

Master in history – Textbooks and the World at war: Portrayals of the second World War in textbooks from Norway, Germany, and the United States.

Preface

With this text I now reach the end of a long education, and hopefully the beginning of a much longer time teaching in a subject I find so near and dear to my heart. This topic is one I have long wanted to research, and it feels amazing to finally have an opportunity to tackle an idea that has been floating around in my mind for years. A special thanks to my supervisor Lasse Sonne for helping me iron out some of the kinks from my earlier drafts, and for pointing me towards lines of research I never even considered. Further thanks have to be given to my brothers Marc and Dustin, as well as my friends Carlos, Jørgen, and Kim, and of course my parents, for helping keep me sane throughout the long writing process.

Summary

The second World War looms large in the collective consciousness of the world. Its impact is the subject of countless investigations, its origins and events some of the most popular history topics among those who normally don't give the subject a second glance. Its place in our education is just as fascinating as the war itself, as it is in how we teach about the war that we can most clearly see how a nation understands the war. While textbooks are far from the only thing of importance in a classroom, they are still the best avenue for beginning to investigate the topic of how we depict the second World War in our schools. The importance and impact of textbooks on classroom education is universally acknowledged, and they act as a state endorsed version of the story.

Throughout this text I have looked into how a nation like the United States might feel a level of distance from the war, where the importance of the war comes not from what happened in it, but of what it led to. I examine how to a nation like Germany the war is much closer to home. An event of immense, perhaps unmatched, importance, that must be taken apart and examined piece by piece, that we may better understand how it came to be, and how we today do our best to avoid ever repeating it. I discuss how a nation like Norway might be in the process of revising their understanding of the period, changing an interpretation that has lasted for a century as new eyes look upon the source material, and conclude that old interpretations simply are not adequate. The different roles played by Adolf Hitler in each of the three nations, as the author of destruction, head of a vast movement accidentally unleashed, and as the enemy of all, including his own home, acting from the background, is another topic this text is occupied by. Lastly, the text is interested in those that do not feature in the story, a story that seemingly central actors like Italy play no part in, and which is best described as two separate wars taking place at the same time, the wars of Hitler versus Britain and the Soviets, and the Japan versus the United States.

It is a common interpretation that history looks different to everyone, and it a core part of our education is supposed to be how different people might see the same event differently. This text is one attempt at examining just how different our interpretations really are.

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1. Introduction

A phrase I have often hear is that “history is written by the victor”. It is a phrase that exclaims a distrust of history, one that declares it as fundamentally unreliable. Another idea I have often encountered is the idea that history is relative, that it looks different depending on where you stand. And it is certainly true that different people may remember the same event differently. To some, an event may have been a tragedy, to others, a triumph. The LK20 curriculum has as one of its core topics that students should learn to see how different people in different places and times may see the world differently. “Gjennom historiefaget trenes elevene til å se et mangfold av perspektiver og til å forstå at mennesker har ulike prioriteringer, holdninger og verdier i ulike kontekster”.¹ The curriculum also emphasises that students should learn how history has been used and misused.

“Gjennom faget skal elevene utvikle evne til kritisk tenkning og vitenskapelige tenkemåter som setter dem i stand til å innhente kunnskap og til å forstå hvordan kunnskap blir til, og hvordan framstillinger av fortiden brukes og misbrukes”.²

I have always been fascinated by the idea that history is not the same to everyone. It is an idea that I’ve always wanted to look further into, to see for myself how true the above statements are. This text is exactly that, a first step in looking into how history looks different to different people.

1.1 Delimitation and research question

This text will examine the presentation of history in textbooks from three different nations, Germany, Norway, and the United States. Textbooks are a central part of education, especially in the field of history. For many people their history textbook will be the only history book that they ever read. Because of this, history textbooks have an important role in building a shared historical foundation. What the textbooks says will possibly, perhaps even likely, be the first interpretation of history that a student ever hears. It will be the one that their future studies and experiences may need to challenge. Naturally, the textbook is far from the only part of history education. There are teachers involved who may have a great influence on what the students learn, and those teachers may be restricted by a curriculum. History is also a part of popular culture, and students will more than likely run into historical depictions and interpretations in movies, advertisements, or while browsing the internet in boredom. But a line must be drawn somewhere for this text to have any hope of reaching a

¹ Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, 4

² Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, 2

conclusion, and the textbooks will act as that line. This text will be focused solely on the depiction of history in textbooks.

Since history is such a large subject it will also benefit to narrow down the subject of examination. Limitations of time simply make it unfeasible for one man alone to analyse and compare every similarity and difference between textbooks that may reach over a thousand pages each. For this reason, it will be specifically the depiction of World War two that will be the topic of examination. The second World War makes for a compelling target for this text because of its enormous influence on the modern world. It is simply unavoidable in history education, and in media it is one of the most frequently discussed and depicted events. Countless Hollywood movies have depicted its battles, characters, and outcomes. It is an event that students are very likely to have heard about long before it is brought up in the classroom. It remains in living memory, meaning that people who experienced the event are still capable of weighing in on its depiction. Lastly, the nations that fought it, both winners and losers, are still around, and are still influenced by it. One can frequently hear people refer to others as “Nazis”, or referencing people being “just like Hitler”. It is also a subject of personal interest, as someone who now lives in Norway, but who was born in Germany. So how does the war look in a Norwegian textbook? Do the Americans have a different interpretation? And perhaps most interesting: How do the Germans depict it?

The guiding research question that this text will attempt to answer is “How is the second World War depicted in American, Norwegian, and German textbooks”? Within this it is interesting to investigate whether there are any great similarities between the nations? Do any of the nations take a notably different approach to the subject? Is the story of the war one to be told and taught, or one for the student to investigate and research? Who are the protagonists and antagonists? What role does Hitler play? Does the military side of the war dominate, or are other aspects of the war years deemed more important?

1.2 Norway, U.S.A, and Germany

The three nations that will be looked at here are Norway, the United States, and Germany. All three were chosen for their different roles on the war.

The choice of Germany should be an obvious one. If one wishes to examine the phrase “history is written by the victor” then it should be natural that one look at how the loser presents the event. Nazi Germany, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, typically acts as the antagonist in popular depictions of the period, and the 12 years of NSDAP rule have left deep

marks on German culture and the nation's international reputation. The Holocaust is one of the most infamous events in history, making the German depiction of it an interesting topic of research. If there is one nation that is likely to have a very different depiction of the period from that of the victors, than it would be Germany.

The United States were undeniably one of the victors of World War Two. Not only did the nation take part in the final campaigns that ended the war, but it was also perhaps the principal benefactor of the following peace. The U.S.A became one of only two superpowers in the years that followed the war, as the nations of Europe struggled to recover from the immense property damage and loss of life they had just experienced. Not only has the nation had an enormous influence over the rest of the world since the war, the U.S. is also home to the largest, most widespread, and internationally influential entertainment industry in the world. Hollywood movies are consumed all over the world, and one of the industry's favorite topics is WW2. America was the victor of World War Two, and so if one believes the adage that the victor writes history then it must surely be America that wrote it?

Norway is not one of the great nations of World War Two. Having started the war by attempting to remain neutral, and then being occupied by Germany in the earliest stages of the war, the nation had little impact on how the war unfolded. It is for this reason that the nation is of interest to this text. How does the war look to a nation that had little to do with it? To one that was occupied by the Germans? How are the Germans depicted? And how about the Americans? Has Norway adopted the narrative written by the American victors? Or does the nation have its own view of the period?

1.3 Structure of the text

The text will be divided into five parts. This first part is the introduction. In the following second part I will look at the place of textbooks in education, their importance and influence, and theories of the place of narratives in history and how to analyse them, as well as the unorganized state of textbook research. In the third section I will be looking at the method of analysis this text will be employing, and the principal analytical tools it will employ: narrative types and narrative abbreviations. The fourth part will be the longest, and in it I will look at each textbook individually, examining their sequence of events, their use of characters, the moral focus of each of them, as well as how they utilise sources and assignments. The fifth and final part will compare all the textbooks using the findings from the individual analyses, before summarising and reaching a conclusion.

2. Theories concerning the study of textbooks

2.1 The textbooks place in the classroom

Textbooks have a strong place in education. Historians, researchers, students, and organizations in all three nations looked at here have investigated the use of textbooks in the nations classrooms, with the results in most of them showing that the textbook has great influence on teaching in the classroom. It is often the adoption of a new textbook that leads to noticeable change in teaching habits.³ As Magne Angvik put it, rather strongly:

Læreboka ser fortsatt ut til å bli fundamentet for den undervisning og læring som skal skje I de fleste av skolens fag. Ja, så sterkt er skoleboka assosiert med økt kunnskap, utvikling og framgang at institusjonen **skole** neppe kan tenkes å eksistere uten skoleboka, verken for elever, lærere, foreldre eller offentlig opinion.⁴

In Norway Nils M. Justvik⁵, Dagrud Skjelbred⁶, and Theo Koritzinsky⁷ have all concluded that despite school reform and developing technology the textbook remains the leading educational resource.

Av svarene som gis, framgår det at bruk av lærebok tas for gitt, og at ingen av lærerne reiser spørsmål ved dette. Blant de til sammen 53 elevene som er intervjuet, er forståelsen den samme. I alle de undersøkte klassene benyttes det læreverk, og det reises i meget liten grad spørsmål ved om man trenger læreverk både blant lærere og elever.⁸

Stephen J. Thornton⁹ and Michael H. Romanowski¹⁰ have reached the same verdict for America.

Benjamin Franklin said, "In this world, nothing is certain but death and taxes." For many social studies teachers, U.S. history textbooks should be added to the list. Even in the midst of national standards that encourage the use of multiple perspectives, electronic resources, and multimedia, history textbooks maintain their dominant role in most classrooms.¹¹

³ Hopmann et al, 2004, 9

⁴ Angvik, 1982, 367-368

⁵ Justvik, 2014

⁶ Skjelbred, 2003

⁷ Koritzinsky, 2012

⁸ Skjelbred, 2003, 54

⁹ Thornton, 2006

¹⁰ Romanowski, 2009

¹¹ Romanowski, 2009, 26

The exception to the strong place of the textbook is Germany, though even here the textbook remains a primary resource for students. In 1995 Bodo von Borries found that German teachers used lectures more than textbooks, though the students still considered the textbook to be the most important resource besides the teacher.¹² More recently, a research project by the Georg-Eckert institute found that while the textbook has seen reduced use as a result of increased digitalization it remains an important tool in the preparation of curriculums and classes, and as a supporting tool for students.

Angesichts der wachsenden Bedeutung von Internet und elektronischen Medien und der sich wandelnden gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen hat sich auch der Umgang mit Unterrichtsmedien verändert. Das klassische Schulbuch wird jedoch nicht gänzlich aus der Unterrichtspraxis verdrängt, sondern sowohl von Lehrenden als auch von Lernenden weiterhin als unterstützend und motivierend für Lehr- und Lernprozesse eingeschätzt. Das gedruckte Schulbuch spielt – trotz der verstärkten Hinwendung zu digitalen Bildungsmedien – in vielen Fächern und nationalen Kontexten weiterhin eine wichtige Rolle für den Unterricht.¹³

Textbooks, especially history textbooks, have impact well outside of the classroom as well. As noted by Eckhardt Fuchs textbooks are also a frequent topic of political discussion.

These conflicts are essentially disputes over the formation of a national tradition, the securing of legitimisation processes, and the construction of national identity. It is no longer the historical profession that exclusively determines the way in which a nation ought to remember its past but a wide public that uses digital media to resonate about controversial historical events well beyond the context of the specialised academic discourse. Over the last decade, there has been a worldwide increase in public disputes of this kind surrounding the interpretation of historical events and the question as to which interpretations should be included in history textbooks.¹⁴

With history textbooks often being the primary way students encounter history they are an effective method for building a collective, national understanding of history, and to discredit other interpretations.¹⁵

With how important textbooks have become for education and how widely discussed they are even outside of schools; it comes as no surprise that textbook research has been going on for

¹² von Borries, 1995

¹³ Fuchs et al, 2014, 127

¹⁴ Fuchs, 2011, 19

¹⁵ Wertsch, 2002

a long time, though only after the first world war did textbook research really become common.¹⁶ The Georg-Eckert institute was founded in Germany in 1951 with the goal of international textbook revision following the destruction and international hostility of World War 2. The institute has since been one of the leading organizers of international textbook research. Other organizations and groups such as UNESCO and the council of Europe have also taken the initiative in organizing textbook research. Despite this, textbook research remains somewhat unorganized. Fuchs referred to textbook research as “somewhat of a chimera” with “a wealth of diverse forms, yet in the absence of a common denominator for individual research projects” and argues that the term “textbook related research” is more appropriate than calling it textbook research.¹⁷ There is no shortage of research regarding textbooks, but a distinct lack of commonality of methods between the many analyses. Wolfgang Marienfeld divided textbook research into six categories, based on the goal of the analysis.¹⁸

- 1: To build an understanding of how a nation or culture presented itself or its history, or to examine how this presentation has changed over time.
- 2: An investigation of a textbook’s usability in education, what knowledge and skills it helps the student develop.
- 3: Investigations of the presentation of fundamental historical questions, such as the impact of individuals on history, cause and effect, and how history is created.
- 4: Research on the content of textbooks, the norms and values presented by the content, and how the choice of content is justified.
- 5: International research aimed at identifying and removing inaccuracies and hostile presentations of other nations or groups.
- 6: Research on how textbooks are actually used in education, and the impact they have on learning.

These categories are not mutually exclusive, but one or more of these goals are likely to form the core of an analysis. Angvik presented another division that can be made, and which is also not mutually exclusive with Marienfeld’s categories. Angvik divides textbooks analyses into two groups, individual analyses, where one examines a single book with some specific purpose, and group analyses, where one analyses a large number of books, usually with the intent of comparing them. This second category can again be divided into horizontal and

¹⁶ Angvik, 1982, 369

¹⁷ Fuchs, 2011, 17

¹⁸ Marienfeld, 1976, 48-49

vertical analyses. A horizontal analysis will look at books from the same time period, while a vertical analysis will look at books from different time periods.¹⁹

2.2 Narratives in textbooks

A key term in textbook analysis is *narrative*. “The dominant mode of historical explanation is narrative. This is the case in the discipline and the classroom”.²⁰ A historical narrative is a combination of events, people, causes and effects that together make up a coherent story. The past is vast. Far too vast for anyone to work with it in its entirety, the individual pieces that make up the past are countless, and so we need to put the past into a workable form. Narratives are a tool we use to put the past into a form we can work with, they organize a selection of events and characters into a form that lets us see them as a whole. Narratives “serve as cognitive instruments to organize our understanding of the past”²¹ Narratives are also inherently incomplete. One cannot include everything. Choices have to be made about which events, characters, and names are worth including and what level of detail their descriptions should have. As Stéphane Lévesque put it:

It is precisely this complex mental process of selecting, interpreting, sequencing, and structuring historical events into a coherent account that makes this whole crafting enterprise contested. Not only can people (including historians themselves) select different events or sequence of events for explaining what happened, but their own historical judgements (and predilections) may lead to the creation of different and even competing accounts of human actions. The process can get even more complex when such narratives are not only crafted by people using different events and evidence, but when they are purposely driven by particular moral and political motivations.²²

In essence, the narrative is the story the book is trying to tell and the ideas and feelings it is trying to leave the reader with. Though two books may speak of the same events, their narratives can differ in how they portray these events.

The people “driven by particular moral and political motivations” often include the government. “All states are committed to promulgating an official account of the past”.²³

¹⁹ Angvik, 1982

²⁰ Whitehouse, 2015, 17

²¹ Wertsch, 2002, 57-58

²² Lévesque, 2007, 4

²³ Wertsch, 2002, 87

With the central position textbooks have in the promulgation of a nation's history, the narratives presented in them become an interesting topic of analysis and comparison. To help in analysing narratives Lévesque divides narratives into six pieces to look at and analyse.²⁴

Subject matter, the event, concept, or thing the narrative is talking about.

Characters, the individuals, groups, and institutions that play an active role in the narrative.

Sequence of events, the events that make up the subject matter and are deemed important enough to warrant mention, as well as the order these events are mentioned.

Evidence, the proof presented to justify and defend the presented narrative

Moral, the message the narrative is trying to convey, and the moral presentation of the involved events and characters.

Perspective or Contextualization, the historical placement of both the narrative and the narrator, and the acknowledgment of these in the narrative.

Lévesque developed these six points as a tool for students to utilize in the classroom to help them move beyond uncritically accepting a presented narrative, towards the ultimate goal of historical thinking.

The six features of narrative framework that I have introduced here are far from revolutionary. They have been part of the historians' toolbox since the days of Leopold von Ranke. Yet, it is fair to claim that history teachers and students rarely get an opportunity to employ them in class. If we, as educators, simply resort to follow the well traveled path of unreflective patriotic storytelling, we may well comfort our students and provide them with a (temporary) sense of security. But, in the long run, we run the risk of equipping them for the wrong battles and the wrong challenges coming ahead.²⁵

Lévesque's model was intended for use by students when analysing a variety of narratives, and not meant for textbook analysis per se, but is equally as usable for a textbook narrative as any other narrative. However, when analysing a textbook narrative, one might wish to add another category, *The absent*. This is what Elliot W. Eisner referred to as *the null curriculum*²⁶, the things that are not a part of the education, or in this case the narrative.

²⁴ Lévesque, 2007, 6-7

²⁵ Lévesque, 2007, 10

²⁶ Eisner, 2002, 97

It is my thesis that what schools do not teach may be as important as what they do teach. I argue this position because ignorance is not simply a neutral void; it has important effects on the kinds of options one is able to consider, the alternatives that one can examine, and the perspectives from which one can view a situation or problems.²⁷

The choice of perspectives, causes, events, and individuals that don't get mentioned are as interesting to a textbooks educational use as those that do.

In her examination of classroom teaching on World War 2 Lisa Y. Faden uses a different narrative division, making the types of narratives her focus.²⁸ She divides the greater narrative into a series of smaller narratives, those being social narratives, political narratives, and military narratives, in an effort to find what kinds of agency the nation is presented as having had, and what people are chosen as the protagonists of history as a result of the most common narrative types. In her investigation she finds that political narratives take centre stage in American classrooms, with military narratives playing a supporting role and social narratives being mostly absent. Canada on the other hand presented military narratives as the most important, with social and political narratives both being secondary. Faden's division is based on the idea of the dialogic function of narratives presented by James V. Wertsch.

...the dialogic function concerns the relationship between one narrative and another. From this perspective, it is essential to recognize that narratives do not exist in isolation and do not serve as neutral cognitive instruments. Instead, they are embedded in concrete discourse characterised by dialogic and rhetorical opposition.²⁹

Narratives do not exist in isolation. They inform each other, one narrative building the groundwork for another. Faden finds an example of this in one teacher's statement that invading Japan would have resulted in over a million allied casualties acting as a prelude to the statement that the use of the atomic bomb saved American lives.³⁰ This discourse between narratives makes it a point of interest what role different types of narratives play in the textbook. Do military narratives lay the groundwork for political narratives? Or do political narratives lead to military narratives? Or were the political narratives themselves the result of social narratives? What type of narrative one chooses to focus on has a notable impact on what kind of story a student walks away with at the end of the day.

²⁷ Eisner, 2002, 97

²⁸ Faden, 2015, 58

²⁹ Wertsch, 2002, 59

³⁰ Faden, 2015, 57

2.3 Narrative abbreviations

Narrative abbreviations are words and phrases that can stand in for a longer historical event or process. They are an essential part of telling a comprehensible narrative and are used to quickly reference an event or sequence of events without having to describe every detail contained within the term. So long as all involved understand what the term refers to one can avoid spending time explaining all the details. *World War 2* is a narrative abbreviation one might use to avoid describing all the details involved in the period. Hans Olofsson divides narrative abbreviations into five groups:³¹

Historical period terms: Terms such as *the stone age* or *the renaissance* which group together a variety of developments and events into a single term.

Historical developments: Which are terms that describe a lengthier process in a single, or at least very few, words. Here he uses *the Weimar republic* as an example. The term here does not describe the republic as a time period, but as a process leading to something else.

Historical metonymy: Terms that refer to a group of individuals as a whole, or where an individual takes the place of a group, with examples such as *the brown shirts* and *Florence Nightingale*.

Historical places and artifacts: Places and items that represent an event, such as *Auschwitz* or *the Berlin wall*.

Historical utterances: When one references an event or person by quoting something, how one might quote “*Veni, Vidi, Vici...*” rather than directly referencing Caesar, or “*I have a dream*” for Martin Luther King jr.

Historical events: The most typical narrative abbreviation, an event summed up in a simple term. *The battle at El Alamein* is one example of this, another is *the Paris peace conference*.

Narrative abbreviations are a natural part of how people communicate,³² but are especially common when one wishes to be brief. Because of this they can be found quite frequently in school textbooks, which cover large periods of time in a rather limited number of pages. Narrative abbreviations allow a textbook to simplify an event it does not wish to cover in great detail by summing it up with a simple term, or by telling of a single individual rather

³¹ Olofsson, 2014, 157

³² Olofsson, 2014, 171

than the much larger group they represent. One very common example of narrative abbreviation in textbooks is *Hitler*. A UNESCO investigation into international education on the holocaust found that Hitlercentrism was very common in textbooks.³³ Here Hitler is used as a narrative abbreviation for the whole apparatus of government and persecution. Rather than go into detail on every individual and group involved, Hitler is used to sum it all up. Olofsson proposed that narrative abbreviations should become a specific topic of investigation in classrooms, in order to help students understand that they represent a finished interpretation of an event, and are not a final, unquestionable narrative.

Genom att göra narrative förkortningar till ett benämnt, explicit lärandemål är det dessutom tänkbart att elever skulle kunna lära sig att förstå att det handlar om kondenserade representationer av en redan tolkad historia.³⁴

The use of narrative abbreviations in a textbook narrative is an interesting topic of investigation, as while they are a useful tool, they also run the risk of oversimplifying things. Overuse of abbreviations has the potential to leave a student with a great number of names and terms in their head, but no detail to pin to those terms. It is also an interesting topic because textbooks also serve the role of filling out certain abbreviations, such as *World War 2*. One goal of education is precisely to fill these abbreviated terms with meaning, to give details to pin to them. It is perhaps a primary purpose of textbook analysis to examine what details a schoolbook fills these abbreviations with.

