

琉球大学学術リポジトリ

過去の克服：

1940年代後半から現在に至る西ドイツの歴史教科書
がナチの犯罪の責任をどう提えてきたか

メタデータ	言語: 出版者: 琉球大学法文学部国際言語文化学科欧米系 公開日: 2007-12-09 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: Till, Weber メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.24564/0002000978

Wrestling with the Incomprehensible - Taking Responsibility for Nazi Crimes in West German History Text Books from the Late 1940's to the Present

Till Weber

"Today, viewed from a distance of forty years, that immense crime which is summed up by the word "Auschwitz" is even more incomprehensible than it was in the first hour of the shock when I learned about it and still refused to believe it. We have not overcome what cannot be overcome. It drags us Germans down like a millstone, even those born afterwards: that planned, executed, denied, suppressed and still plainly existing genocide."⁽¹⁾

"Das Vergessenwollen verlängert das Exil, und das Geheimnis der Erlösung heißt Erinnerung." (Wishing to forget means to lengthen the exile, and remembering is the secret of deliverance.)⁽²⁾

1. Introduction⁽³⁾

Histoire - Geschichte, the new Franco-German history textbook to be used in both country's secondary school systems from next school year, the first project of its kind anywhere, was unveiled in May, 2006⁽⁴⁾. History students in France and Germany will be treated to the same historical problems which have frequently been seen as controversial, including those addressed in chapter two: "Guilty or victims? Germans facing their past."

The mostly open and constructive approach German politicians, schools,

the media and many members of the public are seen to be taking towards their country's darkest historical period, the reign of the National Socialists under Adolf Hitler between 1933 and 1945, has sometimes been an object of admiration, even envy, in parts of the Japanese media and in private conversations here. But there is a large time gap between 1949 when the Federal Republic of (West) Germany was established and the publication of *Histoire - Geschichte* in 2006. Were the Germans immediately after Hitler's catastrophe ready to accept responsibility for, above all, the deaths of millions of Jews and Eastern Europeans, among other victims? The answer as will be shown in this study is a clear "no". What did it take then to change perceptions, politics and to admit to own wrong-doings without reservations? And, on a methodological level, how can these changes be traced?

The corpus of source material at the core of this study is history school books from various periods of the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. Textbooks, as one is all too aware of in Japan, tend to reflect governments' views, but also echo sentiments, standards and taboos held by the public at large. There is also considerable input from the specialists in their fields, researchers and educators. This variety makes textbooks a complex, but rewarding and unique source of historical understanding.

It could be argued that history (and social studies) textbooks of a given period from a given country are fairly accurate reflections of contemporary values, views and governing opinions concerning history in the country in question. Studying how textbooks treat a certain historical subject over a period of more than 50 years reveals change in

societies. History textbooks influence the way large numbers of people come to think, even though it is hard to quantify this statement. Of course, not all those millions of German students who were/are in contact with the textbooks studied here are likely to have actually embraced all their contents. The books are, however, a good reflection of what a society wants its children to learn, then and now⁽⁵⁾. Since it usually takes several years to prepare, test and introduce a textbook there is a delay associated with the reflection of greater trends. On the other hand, few books are as carefully planned, discussed and balanced out before publication by a relatively large number of specialists as schoolbooks are. This mode of production usually acts as a filter to exclude isolated, radical opinions and makes the books valuable as a source for researchers interested in reconstructing what the mainstream was⁽⁶⁾.

2. Limitations

It is very tempting to compare what will follow here about German textbooks to recent events and debates about textbooks in Japan. However, any comparison on a sound academic base will encounter multiple problems in areas such as vastly different historical experiences and regional environments; differing attitudes held by governments and societies based on diverging political, social, moral and religious values (e.g. the implications of apologizing in East Asia or the role of Christian conceptions of guilt and atonement in Europe); different philosophies concerning education and its goals ("patriotism" would still be completely unacceptable as a binding goal of education in Germany); and finally the nature and sheer scale of the crimes committed. Therefore, I refrain from such comparisons throughout this study. The

individual reader is kindly invited to come to his/her own conclusions. Due to space limitations, East German (ex-GDR) developments and textbooks will have to remain outside the focus of this short paper. Küchler (2000) has published a short study on the subject.

