held anti-Semitic views.

The Vatican's relationship with the Nazis might also be examined. Students should explore the nature of the Concordat of 1933, the Pope's refusal to speak against the Nazi's anti-Semitic policies, even in the face of the Roman Jewish population being removed. However, educators should also make students aware that not all of the church hierarchy followed such a policy. Some clergy hid Roman Jews in churches and monasteries. Thus, the church's practices were not entirely flawed because some Catholics did protect citizens and combat anti-Semitism, even when their lives were at stake.

The nature and history of anti-Semitism is a multi-layered issue and the questions that would arise in the classroom do not have simple responses. Educators and students must examine these problems with the understanding that the complexity of the issues involved will leave some questions no resolved.

Teaching the Holocaust in the Catholic School

"We would risk causing the victims of the most atrocious deaths to die again if we do not have an ardent desire for justice, if we do not commit ourselves to ensure that evil does not prevail over good as it did for millions of the children of the Jewish people... Humanity cannot permit all that to happen again." (John Paul II, 1975)

In Ontario, there are two provincially funded school systems: a public system and a separate Catholic system. Catholic school boards have religious missions and beliefs that influence the way the curriculum is structured. Given the role of the church during the Holocaust, one has to examine how the teaching objectives may vary when teaching in the Catholic system.

One of the central objectives in teaching the Holocaust in the Catholic system is to offer students (Catholics) a truthful understanding of Judaism and its contribution to the Catholic faith, the everlasting covenant between God and the Jewish people, and the holy bond between Jews and Christians. Students will accomplish this goal by:

The urgency and importance of precise, objective and rigorously accurate teaching on Judaism for our faithful follows too from the danger of anti-semitism which is always ready to reappear under different guises. The question is not merely to uproot from among the faithful the remains of anti-semitism still to be found here and there, but much rather to arouse in them, through educational work, an exact knowledge of the wholly unique

'bond' which joins us as a Church to the Jews and to Judaism.
(Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations, 1999, p. 4)

In the Catholic school system, one of the aims in teaching the Holocaust is to display parallels between the two faiths and to foster understanding and appreciation. Pope John Paul II stated both Catholics and Jews are "joint trustees and witnesses of an ethic" (1986, p. 65). This faith embedded ethic is humanitarianism and love.

In the final chapter, my conclusions and recommendations for further study will be examined.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

“Though difficult to achieve, is depth: the sustained study of a given topic that leads students beyond superficial exposure to rich, complex, understanding” ~Fred Newmann (1970, p. 224).

Given the current cultural climate of the Western world, some have started to question the validity of Holocaust education. The issues presented here attempt to address the reasons for study as well as highlight the issues that arise from a topic of this nature. The teaching of emotive subjects can allow educators to introduce a multitude of issues that affect the school climate such as anti-Semitism, xenophobia, diversity and citizenship and the need for tolerance.

The educators' professional ethics are central to the success of Holocaust study in schools. Educators must be comfortable with the material and recognize that they have a duty to ensure that history is approached in a serious manner that aims to discuss the issues in an open and honest forum. The study of the Holocaust can serve to bolster tolerance and school community when students come to understand and appreciate the similarities and differences among people and cultures.

Educators must explore the definitive reasons for study of such a difficult topic prior to developing lesson plans. If a clear focus of study is developed, lessons will be more coherent, profound and resonate with students. Given the many lessons that arise out of the study of the Holocaust, educators have a duty

to become as comfortable with, and knowledgeable of, the subject matter as much as possible. This may entail attending workshops and consulting numerous resources and scholarship on the topic. We cannot ignore the reality of the events; to be ignorant of history is to be ignorant of the human condition. Knowledge is what will allow others to recognize and challenge injustice when they see it (Toten, 2001, p. 140)

An examination of the Ontario curriculum enables me to understand how the Holocaust has become a topic that is now included in other disciplines. The current curriculum also has large thematic issues that stem from the issues raised by the Holocaust. The emergence of the Holocaust in the Ontario curriculum was slow in that it was not a concrete topic of study in schools until the 1990s. As social consciousness and the proliferation of Holocaust literature grew, the Holocaust emerged as a topic that could stand on its own.