2.4 Historical thinking, beyond the narrative

Historical thinking is one of the foundational terms in western history education. Almost all the states looked at here have historical thinking as a part of their curriculum, with Norway, California, Berlin-Brandenburg, and Baden-Württemberg all explicitly mention the term in their curriculums or frameworks,³⁵ though Texas does not. Peter Seixas and Tom Morton define historical thinking as “the creative process that historians go through to interpret the evidence of the past and generate the stories of history”,³⁶ which Erik Lund calls the “know-how” information of history.³⁷ According to Lund knowledge can be split into two categories, “know-that” and “know-how”. “Know-that” knowledge is being able to say that Germany

³³ Carrier, 2015, 162

³⁴ Olofsson, 2014, 171

³⁵ Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019, 2; Ministeriums Für Kultus, Jugend Und Sport, 2016, 6; Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie, 2015, 3; California Department of Education, 2017, 8

³⁶ Morton and Seixas, 2013, 2

³⁷ Lund, 2020, 19

invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, while “know-how” knowledge is knowing how we know this. It is an understanding of the process and work that went into finding and putting into words “know-that” knowledge. Without “know-how” knowledge “know-that” doesn’t even qualify as knowledge, only as information. That these states use the term historical thinking as part of their curriculum is an acceptance of the idea that simply repeating information learned in a book does not qualify as a proper education in history, information must be paired with the knowledge of how that information was produced.

It is the textbook narratives that are the focus of this text, but with historical thinking and knowledge of how history is created being such a core part of education in these states it becomes a point of interest how the textbook opens for the student to themselves expand on the narrative. The assignments given in the book can therefore be seen as a part of the narrative, as it is likely there that the book will ask the students to build on the narrative it has already presented. A textbook narrative includes more than just a flowing text, as what parts of the narrative the books assignments encourage the student to investigate on their own can also be considered a part of the story the book is trying to tell. What parts of the narrative the assignments avoid having the students investigate further are also a part of the narrative. Does the book attempt to prepare the student for independent work? Does the information provided in the textbook open for other interpretations? Do the assignments encourage stepping outside of the pages of the book at all, or is the narrative given in the book presented as a complete story one need simply memorise to have all the important information?

3. Method and selection

3.1 Method of analysis

To answer the questions of how these textbooks teach the student about the second World War it is necessary to narrow down what it is one is looking for and attempting to compare. Categories that help guide the comparison. For this I will make use of a modified version of Stéphane Lévesque’s essential narrative elements. Since the focus of this text is solely on the second World War the subject matter category will be cut. The five points of analysis and comparison, the topics of interest, I will be making use of will be: Sequence of events, Characters, Moral perspective, Sources, and Assignments.

Sequence of events: What events does the textbook mention? And in what order? Are there any notable omissions from the narrative? The topic of interest here is what the textbook

deems as relevant to the second World War and what it deems as uninteresting or unrelated. One book may consider the rise of Stalin a central part of the path to war, another may deem it an unrelated event. While the primary concern of this text will be the chapter or chapters that discuss the war years, the second World War did not spring from nothing. It was the result of years of developments. As such this text will also look at any chapters that focus on the interwar year to see what events are considered to have led to the outbreak of another war. Here I will also look at the narrative types most common in the books. Are they most interested in military narratives? Or do economic narratives dominate? Perhaps it is political or social narratives that the book deems most important? Each textbook has what I will be calling “the flowing narrative”. This is the standard narrative text that each book has, and differs from the information found in supplemental sections that can frequently be found in textbooks. The flowing narrative is typically what the student will read first, before looking at the supplemental sections that add more detail. The distinction is made because this text considers the textbooks “complete narrative” to be the combination of flowing narrative, supplemental sections, and assignments found in the book.

Characters: Who are the ones driving events? Who are the ones influencing the outcomes? Of particular interest here is whether the narrative is driven by individual people or what I will call “umbrella characters”. Umbrella characters are narrative abbreviations that sum up a great number of people into a single label. “France” is an umbrella character, while Charles de Gaulle is an individual person. These types of characters are common in synoptic histories, which textbooks are almost by definition, so what is of interest is how the books use them. One book may tell a narrative of umbrella characters, where “Germany” fights “the USSR”, who then asks for help from “the Allies”, while another may focus on individuals, a narrative where Hitler orders and attack on Stalin, who calls for aid from President Roosevelt. How important are individuals to the unfolding of events? Did Hitler persecute the Jews? Or was it “the Germans” or “the Nazis” that did so?

Moral presentation: An adaption of Lévesque’s *Moral* category to make it more applicable to textbook analysis. Is there a hero in the narrative? Anyone that is depicted as morally better than others? Conversely, is there a villain, someone who is portrayed as morally worse than the other characters? In addition, it is of interest how much the books focus on the atrocities of the period, and especially where they assign the guilt for things like the holocaust. Who was to blame? Was it Hitler? The Germans? The Nazis? Is any questionable activity from the textbooks home nation brought up, or was the home nation a completely innocent

party? How much space do the books spend on judging or moralising? Are they focused on explaining who is guilty of what, or are they more interested in explaining things like battle tactics or technological advancements.

Sources: An adaption of Lévesque's *Evidence* category. Since textbooks are intended for education and the student must be able to count on the information within as being trustworthy it is unlikely that a textbook will cite its sources. They don't generally attempt to provide evidence to prove their trustworthiness, as it is assumed. So the topic here will not be how well the textbook backs up its arguments, but rather how it utilizes sources. What kind of sources does the book present to the student? And does it attempt to make the students interact with sources? Are there just a few pictures there to liven up the pages, or does the book present primary sources for the student to work with? How frequently does it do this, and when it does, what is the student usually asked to do? Sources are an immeasurably important part of working with history. Without sources one cannot be said to be working with history at all. Does the book make any attempts to prepare the student for work with sources? or does it just show them a quote and ask them to figure it out themselves?

Assignments: Lévesque's category *Perspective* will here be replaced with *Assignments*, as the textbooks perspective will already be looked at during the *Moral perspective* section, and because assignments make up an integral part of a textbook. Different textbooks will use this integral part differently. Some will use assignments to summarise what has just been said, some will ask the student to dig deeper into topics and ideas, others will ask the student to dig up and examine sources. What kind of assignments are preferred by the different nations? Do the assignments ask the student to summarise what was just said? Or do they ask the student to go online and find their own sources? How much the books encourage independent research is a core topic here. It is also interesting what the assignments encourage the student to look further into. One can likely expect that the assignments will cover every topic covered by the chapter, but what topics get the most attention? And what topics is the student asked to research more on? The assignments are effectively what the book wishes the student to walk away with after the chapter is done, so what is it that the book wishes for the student to remember?

3.2 Selection of textbooks

Two textbooks will be selected from each of the nations looked at here, for a total of six textbooks. The selected textbooks are all intended for student between the ages of 16-18, as

that is the latest point in which the three nations cover the second World War as part of standard education shared by all students. All the books chosen are intended for use by students who are being prepared for higher education in universities. For Germany and the U.S, where textbooks are written for specific states, two books from different states were chosen.

Since the three nations have different school systems it varies when students of each will learn about the war, but they all fall within this 16-18 age group. Beyond this age group only students that specifically elect to study history will receive education on the second World War. In Norway students will typically cover the second World War as part of VG3, the last year of standard education before they move on to university or employment. Germany and America do not have standardised school systems like Norway does, and as when students learn about the war varies from state to state. German students typically receive education on the war in years 9/10, which it is exactly varies based on state and school. The two books chosen for Germany are intended for gymnasium students, the gymnasiums being for students that intend to go to higher education, and which tend to have more complex textbooks. The American school system varies greatly from state to state and city to city, but in California and Texas, where the two textbooks were chosen from, student tend to learn about the second World War in the years 9 or 10, as part of their high school education.

All chosen textbooks were published within the last five years, with the exception of one. The criteria for selection varied by nation.

The Norwegian books that will be the subject of analysis are *Perspektiv* (2021), published by Gyldendal Norsk Forlag and *Alle tiders historie: Fra de eldste tider til våre dager* (2020), published by Cappelen Damm. As Norway does not have a textbook adoption system the books were chosen for how recently they were written and how up to date they are on the curriculum. Both were written specifically for the LK20 curriculum that is currently in use.

The Chosen German books are *Forum geschichte 9* (2019), published by Cornelsen Verlag and written for Baden-Württemberg, and *Das waren zeiten 2* (2020), published by C.C Buchner Verlag and written for Berlin/Brandenburg. Germany has a textbook adoption system, and both books are currently on the list of adopted textbooks for their respective states.³⁸

³⁸ Ministeriums Für Kultus, Jugend Und Sport, 2022; Zentrum für Schulqualität und Lehrerbildung, 2016

The United States books that will be examined are *Impact California social studies: World history, culture, and geography, The modern world* (2019), published by McGraw-Hill Education for the state of California, and *Texas World history: Patterns of interaction* (2016), published by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt for the state of Texas. Texas has a textbook adoption system, but California does not. *Patterns of interaction* is the oldest book analysed here, but is currently still on the list of adopted textbooks in Texas, as well as recommended by the American Textbook council.³⁹ Since California does not have an adoption system *Impact* was chosen for its recent publishing by one of the largest textbook publishers in the United States.

3.3 Structure of analysis and limitations

The following section will be a general overview of each of the six textbooks, with basic information on their structure, and will outline which parts of each textbook that are relevant to this text. Sections five will be the bulk of the text, where the six textbooks will be compared according to the topics of interest laid out above. In the final section of the text the general and key findings will be summarized, and the text will end with a brief discussion on why the nations may have ended up with these different interpretations.

With only two textbooks from each nation this cannot be considered a truly complete analysis, but only an initial look at the differences. Particularly for a nation as large as the U.S a larger sample size would be needed. Time and access to textbooks has restricted it to two per nations. *Patterns of interaction* is an outlier in the selection due to its age, despite being an adopted textbook it is a few years older than the others, and has had several previous printings. As such it may not reflect modern standards of textbooks writing perfectly. It is, however, an adopted textbook recommended by the American Textbook Council, and so should still reflect textbook standards in the state of Texas.

4. Individual overview

4.1 Perspektiv vg2 -3

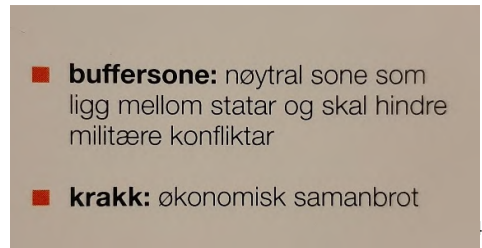
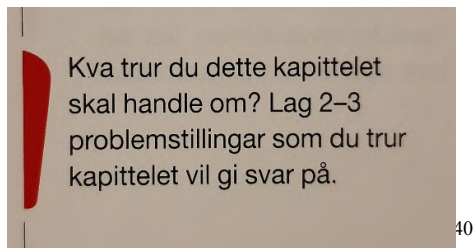
The book is 523 pages long, of which 62 are dedicated to the second world war or related topics, these spread across three chapters; chapter 11 *Ved et veiskille*, which covers the interwar period including the rise of fascism in Europe, chapter 13 *Andre verdenskrig*, which covers the war outside of Norway as well as the holocaust, and chapter 14 *Ny krig og et vanskelig oppgjør*, which covers the war, holocaust and post war settlement in Norway.

³⁹ Texas education agency, 2022; American textbook council, 2021

Chapter 12 *Fra selvstendighet til kriser*, which concerns Norway during the interwar period also lies within the timeframe that this text is focused on, but while chapter 11 looks at how the interwar period led to renewed warfare chapter 12 does not look at the years between wars as a bridge. Norway's position and outlook on international politics is never brought up and Norway is never presented as preparing for a new war. Because this chapter has effectively no relation to the second world war it will not be covered here.

Each chapter begins with a two-page spread giving a summary of what the chapter will cover, a summary of what the last chapter was about, and an image of a map related to the information in the chapter. The first proper page of a chapter comes with a timeline of the events covered in it. Most, though not all, chapters have a two-page spread roughly in the middle covering several topics related to each other, such as military expansion during the interwar period (chapter 11) or a list of great battles (chapter 13).

The margins of the pages are used to explain certain terms that might be new to the book or unknown to the reader, as well as to give explanations for an image. The margins also frequently contain questions for the student, usually these ask the student to summarise what they just read, or they prompt the student to take notes that might be useful later.



On the final regular page of each chapter there is a list of sources used for the chapter. These sources have no reference to when they were used in the chapter, and on occasion they can be incomplete, such as in chapter 11 where *Store Norske Leksikon* is listed as a source with no reference to any specific article.

⁴⁰ Perspektiv, 265. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

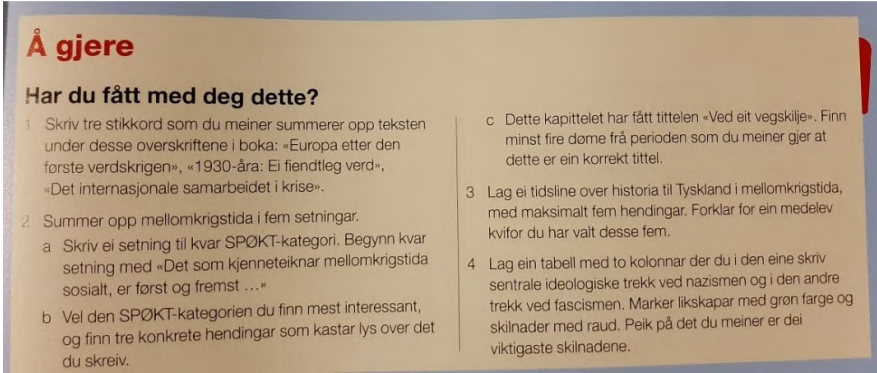
⁴¹ Perspektiv, 265. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

Litteraturliste

Henning Poulsen: *Fra krig til krig 1914–1945*. Aschehougs verdenshistorie, 2001
Ottar Dahl: *Fra konsens til katastrofe. Kapitler av fascismens historie i Italia*, 1996
Raino Malnes og Knut Midgaard: *Politisk tenkning fra antikken til vår tid*, 2002
Store norske leksikon

42

Besides the questions in the margins the book has no questions in the chapter proper, but each chapter ends with a few pages dedicated to questions. These questions come in four specifically separated categories; *Å gjere*, which are simple questions asking the student to summarise what the chapter has said; *Samanhengar* and *Perspektiv*, which are more complex questions that often ask the students to debate with one another, discuss a statement, or examine a specific topic in greater detail, with *Samanhengar* being questions about cause, effect, how events and people are connected, while *Perspektiv* are questions about how history has been interpreted or how the student themselves interprets it.



Å gjere

Har du fått med deg dette?

- 1 Skriv tre stikkord som du meiner summerer opp teksten under desse overskriftene i boka: «Europa etter den første verdskrigen», «1930-åra: Ei fiendtleg verd», «Det internasjonale samarbeidet i krise».
- 2 Summer opp mellomkrigstida i fem setningar.
 - a Skriv ei setning til kvar SPØKT-kategori. Begynn kvar setning med «Det som kjenneteiknar mellomkrigstida sosialt, er først og fremst ...»
 - b Vel den SPØKT-kategorien du finn mest interessant, og finn tre konkrete hendingar som kastar lys over det du skreiv.
- c Dette kapitlet har fått tittelen «Ved eit vegskilje». Finn minst fire dome frå perioden som du meiner gjer at dette er ein korrekt tittel.
- 3 Lag ei tidslinje over historia til Tyskland i mellomkrigstida, med maksimalt fem hendingar. Forklar for ein medelev kvifor du har valt desse fem.
- 4 Lag ein tabell med to kolonnar der du i den eine skriv sentrale ideologiske trekk ved nazismen og i den andre trekk ved fascismen. Marker likskapar med grøn farge og skilnader med raud. Peik på det du meiner er dei viktigaste skilnadene.

3

Lastly there are *Oppdrag*, which are two or three bigger assignments, most of which ask the student to find information outside of the book, and/or make some form of text or presentation. Almost all of them ask the student to form an opinion and take a stance on a specific issue.

⁴² Perspektiv, 286. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁴³ Perspektiv, 287. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

Oppdrag 2:

Ulike land, ulike muligheter og val
 Hvorfor graddde nokre land å halde på demokratiet i mellomkrigstida, mens andre fekk autoritære styresett eller reine diktatur?

Moglege årsaker

- ingen demokratiske tradisjonar
- autoritære tradisjonar
- høg/låg utdanning i befolkninga
- manglande «finkultur»
- økonomiske kriser
- sterkt sosialdemokrati
- sterke konservative parti
- polarisering
- vilje til kompromiss
- vilje til revolusjon
- protestantisk samfunn
- katolsk samfunn
- små/store økonomiske skilnader

Døme på land

Demokratiske i 1939	Autoritære	Diktatur
Norge	Polen	Tyskland
Sverige	Ungarn	Italia
Danmark	Estland	Spania
Finland	Romania	Portugal
Nederland		
Storbritannia		

Post 1: Kvifor demokratisk?
 Undersøk eitt land som vart verande demokrati fram til 1940. Kva for nokre av momenta i tekstboksen vil du framheve som viktige forklaringar på at landet vart verande demokratisk?

Post 2: Kvifor autoritært styresett eller diktatur?
 Undersøk eitt land som fekk eit autoritært styresett eller vart eit diktatur i mellomkrigstida. Kva for nokre av momenta i tekstboksen vil du framheve som viktige forklaringar på at landet ikkje vart verande demokratisk?

Post 3: Fellestrekk
 Gå saman med medelevar som har arbeidd med andre land enn du har. Samanlikn det du har kome fram til, og diskuter om det er mogleg å finne ikkeskapstrekk mellom landa som kan forklare kvifor dei vart verande demokrati eller vart autoritære eller diktatur.

Post 4: Ta stilling!
 Demokratiet må vi kjempe for kvar dag! Kva vil du seie er dei viktigaste truslane mot demokratiet i dag? Er det nokre av momenta i tekstboksen du meiner det er spesielt viktig at vi kjemper for i dag for å ta vare på demokratiet?

The book makes heavy use of the SPØK (social, political, economic, cultural, abbreviation of the Norwegian words) model, a model meant to give the student a guide for analysing historical periods. The model is explained at the start of the book and questions frequently ask or recommend the student apply it. At the start of the book one can also find an explanation of basic historical terms such as cause and effect, continuity and change, and primary and secondary sources

4.2 Alle tiders historie: Fra de eldste tider til våre dager VG2-VG3

The book is 632 pages, 76 of which are concerned with the second world war or related topics, spread across chapters 13 *Mellomkrigstiden*, 14 *Andre verdenskrig*, and 15 *Norge under andre verdenskrig*. Each chapter begins with an image accompanied by either a relevant quote or an explanation of the images content, before a summary of what the chapter will be about. At the bottom of the summary page is a list of things the student is supposed to learn from the chapter, along with a list of things to take note of while reading.

Målet for dette kapitlet er at du skal kunne

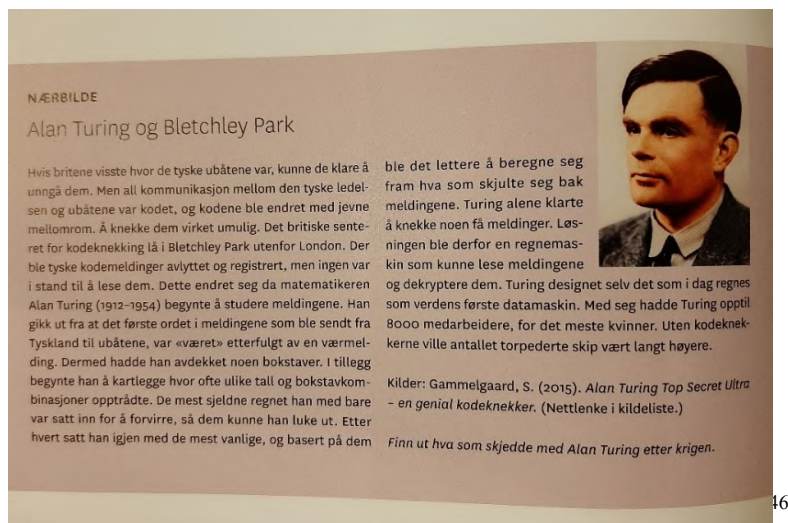
- reflektere over hvordan ideologier og tankesett på 1900-tallet og fram til i dag har bidratt til undertrykkelse, terror og folkemord som holocaust
- drøfte bakgrunnen for verdenskrigene og et utvalg andre sentrale kriger eller konflikter, og reflektere over om fredsslutninger har bidratt til å skape fred og forsoning

I kapitlet bør du merke deg

- forskjellene på den tyske krigføringen i vest og øst
- hvorfor ubåtene var en trussel mot Storbritannia
- hvordan jødeutryddelsen ble gjennomført
- hvilke slag som utgjorde et vendepunkt i krigen
- hvorfor Japan angrep USA
- hvorfor ledelsen i USA besluttet å bruke atomvåpen mot Japan
- betydningen av Nürnbergdomstolen

⁴⁴ Perspektiv, 289. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

Only about two thirds of each page is given to the flowing narrative, with the top third of each page being reserved for some form of information which is related to a topic in the narrative. These are categorized into *Kilder og kildekritikk*, which covers some form of source, generally an image or a quote, *Nærbilde*, which are closer looks at something or someone related to the narrative, *Historiebevissthet*, which are about how historical events are debated and interpreted differently by different people, *Perspektiver*, which are examples of how a historical event might be remembered differently based on how an individual relates to it, and *Fortid og forklaring*, where the book looks at how the events and actions of the past have been explained. These top sections almost always end with a question to the student, ranging from debating the reliability of a source, digging deeper into an event or person to fill out the narrative, to debating different historical interpretations. The margins of the pages are used to explain terms that might be new to the reader.