3. The Adenauer Era (1949-1966)

The defeat of Hitler's empire in 1945 saw much of Germany smoldering in ruins, with millions dead, displaced or looking for surviving relatives. Germany was soon divided into four zones of occupation, one each administered by the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France. When history made a comeback as a subject in school from 1947 - in the French zone modern history remained off limits until 1949⁽⁷⁾ - there were very few textbooks available. Contemporaries, now mostly in their late 60's and 70's, report that old books with torn-out or blackened pages were used. Since Nazi history was at the very end of the chronological tour through history stipulated by curricula it was often not treated at all by teachers citing "insufficient class time". There was also a debate about the justification of "Zeitgeschichte" (contemporary history) reaching well into the 1960's. Kosthorst (1981: 138) stresses teachers' insecurity about what to teach and of course historical research had to catch up with recent history.

So teachers with military experience just talked about their own exploits and sufferings as soldiers. My own father, born in 1936, remembers a young, "progressive" history teacher who devoted serious class time to reading the recollections of Paul Schmidt who served Hitler as a chief diplomatic interpreter. Schmidt's memoirs do not touch on the darkest points of Nazi history⁽⁸⁾.

One of the first new textbooks published was *Wege der Völker* (Berlin 1949), authored by a working group of Berlin-based history teachers. For its period, *Wege der Völker* is both characteristic and unique. The chapter on Nazi history (pp. 369-421) criticizes Hitler and his inner circle harshly ("a sum of meanness and recklessness, of greed and hunger for power", "the state leadership - a gang of murderers", pp. 369, 374). According to the text, the German public was deceived and once the evil nature of the new regime had become more apparent terror silenced dissent and stoked fear. Another element that came to set the tone for the subsequent decade and a half, was the ample space provided for accounts of military campaigns in World War Two. The unique aspects of this early textbook include the square admission that large numbers of European Jews (the figure of approximately six million Jewish victims was not yet known then) were murdered in the "Vernichtungslager" (extermination camps). The narrative includes shocking descriptions:

"Science and the economy had to help (with the murder of the Jews, TW) and - terrible to say - they did. Naked human beings were herded into gas chambers with small peeping holes through which their painful deaths could be observed. They were gassed like pestiferous insects. The piles of collected children's 'shoes, starting from the smallest size, started to grow in the camps' storage rooms." (*Wege der Völker*: 415f.)

This rare description still echoes the horror that had overcome many of those Germans who had been shown the sites of the genocide by the Allies or heard first-hand about it immediately after the war. In 1949, it was certainly not easy to deal with for teachers and parents who had lived as adults during the time these crimes were committed. For them,

there is some re-assurance following on the same page:

"The population only heard dark rumours about the horrific deeds of Hitler's regime (...) these crimes were so immense that even strong opponents of Nazism were not able to believe these rumours." (*Wege der Völker*: 416)

The combination of admitting crimes and plainly putting the blame on a small number of extremely evil individuals offered, basically for the entire Adenauer Era, a way out of the guilt trap for almost every German except for Hitler and his small "gang of murderers".

Geschichte der neuesten Zeit von der Mitte des 19.Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart, published by Klett in its third edition in 1951 uses the misconceptions of an American judge to make the claim more specific: "This work of destruction (the Holocaust, TW) was carried out in the greatest secrecy. An American judge stated at the Nuremberg Trials (against main Nazi perpetrators 1945-9, TW): "Testimony from those who participated in the terrible, organized extermination of masses, shows with great probability that no more than 100 persons in all were cognizant of the facts." (*Geschichte der neuesten Zeit von der Mitte des 19.Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*: 175)⁽⁹⁾

The book also makes attempts to explain why so many Germans fought to the bitter end for a cause they should have recognized as bad and doomed much earlier. These Germans had a "desperate hope to be able to still help the fatherland somehow" (p.179). This text, and the others from the period, does not mention that there were millions of faithful, fanatic Nazis in all echelons of society and in the military.

Textbooks of the 1950's, especially from the first half, perfected the art of letting the Germans appear as Hitler's betrayed, terrorized, "true" victims. One of the longest-living taboos in West Germany concerned the role regular Wehrmacht (German Army - as opposed to SS units) troops played in the Holocaust. One book claims:

"Hitler knew that he could not face the German Army and its corps of officers with orders to eliminate so many human beings. Therefore he created special troops (Sondertruppen) who had to carry out these dishonoring henchman's tasks." (*Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk. Europa weitet sich zur Welt*. Schoenigh 1952: 119)

Claims such as this have proven inaccurate as there is overwhelming evidence that elements of the regular army were indeed involved in mass executions of innocent civilians; some of the soldiers even had their picture taken, grinning next to the corpses. It was only between 1995 and 1999 that the Hamburg-based Institute for Social Studies (Institut für Sozialforschung) organized a comprehensive exhibition on the German Army's crimes 1941-44 on a tour through 33 German and Austrian cities, and this exhibition was still met by stiff resistance from Neo-Nazi groups and their backers as well as some conservative circles⁽¹⁰⁾.