Last, ethical and moral issues are inevitable when approaching the Holocaust. Educators must be prepared to tackle these topics as they emerge and then utilize the discourse contained in authoritative publications. The Holocaust is a complex topic that can teach us many lessons, we must be vigilant to ensure these lessons are heard and not forgotten.

Implications for further study

This thesis focused solely on the curricular changes in Ontario from the post war period to present. An examination of the curricula from other provinces, and the curricular changes that have occurred over the past 40 years, would be useful to draw parallels with the changes in Ontario.

Another area to examine in greater depth is instances where Holocaust education had been threatened or removed from curriculum due to political pressure. A thorough examination of these scenarios would display the political forces involved, how to avoid these threats, and what mandates need to be written into law / curriculum in order to avoid the removal of key historical events from the curriculum.

Lastly, an examination of textbooks could show what is mandated by the province in the curriculum and what is being taught in the classrooms. The nature of Holocaust in approved textbooks will shed light on how in depth the topic is taught.

Also, another area of study would be to examine educator perceptions of the topic and why they feel compelled to either teach or exclude the teaching of the Holocaust. Educators beliefs on the topic could also be examined as they will play a role in how the topic is taught.

Recommendations for teachers/ curriculum writers

First, the Holocaust is an important topic in our history, but Holocaust education did not happen overnight. As this thesis examines, following the Second World War and for nearly 30 years thereafter there was little or no mention of the Holocaust in the provincial curriculum. These changes took place due to Holocaust scholarship and political and social changes. However, the Holocaust is a key event in our history, the remnants of which are still with us and can provide us with lessons for studying at modern instances of genocide. What cannot ignore what makes us uncomfortable.

Second, educators need to be aware of the subject matter and seek out Professional Development when it is needed. There are numerous resources available to make educators more comfortable with the events and realities of the Holocaust.

Educators also need to be aware and ask themselves and their students, "How did this happen? And how can it still happen? Genocides are historical realities that still continue today. Educators have to reconcile with the reality that mentally well-adjusted, well educated individuals, collectively, can follow or lead their people to perform inhumane acts without regret and with malice. The international courts of human rights are a direct outgrowth of the Holocaust. Genocide is a major human rights violation and educators need to explain to their

students that although evil in their outcomes, average people become perpetrators of hate and violence.

As educators, we cannot ignore issues regardless of our comfort level or concerns. We are called to learn from the lessons of history and reiterate the experiences of those who fought for human rights. Author Primo Levi, a Holocaust survivor, commands us in his poem *Shema* to be vigilant and teach to all those we can,

I commend these words to you.

Engrave them on your hearts

When you are in your house, when you walk on your way,

When you go to bed, when you rise.

Repeat them to your children (Levi, 1964, p.1)

References

- B'nai Brith Canada. (2007). *Holocaust education in Canada: Definition, data collection and responses*. Retrieved November 23, 2007 from <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/league/hh-teachers/educan03.html>
- Clark, L.. (2007) Teachers drop the Holocaust to avoid offending Muslims. *Daily Mail*. April 2.
- Dawidowicz, L. S. (1992). "How they teach the holocaust." In (Dawdowicz) *What is the Use of Jewish History?* New York: Schocken Books.
- Eisner, E. (1979). *The educational imagination: On the design and evaluation of school programs*. New York: Macmillan.
- Frean, A. (2007) Schools Drop Holocaust lessons to avoid offence. *The Times*. April 2.
- Friedlander, H. (1979). Toward a Methodology of Teaching about the Holocaust. *Teachers College Record*, 80(5),519-542.
- Government of Ontario (1998) Bill 66 draft, (p.1) Toronto, ON: Queens Press

Heydon, R. & Wang, P. (2006). Curricular ethics in early childhood education programming: A challenge to the Ontario kindergarten program. *McGill Journal of Education*, 41(1).

Holocaust & Hope (n.d) *League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada*.