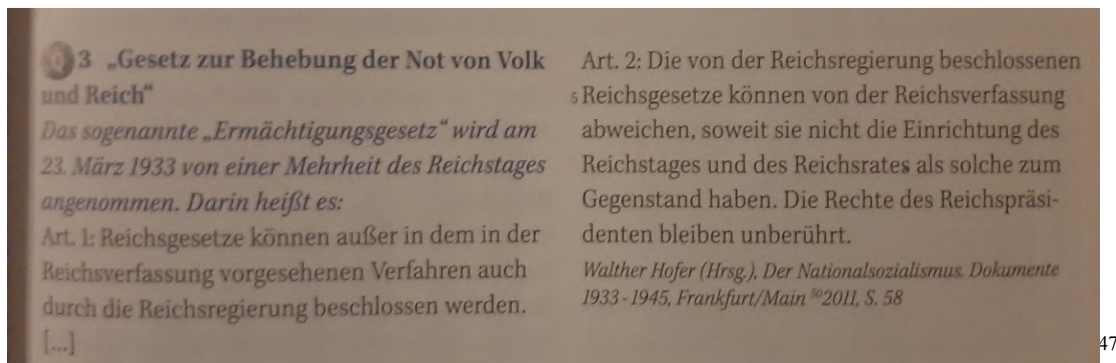
Each chapter is divided into subchapters that are again divided into different topics. Each subchapter ends with a few simple questions asking the student to summarize what the subchapter said. At the end of each chapter there are one or two pages with a summary of the chapter, a bibliography, and a number of assignments. These assignments are called *Dybdeløring* and are more complex than the smaller assignments given throughout the chapter.

⁴⁵ Alle tiders historie, 467. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

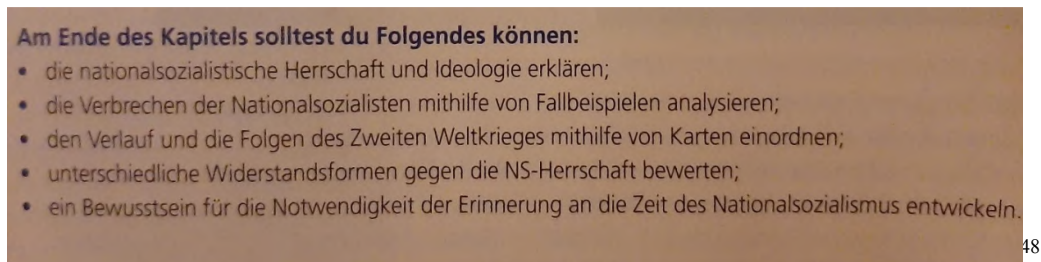
⁴⁶ Alle tiders historie, 470. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

4.3 Das waren zeiten 2

The book is 320 pages long, of which about 90 are dedicated to the second world war or its causes. Each of the book's chapters are divided into a number of subchapters, which are again divided into numerous themes. Every two pages is a new theme, so every time one turns the page one is met with a new theme. Here the left page is dedicated to a narrative telling of events, while the right page is given wholly to sources and questions. Sources are marked with either an *M*, for *Materialien*, which are secondary sources, or they are marked with a *Q*, for *Quelle*, which are primary sources.



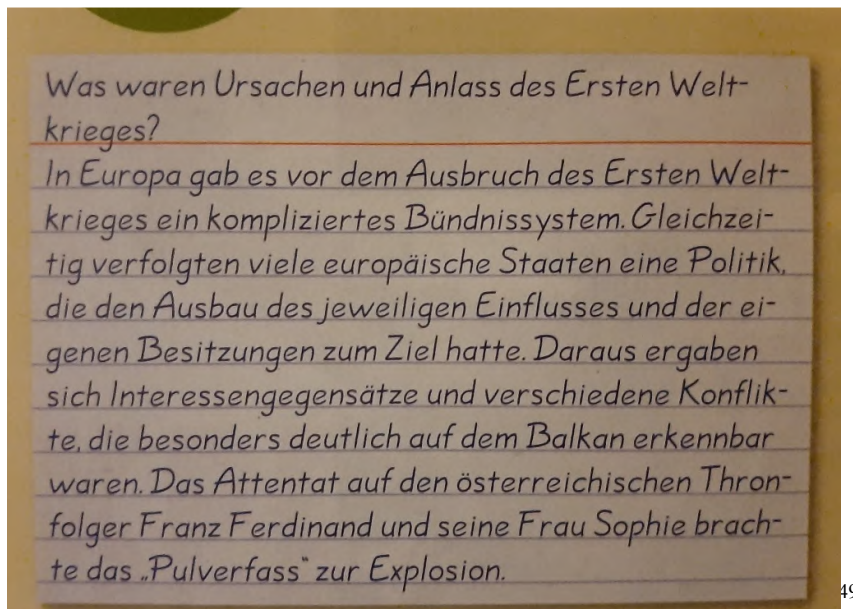
Every two pages have a short list of questions on them, with only a select few exceptions to this in the whole book. Each chapter starts with a two-page spread containing two images, with explanations for those images, a short text explaining what the chapter will be about, and a few questions concerning the images or asking what the student already knows. Some chapters have a short group assignment here as well. Each sup chapter is introduced by a two-page spread with basic information for the period or topic, as well as a list of things the student is expected to learn from the subchapter. The sub chapters are curiously not named in the text, only in the table of contents.



⁴⁷ Das waren zeiten 2, 53. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁴⁸ Das waren zeiten 2, 48. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

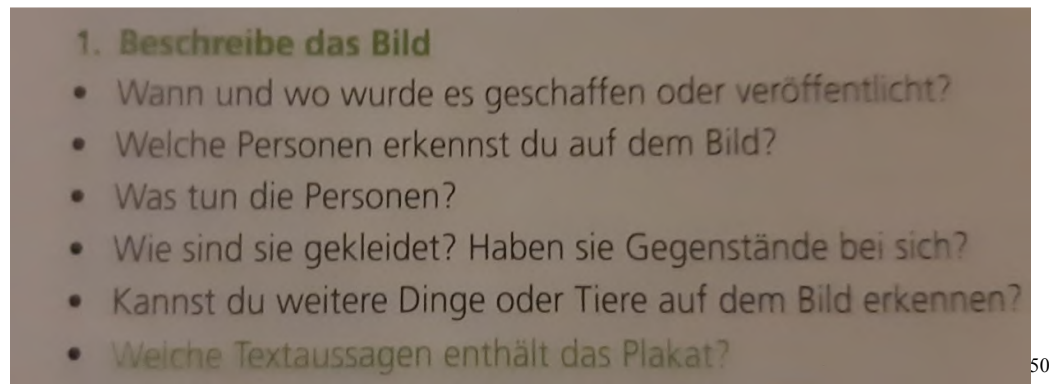
The two-page themes generally tell a chronological story, but on occasion there will be a theme disconnected from the flowing narrative, such as when the story of the Weimar Republic is interrupted by two pages concerning the development of the arts during the period. The margins of the pages may on occasion contain an explanation for a term, but usually new terms or names are highlighted in the text. When a term or name is highlighted like this it means that one can find a short explanation of it at the back of the book. This way the book avoids spending the little space it has for the flowing narrative on explaining what terms like “Rätedemokratie” mean, or who Philipp Schneidemann was. At the bottom of each page is a green strip where one can find all the highlighted terms on the page gathered up. Every sub chapter ends with a section called *Das weiß ich – das kann ich!* Which summarises a few key points of the sub chapter, as well as asking a few more complex questions.



On occasion the book will interrupt the narrative with one of two special sections. one of these is called *Methode*, where it gives two pages to an explanation and example of how to analyse a specific type of source, such as on page 24-25 where it explains how to analyse a political poster. Here the student is given a fairly detailed list of things to look for in the given source type, as well as tips for how to begin writing each section of the analysis. The other type of special themes is called *Geschichte kontrovers and* is concerned with different interpretations of the same event and asking the student to analyse the different viewpoints. These sections are filled purely with sources and a few questions, with no flowing narrative.

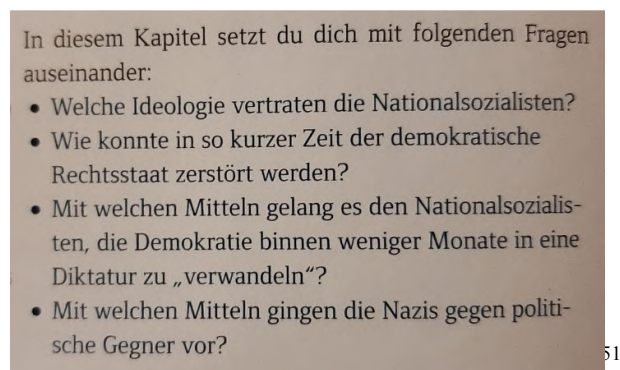
⁴⁹ Das waren zeiten 2, 46. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

There are only a few of these throughout the book, and only one among the pages relevant to this text, that being page 44 – 45, where it asks if democracy in Germany simply died out or if it was destroyed.



4.4 Forum geschichte 9

Just over 100 of the books 263 pages are given to the 12 years of Nazi rule in Germany, spread across the first three chapters. Each chapter begins with a two-page spread of an image along with a short text explaining the context of the picture, followed by two pages with a quick explanation of what the chapter will cover and what the student is expected to learn from it, along with a timeline of the period with events relevant to the topic marked.



On these orientation pages one will also find a few photos, cartoons, graphs, or maps from or about the relevant time period, as well as a few questions concerning these. Questions feature on every other page of the book, and each chapter ends with a section called *Kompetenzen prüfen* where one can find more complex questions, along with a summary of the chapter. The chapters are divided into what the book calls *Themenseiten*, where the book discusses a specific topic. These are usually two pages in total, with the left page given to the flowing

⁵⁰ Das waren zeiten 2, 24. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁵¹ Forum geschichte 9, 12. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

narrative and the right page given to sources and questions, though a few times the book does stray from this and spends three or four pages on a topic. The book occasionally features one of seven special *Themenseiten*, where it either discusses an event or topic in a more systematic manner, or where it breaks the chronological structure to discuss a topic that spans a greater period, while still using the same structure as the regular *Themenseiten*. The most common of these are *Landesgeschichte*, where the book covers how things happened in Baden-Württemberg specifically, and *Stationenlernen*, which are a set of pages covering a few different but related topics and which are intended to be studied by groups of students in turn, before the groups meet and compare their findings. *Geschichte kontrovers* pages look at a topic which has been a source of debate. On *Geschichte im Vergleich* pages the book will look at two similar events or topics and compare them against each other. On *Fenster zur Welt* pages the book, which normally is purely a German history book, will spend time on a topic unrelated to Germany. *Geschichtskultur* pages look at how we remember and memorialise history. Lastly there is also *Gruppenpuzzle*, but there is only a single one of these in the book in chapter four, which lies outside of the field of interest of this text and as such need not be discussed.

Besides the *Themenseiten* the book also has *Methode* pages, where it gives a detailed explanation on how to analyse a specific type of source, such as photos, speeches, poems, and more, with a step by step guide for the student to follow, and *Wähle aus* pages that present a question and three different sources of different types, of which the student is supposed to choose one to answer the question. All the sources are meant to lead the student to the same answer, the intent being to show that history can be approached with multiple methods.

Arbeitsschritte „Politische Reden vergleichen“	
Ersten Eindruck festhalten	Lösungshinweise zu M1 und M2
1. Was ist das Thema der Reden?	z. B.: In diesen Reden geht es um ...
2. Formuliere eine Untersuchungsfrage.	Mögliche Untersuchungsfrage: Wie versuchen die Redner jeweils die Abgeordneten zu überzeugen?
Informationen zur Redesituation herausarbeiten	
3. Wer hat die Reden gehalten? Wann wurden sie gehalten?	• M1 und M2 sind Reden von ..., die am ... gehalten wurden.
4. In welchem Kontext wurden die Reden gehalten und an wen (Adressat) wenden sich die Redner?	• Die Rede Hitlers ist die Regierungserklärung zum ... • Wels bezieht sich in seiner Rede auf... • Beide Redner richten sich an ...
Inhalt der Reden herausarbeiten	
5. Wie sind die Reden aufgebaut?	• M1 lässt sich in folgende Abschnitte gliedern ... • M2 ist folgendermaßen aufgebaut: ...
6. Was sind die Kernaussagen? Welche Argumente bringen die Redner vor?	• Otto Wels' zentrale Aussage ist ...; er argumentiert, dass ...

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4.5 Impact California social studies, World history, culture and geography, The modern world

The book is 810 pages of which 117 discuss the years relevant to this text, these spread across three chapters, chapter 10 *The west between wars*, chapter 11 *Nationalism around the world*, and chapter 12 *World War two and the holocaust*. Each chapter begins with a title page that covers what the chapter will be covering, why it is deemed worth covering, and what the student should be able to do to be sure they've understood the chapter.

ASKING ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
What can cause economic instability? How might political change impact society?

What Will You Learn? You will learn about economic instability in the years after World War I and how it and frustrations following World War I led to the rise of dictatorships, most notably in Nazi Germany.

Why Does This Matter? The dictators of interwar Europe used fear as a weapon. As these dictators spread their influence over the institutions of their respective states, they transformed these fears into grievances. Fueled by these grievances, angry masses could be counted on to violently enforce loyalty in their communities. In this way, these regimes accomplished the perfect insult. Fear, the emotion that once justified their existence, now rebuked any challenge to the order they represented.

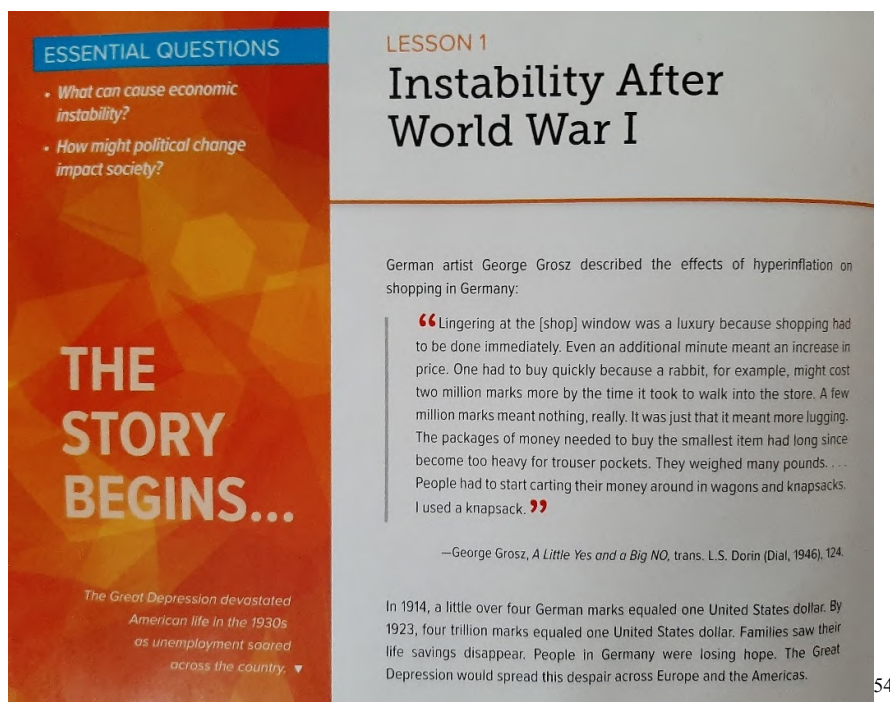
How Will You Know That You Learned It? You will better understand the Great Depression and explain how this economic crisis led to the growth of authoritarian regimes in Europe.

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⁵² Forum geschichte 9, 23. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁵³ Impact, 361. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

The chapters also have what the book calls *Essential question* which are repeated at the start of every lesson, and which are supposed to have been answered by the end of the chapter. This is then followed by a two-page spread called *Place and time* which contains a timeline of events, a map with information relevant to the topic, and quotes from two people important to the period. Chapters are divided into lessons, sub chapters that cover a specific topic within the period. Each lesson has its own introductory page with a quote to begin the narrative. Lessons are further split into multiple topics, such as *The German path to war*, or *Culture in Latin America*. These topics have a guiding question they seek to answer, similar to how the chapters have essential questions they seek to answer.



At the end of a lesson there is a small review section with six questions, categorized into four groups: *Time and place*, *Building history-social science analysis skills*, *writing about history*, and *collaborating*. Similarly, every chapter ends with an *Assessment* segment, one or two pages of questions. Next to the *Assessment* one can find a study guide summing up the individual lessons

The book places great emphasis on history as a discipline and on closely reading a variety of sources. At the very start of the book, just after the table of contents and a table of sources, there is a 12 page section called *Skillbuilder* where each page discusses a different skill

⁵⁴ Impact, 364. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

needed for a proper understanding of history, these being: *Reading and creating a thematic map, Sequencing and using a timeline, Understanding how historians interpret the past, Analysing historical evidence, Interpreting graphs, Analysing primary sources, Using secondary sources, Determining cause and effect, Identifying bias and point of view, Locating turning points of history, Making generalizations, and Making inferences and drawing conclusions.*

SKILLBUILDER

Understanding How Historians Interpret the Past

Why Learn This Skill?

By now, you have probably realized that historians do not always agree about how historical events happened or how events affected things that happened later. When you study history, it is easy to become confused unless you have some idea of how historians interpret the past and the different approaches they use. Understanding how historians interpret events of the past will allow you to practice their methods within your textbook.

Learning the Skill

The study of how historians approach history is called historiography. Historians must answer three big questions: *causation* (why a historical event happened), *outcome* (what happened as a result of the event) and *meaning* (why the event matters). Historians approach answering these questions in one of three ways:

power of their national states. These attitudes made war an ever-present possibility.

"The imperialist expansion of the last half of the nineteenth century also played a role in the coming of war. The competition for lands abroad, especially in Africa, led to conflict and heightened the existing rivalries among European states."

1. What would a structuralist emphasize in trying to understand the causes of World War I?
2. What theories about the causes of World War I would intellectual historians favor?
3. Underline a sentence or two in the passage in which historians practice a volitional, or intentionalist, approach to World War I.

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Each skillbuilder page explain why the skill is important, how it should be used, and gives examples to help the student learn it. Throughout the chapters one can find sections named after one of these skills, making connections being the most common. These little sections contain a paragraph of information and one or two questions related to the skill in question. As an example, on page 368 there is a *Making connections* section comparing the Great depression to the 2008 recession. It contains two questions, one asking why the 2008 recession wasn't as bad as the Great depression, and one asking how the depression connects to the rise of Hitler, and what this can tell us about the connection between economics and politics.

⁵⁵ Impact, xxx. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

MAKING CONNECTIONS TO TODAY

RECESSION VERSUS DEPRESSION

A recession and a depression differ in severity. By definition, a recession is when the economy shrinks for two consecutive fiscal quarters. When the United States experienced a recession in 2008, people worried unemployment would reach Great Depression levels. But in studying unemployment numbers, economists discovered that, although the economic downturn was the worst since World War II, it was nowhere near as bad as the Great Depression. In 1933, unemployment had reached 29.4 percent. In December 2010, 9.4 percent of the U.S. population was unemployed.

- 1. EVALUATING** Why might the recession of 2008 not have brought about the degree of extremism triggered by the Depression of the 1930s?
- 2. UNDERSTANDING CHANGE** The Great Depression of the 1930s created the circumstances for the rise of Hitler in Germany. What does this suggest about the relationship between economic disruption and political disruption?

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CITIZENSHIP

A SAFETY NET FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

During the Great Depression, observers realized that the consequences of not providing social safety measures for workers in an industrial economy were disastrous. As a result, the U.S. Congress and Roosevelt created the Social Security Act of 1935, which created a federally run pension system and allowed for state-federal partnerships for unemployment insurance, which pays the unemployed a percentage of their former wages as they look for new jobs. The Depression is now long gone, but these provisions persist. Indeed, over the years, the government has worked to improve and strengthen both. These actions were proven prudent when the United States entered the recession of 2008. Millions lost their jobs and savings at this time. Congress reacted by repeatedly extending unemployment insurance for those who struggled to find work. Likewise, those who lost their savings could fall back on Social Security to help pay the bills.

COMPARING AND CONTRASTING
What does the continuing need for programs such as Social Security and unemployment insurance suggest about the similarities and differences between the 1930s and the 2008 recession?

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These *skillbuilder* sections are important enough to the book that in the table of contents one does not find the page number of sub chapters, but instead it is these *skillbuilder* sections one is directed to. In addition to these *skillbuilders* one can also find similar *Citizenship* segments. There is usually one or two of these per chapter. These *citizenship* sections are structured the same way as the *skillbuilders*, but instead cover developments in civil right, examples of government corruption, or civilian resistance against government, as well as topics on the rights and duties of a citizen and how these may have changed over time.

Literacy is another topic emphasized in *Impact*. Throughout the flowing narrative one periodically finds words highlighted in yellow, these highlighted words are then used in the

⁵⁶ *Impact*, 368. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁵⁷ *Impact*, 369. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

margins of the pages. But rather than finding definitions the words are used for questions where the student is asked to read a certain paragraph again to try and find the definition of the word based on context clues. Because of this one can on occasion find questions that seem a little out of place in a history textbook, such as on page 383 where the book asks for the definition of the word “required”.

DETERMINING MEANING

Read the paragraph that contains the word **required**. Based on context clues, write a definition for the word *require*. Use a dictionary or online resource to check your definition.

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These *Determining meaning* questions, as they are called, are quite common in the book and are frequently accompanied by similar *Analyzing events*, *citing text evidence*, or *understanding context* questions, which will usually ask the reader to reread a certain paragraph more closely to examine how the author justified their statements, or how its structure works to convince the reader of the authors points. Interestingly, while the term *Shoah* is described, the term *Holocaust* is not, despite the latter being the one utilised by the book. On occasion *Impact* will feature a section called *The worlds literature*, where it spends a few pages on an excerpt from an era appropriate text, both fiction and non-fiction. On pages 428 to 433 one for example finds an excerpt from Sir Rabindranath Tagore’s *The postmaster*. These sections end with a few questions, some of which are related to the historical period the text belongs to, but some of which are also simply literary analysis.

4.6 Texas World history: Patterns of interaction

67 of the books well over a thousand pages are dedicated to the second world war and the events leading into it, spread across two chapters; chapter 31, *Years of crisis*, and chapter 32,

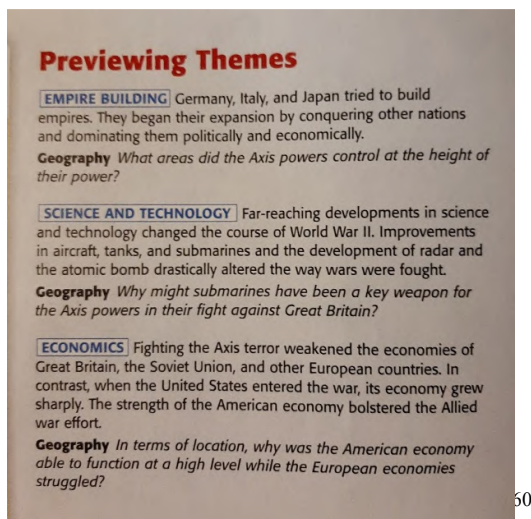
⁵⁸ Impact, 383. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

World War 2. There is another chapter given to the interwar years, chapter 30 *Revolution and nationalism*, but the events of this chapter are never linked directly to the second world war. They are an effect of World War one, not a cause of World War two.