The myth of the doomed and deceived, but upright and brave German soldier had to remain untouched in Adenauer's Germany because millions of males who were now occupying key posts in the new democratic society, the economy and even in government had been Hitler's soldiers not a very long while before. There had been initial Allied attempts at reeducation and denazification (*Entnazifizierung*) in

the 1940's but these were hugely unpopular even with those who had not been involved actively with the Nazi regime. Even some victims of the Nazis preferred an end to the uncomfortable questions (before they had begun in earnest)⁽¹¹⁾. Once statehood was regained in 1949, Adenauer's Centre-Right government moved quickly to end denazification policies. A few thousand men and women had received some form of punishment, mostly from Allied hands, but now even formerly ardent supporters of Hitler's regime stood a chance to be completely rehabilitated and to launch a prominent new career in the public sector or in business.

Ordinary Germans in this period were much more concerned with everyday problems such as finding food and shelter and then to rebuild the economy in the 1950's. Germans had also suffered tremendously in the war and many felt as its victims, ignoring questions about responsibility for the war. People were disillusioned by politicians preaching morals and ideologies and did not trust the occupation powers. Society generally behaved inward-looking, with people caring mostly about their families and themselves. Germans were looking for a government that would not shake up society by moving to cleanse it but provide sustainable material progress and security, not least against the emerging Cold War scenario of a Soviet threat. Memories of the not so distant, disastrous past were disturbing. Most people were simply striving for a return to the pre-1933 years which were considered as "normalcy" while avoiding a repetition of the mistakes made back then. Erasing the memory of those twelve years of Nazi rule helped⁽¹²⁾.

This situation lasted until the second half of the 1950's when the German economic engine was finally kick-started (*Wirtschaftswunder*, a period of strong economic growth lasting into the 1970's). More people

regained material security and self-esteem. Certain questions began to arise, mainly in private: "How has this all been possible?"⁽³³⁾. History teaching was revitalized by progress in research and by the elite's political interest to legitimize and defend the new democratic order against challenges from the Right and Left fringes. Typical for this period which lasted well into the 1960's was a certain admonishing tone which is strongest reflected in media such as films. *Bis fünf nach zwölf* ("Five past twelve") is a 70-minute-documentary released in 1953 and was watched by millions of Germans in cinemas. It stressed toleration of the Nazis' rise to power and the demise of the flawed, yet democratic Republic of Weimar in 1933 as fatal mistakes. *Hitler - Ein Bericht für junge Staatsbürger* ("Hitler - A Report for Junior Citizens")⁽³⁴⁾ is a book of more than 300 pages written for the young, detailing the disastrous nature of Hitler's regime with the stated aim of letting the readers, through knowledge about the past, "grow up to their share of responsibility as an adult citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany" (p.303).

Textbooks of the 1960's were more detailed but did not change dramatically in their tendency to absolve almost all Germans. When, if at all, the guilt question was raised, the secrecy of the atrocities back then is stressed (*Menschen in ihrer Zeit*, Klett 1966: 99) or individual acts of resistance are related in a way that readers might think this was a widespread phenomenon (which it was not among Germans):

"The method of killing (Jews, Sinti and Roma, and Soviet commissaries in Russia in 1941 by SS and police firing squads, TW) was too noticeable. The population rose in rebellion, army unit leaders objected, even one high-ranking party leader, Gauleiter Kube (...) protested against these murders committed by task forces (Einsatzgruppen)." (*Grundzüge der Geschichte*, 4. Diesterweg 14th ed. 1967: 157).

And, concerning the crucial question of who knew what and when, the answer was still this:

"The SS had developed wily methods of camouflaging (the killings, TW) and kept the circle of those who knew small so that these and other gruesome crimes committed by National Socialism could only after the War be known by the people of Germany." (*Grundzüge der Geschichte*. 1967: 157).

Obviously textbook authors still saw little need to ask more probing questions in the waning years of the Adenauer era. Veteran history teacher Karl Mielcke was tasked by the Minister of Education of the federal state of Lower Saxony to evaluate how contemporary school textbooks treated German history between 1917 and 1945. His findings were published in 1961. Mielcke selected ten historical topics for evaluation. Prominent among those was a look at how textbooks portrayed Nazi terror against Germans⁽¹⁵⁾, but also the portrayal of the Holocaust. While Mielcke is very much concerned with correct details and correct numbers of victims he does not touch on the general guilt question. He simply did not see the need for this or thought the topic too controversial for inclusion in general schoolbooks.