Retrieved March 21, 2009 from <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/league/hh-students/sst.htm>

Holocaust Museum in Houston (2007). *Why teach the Holocaust*. Retrieved

November 26, 2007 from http://www.hmh.org/ed_teacher_progs.asp.

House of Commons Canada. (2003). Bill C-459. Retrieved November 12,

2007 from http://www.parl.gc.ca/PDF/37/2/parlbus/chambus/house/bills/private/c459_3.pdf.

Landau, R. (1998). *Studying the Holocaust: Issues, readings and documents*. New York: Routledge.

Lewy, G. (1999). Gypsies and Jews under the Nazis. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 13(3), p. 383-404.

Lipstadt, D. (1995). "Not Facing History." *The New Republic*, V(N), 25-29.

Marrus, M. R. (1987). *The Holocaust in History*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen
Dennys Limited.

Marrus, M. R. (1995) Getting it right: A historian thinking of the Holocaust.

In J.F.Grafstein (Ed.), *Beyond Imagination: Canadians Write about the
Holocaust*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Ministry of Canadian Heritage. (1971) *Multiculturalism—a Canadian Value*. |
http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/reports/ann01-2002/part1_e.cfm

Ministry of Education. (1992). *The Ontario curriculum: Canada and World
Studies, Grades 11 & 12*. Ottawa: Queens Printing

Ministry of Education. (2005). *The Ontario Curriculum. Canada and World
Studies, Grades 9 & 10*. Ottawa: Queens Printing

Ministry of Education. (2005). *The Ontario Curriculum. Canada and World
Studies, Grades 11 & 12*. Ottawa: Queens Printing

Ministry of Education. (1987). *Curriculum Guideline. History and Contemporary
Studies*. Ottawa: Queens Printing

Ministry of Education. (1963). *Curriculum of Ontario. History: Senior Division*.
Ottawa: Queens Printing

Ministry of Education. (1970). *Curriculum of Ontario. History: Senior Division.*

Ottawa: Queens Printing

Ministry of Education. (2005). *The Ontario Curriculum. Social Sciences, Grades*

11& 12. Ottawa: Queens Printing

Mock, K. (2000). Holocaust and Hope: Holocaust education in the context of anti-

racist education in Canada, in F.C. De Coste and B. Schwartz (eds) *The*

Holocaust's Ghost: Writings on Art, Politics, Law and Education,

Edmonton, University of Alberta Press.

Ontario College of Teachers. (1996) Ontario Regulation 184/97 Teacher

Qualifications. Toronto: Queens Printing

Parsons, W. & Totten, S.. (1993). *Guidelines for Teaching the*

Holocaust. Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Paul, John II. (1986, April 13)Address in the Great Synagogue of Rome), no. 6.

In Spiritual Pilgrimage, (6), 66.

Schatzker, C. (1980). The Teaching of the Holocaust: Dilemmas and

Considerations. *Annals.* July (12) 6, 123..

Schools' avoid Holocaust lessons' (April 2 2007) *BBC News.*

Schwimmer, W. (2000, January 26-28). Message Delivered by the Secretary

General of the Council of Europe at the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust.

Totten, S. & Feinberg, S. (1995, October). "Teaching about the

Holocaust: Rationale, Content, Methodology & Resources." *Social Education*, 59(6), 323-333.

Totten, S. & Feinberg, S.. (2001) *Teaching and Studying the Holocaust*. Toronto:

Allyn and Bacon.

Troper, H. (1991) *Canada's Multiculturalism: Policy and Reality*. Cleveland: Ohio.

United States Holocaust Museum. (2001). *Teaching about the Holocaust: A*

Resource Book For Educators. Washington.

Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, (1974). *Guidelines*

and Suggestions for Implementing of the Conciliar Declaration Nostra Aetate,. 4

Warren, Wilson. (2007). Closing the Distance Between Authentic History

Pedagogy and Everyday Classroom Practice. *The History Teacher*. 40(2)

We Remember,. In *Catholics Remember the Holocaust*, Part 5 (p. 55).