Patterns of interaction structures its narrative using eight *World history themes* that it explains at the beginning of the book.

While historical events are unique, they often are driven by similar, repeated forces. In telling the history of our world, this book pays special attention to eight significant and recurring themes. These themes are presented to show that from America, to Africa, to Asia, people are more alike than they realize. Throughout history humans have confronted similar obstacles, have struggled to achieve similar goals, and continually strived to better themselves and the world around them.⁵⁹

The eight themes that make up world history in *Patterns of interaction* are: *Power and authority*, *Religious and ethical systems*, *Revolution*, *Interaction with environment*, *Economics*, *Cultural interaction*, *Empire building*, and *Science and technology*. Each chapter has three of these themes that it deems as central to a period and topic, and each section has one of these three as its *Main idea*, along with a writing activity at the end of the section inspired by this guiding theme.



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At the end of the book one finds the *Skillbuilder handbook*, where the book presents four skills it considers essential to working with history; *Reading critically*, *Higher-order critical thinking*, *Exploring evidence*, and *Creating presentations*. These four skills are further

⁵⁹ *Patterns of interaction*, xviii

⁶⁰ *Patterns of interaction*, 922. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

divided into different abilities that make up the greater skill, for example *Reading critically* involves *Determining main ideas*, *Following chronological order*, *Summarizing*, *Identifying problems and solutions*, *Analysing causes and recognizing effects*, *Comparing and contrasting*, and *Distinguishing fact from opinion*. These abilities that make up the greater skills form the basis for all the questions and assignments found in the book, with each question being based on one of these abilities.

Skillbuilder Handbook

Refer to the Skillbuilder Handbook when you need help in answering Main Idea questions or questions in Section Assessments and Chapter Assessments. In addition, the handbook will help you answer questions about maps, charts, and graphs.

SECTION 1: Reading Critically

1.1	Determining Main Ideas	R2
1.2	Following Chronological Order	R3
1.3	Clarifying; Summarizing	R4
1.4	Identifying Problems and Solutions	R5
1.5	Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects	R6
1.6	Comparing and Contrasting	R7
1.7	Distinguishing Fact from Opinion	R8

SECTION 2: Higher-Order Critical Thinking

2.1	Categorizing	R9
2.2	Making Inferences	R10
2.3	Drawing Conclusions	R11
2.4	Developing Historical Perspective	R12
2.5	Formulating Historical Questions	R13
2.6	Making Predictions	R14
2.7	Hypothesizing	R15
2.8	Analyzing Motives	R16
2.9	Analyzing Issues	R17
2.10	Analyzing Bias	R18
2.11	Evaluating Decisions and Courses of Action	R19
2.12	Forming and Supporting Opinions	R20
2.13	Synthesizing	R21

SECTION 3: Exploring Evidence: Print, Visual, Technology Sources

3.1	Analyzing Primary and Secondary Sources	R22
3.2	Visual, Audio, and Multimedia Sources	R23
3.3	Using the Internet	R24
3.4	Interpreting Maps	R25
3.5	Interpreting Charts	R27
3.6	Interpreting Graphs	R28
3.7	Analyzing Political Cartoons	R29

SECTION 4: Creating Presentations

4.1	Writing for Social Studies	R30
4.2	Creating a Map	R31
4.3	Creating Charts and Graphs	R32
4.4	Creating and Using a Database	R33
4.5	Creating a Model	R34
4.6	Creating/Interpreting a Research Outline	R35
4.7	Creating Oral Presentations	R36
4.8	Creating Written Presentations	R37

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After the *Skillbuilder handbook* there is a glossary of terms. Throughout the book one can find names and terms that have been highlighted, indicating that one can find more information about the term or person in this glossary section. A Spanish version of the glossary then follows.

⁶¹ Patterns of interaction, R1. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

The book is divided into eight *Units* that each cover a number of related topics, with each unit separated into *Chapters* that narrow in on one part of the larger topic, and which are further divided into *Sections* that each tackle a part of the chapter's topic. The second World War is a part of unit seven *The world at war*, alongside the first World War and the rise of nationalism around the world. At the end of each unit there is a *Compare and contrast* section where the student is asked to look at how things changed throughout the period the unit is concerned with. In unit seven the topics of comparison are *Technology of war*, *Expansion of Warfare*, and *The human cost of war*.

Chapters begin with two introductory pages that present the three guiding themes of the chapter, show a map relevant to the topic, give a timeline of important events, and present the student with an *Essential question* to ponder throughout the chapter. Following these two introductory pages there is an *Interact with history* page that presents the student with a dilemma central to the chapter. The student is asked to put themselves in the shoes of someone from the period and to take a stance in relation to the dilemma.

Interact with History

Which candidate will you choose?

On a spring evening in the early 1930s during the Great Depression, you are one of thousands of Germans gathered at an outdoor stadium in Munich. You are unemployed; your country is suffering. Like everyone else, you have come to this mass meeting to hear two politicians campaigning for office. Huge speakers blare out patriotic music, while you and the rest of the crowd wait impatiently for the speeches to begin.

Before long you will have to cast your ballot.

First candidate's platform	Second candidate's platform
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remember Germany's long and glorious past Replace our present indecisive leadership with a strong, effective leader Rebuild the army to protect against enemies Regain the lands taken unfairly from us Make sacrifices to return to economic health Put the welfare of the state above all, and our country will be a great power again 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Realize that there are no simple or quick solutions to problems Put people back to work, but economic recovery will be slow Provide for the poor, elderly, and sick Avoid reckless military spending Act responsibly to safeguard democracy Be a good neighbor country; honor our debts and treaty commitments

EXAMINING the ISSUES

- What strategy does each candidate have for solving the nation's problems?
- Which candidate makes the stronger appeal to the listener's emotions?

As a class, discuss these questions. In your discussion, remember what you have read about the defeated nations' bitterness toward the Versailles Treaty following World War I. As you read this chapter, notice that dictators were voted into power as people lost faith in democratic government in the 1920s and 1930s.

Each chapter ends with an *Assessment* section filled with questions and a basic summary of the chapter.

On the first page of each *Section* the book clarifies the *Main idea* of the section, that is which

⁶² Patterns of interaction, 896. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

of the eight *World history themes* this section focuses on and why it does so. The book also gives a short explanation for why this topic still matters today, and a list of all the highlighted names and terms found in the section.

MAIN IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS NOW	TERMS & NAMES
POWER AND AUTHORITY As Germany, Italy, and Japan conquered other countries, the rest of the world did nothing to stop them.	Many nations today take a more active and collective role in world affairs, as in the United Nations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • appeasement • Axis Powers • Francisco Franco • isolationism • Third Reich • Munich Conference

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Besides the flowing narrative *Sections* contain a plethora of images, a few simple questions in the margins, and on occasion a section with supplemental information. These supplemental segments come in a few different forms, *History in depth* segments that present a graph with some further information on a core topic such as the stock market, *History makers*, which gives a bit of information on an important individual, *Global impact*, where the book briefly covers an event that is related to the topic at hand but not covered in the flowing narrative, and *Social history* segments where the book looks at how the lives of ordinary people were impacted by events. Along with these there are also on occasion segments for analysing a source, such as Picasso’s *Guernica* on page 918, or an excerpt from F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The great Gatsby* on page 898.

Analyzing Primary Sources

Writers of the "Lost Generation"
 During the 1920s, many American writers, musicians, and painters left the United States to live in Europe. These expatriates, people who left their native country to live elsewhere, often settled in Paris. American writer Gertrude Stein called them the "Lost Generation." They moved frantically from one European city to another, trying to find meaning in life. Life empty of meaning is the theme of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925).

PRIMARY SOURCE
 And as I sat there brooding on the old, unknown world, I thought of Gatsby's wonder when he first picked out the green light at the end of Daisy's dock. He had come a long way to this blue lawn, and his dream must have seemed so close that he could hardly fail to grasp it. He did not know that it was already behind him, somewhere back in that vast obscurity beyond the city, where the dark fields of the republic rolled on under the night.
 Gatsby believed in the green light, the . . . future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that's no matter—tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther. . . . And one fine morning—
 So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past.
F. SCOTT FITZGERALD, *The Great Gatsby*

A 1920s photo of F. Scott Fitzgerald

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS
 1. **Making Inferences** What seems to be the narrator's attitude toward the future?
 2. **Drawing Conclusions** How would you describe the overall mood of the excerpt?

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Once or twice per chapter one of these supplemental segments will be expanded to cover a whole page or two to provide more in-depth information. Each section has a small *Assessment* at the bottom of the final page containing a few questions.

⁶³ Patterns of interaction, 915. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁶⁴ Patterns of interaction, 898. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

5. Comparison

5.1 Sequence of events

5.1.1 Scope

A primary difference between the three nations looked at here is the scope of the textbooks, that is, how much of the world the books deem relevant to the second World War.

The German textbooks have the smallest scope, being German history books. *Forum Geschichte* narrows it down even further by putting a fair bit of focus on the state of Baden-Württemberg that the book was written for. Events outside of Germany are of almost no concern to the German textbooks. Only international events that affected Germany are of any interest to the books, and even then, they are only covered very briefly. Both books spend no more than a few pages on the actions of non-German people or nations. *Forum Geschichte* is the only of the two to spend a full page on foreign history, with two pages on Japan's role in the war. On the other hand, the German books have the greatest focus on the period, each spending over 100 pages on the interwar and war years, with the interwar pages principally concerned with the steady path towards the NSDAP regime.



Every aspect of the rise and structure of the Nazi party is discussed, every way they influenced life in Germany is examined, and the interwar and war years take up about half of the pages for both books. Not only do the German books spend a greater percentage of their

⁶⁵ Das waren zeiten 2, 42. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

pages on the topic, they also spend more raw pages on the period than the American or Norwegian ones do.

The American books have the largest scope, attempting to be true world histories. Especially in the interwar chapters both *Impact* and *Patterns of interaction* dedicate quite a bit of space to Africa, the middle east, South-America, and China, alongside Europe and the U.S. Both books dedicate an entire chapter to the development of non-European nations during the interwar years, spending much more time on these nations than the German and Norwegian books that do not acknowledge them at all. This worldwide focus does diminish somewhat when they are discussing the actual war years, where their narratives focus almost exclusively on Europe and Asia. The second World War is in both the American books chiefly about Europe and Asia, despite the fact that they both spend time on other nations that were involved in the war, they will only infrequently discuss these nations in the context of the war. This narrowing of the scope is curious because while telling stories of the nationalistic movements that these nations experienced during the interwar years, the books will on occasion draw the narrative into the war years, but will not link the nation to the war, even for nations like Brazil who were notably involved in it.

Faced with opposition in 1937, Vargas made himself dictator. Beginning in 1938, he established his New State. It was basically an authoritarian state with some fascist-like features. Political parties were outlawed, and civil rights were restricted. Secret police silenced Vargas's opponents. Vargas also pursued a policy of stimulating new industries. The government established the Brazilian steel industry and set up a company to explore for oil. By the end of World War 2, Brazil had become Latin America's chief industrial power. In 1945 the army, fearing that Vargas might prolong his power illegally after calling for new elections, forced him to resign.⁶⁶

At other times they may discuss a nation that was involved in the war, but will simply stop the narrative before the war starts, and never pick it back up. Such is the case with Iran in *Patterns of interaction*.

In 1921, a Persian army officer seized power. In 1925 he deposed the ruling shah. Persia's new leader, Reza Shah Pahlavi, like Kemal in Turkey, set out to modernize his country. He established public schools, built roads and railroads, promoted industrial growth, and extended

⁶⁶ Impact, 425

women's rights. Unlike Kemal, Reza Shah Pahlavi kept all power in his own hands. In 1935, he changed the name of the country from the Greek name Persia to the traditional name Iran.⁶⁷

The two books are not quite uniform in this narrowing of the scope, *Impact* does among others acknowledge Iran's role in the war briefly, but in both books the second World War is chiefly a European and Asian affair, despite their focus on nations outside of these areas elsewhere. The developments in these areas are an effect of World War one, not a cause of World War two, and their contributions to the war are not considered important enough to discuss.

The Norwegian books *Perspektiv* and *Alle tiders historie* fall between the American and German ones in scope. They are principally focused on Europe, with events in Asia being of secondary importance, often relegated to vague, undetailed summaries of events where Europe gets detailed examinations of cause and effect. In *Perspektiv* Italy and Germany receive several pages on their fall to military dictatorships while Japan receives only half a page on its development leading to the war.



China is hardly even acknowledged, a mere victim of Japanese aggression with no agency or role to play in their own fate. *Alle tiders historie* gives even less space to the topic. The U.S also only features secondarily in the Norwegian books. While given more space than Japan

⁶⁷ Patterns of interaction, 890

⁶⁸ *Perspektiv*, 281. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

and China, especially in the interwar chapters, the space given to the States pales in comparison to the space given to France, Britain, Germany, and Norway, who act as the real centre of attention for the books. Non-European nations besides Japan and the U.S are not given any space at all. Much like in the American books, World War two is an almost wholly European affair to the Norwegian books.

5.1.2 Narrative styles

The two American books have a very dramatic storytelling style, full of emotional language and descriptions. *Patterns of interaction* employs a particularly dramatic story telling style, even when compared to the also quite dramatic *Impact*, especially when the narrative concerns America or Americans. *Sections* frequently end with cliff-hangers or dramatic statements, such as *Section* four of chapter 31 which ends with “As the Axis Powers moved unchecked at the end of the decade, war appeared inevitable”,⁶⁹ or *Section* one of chapter 32 that ends with “To almost everyone’s surprise, however, the attack that actually drew the United States into the war did not come from Germany. It came from Japan”.⁷⁰ When discussing Douglas MacArthur in a *History makers* section the book makes mention of his dramatic promise to return after being forced to leave his post in the Philippines.

He remained there until shortly before the islands fell in 1941. But he left very reluctantly. In a message to the troops who remained behind, he vowed, “I shall return”. As you will read later in the chapter, MacArthur kept his promise.⁷¹

The flowing narrative later references him keeping this promise. While not quite as dramatic as *Patterns of interaction*, *Impact* also enjoys scenic descriptions of events, meant to incite an emotional response from the reader. The most emotional narrative in the book is found in chapter 12, where the book discusses the bombing of civilians, accompanied by descriptions of parents trying, and sometimes failing, to save their children.

Many children were evacuated from cities during the war to avoid the bombing. The British moved about 6 million children and their mothers in 1939. Some British parents even sent their children to Canada and the United States. This, too, could be dangerous. When the ocean liner *Arandora Star* was hit by a German torpedo, it had 77 British children on board. They never made it to Canada.⁷²

⁶⁹ *Patterns of interaction*, 919

⁷⁰ *Patterns of interaction*, 930

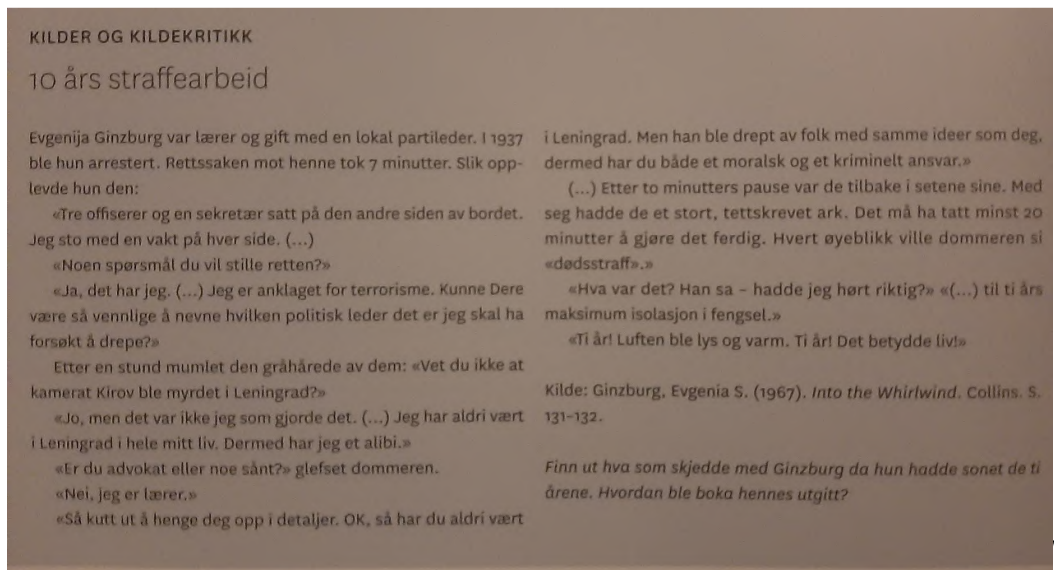
⁷¹ *Patterns of interaction*, 934

⁷² *Impact*, 461

While not quite as dramatic in their retellings of events as the American books, *Alle tiders historie* and *Perspektiv* also like to make use of emotional storytelling methods. They share a great focus on the suffering and misery of the period. *Perspektiv* is an extremely emotional book, and employs a very sombre narrative style, often asking how such events could take place, or wondering if the people knew what was going to happen. When discussing the story of Kathe Lasnik the book wonders if her answer to the questionnaire wasn't some kind of prayer.

Etter spørsmålet “Når kom De til Norge?” har ho skrive “Alltid vært I Norge”. Kvifor skreiv ho det? Då Kathe fylte ut skjemaet midt i November 1942, hadde dei jødiske mennene alt blitt arresterte. Butikkar og formuar var beslaglagde. Kanskje svarte ho “Alltid vært i Norge” som ein form for vern, som ei slags bønn: “Jeg er en av dere, ikke gjør meg noe”⁷³

Melancholy is the defining mood of the book, and it wants the reader to feel for the people it mentions, to wonder how such things could be possible. *Alle tiders historie* is best described as having a dramatic edge, as it is not quite as emotional as *Perspektiv* or the American books, typically preferring a more sober narrative style. It tends to leave the more emotional descriptions to its supplemental sections at the top of the page.



It does, however, enjoy ending its sections and topics with very dramatic summaries. “Resultatet var sult og massedød”,⁷⁵ “Rundt 6000 amerikanske soldater falt, og mer enn

⁷³ *Perspektiv*, 345

⁷⁴ *Alle tiders historie*, 438. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁷⁵ *Alle tiders historie*, 438

20 000 ble såret. 23. februar klarte amerikanere å heise USAs flagg på toppen av øya”.⁷⁶ It is also not above dramatic or emotional descriptions, such as when it describes the paranoia and fear caused by the Moscow trials.

Langt de fleste som ble arrestert, deportert eller henrettet, forsvant uten oppslag i pressen. Om nettene lå folk våkne og lyttet etter om det stoppet en bil utenfor deres oppgang, om heisen stanset i deres etasje. Frykten for at naboen var en angiver, gjorde at folk sluttet å snakke med hverandre, man holdt for seg selv og stolte ikke på noen.⁷⁷

A key similarity between the American and Norwegian books is that they are structured as a story. Their narratives tell a story, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. This may explain their pension for the dramatic, as a story requires drama to capture the reader. Each section is a chronological continuation of the previous, and topics and segments frequently end by setting up the next subject of discussion. Here the style of the German books differs greatly from the others, as the German books are not structured like a story, but rather as topics of discussion, as examinations of individual events and ideas. Both *Forum geschichte* and *Das waren zeiten 2* use almost the exact same structure of each topic receiving two pages before the book moves on to the next subject matter. This is not an absolute structure in either book, but they are much more rigid than their Norwegian and American counterparts. In addition, topics are discussed individually. While there is a largely chronological telling of events, there is no straight forward narrative, no story being told from start to finish. Instead, the books discuss the period topic to topic. Related topics are discussed in sequence, *Forum geschichte* looks at the use of forced labour, the child euthanasia programmes, and the holocaust in sequence, but these are all presented as individual issues. The book makes no effort to transition from one to the next, and generally follows a topic from chronological start to finish before moving on to the next one. The books make no mention of the resistance movements inside Germany before the topic gets its own few pages, and when it does, the book follows the topic all the way through to the end of the war before moving on to the next one. Stylistically the German books are much closer to a collection of individual case studies than a story. Consequently, the flowing narratives of *Forum geschichte* and *Das waren zeiten 2* are much less wont to make use of dramatic and emotional descriptions, preferring instead to make use of unembellished descriptions of what happened.

⁷⁶ Alle tiders historie, 479

⁷⁷ Alle tiders historie, 439

5.1.3 Narrative types

Both German books are fully dominated by social narratives. Their principal, and really only topic of interest is how the lives of the people were influenced by the events of the period. Both books spend a great deal of space on life under the NSDAP regime, with *Forum geschichte* dedicating an entire chapter to the topic, discussing events ranging from what kind of movies were made during the period, to the regimes support of affordable vacation offers, to the publicly held *Eintopfsonntage*.



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The concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* is thoroughly discussed by both books.

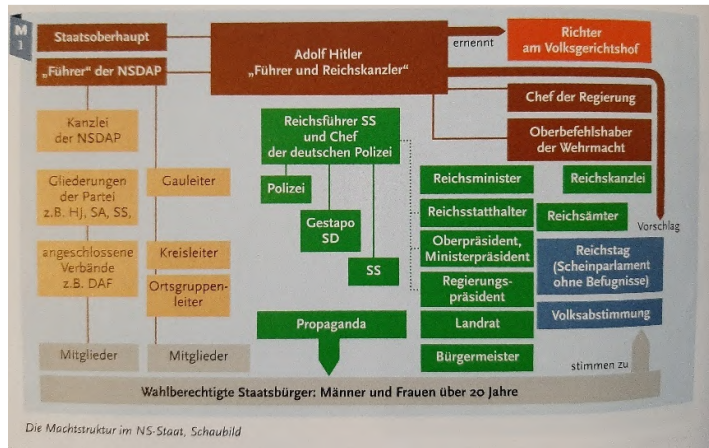
Gleichzeitig sollten alle Deutschen in ihrer nationalsozialistischen Gesinnung verbunden und alle Unterschiede in Herkunft, Beruf, Vermögen und Bildung überwunden sein. Diese “Volksgemeinschaft” beschworen die Nationalsozialisten immer wieder in Reden und Schriften.⁷⁹

When political or economic history is discussed, it is solely so that the book may further discuss how this affected regular people. The vast majority of space in both books is given to the impoverishing, killing, persecution, and complicity of regular people throughout the

⁷⁸ *Forum geschichte* 9, 42. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁷⁹ *Das waren zeiten* 2, 50

years of the Weimar republic and the 12 years of NSDAP rule. Military narratives are all but absent, and neither of the books have any interest in the progress of the war, only mentioning it as a steppingstone to discussing the next mass killing or other atrocity that befell some part of a nation's population. The actual battles and unfolding of the second World War receives less than 10 pages total across both books combined. The only political topic given any notable amount of space is the structure and goals of the NSDAP party, which both books cover in detail.