4. A Changing Tide: The Era of Social Democratic-Liberal Coalitions from 1969

The latter half of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's was a time of transformation, not only in Germany. However, school textbooks were very slow to respond to changing attitudes. Noticeable changes occurred more in the field of didactical and methodological presentation than in the selection of topics and opinions carried by textbooks.

Wege der Völker had, back in 1949, contained a section titled *Fragen und Anregungen* (Questions and Suggestions, p.383) which were intended to foster individual thinking and classroom discussion. Among these ten items were the following:

No.5:

"What can be learned from mass terror which killed thousands of victims with inhumane cruelty about the moral quality of the "Alte Kämpfer" (Hitler's old Nazi companions, TW)?"

No.7:

"Find out the names of outstanding German Jewish personalities from the fields of the economy, literature, music and academia! Form an opinion of your own about the question of anti-Semitism!"

No.9:

"Express your own thoughts about the Nazi slogan: "A woman's place is at the heard at home!"

This invitation to rekindle the flames of critical, individual thinking only four years after the most horrible oppression and crimes had ended was so modern - and potentially threatening society's wide-spread longing for stability and "normalcy" - , that this didactic approach was dropped from textbooks then, but did make a reappearance in more settled times in the 1960's. *Menschen in ihrer Zeit* (Klett 1966: 161) asks students: "Why did the German people fight to the end?" and "It was easier for people in occupied countries than for Germans to resist during the war. Why?" The suggestive bias of the latter question still reflects all-out Adenauer Era conservatism, but asking questions as such implies that more than one given answer is possible and the students are no longer seen as passive, receptive objects of schooling but asked to start some form of a dialogue.

Nor did the methodological changes stop here. In the 1960's, books started to include more extracts from primary sources (quotes from historical documents, speeches, letters, photographs as well as statistics, maps etc.) which eventually came to cover more than half of the average textbook's space. Providing the sources is a basic precondition for allowing to form judgements independent of the textbook authors'. The practical consequence was a corresponding shortening of the narrative passages provided by the authors who gave up some of their grip on the students.

These methodological changes, rather than changes in expressed opinions, and the greater space generally allocated to Nazi history in textbooks reflect changes in contemporary German politics and society which accelerated after 1966. German State Education Ministers, shocked by Neo-Nazi provocations, had finally acted and incorporated more Nazi history into school curricula.

After an intermezzo of a "Grand" coalition government between Adenauer's conservative CDU/CSU and the Centre-left Social Democrats (SPD) it was the Social Democrats under their charismatic leader Willy Brandt who finally took charge of the Federal Government together with a liberal junior partner, the F.D.P., in 1969.

In the late 1960's, the country was increasingly shaken by civil unrest. Young people practiced new life styles and took to the streets protesting the Vietnam War. Che Guevara and Ho Chi Min became household names. Hot political debates took place in many families, in universities and even in schools. Willy Brandt had a personal taste of young people's unrest himself from many discussions with his eldest

son Peter (born in 1948)⁽¹⁶⁾.

Especially younger people asked their parents and grandparents more and more unpleasant questions about the war and their own role in Germany's dark past. Spectacular trials against Nazi criminals including the 1961 Jerusalem Trial against Adolf Eichmann which was intensely reported in Germany as well as scandals involving the inglorious pasts of a number of conservative politicians challenged the establishment. Schoolbooks clearly did not answer young people's questions anymore.

While Brandt's predecessor, Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, had been a member of the NSDAP (Nazi Party) Brandt like many older Social Democrats had immigrated as a young man and fought Nazism from exile. When Brandt urged his countrymen in his first address as Federal Chancellor on October 28, 1969, to "dare more democracy" (*Wir wollen mehr Demokratie wagen*)⁽¹⁷⁾ he reflected the wishes of increasingly frustrated younger Germans. Specifically, Brandt spelt out an educational philosophy that was at odds with the two decades worth of West German history textbooks published until then: "(Our aim is) the education of a critical citizen, able to form his own judgements, who is able to understand the conditions of his social existence through a permanent process of learning and to act accordingly. The school of the nation is its schools." The latter slogan is a rebuke of a famous dictum dating back to Imperial Germany (1871-1918; "The school of the nation is its military", reflecting the long, formative years almost every German male spent in the military then and its heavy influence on society).