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The two American books share a focus on economic and military narratives. Economics act as the background for most of the great events of the period. *Impact* features essential questions like *What can cause economic instability?* and *How does economic exploitation lead to nationalistic movements?*, clearly presenting economics as being the driving factor during the interwar years across the world. When discussing the war, the book also focuses greatly on the economic strategies of the combatants, citing the German economic policy as one of the reasons they lost.

Hitler was well aware of the importance of the home front. He believed that the collapse of the home front in World War 1 had caused Germany's defeat. To avoid a repetition of that experience, he adopted economic policies that may have cost Germany the war. To maintain the morale of the home front during the first two years of the war, Hitler refused to cut consumer goods production or to increase the production of armaments.⁸¹

Patterns of interaction spends much space on the details of the Great Depression, how it came about, how it spread to the rest of the world, and how different nations handled it.

⁸⁰ Forum geschichte, 28. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁸¹ Impact, 459

The war is of much greater interest to the American books than it is to the German or Norwegian ones, and the unfolding of the war receives considerable space, with descriptions of battles, tactics, and troop numbers.

The allies fought their way past hidden underwater mines, treacherous barbed wire, and horrible machine-gun fire. Believing the battle to be a diversion and the real invasion would occur elsewhere, the Germans responded slowly. This gave the Allied forces time to set up a beachhead. Within three months, the Allies had landed 2 million men and 500 000 vehicles. Allied forces then began pushing inland and broke through the German defensive lines. Allied troops liberated Paris by the end of August 1944. In December, with Allied aircraft grounded, the Germans launched a counteroffensive to regain the seaport of Antwerp in Belgium. The Battle of the Bulge was named for the “bulge” the German attack caused in Allied lines.⁸²

Technology is another topic both books are fond of, and the impact of new technology on the war, both in the field and on the home front, is a frequent subject of discussion.

Patterns of interaction stands out here for its extreme focus on military matters. Even when compared to *Impact*, which also gives a fair amount of attention to the war, *Patterns of interaction* has a far greater focus on the battles, tactics, and technology of the war. Chapter 32 covers the war and is principally occupied with exactly that, the war. Chapter 32 is one continuous military narrative that covers the various battles and strategies of the warring parties in detail, with a particular eye on how new technology affected the fighting. Other topics from the period, such as the holocaust, are discussed, but only briefly with a little detailed bird’s eye view. In the *Compare and contrast* section at the end of *Unit* seven it is solely the evolution of war that is examined, with every other topic brought up in the *Unit* left out.

The Norwegian books *Alle tiders historie* and *Perspektiv* are less singularly focused than their German and American counterparts, and while both books cover almost exactly the same events, they have much different focuses while doing so. *Perspektiv* presents an almost wholly social narrative. The principal topic of all three chapters looked at here is the situation of the regular people, how lives were changed and cut short by the events that defined the time. When political or economic narratives feature, such as the rise of Mussolini and Hitler, or the Great Depression, they usually act as setup for discussing the social impact of these events. Military narratives are all but absent from the chapters, the two-page spread on pages 322-323 acting as almost the only acknowledgment the actual

⁸² *Impact*, 470

war itself gets. The flowing narrative goes straight from the siege of Moscow to the fall of the Reich, with little discussion of how the war turned against the Germans. *Alle tiders historie* on the other hand is much more interested in the political and military side of events, spending much more time on the development of politics during the interwar years, and giving almost its whole war chapter to the unfolding of the war. This is, however, nowhere near as detailed a discussion of the war as what the American books do, with *Alle tiders historie* giving very little detail on what actually happened in a battle. The book is far more interested in describing why a battle took place and what its results were than in listing troop numbers.

This difference in narrative approach only applies to the international history chapters. Both books have dedicated chapters for Norway's history during the war, and in these chapters both books focus almost exclusively on social narratives and life under the German occupation. Taken together, the Norwegian books favor social and political narratives, with military narratives being a somewhat underdeveloped addition. They are almost uniform in their depiction of Norway during the war, but do not agree on which aspect of the international war is most important.

5.1.4 Causes

All six of the books looked at here are in general agreement on the causes of World War two. They all agree that it was the rise of the NSDAP that directly led to the war, and all agree on the factors that allowed the party to rise and push the world to war. The greatest cause for unrest, and effectively the oil that would ignite into the war, was the Great Depression. All the books agree that the depression put great pressure on the democratic governments of the era, with the German Weimar republic being hit especially hard. *Das waren zeiten 2* spends a full six pages on the political unrest caused by the Great Depression, which pushed people away from democracy and, eventually, towards Hitler.

Parteien und Gruppierungen, die die Weimarer Republik ablehnten, gewannen immer mehr Anhänger. Die stärksten waren KPD, NSDAP und die DNVP. In der Öffentlichkeit standen sich uniformierte Kampfverbände der Parteien in offener Feindschaft gegenüber. Vor allem während der häufigen Wahlkämpfe lieferten sie sich blutige Saal- und Straßenschlachten.⁸³

While *Alle tiders historie* debates where the Nazis gained their votes from, it also notes the great increase in votes the party got after the 1929.

⁸³ *Das waren zeiten 2*, 40


KILDER OG KILDEKRIKIKK

Valgresultater for NSDAP

DATO	ANTALL STEMME (I 1000)	PROSENT	RIKSDAGS- PLASSER	ARBEIDSLØSHET
Riksdagsvalget i mai 1924	1 918.3	6,5	32	
Riksdagsvalget i desember 1924	907.3	3,0	14	
Riksdagsvalget i 1928	810.1	2,6	12	7 prosent
Riksdagsvalget i 1930	6 409.6	18,3	107	16 prosent
Riksdagsvalget i juli 1932	13 745.8	37,3	230	31 prosent
Riksdagsvalget i november 1932	11 737.0	33,1	196	
Riksdagsvalget i mars 1933	17 277.0	43,9	288	26 prosent

Kilde: Bracher, K. D. mfl. (1987). *Die Weimarer Republik 1918–1933*. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

Hvilken tendens leser du ut av kilden når det gjelder oppslutningen om NSDAP og utviklingen i arbeidsløsheten i perioden 1928–1932?



↑ 27.–28. februar 1933. Riksdagsbygningen i brann. Nazistene hevdet at kommunistene sto bak, men det var trolig et påskudd for å sette i gang en kampanje mot politiske motstandere.

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The “stabbed in the back” theory is also commonly listed as a reason for why the new NSDAP regime was so eager to go back to war. None of the books doubt that Hitler was aiming for a new war right from the start, and the German books in particular depict him as a two-faced warmonger. *Forum geschichte* even spends two pages discussing how he used the 1936 Olympic games to deceive the world.

Die Welt ließ sich vom “Friedenskanzler” täuschen, kritische Stimmen verstummten – außenpolitisch waren die Spiele ein voller Erfolg. Innenpolitisch gelang es dem NS-Regime, die Spiele als ein Fest der “Volksgemeinschaft” zu inszenieren.⁸⁵

The American books are not quite as certain that Hitler absolutely desired a war, attributing his actions partially to arrogance.

In fact, Hitler was more convinced than ever that the Western democracies would not fight, increasingly, he was sure that he could not make a mistake, and he had by no means been satisfied at Much.⁸⁶

The American books do not, however, doubt that Hitler was more than willing to risk a war.

The books name two more factors that led to war. The first is the weakness of the League of Nations. The failure of the League of Nations is listed by all the books as a reason why the nations of Europe failed to prevent the escalation of hostilities, with *Impact* going one

⁸⁴ Alle tiders historie, 453. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁸⁵ Forum geschichte, 76

⁸⁶ Impact, 443

step further and specifically listing the failure of the United States to join the organization as the cause of its weakness.

One problem was the failure of the United States to join the League. Many Americans were isolationists, meaning they wanted to avoid involvement in European affairs. The U.S. Senate, in spite of President Wilson's wishes, refused to ratify, or approve, the Treaty of Versailles. That meant the United States could not join the League of Nations. Without the United States, the League of Nations' effectiveness was weakened.⁸⁷

The American and Norwegian books use the Spanish civil war as the ultimate proof of the League's weakness. The German books make no mention of it. The final reason for the war, or rather why the war was not averted, is the British and French appeasement policy. All the books take a particularly harsh tone with the appeasement policy. *Perspektiv* describes Britain and France as irresolute and insecure.

Statane hadde ulik geografi, historie og økonomi, og særleg erfaringane frå den første verdskrigen gav leiarane deira ulike perspektiv på verda. Nazistane i Tyskland ynsket omkamp, mens leiarane i Storbritannia og Frankrike meir enn alt anna frykta ein ny storkrig. Når dei no stod overfor Hitlers politiske aggressivitet, var dei difor tvilrådige og vaklande.⁸⁸

Impact uses the example of the British and French policy to question the very idea of appeasement policies.

IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS What did the Munich Conference demonstrate about appeasement policies?

⁸⁷ *Impact*, 365

⁸⁸ *Perspektiv*, 312

⁸⁹ *Impact*, 443. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

Writing About History

5. ARGUMENTATIVE WRITING Write a paragraph that argues for or against the following statement: The British policy of appeasement was the main cause for Germany's aggressive actions. Use proper grammar and usage in your paragraph.

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Patterns of interaction also lists the existence of multiple political parties as a reason for the political instability that led to the war.

Some countries had a dozen or more political groups. In these countries, it was almost impossible for one party to win enough supporters to govern effectively. When no single party won a majority, a coalition government, or temporary alliance of several parties, was needed to form a parliamentary majority. Because the parties disagreed on so many policies, coalition seldom lasted very long. Frequent changes in government made it hard for democratic countries to develop strong leadership and move toward long-term goals.⁹¹

Italy is given no role in the starting of the war by any of the books. The German books hardly mention Italy at all, and even though the Norwegian and American ones do, they assign the nation no importance in escalating hostilities. Japan is also not discussed as a reason of concern for anyone but China in the years leading to war. It is ultimately Germany and Germany alone that pulled the rest of the world into war. The German books are particularly clear about this, with *Das waren zeiten 2* naming one of its subchapters "Germany starts the second World War".

5.1.5 Events

Two observations stand out when looking at the sequence of events in the six textbooks looked at here. The first is that the American and Norwegian books share an almost identical sequence of events. If one removes the Norwegian and world history chapters that *Perspektiv* and *Impact* have, all four Norwegian and American books progress in exactly the same way. *Perspektiv* and *Patterns of interaction* both begin with a look at how World War one changed people's perception of the world, and how everyday life was changed by new technology. After this the four books line up, all discussing the Great

⁹⁰ *Impact*, 446. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

⁹¹ *Patterns of interaction*, 904

Depression and how some nations managed to remain democratic while others did not. This is followed by an examination of fascism with Italy as the example case, and the rise of Hitler in Germany, along with the marginalization of the Jews.

Analyzing Key Concepts

Fascism
 Fascism is a political movement that promotes an extreme form of nationalism and militarism. It also includes a denial of individual rights and dictatorial one-party rule. Nazism was the Fascist movement that developed in Germany in the 1920s and the 1930s; it included a belief in the racial superiority of the German people. The Fascists in Italy were led by Benito Mussolini, shown in the chart at right.

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

- Synthesizing** Which political, cultural, and economic characteristics helped make fascism an authoritarian system?
- Making Inferences** What characteristics of fascism might make it attractive to people during times of crisis such as the Great Depression?

CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCISM

- Cultural**
 - censorship
 - indoctrination
 - secret police
- Social**
 - supported by middle class, industrialists, and military
- Chief Examples**
 - Italy
 - Spain
 - Germany
- Basic Principles**
 - authoritarianism
 - state more important than the individual
 - charismatic leader
 - action oriented
- Political**
 - nationalist
 - racist (Nazism)
 - one-party rule
 - supreme leader
- Economic**
 - economic functions controlled by state corporations or state

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Anschluss and other parts of German expansionism, followed by the appeasement policy and the Munich conference and the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression treaty, follow. The narratives continue to be the same until the invasion of the Soviet Union, with the invasion of Poland, Denmark and Norway, France, and the Blitz all being discussed in quick succession before that. After this the narratives to diverge somewhat. *Alle tiders historie* follows the war in Europe through to its conclusion before discussing the Asian theatre, and does not look at developments of the home front, while *Impact* and *Perspektiv* immediately look at the war in Asia up to the attack on Pearl Harbor, followed by the home front. *Patterns of interaction* looks at the holocaust before the home front, while the others look at the home front before the holocaust. This is, however, a mere shuffling of events, as all four books end up looking at the almost exactly the same events, only that on occasion they shift around where they discuss the Spanish civil war, or when they look at the Rape of Nanjing. The similarities between the American and Norwegian sequences of events are staggering, and it is rare that one discusses something that the other does not. The differences lie in the amount of space given to each individual topic, how important they are deemed, and what exactly is discussed under each topic. The American books

⁹² *Patterns of interaction*, 911. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

give much more space to the war in Asia than the Norwegian books do, while the Norwegian books give more space to the Blitz. The Norwegian books ascribe great importance to the British resistance, *Perspektiv* sees it as integral to the survival of the democratic governments that were housed in exile there, while *Alle tiders historie* considers it one of the principal reasons the United States agreed to the Lend-Lease act.

At Storbritannia aldri overgav seg, var svært viktig for den vidare kampen mot den tyske krigsmaskinen. Mange europeiske regjeringar, også den norske, heldt til i London i krigsåra, og motstandsstyrkar vart trente på dei britiske øyane. Det var også Storbritannia som var utgangspunktet for den avgjerande invasjonen av Normandie i 1944.⁹³

Under Blitzzen begynte likevel stemningen i den amerikanske befolkningen å snu. En årsak var radioreportasjene til Ed Murrow, som kveld etter kveld fortalte amerikanske lyttere om bombingene av London. Murrow sto med mikrofonen ute på et tak slik at publikum hjemme i USA med sine egne ører kunne høre luftvernsirenene, bombenedslagene og antiluftskytset.⁹⁴

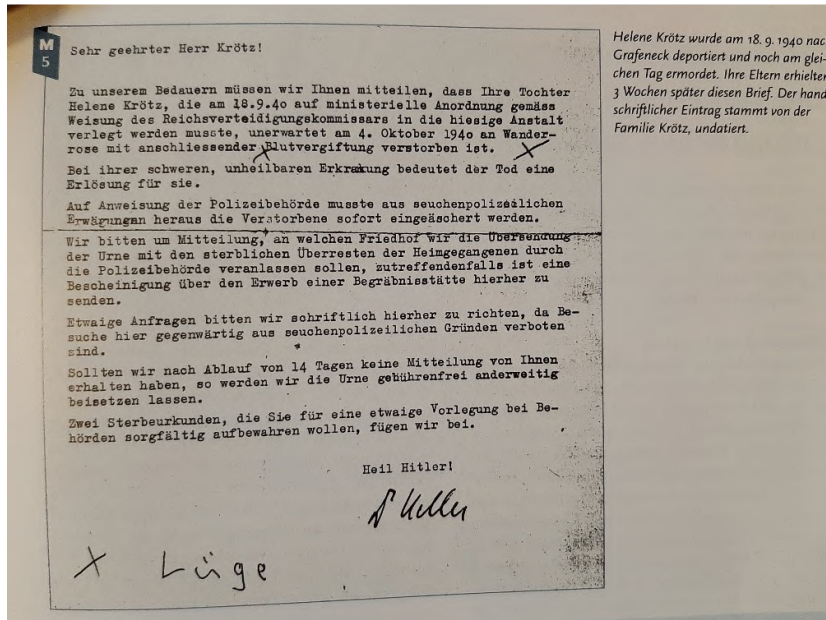
To the American books the Blitz is simply another event in the war, with the use of the new radar technology being the most interesting part. The Norwegian books of course also both have a chapter on Norway during the war, which naturally none of the other nations have, and as such none of the events discussed there are brought up in the American books. But when not discussing Norwegian history the Norwegian and American books share an almost identical sequence of events.

The other notable observation is that the German books have a completely different sequence of events compared to the other two nations, with almost no overlap to speak of. The German books do of course mention many of the same events as their Norwegian and American counterparts, making mention of the Blitz, the Great Depression, and the invasion of the Soviet Union. But while these topics might take up two or three pages each in the other nations, in the German textbooks they might all be summed up in a single page. Where the Blitz takes up a full page for the other nations, in the German books it is nothing more than a short paragraph. The German books make no mention of developments in Italy or Asia, instead spending their interwar chapter on the troubles of the Weimar republic, troubles that go unmentioned in the other nations. Space is given to topics like Kraft durch Freude, or the 1936 Olympic games, not the New Deal policy of the United States or the militarization of Japan. When discussing the war years the

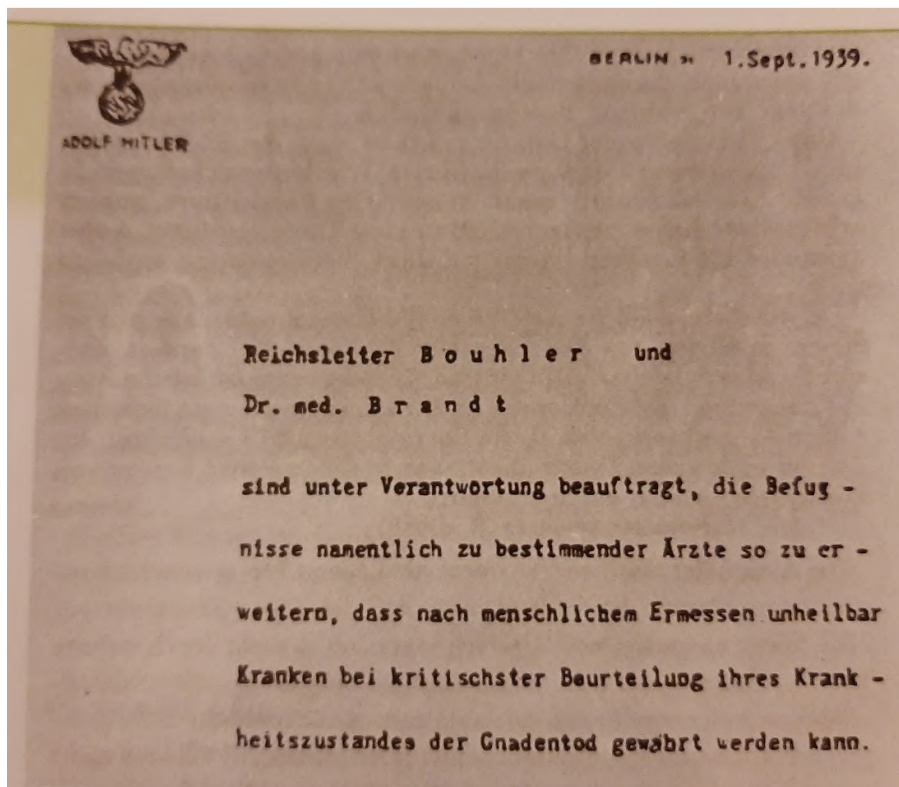
⁹³ *Perspektiv*, 316

⁹⁴ *Alle tiders historie*, 470

German books make done with the war in as little time as possible, preferring to look at things like Aktion T4, the Kinderfachabteilungen, or the persecution of the Sinti and Roma.



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⁹⁵ Forum geschichte 9, 87. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

While the American and Norwegian books are occupied with how the war developed on an international level, the German books are almost wholly and entirely occupied with the crimes and atrocities of the NSDAP era, leaving Germany with a completely different sequence of events from the other nations looked at here.

5.1.6 The absent

It has already been noted that almost all non-European, non-Asian nations other than the United States have almost no role to play in any of the narratives. There are, however, two more things notable for their absence, those being Italy and the Allies.

The place of Italy in the narrative is worth noting, as both the Norwegian and American books make use of Italy as the example case for the new authoritarian regimes, and all four books spend some time on the rise of Mussolini. Despite this, however, Italy is all but absent after this introduction. The American books give only very brief acknowledgement of the nation's role in the war, and the Norwegian books simply do not mention Italy at all when discussing the war. Italy is given a central role in the interwar years, but during the war the focus is entirely on Germany and Japan, and no justification is given for why Italy suddenly isn't worth discussing.

The Allies are of course a part of the narratives in all six books, but only ever as the Big Three. Lesser allies like France, Greece, or Belgium have no role to play. The absence of France in particular is interesting since all the textbooks note the defeat of France as a major point in the war, and the Norwegian books use the retaking of France as the defacto end to the conflict, yet much like Italy the nation simply does not feature after its initial introduction.

5.2 Characters

5.2.1 Umbrella characters vs individuals

The Norwegian books greatly favour the use of umbrella characters over individual people. *Alle tiders historie* indeed does its best to mention as few names as absolutely possible, limiting even the number of umbrella characters it makes use of to largely just the major nations like Britain, Germany, or the United States. *Perspektiv* is not quite so character averse, and does make mention of a fair number of individuals, but only ever the briefest of mentions. They feature once or twice with some small impact on the narrative before vanishing into the umbrella characters that dominate the narrative. "America", "Britain",

⁹⁶ Das waren zeiten 2, 76. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

“Germany”, and “the Nazis”, these are the kinds of characters that drive the story of Norwegian books. In the Norwegian books one can also find an interesting division between “the Nazis” and “Germany”, where the former acts as the cruel perpetrator of atrocities while the latter acts as the enemy in the field.

Kort tid etter begynte tyskerne å bombe britiske havner, jernbaner, fabrikker og flyplasser. En invasjon av Storbritannia forutsatte fullstendig tysk kontroll over luftrommet. Men selv om de hadde langt flere fly enn britene, klarte ikke tyskerne å oppnå det.⁹⁷

Den tyske taktikken viste seg å vere nesten sjokkerande effektiv. På nokre veker i mai 1940 erobra tyske hærstyrker Belgia, Nederland, Lucmebourg og størstedelen av Frankrike. Spesielt for den gamle stormakta Frankrike var det raske nederlaget traumatisk. Frankrike hadde sidan den første verdskrig stått svakt militært, og greidde ikkje å stå imot den tyske offensiven.⁹⁸

It is never “the Nazis” that are fought in the war, and never “the Germans” that persecute the Jews.

Nazistane gjorde folkemord på jødane, kjent som holocaust. Ordet holocaust kjem frå gresk og tyder “brennoffer”. Ved å ta i bruk industrielle metodar gjennomførte nazistane eit systematisk utryddingsprogram med ein effektivitet og i eit omfang som verda aldri hadde sett maken til.⁹⁹

No other group or nation is divided in this manner by the Norwegian books. The Rape of Nanjing was not done by some specialised group in Japan, but simply by “the Japanese”, the United States is only ever that, “the United States”, it is not divided into smaller segments that each perform their own duty. Only “the Germans” and “the Nazis” are specifically presented as separate entities from the same region. Neither of the other nations operate with this distinction, and use “the Germans” and “the Nazis” largely interchangeably, though the American books do favor referring to the perpetrators of the holocaust as “the Nazis”.

The German books share their Norwegian counterparts’ dislike of individuals, and in a way take it even further. They do make mention of individuals, *Forum geschichte* actually makes mention of quite a few, but these individuals have no impact on the narrative. There are only a select few characters that the books discuss to describe how they impacted the outcome of events, and even these, individuals such as President Hindenburg and Franz von Papen, receive no more than one or two mentions. The vast majority of individuals

⁹⁷ Alle tiders historie, 469

⁹⁸ Perspektiv, 315

⁹⁹ Perspektiv, 324

named are ones that opposed the NSDAP regime, and when the books discuss them, it is principally to look into what happened to those that opposed the government. Ultimately, the narratives of *Das waren zeiten 2* and *Forum geschichte* are almost characterless. The most common type of characters in the books are extremely vague umbrella characters like “die Zwangsarbeiter”, “die studenten” or “das Volk”, along with occasional mentions of “die partei” or “die nationalsozialisten”. While describing the mass killings of the Jews *Das waren zeiten 2* does not make mention of a single character besides “die Juden”. The vast majority of the vague umbrella characters that form the majority of the characters in the German books are victims of the era. It is “die Roma”, “die Juden”, and “die kinder” that they are occupied with. The German books have an immense focus on the atrocities of the period, and the victims of those atrocities. Their narratives are also permeated by the concept of universal culpability, the idea that everyone held blame.

Der Holocaust wurde nicht von einer einzelnen Behörde durchgeführt, sondern von vielen Menschen in unterschiedlichen Behörden mitgetragen, geplant, organisiert und vollzogen. So hat beispielsweise die Reichsbahn nicht nur durch die Bereitstellung von Waggons, sondern durch entsprechendes Personal die Deportationen überhaupt erst möglich gemacht.¹⁰⁰

Die Planung und Durchführung der sogenannten “Endlösung” wäre nicht möglich gewesen, hätten sich daran nur die NS-Spitzen beteiligt. Eine solche Unternehmung erforderte auch die Mithilfe der mittleren und unteren Führungsebenen, also der Männer und Frauen, die in den Kommunen, Behörden, Polizeidienststellen, und Verkehrsbetrieben des Deutschen Reichs sowie in den Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagern arbeiteten.¹⁰¹

This focus on the victims and perpetrators, combined with the concept of universal culpability, may explain the lack of important characters in the German books, as the victims are too numerous to name, and when everyone is guilty there is no need to name the perpetrators.

Non-German characters, both individuals and umbrella characters, are almost totally absent from the German books, but on the rare occasion that events outside of Germany are discussed the books favor the use of umbrella characters like “die Rote Armee”, “die Sowjetunion”, or “USA”.

The American textbooks stand out in their use of characters, as *Impact* and especially *Patterns of interaction* make a much greater deal out of the impact of individuals on

¹⁰⁰ *Das waren zeiten 2*, 86

¹⁰¹ *Forum geschichte*, 88

events. In *Impact* this is mostly in the interwar chapters, where it makes mention of numerous individuals and the impact they had on their nations. Chiang Kai-Shek in China, Gandhi in India, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Mustafa Kemal in Turkey, and Roosevelt in the U.S are just some examples of individuals that *Impact* assigns great importance during the interwar years.

Leaders and movements in individual African nations also appeared. Educate in Great Britain, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya argued in his book *Facing Mount Kenya* that British rule was destroying the traditional culture of the people of Africa. Leopold Senghor, who studied in France and wrote poetry about African culture, organized an independence movement in Senegal. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria began a newspaper, *The West African Pilot*, in 1937 and urged nonviolence as a method of gaining independence. These are just a few of the leaders who worked to end colonial rule in Africa.¹⁰²

China's early difficulties with fending off the Japanese is attributed to Chiang Kai-shek's personal view of the Japanese and communism.

In 1928 Chiang Kai-shek founded a new Chinese republic and Nanjing. During the next three years, he worked to reunify China. Although Chiang saw Japan as a serious threat, he believed that the Communists were more dangerous. He once remarked that "the Japanese are like a disease of the skin, but the Communists are like a disease of the heart."¹⁰³

This character focus does, however, diminish considerably during the war chapter, where it prefers to make use of umbrella characters, though some individuals, such as Reinhard Heydrich, are still given mentions as important people. *Patterns of interaction* is defined by individuals. throughout the chapters it lists a great many people that it considers to have had a notable impact on events, first and foremost among them being members of American military command. Numerous individual people are mentioned in *Patterns of interaction*. Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Neville Chamberlain, Juan Perón, Roza Robota, and Rudolf Hess are but a few of the many individuals that are named in the book. Military leaders make up some of the most important characters in the book. The campaigns of Erwin Rommel are given a great deal of space, and the book makes sure to name many of the prominent military figures on the allied side, particularly the American ones. James H. Doolittle, Douglas MacArthur, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Leslie Grove, and Charles de Gaulle all receive some attention in chapter 32, with

¹⁰² *Impact*, 407

¹⁰³ *Impact*, 415

MacArthur in particular being the star of *Section two*. In *Patterns of interaction* it is the individual that drives history. While umbrella characters still feature prominently, as they perhaps have to in a synoptic history, in *Patterns of interaction* and the interwar chapters of *Impact* the number and importance of the individual people actually surpasses that of the umbrella characters.

5.2.2 The Axis Powers

All six books make mention of the term “the Axis Powers” at some point in their narratives. However, while all use the term, none use it very frequently, and the Axis Powers are presented very unevenly by all the books. For one, *Perspektiv* and *Impact* are the only books to make any mention at all of the minor members of the Axis Powers, with two listings of Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary as having joined the alliance being the only mentions these nations get in all six books. As far as these six books are concerned the Axis Powers consisted only of Germany, Japan, and Italy. Yet even this trio is not equal. As already mentioned, while Italy is used as the example case for fascism by both the Norwegian and the American books, neither give the nation any real attention during the war, with *Patterns of interaction* being the only to even acknowledge the nations’ role in the war to any extent. This leaves Germany and Japan as the only members of the Axis Powers to receive any amount of attention, and then as separate entities. *Impact* stands out as the only book to attempt to connect the war in Europe with the war in the Pacific.

Japan took advantage of Hitler’s conquests in Western Europe to seize European colonies in Asia. However, it realized American power in the Pacific could block further conquests, which helped lead the Japanese to attack the U.S naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on December 7, 1941.¹⁰⁴

The other books treat the war in the Pacific as a wholly separate conflict, a war that just so happened to take place at the same time as the war against Germany. While all the books make mention of the term “the Axis Powers”, none of them ever really speak of the Axis Powers in any united fashion. The second World War is to these books a war against Germany, with a somewhat related war against Japan taking place at the same time.

5.2.3 Hitler

The one character that all six textbooks can agree on is “Hitler”. In all six books Hitler is the most frequently named individual, usually the most frequently named character in general.

¹⁰⁴ *Impact*, 451

He is the sole exception to the German and Norwegian books' aversion to assigning importance to individuals, and in all three nations Hitler acts as the de facto antagonist of the narrative, the man behind everything. To different degrees, however, in each of them. While Hitler is the most important character in all of them, how important he is does generally follow the trend of character importance in each nation. As such he has the greatest role in the American books, where seemingly every other paragraph begins by describing what Hitler did. The two American textbooks are extremely Hitler centric, with a vast number of paragraphs opening with some variation of the phrase "Hitler did...". The segment in *Impact* discussing blitzkrieg is even titled *Hitler's early victories*.

Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union was scheduled for the spring of 1941, but the attack was delayed because of problems in the Balkans. Hitler had already gained the political cooperation of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. However, the failure of Mussolini's invasion of Greece in 1940 had exposed Hitler's southern flank to British air bases in Greece. To secure his Balkan flank, Hitler seized both Greece and Yugoslavia in April.¹⁰⁵

It was not "Germany" that invaded the Soviet Union, it was Hitler. It was not "the Nazis" that seized Greece, it was Hitler. Hitler is personally responsible for almost the entire narrative. Even the far more character rich *Patterns of interaction*, which goes out of its way to mention so many of the allied military commanders, is nowhere near as character rich when describing the Axis Powers, with Hitler acting as the face of the entire opposition, even as he faces a variety of individually named political and military leaders among the Allies. The American books do, however, like to pair Hitler with "the Nazis". While Hitler is the one responsible for making all the decisions, it is generally "the Nazis" that carry out his orders, particularly when it comes to the holocaust.

Hitler's war on the Jews turned toward the "Final Solution" in 1942. The Nazis built extermination camps equipped with huge gas chambers that could kill as many as 6000 human beings in a day.¹⁰⁶

Conversely, and rather interestingly, the nation where Hitler is of the least importance is Germany. While they acknowledge his importance, they do their best to minimise it as well. Both *Forum geschichte* and *Das waren zeiten 2* make mention of the fact that Hitler only came to power because of other people's political machinations, *Das waren zeiten 2* indeed makes quite a big deal out of the idea that Hitler did not rise to power through his

¹⁰⁵ Impact, 449

¹⁰⁶ Patterns of interaction, 938

own abilities, and how he was just one among many dissatisfied with the peace. The first time the book makes mention of Hitler is as just another name on a list of people that threatened the republic in 1923, no bigger or more destined than any of his contemporaries.

Adolf Hitler, der “Führer” der rechstradikalen NSDAP, wollte der bayerischen Regierung zuvorkommen. Am 9. November versuchte er mit dem Weltkriegs-General Erich Ludendorff, in München die Macht an sich zu reißen. Die Polizei schlug den schlecht organisierten Putschversuch nieder.¹⁰⁷

Pages 44 and 45 of the book are a *Geschichte kontrovers* section with a number of quotes and citations from various historians about how the Weimar republic managed to fall to a dictator, with the general consensus of the quotes being that Hitler did not rise to power because of his own charisma or force of personality, but because of the machinations of other politicians. “Ein Kleiner Kreis einflussreicher Politiker schätzte die politische Lage falsch ein und ließ Hitler an die Macht gelangen”.¹⁰⁸ It further goes on to mention that many of the most popular actions he took were not actually begun by him, but his predecessors, and he just happened to be there to reap the rewards.

Tatsächlich sank die Zahl der Erwerblosen in Deutschland bis 1936 von über sechs auf zwei Millionen. Das lag an einem weltweiten Wirtschaftsaufschwung, der auch anderen Ländern die arbeitslosenzahlen deutlich zurückgehen ließ. Eine Verbesserung der wirtschaftlichen Lage hatte sich schon Mitte 1932 und damit vor der Machtübernahme angedeutet. Außerdem waren viele der arbeitspolitischen Maßnahmen, die Hitlers Beliebtheit im Volk erhöhten, bereits während der Weimarer Republik in gang gebracht worden, wie etwa Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahmen, die von Staat bezahlt wurden.¹⁰⁹

Forum geschichte is just as eager to downplay the importance of Hitler and the success of his party. In the summary at the end of chapter one the book notes that despite what NSDAP propaganda claimed Hitler did not seize power, but that it was legally handed over to him.

Die NS-Propaganda stilisierte den Tag im Nachhinein zur “Machtergreifung”. Tatsächlich markierte der 30. Januar einen Wendepunkt in der deutschen Geschichte, der eine zwölfjährige Diktatur unter Hitler einleitete. Die Historiker sind sich jedoch einig, dass Hitler an diesem Tag

¹⁰⁷ Das waren zeiten 2, 28

¹⁰⁸ Das waren zeiten 2, 12

¹⁰⁹ Das waren zeiten 2, 62

die Macht nicht “ergriffen” hat, sondern ihm die Macht im Rahmen der Verfassung übertragen wurde.¹¹⁰

In the other nations the fact that Hitler came to power legally is a sign of Hitlers political skill, in *Forum geschichte* it was a failure of the party’s aggressive politics that he had to do so. As already mentioned, both German books make very limited use of characters when discussing the many atrocities that take up the majority of the books space, and as such the German books do not agree with the American assessment of Hitler as the origin of all the cruelties that took place during the period. There were far more perpetrators than just Hitler. *Forum geschichte* even makes mention of the fact that there is no written authorization from Hitler to begin the Final Solution.¹¹¹ It was simply begun by other members of the party. Hitler is without equal the most frequently named character in both German books, but often he is mentioned partly to discuss how he was not the all-powerful, all-knowing, sole decider of the worlds future he can on occasion look like in the American books. The one place where the German books do no attempt to deny Hitler his importance is in beginning the second World War. Here he is solely responsible, the reason the world was plunged back into war was directly because of Hitler.

The Norwegian books are a middle ground between the American and German ones. While Hitler is decidedly the most important character in the narrative, he is not as omnipresent as he is in the American books. The structure utilised by the Norwegian books is that Hitler acts as the origin of much that takes place, but he is not presented as the one to perform the deed. A section will begin by describing what Hitler ordered, before moving on to describing how “the Nazis” or “the Germans” executed the order. This is a structure that can be found throughout both Norwegian books. This does leave Hitler as the sole leader of Germany and the Nazis, no other person is ever described as having made an impact of the policies of strategies of neither the party nor the army. *Perspektiv* gives Hitler a greater role than *Alle tiders historie*, among others presenting him as the reason for the brutality of the war against the Soviet Union, as well as being the reason for why the German defeat was so devastating.

Då krigen gjekk han imot og nederlaget nærma seg, var han meir fanatisk enn nokon gong, fast bestemt på å ta med seg sitt eige folk i undergangen. Ein spesiell “Nero-ordre” som Hitler sende ut 19. mars 1945, viser det tydelig. Ordren, som var oppkalla etter den romerske keisaren

¹¹⁰ Forum geschichte, 34

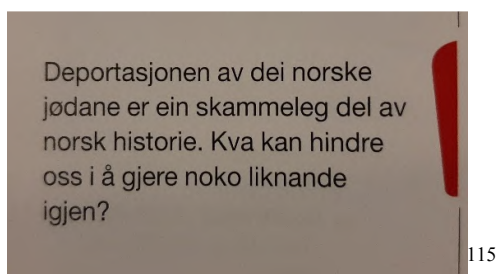
¹¹¹ Forum geschichte, 88

som det blir sagt brende sin eigen by, inneheldt instruksar om å øydeleggje all infrastruktur i den tyske sivilisasjonen; fabrikkar, vassystem, vegar, kloakkar, gardar og hus. Ikkje eitt tysk kornstrå skulle falle i hendene på fiendane som nærma seg. Konsekvensane som slike tiltak ville få for sivilbefolkninga, spelte mindre rolle for Hitler.¹¹²

5.3 Moral presentation

5.3.1 Guilt

The most immediate stand out presentations are the German and Norwegian presentation of the home country. Norway and Germany share a particularly self-deprecating depiction of themselves. Both go to great lengths to describe the common guilt for the crimes of the period. In Norway this is directed at the expulsion of the Norwegian Jews and the labelling as traitors of everyone that held NS membership for any reason. *Perspektiv* takes a very harsh tone with Norway, calling it “ein skammelig del av norsk historie”,¹¹³ and noting that “ikkje ein einaste tysk soldat trongst i aksjonen”.¹¹⁴



A part of this shameful history is the fact that Norway for a long time attempted to pretend that Norwegians had nothing to do with the deportation of the Jews.

Lenge var ikkje den norske medverknaden til jødeforfølginga eit tema i historia om den andre verdskrigen. Kvifor var det slik? Kanskje passa den delen av historia dårleg inn i biletet av den nasjonen Noreg vi ynskte å vere ein del av? Noreg og nordmenn var ikkje delaktige i dei grufulle planane til nazistane. Eller var vi det? Skulda for jødedeportasjonen i Noreg vart lagt på tyske og norske nazistar. Det var “dei” som gjorde det, ikkje “vi”. Men mange ikkje-nazistiske nordmenn var også på ulike måtar med i prosessen som førte til at 772 norske jøder vart deporterte. Dei fanst i det offentlege Noreg, i departementa og i politiet. Det norske statspolitiet var sjølve spydspissen i jødedeportasjonen.¹¹⁶

¹¹² *Perspektiv*, 327-328

¹¹³ *Perspektiv*, 346

¹¹⁴ *Perspektiv*, 327

¹¹⁵ *Perspektiv*, 346. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹¹⁶ *Perspektiv*, 345-346

In its supplemental sections atop pages 500 and 501 *Alle tiders historie* lingers on the Norwegian treatment of, and mentality on, the Jews, using the trial of Knut Rød to exemplify that the Norwegians might not have disagreed entirely with the thoughts of the occupiers.

Rød ba om å få tilbake stillingen i politiet med begrunnelsen at han ikke hadde handlet “unasjonalt”. Det fikk han. I begynnelsen av 1980-årene vakte saken ny interesse. Det som nå særlig skapte debatt, var forståelsen av det nasjonale. Rettens tolkning og Røds egen bruk av ordet viste at de ikke så på jødedeportasjonen som en unasjonal handling. Det var det samme som å si at jødene ikke var fullgode norske borgere.¹¹⁷

FORTID OG FORKLARING

Kunne de norske jødene vært reddet?

Høsten 2018 utga Marte Michelet boka der hun anklaget Hjemmefronten for ikke å ha gjort nok for å redde de norske jødene. Debatten som fulgte var skarp, flere hevdet at Hjemmefronten ikke visste hva som ville skje, og at det manglede grenseløser som kunne føre jødene trygt over til Sverige. Enkelte innlegg pekte på at antijødiske holdninger fantes i mange lag av samfunnet, og at det betydde at jødene ikke ble prioritert. Forfatteren Nina Grünfeld skrev at disse holdningene hadde påvirket norsk vilje til å hjelpe jøder på flukt før krigen brøt ut. I 1938 ble det reist spørsmål om Norge kunne ta imot jødiske barn, men Justisdepartementets holdning var nei fordi: «Vi risikerer å brenne inne med dem og aldri bli kvitt dem.» Noen tok Norge likevel imot. De som hadde kommet seg over til Sverige, ville den norske regjeringen helst skulle forbli i svenske barnehjem, blant dem var Nina Grünfeldts far. De norske jødene som kom tilbake, ble møtt med skattekrav for tiden i Sverige. De overlevende vendte også tilbake til tomme hjem, NS hadde latt norske nazister kjøpe det de ville, til svært lave priser.

Kilder: Grünfeld, N. (2018, 22. nov.). *Antijødiske holdninger var en del av norsk kultur. Før, under og etter krigen. Hvilken unnskyldning utviser vi i dag?* Aftenposten. (Nettlenke i kildeliste.) Michelet, M. B. (2018). *Hva visste hjemmefronten? Holocaust i Norge: varslene, unnvikelsene, hemmeligholdet.* Gyldendal.

Hvorfor tror du at påstandene i Michelets bok skapte så stor debatt?

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Both books use the example of Kathe Lasnik to exemplify the treatment of the Norwegian Jews. They also both linger on the post-war settlement in the country, noting that it has long been a topic of debate, in particular the retroactive nature of the laws that people were judged by and the unequal treatment of NS members and war profiteers.

Fleire reagerte på at dei som til dømes hadde tent store pengar på å samarbeide med tyskarane, slapp tiltale, mens passive medlemmer av NS vart dømde. Kanskje var det slik at dersom landet skulle byggjast opp igjen, kunne ikkje styresmaktene forfølgje den arbeidskrafta og dei bedriftene Noreg var avhengig av?¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ *Alle tiders historie*, 500

¹¹⁸ *Alle tiders historie*, 501. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹¹⁹ *Perspektiv*, 349

While they spend a fair bit of space discussing the legality and morality of the settlement, both ultimately conclude that the settlement was by and large fair and orderly, at least when compared to the settlements in other nations.

Johs. Andenæs, som selv deltok i oppgjøret som ung jurist, skrev mange år seinere en bok han kalte *Det vanskelige oppgjøret*. Han konkluderte med at rettsoppgjøret i det store og hele hadde vært rettferdig. I mange europeiske land var oppgjøret helt annerledes. I Frankrike ble rundt 9000 henrettet uten lov og dom.¹²⁰

The guilt and complicity of the Norwegians themselves is a major topic of the Norwegian history chapters in both books. It is an even greater topic for the German books, encompassing the holocaust, the euthanasia programs that killed the physically and mentally disabled, the use of forced labor across Europe, and the persecutions of the Sinti and Roma. *Das waren zeiten 2* has chapter titles like *Die deutsche Aggressionspolitik steuert auf den Krieg zu*, “The German policy of aggression heads for war”, or *Das Deutsche Reich lost den Zweiten Weltkrieg aus*, “The German Reich triggers the second world war”. It wasn’t “Hitler” or “the NSDAP” that started the war, it was “Germany”. It also mentions that the Wehrmacht also took part in the massacres, “Die ersten Massaker geschahen bereits im Polenfeldzug, wo deutsche SS-, SD- und Wehrmachtangehörige Juden töteten”,¹²¹ and has an entire two-page section, pages 90-91, dedicated to discussing that the regular people definitely knew what was going on, even if they did not know every detail. The culpability of the German people is a major recurring theme in both the flowing narrative and the sources and assignments in the book.