Some history textbooks slowly became a visible, even dramatic part of

the changes. The most revolutionary of the 1970's books bore the programmatic title *Fragen an die Geschichte* ("Questions posed at History"). First published in 1977 it starts with a dense 8-page introductory remark which made transparent (and open to criticism) each and every major decision made that had led to the book as it was. Narrative texts prepared by the authors cover hardly one-fifth of the space, the balance was made up by source materials, quotations often involving contrasting opinions and *Arbeitsaufträge* ("working tasks") which invite the student to work systematically with the wealth of materials provided and discuss their findings. The fourth edition (1984) addressed the question "Who is to blame?" (*Wer trägt die Schuld?*, p.92). Typically, no textbook authors' ready-made answer is provided. Instead the students find three long quotes from contemporary historians giving diverging answers to the question and are then left to decide by themselves⁽¹⁸⁾.

Even though the question about individual and collective responsibility does not find a clear answer here, the book illustrates the trend towards democratization of society and schools in its time very well. However, resistance in the field of school reform was stiff, and *Fragen an die Geschichte* was not received positively everywhere. Ironically, in my own recollection of my final years in school in the early 1980's this book was not well-liked by the average history student because it was demanding.

Germany in the 1970's was a split society, as torn between modernization and resistance as were its two main political forces, SPD and CDU/CSU. Even some very recent textbooks stick to relatively long narrative passages and maintain a distance from admitting clear

responsibility for Nazi crimes such as *Entdecken und Verstehen*, 9 (Cornelsen 2004) which instead stresses the Allied air war against German cities (pp. 176f.) and echoes one of the stock phrases of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDU, 1982-1998) who preferred to speak of *Verbrechen im deutschen Namen* ("Crimes, that were committed in the German name") which is ambiguous and can be seen as hinting to a claim that it was not actually Germans who committed so many murders but some kind of other people acting on the Germans' behalf (*Entdecken und Verstehen*, 9. 2004: 167).

After the turbulent Brandt years and the ensuing terrorist menace of the latter 1970's West Germany moved on and entered into a quieter historical period in the 1980's. A key role in warming more reluctant, conservative members of society to opening up to facing Nazi history squarely was played by the universally respected Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, a member of the CDU (President 1984-94). His famous speech held on May 8, 1985 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the war's end in Europe⁽⁹⁾ repeated that Nazi crimes were committed by a minority of Germans and kept secret. Then the Federal President went on:

"However, each German could witness the sufferings of Jewish fellow citizens, with emotions ranging from cold indifference to hidden intolerance to sheer hatred. Who could remain without suspicions after the synagogues burned (in 1938, TW), the looting, stigmatization through the "Judenstern" (a yellow star symbol marking out Jews in public from 1939 onwards, TW), legal degradation, ceaseless violations of human dignity? Those who opened up their eyes and ears, who wanted to be informed, could not fail to notice that deportation trains were rolling. Human imagination may have been insufficient to grasp the character

and the scale of the genocide. But in reality, too many, including many from my generation who were young and not involved in planning and execution, tried not to know about the crimes that were happening. There were many ways of distracting one's consciousness, feeling unconcerned, looking away, remaining silent. At the war's end, when the complete, unspeakable truth about the Holocaust became apparent, too many of us claimed not to have known or even suspected anything (...) Whoever lived back then should quietly ask himself today about his own involvement."

Weizsäcker who himself as a member of the older generation of Germans had taken part in the war as a junior army officer defined the new mainstream of German public discourse. It was and is no longer easy to fall behind what Weizsäcker said in the name of his countrymen. Finally walls collapsed and the denial of Germany's massive guilt for what happened between 1933 and 1945 moved to the Neo-Nazi fringe where it is openly repeated by only a few.

Society at large, with the number of members actively involved as adults in Nazi history ever dwindling, had eventually embraced the most bitter questions and unpleasant answers. History textbooks again reflect this change clearly after the usual delay of a few years.

5. Today's Textbooks - A Conclusion

History students in schools were, after the rebellious years starting in the late 1960's, much less inclined to accept teachers' and textbook authors' explanations at face value. A new generation of teachers had been trained to open up their lessons more to discourse and tolerate a

wider range of opinions. By being given the tools of serious historical studies (undiluted source materials and examples for penetrating work tasks) students became more able to find out for themselves what their (grand)parents in many cases were still too ashamed to talk about. History books for grades 11-13 now routinely were entirely collections of source materials without narrative texts - ideally, more mature students were asked to find out themselves about the context of the sources from secondary works.