¹²⁰ Alle tiders historie, 502

¹²¹ Das waren zeiten 2, 86

Die deutsche Aggressionspolitik steuert auf den Krieg zu



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Forum geschichte shares this theme, and spends much space on the fact that ordinary people had a hand in what was happening. No one individual, group, or faction holds all the blame. While “das NS-regime”, “die nationalsozialisten”, or Hitler often take a leadership role they never act alone, and the book repeatedly mentions how the regime found willing supporters among students, teachers, craftsmen, soldiers, and large portions of the population.

Dennoch herrschte bei vielen Deutschen eine Aufbruchsstimmung. Ein leicht ansteigender Lebensstandard nach den Jahren der Krise, aber auch gezielte Propaganda verankerte im öffentlichen Bewusstsein das Bild einer Staatsführung, die sich scheinbar intensiv um das Wohlgehen der Bevölkerung kümmerte.¹²³

A notable amount of space is given to discuss the fact that many remember this period fondly. It wasn't only “the Nazis” that took part in the holocaust, the police were an active part of the process, and none of it would have been possible without the wilful ignorance of the common people. The Wehrmacht played an active, often enthusiastic, role in the brutal eastern front, and regular doctors and nurses took part in the euthanasia program.

¹²² Das waren zeiten 2, 68. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹²³ Forum Geschichte 9, 40



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Auch die deutsche Wehrmacht beteiligte sich an diesen Kriegsverbrechen. Im Kampf gegen einheimische Widerstandsgruppen (Partisanen) löschte sie ganze Dörfer aus und entvölkerte vor allem in Weißrussland komplette Landstriche.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Forum geschichte 9, 81. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹²⁵ Forum geschichte 9, 58. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹²⁶ Forum geschichte 9, 80

The book also discusses the lack of major resistance in the country. While there was resistance, it was scattered, and found little support among the regular citizens, leading to what the book calls a “resistance without people”.

Der Widerstand war in Deutschland in viele kleine unabgängige Gruppen zersplittert. Diesen oppositionellen Gruppen fehlte der Rückhalt in der Bevölkerung. Hitlers außenpolitische und wirtschaftliche Erfolge ab 1933 führten dazu, dass ein Großteil der Deutschen seiner Herrschaft als Überzeugung zustimmte. Historiker sprechen daher auch von einem “Widerstand ohne Volk”.¹²⁷

With these being German history books, and with the chapters covered here being so focused on the many deaths and miseries of the time, the spotlight is entirely on German people and institutions, and how none of them come out clean on the other end. The immense focus on the universal culpability of the German people is such that it would be faster to list the number of pages that do not discuss how regular Germans were involved in the regime’s atrocities. While it is a major topic for the Norwegian books when they discuss Norway’s role in the war, it is an all-encompassing theme of the German books.

5.3.2 The Japanese

Norway and America share a particularly grim depiction of the Japanese. With descriptions of events such as the Mukden incident, the Rape of Nanjing, kamikaze pilots, and comfort women as central parts of the narrative, the Japanese receive perhaps the worst depiction in the books, even worse than the Germans and the Nazis. Two aspects of the depiction of the Japanese stand out. The first is the use of characters. While the crimes of Nazi Germany are committed by “Hitler”, “the Einsatzgruppen”, or “the Nazis”, with Japan it is only ever “the Japanese” that are mentioned. It is never Hideki Tōjō that burned Chinese civilians alive, it is “the Japanese”, it was not some specialised group that massacred Nanjing, it was simply “the Japanese”. Whereas with Nazi Germany the books favor blaming individuals or specific groups, with Japan the whole nation is to blame. *Impact* describes the aggressive Japanese policies to be a result not of political forces or isolated groups, but of the peoples will.

With hardships came calls for a return to traditional Japanese values. Traditionalists especially objected to the growing influence of Western ideas and values on Japanese educational and political systems. At the same time, many citizens denounced Japan’s attempt to find security

¹²⁷ Forum geschichte 92

through cooperation with the Western powers. Instead, they demanded that Japan use its strength to dominate Asia.¹²⁸

The second point of interest in the depiction of Japan is the fact that the Norwegian books are actually harsher in their depiction of the nation than the American ones. The American books spend more time on Japan than the Norwegian ones, and certainly don't shy away from mentioning the cruel conditions of Japanese occupation.

However, the Japanese reserved the most brutal treatment for Allied prisoners of war. The Japanese considered it dishonorable to surrender, and they had contempt for the prisoners of war in their charge. On the Bataan Death March – a forced march of more than 50 miles up the peninsula – the Japanese subjected their captives to terrible cruelties...Of the approximately 70,000 prisoners who started the Bataan Death March, only 54,000 survived.¹²⁹

However, the American books do not linger on these events as much as the Norwegian books do. While they may list more events than their Norwegian counterparts, they do not ask the students to question or examine the events as much. *Patterns of interaction* spends more space on how terrible the conditions were at the Battle of Guadalcanal than on how merciless the Japanese could be. The American books save their harshest descriptions for the Germans.

The *Einsatzgruppen* probably killed more than 1 million Jews. As appalling as that sounds, it was still too slow by Nazi standards. They decided to kill the European Jews in specially built death camps...About 30 percent of the new arrivals at Auschwitz were sent to a labor camp, where many were starved or worked to death. The remainder of the people went to the gas chamber. Some inmates were subjected to cruel and painful “medical” experiments.¹³⁰

The Norwegian books save these sorts of descriptions for the Japanese, and Japan is described as “Cruel”, “Bestial”, “Dangerous”, and “inhuman”, and as “having contempt for diplomacy and peaceful solutions”.¹³¹ *Alle tiders historie* and especially *Perspektiv* also linger on the described events, with *Perspektiv* having a whole section where it questions the mentality of the Japanese.

Menneskesynet som låg bak slike handlingar, er vanskeleg å forstå. Det er tydeleg at dei japanske soldatane såg på kinesarane som undermenneske, med ei forakt som likna det synet

¹²⁸ Impact, 410

¹²⁹ Patterns of interaction, 932

¹³⁰ Impact, 465-466

¹³¹ Perspektiv, 318

nazistane hadde på jødar. Ein japansk soldat skreiv til dømes i dagboka si at kinesarane var som “maur som kraup rundt i sanden”.¹³²

Germany, Hitler, and the Nazis are never questioned in this manner by the book. *Alle tiders historie* is not quite so harsh on the Japanese, but still dedicates space to asking to research some of the worst actions of Japan during the war, and questions how this reflects on the nation.



HISTORIEBEVISSTHET
Yasukuni-helligdommen

I en bydel i Tokyo ligger Yasukuni-helligdommen som er opprettet for å minnes falne soldater. Lignende krigsminnesteder finnes i mange andre land. Men Yasukuni-helligdommen har ført til sterke protester i nabolandene som var okkupert av Japan. Årsaken er at også krigsforbrytere som ble dømt til døden etter krigen for sine forbrytelser mot sivile, hedres her. Særlig har det vakt oppsikt at enkelte japanske politikere har besøkt helligdommen under stort presseoppbud. Nasjonalistiske kretser vil ikke at helligdommen skal være et religiøst minnested, men derimot bli et statlig minnesmerke. De argumenterer for at dette er normalt i andre land. Debatten rundt Yasukuni kobles ofte til kontroversen rundt japanske historiebøkers framstilling av landets krigføring. I 2000 kom det en ny bok der japanske krigsforbrytelser fikk svært liten plass. Nabolandene protesterte. Boka ble en økonomisk fiasko, knapt noen japanske skoler kjøpte den inn.

Kilde: Wood Masalski, K. (2001). *Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies*. (Nettlenke i kildeliste.)

Søk på Nanjing-massakren (1937), enhet (unit) 731 og Japans komfortkvinner. Hva sier disse eksemplene om Japans krigføring under andre verdenskrig?

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The Norwegian books want the student to truly question the actions and mentality of the Japanese in a way even the American books do not.

5.3.3 The Allies

As one can perhaps expect, with the crimes of Germany and Japan being such major topics for all six books none of them spend much time of the actions of the Allies. This goes both ways, however, as while the Allies are rarely scrutinized, they are also rarely praised.

Patterns of interaction and *Perspektiv* are the only books to spend any real amount time praising the Allies, with *Perspektiv*'s praise of British resistance having already been mentioned. *Patterns of interaction* describes Churchill as “Possibly the most powerful weapon the British had”, and praises the evacuation of Dunkirk.

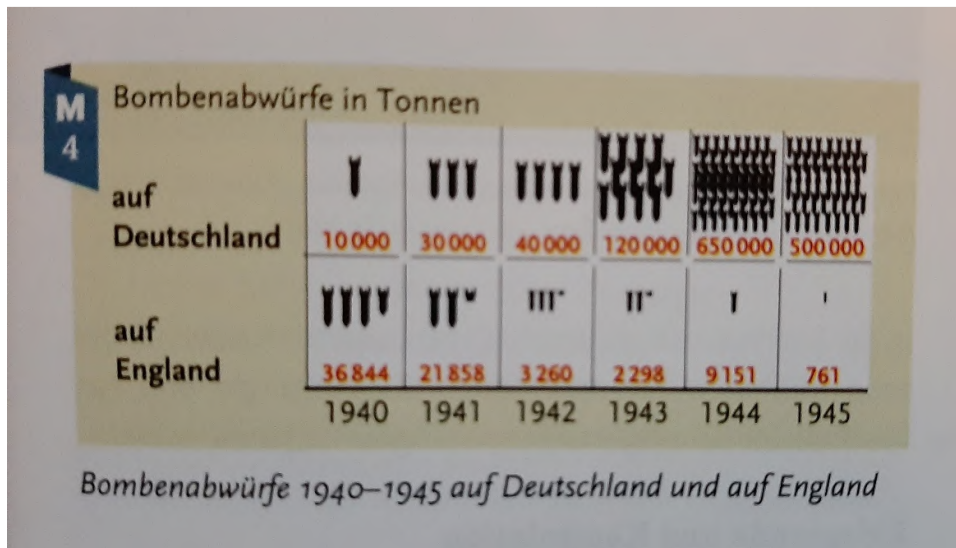
In one of the most heroic acts of the war, Great Britain set out to rescue the army. It sent a fleet of about 850 ships across the English Channel to Dunkirk. Along with Royal Navy ships, civilian craft – yachts, lifeboats, motorboats, paddle steamers, and fishing boats – joined the rescue effort. From May 26 to June 4, this amateur armada, under heavy fire from German

¹³² *Perspektiv*, 318-319

¹³³ *Alle tiders historie*, 478. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

bombers, sailed back and forth from Britain to Dunkirk. The boats carried some 338,000 battler-weary soldiers to safety.¹³⁴

Besides these small exceptions all six books greatly favor looking at the actions and decisions of Germany and Japan, with the Allies being a distant secondary concern, a largely overlooked character in all six books. However, there are occasions where the German and American books do question the actions of the Allies, or bring up that they too had a hand in making some of the worst atrocities of the era possible. *Forum geschichte* makes note of the immense difference in number of bombs dropped on Germany by the Allies versus the number of bombs dropped by Germany itself, though it provides no source on the number.



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Impact criticises Britain for not having learned from the Blitz.

The British failed to learn from their own experience, however. Churchill and his advisers believed that destroying the German communities would break civilian morale and bring victory....Germany suffered enormously from the Allied bombing raids. Millions of buildings were destroyed; half a million civilians died. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that Allied Bombing sapped the German Morale.¹³⁶

Both nations, Germany and the United States, also make mention of the fact that the plight of the Jews was not solely the result of NSDAP policy, but that many nations, including the United States

¹³⁴ Patterns of interaction, 927

¹³⁵ Forum geschichte 9, 101. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹³⁶ Impact, 461

themselves, closed their borders to the Jews in the period immediately preceding the war, closing off escape for the Jews, and sometimes requiring them to take drastic steps to find refuge.

At first, Hitler favored emigration as a solution to what he called “the Jewish problem”. Getting other countries to continue admitting Germany’s Jews became an issue, however. After admitting tens of thousands of Jewish refugees, such countries as France, Britain, and the United States abruptly closed their doors to further immigration. Germany’s foreign minister observed, “We all want to get rid of our Jews. The difficulty is that no country wishes to receive them.”¹³⁷

Die Schwierigkeiten der Flucht aus Deutschland wurde besonders anhand der Irrfahrt des Schiffes St. Louis offensichtlich. Mit über 900 jüdischen Flüchtlingen an Bord verließ der Dampfer Hamburg am 13. Mai 1939 in Richtung Havanna. Alle Passagiere hatten gültige Einreisepapiere für Kuba. Als die St. Louis jedoch dort anlegen wollte, erklärte die kubanische Regierung die Papiere für ungültig. . . Erst als Passagiere mit einem kollektiven Selbstmord drohten, erklärten sich Belgien, Frankreich, die Niederlande und Großbritannien zur Aufnahme der Flüchtlinge bereit.¹³⁸

5.3.4 Propaganda

All six books use the second World War to discuss the concept of propaganda. It is in fact their chapters on the interwar and war years that all six of these books first introduce the concept. The Norwegian books have made mention of the term a select few times before this, but never with any information on what the term means. They all use Nazi Germany as the case study for propaganda, and for the Norwegian and German books this is where it ends. Propaganda was something the Germans did to indoctrinate their people, though *Perspektiv* does state that allied use of propaganda in World War one was Hitler’s inspiration.

Hitler beundra propagandaen frå dei allierte under den første verdskrigen, og han såg kor viktig det var for å få folket med seg i kampen. Difor la Tyskland stor vekt på propaganda under andre verdskrigen, mellom anna ved å utnemne ein eigen propagandaminister, Joseph Goebbels.¹³⁹

The American books stand out for acknowledging Allied use of propaganda, indeed American use of propaganda. Question 17 in chapter 12 of *Impact* asks the student to analyse a poster, specifically calling it a propaganda poster.

¹³⁷ Patterns of interaction, 937

¹³⁸ Das waren zeiten 2, 72

¹³⁹ Perspektiv, 321

Analyzing Visuals

Use the poster to answer the following question.



- 17** **UNDERSTANDING CHANGE** This poster from 1942 encouraged American women to participate in the war effort. What message is this propaganda poster sending? What does this poster tell you about the changing roles of women during World War II?

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Patterns of interaction also brings up some of the consequences that the American use of propaganda had on the nation.

Government propaganda also had a negative effect. After Pearl Harbor, a wave of prejudice arose in the United States against Japanese Americans. Most lived in Hawaii and on the West Coast. The bombing of Pearl Harbor frightened Americans. This fear, encouraged by government propaganda, was turned against Japanese Americans. They were suddenly seen as “the enemy”. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued an executive order calling for the internment of Japanese Americans because they were considered a threat to the country.¹⁴¹

5.4 Sources

5.4.1 Frequency

In terms of sheer number of sources used the German books completely eclipse the other nations, with a single chapter in one of the German books containing more primary and secondary sources than all the Norwegian and American books combined. Sources are a

¹⁴⁰ Impact, 477. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁴¹ Patterns of interaction, 943

major part of *Das waren zeiten 2* and *Forum geschichte*. With every other page being given exclusively to sources and a few special segments, such as the *Methode* or the *Geschichte kontrovers* sections, being given entirely to sources. The books actually give more space to the various sources than to their flowing narratives. Each source used by the German textbooks properly notes where it was found, with the *Q* and *M* markings denoting whether they are primary or secondary sources, and the *Methode* sections give instructions on how to approach different kinds of sources.

M 4 **Die Historikerin Christa Tholander über Zwangsarbeiterinnen bei der Firma Maybach (2001):**
 Exemplarisch für den Arbeitseinsatz der Ostarbeiterinnen ist das Schicksal der 49-jährigen Russin Anna Sujkowa und ihrer drei Töchter Antonina, Sinaida und Nina, im Alter von 15 bis 18 Jahren. Sie wurden im September 1941 aus Puschkin bei Leningrad von der Deutschen Wehrmacht verschleppt ... Nach der als peinlich empfundenen medizinischen Untersuchung im Durchgangslager in Polen wurde die 18-jährige Antonina wegen einer Krankheit von ihrer Familie getrennt, die anderen kamen ... im Mai 1942 nach Friedrichshafen zur Firma Maybach ... Anna war als zu alt für einen Einsatz an den Maschinen befunden worden und musste als Putzfrau arbeiten. Sinaida und Nina bildete Maybach als Revolverdrehherinnen aus. Gearbeitet wurden zunächst 60, später 65 Stunden und mehr ... Anna und ihre Familie wurden im März 1945 nach Blaubeuren versetzt. Alle hatten elf zum Teil sehr schwere Luftangriffe, eine Typhus- und Flecktyphusepidemie überlebt, waren nicht an der verbreiteten Tuberkulose erkrankt, an der so viele junge Menschen starben.
 Christa Tholander, *Zwangsarbeiterinnen in der Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945 am Beispiel Friedrichshafens*, 11. Juli 2001. Zit. nach www.frauenakademie.de (Veranstaltungen, wissenschaftliche Vorträge).⁵²

Die ehemaligen Lagerinsassen Joop van Driel und Pieter de Haan berichteten 1994 und 1998 über ein Lager der Firma Maybach in Friedrichshafen:
 Das große Problem war das Toilett, Abort, das war ein so großes Toilett mit Loch darüber und war so voll, dass es überläuft ... Die Kanalisation dieses großen Barackendorfes funktionierte schon bald nicht mehr. Offene Urinpfüten mit Kot waren die Folge, Seuchen brachen aus ... Die Waschräume, die war schrecklich. Im Winter hab ich mal mein Arbeitskleidung saubergemacht und Abfluss war zugefroren, es war so kalt, ich habe mit meinem Fuß im Wasser gestanden und den nächsten Tag hatte ich ganz dicke Beine ... nach einer Woche war das besser, ich habe viel Glück gehabt.
 Zit. nach Christa Tholander, *Fremdarbeiter 1939 bis 1945. Ausländische Arbeitskräfte in der Zeppelin-Stadt Friedrichshafen, Essen (Klartext) 2001, S. 285.*⁵³

M 6 **Aus einem Gutachten von 1999 zu Entschädigungsansprüchen von Zwangsarbeitern:**
 Die nach Deutschland Verschleppten haben ... insgesamt über 21 Millionen Jahre in deutschen Wirtschaftsunternehmen gearbeitet ... Durch den Einsatz der Zwangsarbeitskräfte wurden ... 49,1 Prozent dessen, was deutsche Zivilarbeitskräfte gekostet hätten, ... in den Unternehmen als Gewinn ... verbucht ... Die deutschen Privatunternehmen wie auch die öffentliche Hand haben in nahezu unvorstellbarem Maße an den nach Deutschland verschleppten Zwangsarbeitern verdient ... die Entschädigungsansprüche der Zwangsarbeitskräfte sind nicht nur ein fürchtbares Erbe deutscher Geschichte ..., sondern in vielen Fällen auch und insbesondere ein Erbe der eigenen Unternehmensgeschichte ... Wer erbt, muss Steuern ... zahlen. Die ... Entschädigungsansprüche der ehemaligen Zwangsarbeitskräfte stellen ... einen Bruchteil der üblicherweise zu zahlenden Erbschaftssteuern dar. Ist das bei diesem fürchtbarsten Erbe deutscher Geschichte schon zu viel verlangt?
 Thomas Kuczynski, *Entschädigungsansprüche für Zwangsarbeit im „Dritten Reich“ auf Basis der damals erzielten zusätzlichen Einnahmen und Gewinne*. In: *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 15 (2000), S. 15–63.⁵⁴

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¹⁴² Forum geschichte 9, 85. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

Q 3 Mit schonungsloser Offenheit

Am 4. Oktober 1943 hält Heinrich Himmler¹ in Pozna/Posen (Polen) eine Ansprache vor SS-Gruppenführern. Darin legt er dar:

Wie es den Russen geht, wie es den Tschechen geht, ist mir total gleichgültig. [...] Ob die anderen Völker im Wohlstand leben oder ob sie verrecken vor Hunger, das interessiert mich nur so weit, als wir sie als Sklaven für unsere Kultur brauchen, anders interessiert mich das nicht. Ob bei dem Bau eines Panzergrabens 10 000 russische Weiber an Entkräftung umfallen oder nicht,

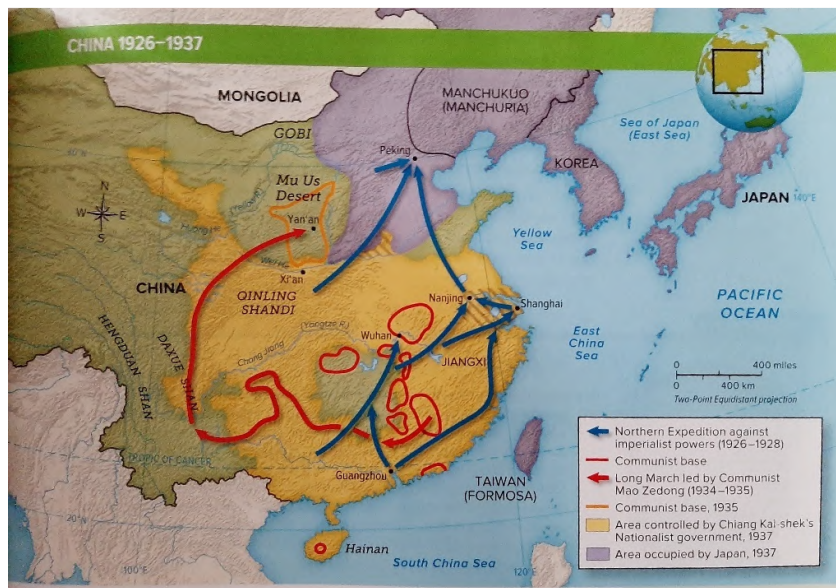
interessiert mich nur insoweit, als der Panzergraben für Deutschland fertig wird. Wir werden niemals roh und herzlos sein, wo es nicht sein muss; das ist klar. Wir Deutsche, die wir als einzige in der Welt eine anständige Einstellung zum Tier haben, werden ja auch zu diesen Menschen-tieren eine anständige Einstellung einnehmen [...].

www.1000dokumente.de/pdf/dok_0008_pos_de.pdf
[13.02.2014]

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There is also quite a variety of sources in the books, ranging from political posters, political cartoons, quotes from letters, legal documents, speeches, historians, songs, and novels. The books also contain economic statistics and graphs, photographs, and newspaper articles. One certainly cannot fault them for a lack of sources.