The generation of history textbooks for grades 9 and 10 currently being used in German schools strives to strike a reasonable balance between authors' narrative texts, source materials and working tasks. President Weizsäcker's honest admissions have found their way into textbooks. Finally, the parts played by most average Germans during the rise and continuation of the Nazi regime - voting for Hitler in the last free elections, tolerating intolerance, doing "one's duty" beyond the point of decency or simply doing nothing at all to stop evil - is openly addressed. *Geschichte und Geschehen 10*, 2nd ed. (1999; originally published in 1990) tackles the question "Knew nothing about all that?" as follows:

"The majority (of Germans, TW) did not know details about the Holocaust, i.e. the destruction of the Jews. However, despite severe secrecy many had terrible suspicions. Soldiers on leave from the front time and again told about horrible acts which they had witnessed in the East and almost everybody was able to see how Jews were abducted from their neighbourhoods. A few courageous individuals helped Jewish fellow-citizens. However, there was no general uprising against the inhumane Nazi regime. On the contrary: People just "let it happen" and frequently claimed after the war they had "known nothing about all

that." Those thousands who were directly involved in the execution of the Holocaust, be it from their desks, on transport or in the death camps, later claimed they were duty-bound to obey orders." (*Geschichte und Geschehen 10*, Klett, 2nd ed. 1999: 152)

The strong influence exerted by Weizsäcker's speech is apparent throughout the selected passage.

Historical aspects which had previously provided some relief for a strained consciousness such as the existence of some German resistance against Hitler by "the better Germans" were put in perspective:

"There were not many Germans who resisted (...) (However), there was a determined resistance in the occupied territories. Women and men, partisans, fought a war of liberation against German occupation (...) to this day these partisans are remembered with great pride in their countries. German Army and SS retaliated through cruel acts of revenge." (*Geschichte und Geschehen A4*, Klett 1997: 125f.)

Obviously, such historical depictions appear only tolerable in the country of the perpetrators once guilt is admitted without further attempts at evasion. Once done so, narrow national sentiments which for many Germans had rather been a prison when it came to the Nazi past can be conquered and even Germans can have a share in the greater perspective for mankind, which is in this case the inspiration drawn from the examples of heroic resistance against evil. Looking to the future while remembering the past can offer hope to today's Germans even though their countrymen are cast in the role of historical villains. The school book concludes by addressing its 16-years old readers (p.126): "Resistance - Hope for the future? It is up to us - and to you! - to

reflect upon what we can learn from resisting (evil, TW).”

6. Notes

- 1 Günter Grass, writer and noble laureate, in 1985. Quoted after: *Geschichte und Geschehen A4* (1997: 124). All translations from German into English in this paper are my own.
- 2 Richard von Weizsäcker, German Federal President, quoting an old Jewish proverbial saying in his speech on May 8, 1985.
- 3 I am indebted to my student, Ms Tomomi Miyagi for one year of intensive and fruitful discussions on German history textbooks mainly from the 1950's. Ms Miyagi graduated from the German Department of the University of the Ryukyus in March 2006 with her thesis “Behandlung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen in deutschen Schulbüchern im Fach Geschichte in der Adenauerzeit (1949-66) (アデナウ～時代におけるナチの犯罪についてのー考察～ドイツの学校の歴史教科書を手掛りに～).

Also my sincere thanks to Ms Kate O'Callaghan for her kind advice on the Linguistic aspects of this paper.

- 4 *Japan Times*, May 8, 2006: 5.
- 5 Berghoff (1998: 99f.) identifies other fields from which insights into the Germans' changing attitudes towards the Nazi period could be gained: Local chronicles; Material remains of the terror; Linguistic analysis; Behavioural patterns of social elites close to the former regime; the media; and public opinion surveys.
- 6 On history textbooks cf. Becher (2002), Scholle (1997).
- 7 Pingel (1994): 222f.; Kosthorst (1981): 129.
- 8 Paul Schmidt: *Statist auf diplomatischer Bühne 1923-1945. Erlebnisse des Chefdolmetschers des Auswärtigen Amtes mit den Staatsmännern*

- Europas*. Bonn: Athenäum 1954. / Interview with Victor Weber, March, 2005.
- 9 Modern estimates suggest that, in reality, about 500,000 people were involved in the Holocaust in various functions (Reichel 2001: 71).
- 10 The contents of the exhibition are available in German and English on the internet: www.verbrechen-der-wehrmacht.de, a homepage hosted by the Institute for Social Studies.
- 11 Reichel (2001): 67f.
- 12 cf. Geppert (2002): 84-98.
- 13 Wolfrum (2005): 156f.
- 14 Werner Klose: Hitler - Ein Bericht für junge Staatsbürger. Tübingen: Heliopolis 1961.
- 15 Mielcke typically selected passages from textbooks with a focus like this: "Conservative estimates suggest that 750.000 to one million Germans were brought to Concentration Camps until the start of World War Two, apart from Jews and foreigners." (*Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für mittlere Schulen, 5: Neueste Zeit von 1918 bis heute*. Hannover: Schroedel 3rd ed. - no date: 27; after: Mielcke (1961): 110.
- 16 Schöllgen (2001): 135-140.
- 17 Document available here:
http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/dokumente/KontinuitaetUndWandel_erklaerungBrandtRegierungserklaerung1969/index.html
- 18 Of course this approach seems somewhat indifferent. Generally it is worth considering whether the question of Nazi guilt really should be left so much open to debate. Clearly, there are historical topics that benefit from debate and others where such treatment might hinder a necessary clear appreciation of the facts.
- 19 Speech available online at:

<http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/biografien/WeizsaeckerRichardV/>

Published in Japanese as: 永井清彦(訳):『荒野の40年 ヴァイツゼッカー
大統領演説全文—1985年5月8日—』岩波ブックレットNo. 55 1986年。

7. Bibliography

7.1 History Textbooks (in chronological order)

Wege der Völker. Geschichtsbuch für deutsche Schulen. Band VII für das elfte Schuljahr. Berlin, Hannover: Pädagogischer Verlag Berthold Schulz 1949.

Geschichte der neuesten Zeit von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart, IV. Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für die Mittelklassen. Stuttgart: Klett 3th ed. 1953 (originally published in 1951).

Europa weitet sich zur Welt / Europa in der Krise. Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk. Ausgabe B, Band IV. Paderborn: Schöningh 1952.

Europa und die Welt 1815-1960. Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für höhere Lehranstalten, Mittelstufe Band IV. Paderborn: Schöningh 9th, revised ed. 1957.

Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für mittlere Schulen, 5. Neueste Zeit von 1918 bis heute. Hannover: Schroedel 2nd ed. 1958.

Menschen in ihrer Zeit, 6: In unserer Zeit. Geschichtswerk für Realschulen. Stuttgart: Klett 1966.

Grundzüge der Geschichte, Bd. 4: Vom Wiener Kongress bis zur Gegenwart. Einheitsausgabe für mittlere Klassen. Frankfurt/Main, Berlin, Bonn, Munich: Diesterweg 14th ed. 1967 (originally published in 1960?).

Fragen an die Geschichte, 4: Die Welt im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch für die Sekundarstufe I. Berlin: Cornelsen/Hirschgraben 4th, revised ed. 1984 (originally published in 1977).

Geschichte und Geschehen 10. Rheinland-Pfalz, Gymnasium. Stuttgart, Düsseldorf, Berlin, Leipzig: Klett 2nd ed. 1999 (originally published in 1990).

Geschichte und Geschehen A4. Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk für die Sekundarstufe I. Leipzig: Klett 1997.

Entdecken und Verstehen, 9. Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Geschichtsbuch für Berlin. Berlin: Cornelsen 2004.

7.2 Popular Historical Works Cited

Bis fünf nach zwölf. Documentary film, 70 min., released in Germany in 1953. Re-released as DVD in 2003 through Marketing Film.

Werner Klose: *Hitler. Ein Bericht für junge Staatsbürger.* Tübingen: Heliopolis 1961.

Paul Schmidt: *Statist auf diplomatischer Bühne 1923-1945. Erlebnisse des Chefdolmetschers des Auswärtigen Amtes mit den Staatsmännern Europas.* Bonn: Athenäum 1954.

7.3 Secondary Works Cited

Ursula A.J. Becher: *Schulbuch.* In: *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht.* Ed. by Hans-Jürgen Pandel and Gerhard Schneider. Schwalbach-Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag 2nd ed. 2002: 45-68.

Hartmut Berghoff: *Zwischen Verdrängung und Aufarbeitung. Die bundesdeutsche Gesellschaft und ihre nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit in den Fünfziger Jahren.* In: *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, vol. 2 (1998): 96-114.

Dominik Geppert: *Die Ära Adenauer*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2002.

Erich Kosthorst: Von der "Umerziehung" über den Geschichtsverzicht zur "Tendenzwende". *Selbstverständnis und öffentliche Einschätzung des Geschichtsunterrichts* in der Nachkriegszeit. In: Geschichte und Geschichtsbewusstsein. 19 Vorträge für die Ranke-Gesellschaft/Vereinigung für Geschichte im öffentlichen Leben. Ed. by Oswald Hauser. Göttingen, Zürich: Muster-Schmidt Verlag 1981: 126-149.

Stefan Küchler: *DDR-Geschichtsbilder. Zur Interpretation des Nationalsozialismus, der jüdischen Geschichte und des Holocaust im Geschichtsunterricht der DDR*. In: International Textbook Research, vol. 22 (2000): 31-48.

Karl Mielcke: *1917-1945 in den Geschichtsbüchern der Bundesrepublik*. Published by the Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung. Hannover 1961.

Falk Pingel: *Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust in westdeutschen Schulbüchern*. In: Der Umgang mit dem Holocaust: Europa - USA - Israel. Ed. by Rolf Steiniger. Wien: Böhlau 2nd ed. 1994: 221-232. In English: *National Socialism and the Holocaust in West German School Books*. In: International Textbook Research, vol. 22 (2000): 11-29.

Peter Reichel: *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland. Die Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Diktatur von 1945 bis heute*. Munich: C.H.Beck 2001.

Dietrich Scholle: *Schulbuchanalyse*. In: Handbuch Geschichtsdidaktik. Ed. by Klaus Bergmann et al. Seelze-Velber: Kallmeyer'sche

Verlagsbuchhandlung 5th, revised ed. 1997: 369-375.

Gregor Schöllgen: *Willy Brandt. Die Biographie*. Berlin, Munich: Propyläen 2001.

Edgar Wolfrum: *Die beiden Deutschland*. In: *Verbrechen erinnern. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Holocaust und Völkermord*. Ed. by Volker Knigge and Norbert Frei. Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 489. Bonn 2005: 153-169.

過去の克服

—1940年代後半から現在に至る西ドイツの歴史教科書が ナチの犯罪の責任をどう捉えてきたか—

ティル ヴェーバー

本稿の目的は、ドイツ人にとって困難で苦悩に満ちた、ナチズムが犯した犯罪、とりわけ約600万のユダヤ人殺害（ホロコースト）に対する彼らの責任と罪の重さの問題を、西ドイツの学校の歴史教科書が、いつから、そしてどのような状況下で、公然と批判的に論じてきたかを明らかにすることにある。

西ドイツの歴史は、以下のように区分できる：アデナウアー時代（1949-1963）は公の場でも学校でも、罪を沈黙し、相対化し、隠蔽していた。多くのドイツ人が、そのような状況下で苦しんでいたのも、自分自身を戦争の犠牲者と見做していた。この初期の西ドイツでは、戦争によって荒廃した状況を改善し、自分の家族のために安全と裕福さを求めることが優先された。過去に関する批判的な疑問は、大抵のドイツ人やドイツ政府から煩わしいと感じられていた。

新しい国が安定し、60年代末期になり学生運動が盛んに行われる時代となると、この問題に取り組むことを阻むものは何もなかった。ナチ時代の親の役割についての世代間の軋轢は、1969年にはじまって、ドイツの暗い過去を扱う際には誠実さをもって尽力した。連邦首相ヴィリー・ブラントの改革へと至った。そして学校の教科書『歴史への問い』（1977年）は、明確にこの変化を反映している。教科書の内容だけではなく、教授法的な考え方も変化している。生徒たちは以前よりも多くの自主学習をできるようになった。同時に、彼らは社会全体が民主化へと進行する中で、学校と歴史教科書の部分的な民主化は一体何を意味するのかを熟考する機会を得た。

ドイツでは老いと若きとの、保守派と革新派との間で長期に亘って論争が続けられてきたが、1945年5月8日のヨーロッパでの終戦40周年にあたって、ドイツ連邦大統領リヒャルト・フォン・ヴァイツゼッカーによって行われた有名な演説は、罪の一般的な告白と過去を真剣に克服する為に共に努力しようという合図となった。その翌年の教科書は、明らかにヴァイツゼッカーの論拠を反映しており、これ以来（西）ドイツ人や教科書の過半数の支持を得て、ナチの犯罪をも扱うようになった。

考察の結果、学校の教科書は、過去において支配していた見解を垣間見るのに有益な歴史資料であることが明らかとなった。その際、ドイツの歴史教科書は政治の急激な変動のみならず、住民の態度や感情、さらに50年以上に亘る学者や教師の研究や教授法の変遷をも反映している。