The American books feature sources much more sparingly than the German ones, and are much less even in their use as well, with *Impact* using them far more than *Patterns of interaction*. While there is no shortage of images in *Impact* and *Patterns of interaction*, particularly maps, which both books are quite fond of, there are only a few written sources to be found among their pages.



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¹⁴³ Das waren zeiten 2, 85. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁴⁴ Impact, 415. Photo: Robyn Hagemann



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Patterns of interaction makes less use of written sources than *Impact*. A few times per chapter the book makes use of quotes from primary sources, such as on page 939 where one can find a quote from Elie Wiesel’s *Night*.

PRIMARY SOURCE
 Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever. . . . Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to dust. . . . Never.

ELIE WIESEL, quoted in *Night*

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The book also at times adds quotes without providing a source for the quote, such as on page 938 where the book has an unsourced quote from a holocaust survivor. These unsourced quotes are just about as common as the properly formatted *Primary source* quotes, and together they make up about the only written sources to be found in *Patterns of interaction*. Each *Unit*, however, does end with a *Compare and contrast* section that primarily feature written sources for the student to work with, and these finalizing sections of each *Unit* are where the book intends for the student to make us of sources as part of their work. *Impact*

¹⁴⁵ *Patterns of interaction*, 926. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁴⁶ *Patterns of interaction*, 939. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

also features quotes in the flowing narrative on occasion, such as a quote from Roosevelt on page 453.

“This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world. . . . The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.”

—Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “*Fireside Chat*,” February 23, 1942

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Much like its counterpart *Impact* also has a habit of using unsourced quotes in the flowing narrative, as it does on page 444, to give just one example.

Hitler shocked the world when he announced the treaty. Hitler was now free to attack Poland. He told his generals, “Now Poland is in the position in which I wanted her. . . . I am only afraid that at the last moment some swine will yet submit to me a plan for mediation”.¹⁴⁸

Each *Lesson* also begins with a quote relevant to the topic at hand. Outside of the quotes, which are used to either initiate a lesson and to introduce its main topic, or to underscore something said in the flowing narrative, sources in *Impact* primarily feature as part of special source focused sections scattered throughout the chapters. Three types of these source sections can be found in the book, *Analysing sources*, which presents usually three different sources which all speak about the same topic from a different perspective, *The world's literature*, which presents an excerpt from an era appropriate piece of literature, both fiction and non-fiction, and ties it into the topic via questions, and *Points of view*, which presents a debate between two people. There are no *Points of view* in the chapters relevant to this text, one *The world's literature*, and three *Analysing sources*, one in each chapter.

¹⁴⁷ *Impact*, 453. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁴⁸ *Impact*, 444

ANALYZING SOURCES

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR II?

Just over two decades after the end of World War I, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany, marking the beginning of World War II. However, historians have long discussed the causes of World War II. In the following primary sources from the prewar and early war years, three authors take positions to argue what the main causes of the conflict were.

VOCABULARY

impunity: freedom from punishment

capital ship: large warship, such as a battleship

Freikorps: German guerrilla force that sought to add the Sudetenland region to Germany

Four-power meeting: meeting of Germany, Italy, France, and Britain to discuss Germany's claims to the Sudetenland

PRIMARY SOURCE: ARTICLE

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

British historian Dr. G. P. Gooch addressed the threat of war in a 1938 article excerpted here.

“Since the Allies declined to scale down their armaments to the German level, Germany was certain to climb towards theirs as soon as she felt strong enough to do so with **impunity**.

The Disarmament Conference which opened at Geneva in February 1932 had taken years to prepare, and it met too late. Even the chance of a limited agreement was lost owing to the lack of a strong lead at the outset by a Great Power . . . Each country was virtuously ready for reductions in categories which were not of vital importance to itself, but stood out for those which it needed most. Thus Great Britain longed for the abolition of the submarine, which nearly starved us in 1917, while she clung to the **capital ship** . . . When the Conference adjourned for the summer holidays in 1932, it was clear that it had failed. In the autumn Germany retired, but was brought back by a promise of equality of status. . . .

Such a system proved unattainable, and a year later Hitler's Germany withdrew not only from the Conference but from the League [of Nations] itself. . . . Since that moment Germany has been re-arming at feverish speed, and Europe is back again in its pre-War mood when everyone was afraid of Berlin. Our own colossal re-armament programme is the measure of our alarm.”

PRIMARY SOURCE: DIARY

VICTOR KLEMPERER'S DIARY ENTRIES

The following passages are from 1938 diary entries of Victor Klemperer, a Jewish professor who lived in Nazi Germany.

“The immense act of violence on the [German] annexation of Austria, the immense increase in [Germany's] power both internally and externally, the defenseless trembling fear of England, France, etc. We shall not live to see the end of the Third Reich. . . .

The Third Reich will win again—whether by bluff or by force. . . . Chamberlain flies to Hitler for the second time tomorrow. England and France remain calm, in Dresden the Sudeten German “**Freikorps**” is almost ready to invade [Czechoslovakia]. And the populace here is convinced that the Czechs alone are to blame and that Hitler loves peace. . . .

Four-power meeting today [September 29] at three in Munich. Czechoslovakia continues to exist, Germany gets the Sudetenland, probably a colony as well. . . . For the populace on the front pages of the German press it is of course the absolute success of Hitler, the prince of peace and brilliant diplomat. . . . No shot is fired, and the [German] troops have been marching ^{off} since yesterday. Wishes for peace and friendship have been exchanged with England and France, Russia is cowering and silent, a zero. Hitler is being acclaimed even more extravagantly than in the Austria business.”

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The Norwegian books make the least use of sources, and barring the photos and images scattered throughout all the books they are all but absent from *Perspektiv*. There is a list of sources at the end of each chapter, making it the only book to add sources for its flowing narrative, but it lacks reference to when or how they were utilized in the text. On a few occasions the book adds a translated quote from a relevant character, generally at the beginning of a topic. These quotes act as a prelude to what the section will talk about and are not intended to be utilized in any way.

Avslutninga Det tredje rikets fall

« Vi kan gå under. Men vi kjem til å ta ei verd med oss.

Adolf Hitler, januar 1945 150

¹⁴⁹ Impact, 454. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁵⁰ Perspektiv, 327. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

These quotes also are not sourced properly, as they often do not include reference to where they were taken from, only when they were supposedly uttered. On a few occasions the book also uses quotes it does not source at all, and the list of casualties on page 329 also has no given source. The assignments at the end of each chapter sometimes involve the use of presented sources, and so one can typically find a quote or two among the assignments as well. *Alle tiders historie* makes more frequent use of sources than its counterpart, with the supplemental section at the top of each page semi-frequently making use of citations.

KILDER OG KILDEKRITIKK

Nazistisk musikkssyn

Under krigen var det forbudt for tyskere å lytte til utenlandske radiostasjoner. Men noen ungdomsgrupper hørte på swingmusikken som ble sendt på BBC. Nazistene betegnet swing som «Negermusik» og mente at det ville undergrave ungdommenes støtte til nazistene:

«De er uberørt av hva våre soldater har oppnådd. De falne omtales til dels med forakt. En fiendtlig holdning til forsvaret er tydelig. De kan gjenkjennes på de engelsk-inspirerte klærne. De har på seg (...) skotskrutede jakker og har alltid en paraply med seg. En falsk forståelse av frihetsbegrepet har ført dem i opposisjon til Hitlerjugend.»


Himmlers løsning var å sende dem i en konsentrasjonsleir: «Der skal de først pryles før de blir tvunget til utmattende fysiske øvelser, deretter skal arbeide. Oppholdet må være av en viss lengde, mellom tre og fire år. Det må etterforskes i hvilken grad foreldrene har støttet dem. Har de det, skal alt de eier, beslaglegges og de selv sendes

→ Plakat fra en nazistisk utstilling om «entartete Musik» i 1938 («degenerert musikk»). Se nøye på bildet, hvordan blir musikeren fremstilt?

i konsentrasjonsleir. Kun gjennom brutale tiltak kan vi unngå at denne farlige engelskvennlige tendensen griper om seg (...)»

Kilde: Himmler, H. (1942). *Anweisung von Heinrich Himmler (...)*. (Nettlenke i kildeliste.)

Hvorfor kan dette kalles en normativ kilde? Hva slags musikalske uttrykk var nazistene imot? Hva sier denne kilden som levning om samfunnet i Tyskland etter nazistenes maktovertakelse?



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This too, however, is only semi-frequently, with the book featuring quotes and citations about frequently as *Impact* does. In general, even when the Norwegian books make mention of, and discuss, a specific source, they prefer to paraphrase that source rather than to quote it. An example of this can be found on page 282 of *Perspektiv*, where the book discusses *Mein kampf*, but rather than quoting passages from such an important source, it simply paraphrases it.

¹⁵¹ *Alle tiders historie*, 455. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

KVA: Mein Kampf

Kven: Adolf Hitler

Når: 1925

Mein Kampf

I fengselet nytta Hitler månadene til å skrive *Mein Kampf*, det politiske manifestet hans som skulle bli som ein bibel for nazistane. Etter kvart vart boka ei vanleg konfirmasjonsgåve i Tyskland. Hitler fortel om oppveksten sin i Austerrike, like ved grensa til Tyskland, som han meiner var den måten lagnaden fortalte han at desse landa skulle samlast igjen. «Felles blod høyrer heime i eit felles rike», skriv han. Hitler drøymde om å bli arkitekt eller kunstnar, og han kranla med faren, som arbeidde i tollverket og ynskte at sonen også skulle inn i statstenesta. Det enda med at Hitler drog til Wien og levde i kummerlege forhold utan utdanning.

Då verdskrigen kom, drog han til Bayern og verva seg frivillig. Han gjorde suksess som soldat og fekk tildelt jernkorset to gonger. Etter krigen skulle interessa for politikk og motviljen mot kommunistane prege livet hans meir og meir. I *Mein Kampf* legg han ut tankane sine om rasehierarki og om det geografiske området den nordiske (ariske) rasen trong for å kunne herske over dei andre. «Lebensraum» måtte ein skaffe ved å drive ut dei mindreverdige rasane i aust. Det galdt dei slaviske folka og sigøynarar, og framfor alt jødane. Hitler sa rett ut at han forakta jødane, dei var «svulstar», «basillar», «pest» og «gift». Dei var «rotter», og «den jødiske trusselen» måtte overvinnast, sjølv om Hitler ikkje peikte konkret på metodar som skulle takast i bruk. Kampen mot marxistane og jødane handla, ifølgje Hitler, om framtida for mennesket på jorda. Då var demokratiet verdiløst og skadeleg – Hitler argumenterte for forarprinsippet.

Då den andre verdskrigen begynte, var det selt over 5 millionar eksemplar av boka, og ho var å få kjøpt i 11 land.



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5.4.2 Methodology

The topic of historical method, that is how the books prepare the student for working with sources and history in general, is one point where the three nations differ quite substantially. The Norwegian books have the least systematic presentation of the topic, and also make the least use of it in their chapters. Both books have a few pages at the start of the book where they explain the difference between primary and secondary sources, relics and accounts, as well as why working with history, and with sources, is important. Both books present critical reading of sources as a core part of history, with *Alle tiders historie* giving the confusion and debate surrounding the case of Rosa Parks as an example of why one needs to be careful with information, even when it comes from sources that seem reliable, such as a textbook.

Eksempelet med Rosa Parks er likevel en påminnelse om at vi alltid bør være kritiske til ting vi leser. De gjelder både lærebøker i historie og all informasjonen vi finner på nettet. Derfor er arbeid med kiler en svært viktig del av historiefaget på skolen.¹⁵³

Both Norwegian books also have additional sections where they give more detailed tips on how to work with sources. *Alle tiders historie* does this at the very start and end of the book, with these guiding pages actually being printed onto the inner cover of the book. *Perspektiv* has a *Kurs* chapter at the end where it gives some tips and examples for working with sources.

¹⁵² Perspektiv, 282. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁵³ Alle tiders historie, 21

Kilder og kildekritisk bevissthet

DEL 1

Her og bakerst i boka finner du oppslagslister om kilder og kildekritikk. Sjekkpunktlistene er ment som et praktisk verktøy til eget kildearbeid. Oppslagene inneholder også eksempler på kildebruk og kildekritikk fra henholdsvis eldre og nyere historie.

En historisk kilde er noe som kan gi oss svar på spørsmål vi stiller til fortiden. Vi skiller mellom ulike typer kilder etter hvilken avstand kildene har til historiske hendelser, og etter kildenes innhold:

- **Primærkilder:** Historiske kilder som er direkte knyttet til en hendelse. Litt strengt definert er primærkilder originalkilder som vi oftest finner på museer og i arkiver eller andre samlinger. Hvis du bruker en avfotografert eller digitalisert versjon av en primærkilde, er det viktig at du tar forbehold om at kilden er riktig gjengitt. Du bør da merke deg hvor kilden er hentet fra, og vurdere om avsenderen virker troverdig. I skolen jobber man ofte med kopier og oversettelser av primærkilder, ofte bare i form av utdrag. Det enkleste kan være å kalle en slik kilde for nettopp et gjengitt (og for eksempel oversatt) utdrag av en primærkilde, og ta forbehold om at den er gjengitt riktig.
- **Sekundærkilder:** Bygger på primærkilder. Det kan for eksempel være faghistoriske artikler og lærebøker, avhandlinger og andre historiske framstillinger som bygger på tolkninger av primærkilder. De skrives av historikere og andre forfattere som bygger på egen eller andres forskning eller på annen litteratur om historiske emner.
- **Stemme kilder:** Gjenstander eller annet historisk materiale som ikke inneholder noe direkte uttrykt budskap. En stemme kilde kan indirekte gi oss informasjon om samfunnet og tiden den befant seg i. Skjeletter og redskaper kan for eksempel si noe om helsestand og teknologisk nivå.
- **Talende kilder:** inneholder et bevisst budskap i form av skrift, tale, bilder, film eller symboler.
- **Beretninger:** Beretninger er talende kilder som med ord, tegn eller bilder beskriver noe som har skjedd. Dersom den som forteller, har vært øyenvitne til hendelsen, kalles den en *førstehåndsberetning*. Hvis den som forteller, har hørt om begivenheten fra en annen, er det en *andrehandsberetning*. Førstehåndsberetningene er spesielt interessante siden innholdet i andrehandsberetninger kan ha blitt endret i gjenfortellingen. Vi må likevel

også være kritiske til førstehåndsberetninger fordi de er subjektive oppfatninger av en hendelse. Opphavspersonen kan også ha ønsket å påvirke mottakernes oppfatning av begivenheten på bestemte måter. Hvis hendelsen ligger langt tilbake i tid, er det dessuten en risiko for at noe kan være glemt eller huskes feil.

- **Normative kilder:** Talende kilder som uttrykker noe opphavspersonen(e) har ønsket å oppnå. Eksempler på slike kilder er lover, regler, traktater og målsettinger. Normative kilder forteller ikke om fortiden slik den faktisk var, men heller slik noen ønsket at den skulle være. Normative kilder kan bare indirekte si oss noe om fortiden, det vil si at de kan brukes som levninger.
- **Levninger:** Alle kilder er levninger, det vil si en rest fra fortiden. Å bruke en kilde som levning vil si å undersøke hva den indirekte kan si oss om opphavsperson(er) og tiden den ble til i. Det kan for eksempel være hvilke idealer, verdier, behov eller holdninger som kan ha preget tiden den ble til i, og personene som utformet den.

Sjekkpunktliste for kildebruk og kildekritikk

1 Kildetype

- Er det en primærkilde eller en sekundærkilde?
- Hvem står bak kilden? Når, hvor og i hvilken historisk sammenheng er kilden blitt til?
- Kan vi gå ut fra at kilden er ekte?
- Hvis kilden er en kopi, en oversettelse eller et utdrag av en primærkilde: Er det grunn til å tro at primærkilden den viser til, er riktig gjengitt?
- Er kilden talende eller stum?
- Hvis kilden er talende: Hva er innholdet i kilden? Er kilden berettende (beskrivende) eller normativ, eventuelt begge deler?
- Er kilden relevant for spørsmålene vi søker svar på?

2 Kilden brukt som levning

- Hva forteller kilden indirekte om opphavspersonen(e) og om tiden og situasjonen den ble til i?

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In both cases the tips given are fairly simple, begin things like “describe what kind of source it is” or “make sure you are reading it properly”. The tips given act more as guidance than as instruction.

Ein ting er å kunne lese det som star i kjelda, ein annan ting er å forstå meininga med henne. Det kan vere vanskeleg. Vi må prøve å lese teksten med “fortidsauge” og bruke historisk empati. Det vil seie at vi må ta omsyn til den tida kjelda vart til i og vere bevisste på at det samfunnet vi lever i, er annleis enn det samfunnet kjelda vart til i.¹⁵⁵

The German books have the strictest instructions, with both books having dedicated *Method* pages that give a detailed guide for how to approach a specific type of source, such as a speech, a letter, a political poster, or a song, with step-by-step instructions for the student to follow. At the back of the books one can also find a summary of *Method* pages from previous books. *Das waren zeiten 2* and *Forum geschichte* put great effort into

¹⁵⁴ Alle tiders historie, inside cover. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁵⁵ Perspektiv, 499

giving the student a blueprint for how to do history, providing not guidance for how to work with history, but instructions to follow.

The American books have the greatest focus on historical method, with both having a *Skillbuilder* section that lays out every step of a historian's work, with tips for how to start doing it, how to know you are doing it right, and why it is important to do it. They are not as strict in their instructions on how to approach history as the German books are, but also give far more steps to follow than the Norwegian books.

In addition, the assignments in the U.S books are labelled according to one of these historical skills, as the books call them, so the student knows which skill they must apply to each question and can return to the *Skillbuilder* to check what they must do. The steps of the *Skillbuilder* permeate every page of the American textbooks, and as such they are the only ones of the ones looked at here to make historical methodology a core part of their regular text. The Norwegian books do not reference the topic at all, letting the student consult the methodology pages on their own if they wish, and the German books only on occasion recommend seeking out the *Methode* pages for guidance. The American books constantly remind the student to consult the *Skillbuilder* for reference on how to tackle an assignment.

5.5.3 Purpose

What really separates the nations here is the presentation of sources. In the American books, the use and investigation of sources is left to dedicated sections and assignments. It is not a standard part of the process. To these two books, working with sources is something a historian does, and something the student will only do when the book wants them to work like a historian. The American books treat and present source work fully as “historical work”, as something that a historian does. It is a professional skill to be learned, not necessarily something that the student will make use of in everyday life.

When you study history, it is easy to become confused unless you have some idea of historians interpret the past and the different approaches they use. Understanding how historians interpret events of the past will allow you to practice their methods within your textbook.¹⁵⁶

To the Norwegian books, however, work with sources is not just a professional skill that will be used only by those interested in history, but is in fact an integral life skill that they will benefit from their whole life.

¹⁵⁶ Impact, xxx

I historiefaget skal du lære å arbeide med faget i praksis. Det betyr ikkje at måtane å arbeide på er nyttige berre for dei som vil studere historie seinare. I historiefaget skal du lære metodar og kjeldebruk som er relevante i mange samanhengar, både i andre skulefag og i vaksenlivet. Vi møter store mengder informasjon kvar dag. Ikkje alt det vi les, er truverdig eller sant.

Kjeldekritikk er viktig, og det er noko av det mest sentrale vi arbeider med i historiefaget.¹⁵⁷

This history as a life skill approach reflects in how the Norwegian books present sources. They do not give detailed instructions on how to work with sources like the American and German books do because the student will not be consulting an instruction manual when they encounter a newspaper article, or while watching a movie. Instead, they give guidance and basic tips to remember when one encounters new information. The Norwegian books give the student great freedom in how they wish to approach analysing sources, with the intention of making analysing sources to be an instinctive action, even if they don't go quite as in-depth as a historian would have, whereas the American books want the student to be able to truly work like a historian.

The German books on the other hand stand out by featuring sources as a regular part of the process. Every page is filled with them, many pages are filled with nothing but quotes, excerpts, newspaper articles, and legal documents. The questions on every other page are dominated by sources. To the German books sources are a primary concern, and while the flowing narrative contains no citations, examining where information comes from and how it is transmitted is a central part of both German books. It has already been mentioned that the German books are structured less like stories and more like case studies, and this reflects in their use of sources. Much like the American books, the German books present working with sources as a historian's job, but rather than setting aside dedicated sections for this type of work, the whole book is given to it. The reason for this may be the far greater focus on propaganda and memory that the German books have. The questions of why so many people supported the regime, why so many remember the period fondly, and how the government managed to keep people in the dark about its activities for so long are all very important to the German books, and to answer these questions one must look at how knowledge is passed around and how it can be influenced by the passing of time.

¹⁵⁷ Perspektiv, 10

5.5 Assignments

5.5.1 Favored assignments

A variety of assignments can be found in the six books looked at here, from repetition assignments that ask for nothing more than that the student reiterates what the flowing narrative said, to debates around historical statements, to analysing pictures and quotes, to debates on people and events. However, the three nations also each have preferences for certain kinds of assignments that they will feature more frequently than others. These favored types of assignments reflect what kind of knowledge they want the student to walk away with after they are done.

There are three kinds of assignments that the American books greatly favor: inference assignments, map-based assignments, and literacy assignments. Both *Impact* and *Patterns of interaction* have “making inferences” as one of the essential history skills in their respective *Skillbuilder* sections, and make this one of the central concepts of their assignments. Examples of this in *Patterns of interaction* are question eight on page 909 “Why do you think Roosevelt immediately established the New Deal?” and question six on page 939 “Why might people want to blame a minority group for most of the country’s problems?” to name just two. Neither of these questions are directly answered by the flowing narrative, but answers to them can be inferred from the flowing narrative. These kinds of questions, ones that aren’t specifically answered by the flowing narrative, but which also do not require the use of outside sources, are a hallmark of both American books.

Building History-Social Science Analysis Skills

2. INFERRING How did World War I change the physical landscape of Europe? How could that change have contributed to the Depression?

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The many map focused assignments are a quirk of the American books, as these types of assignments are very common in *Impact* and *Patterns of interaction*, but almost totally absent from the other two nations. Both American books have a particular focus on maps and geography, with a great atlas of maps found at the beginning of *Patterns of interaction* and at the end of *Impact*.

¹⁵⁸ *Impact*, 370. Photo: Robyn Hagemann


ESSENTIAL THEMES AND ELEMENTS

How do I study Geography?

Geographers have tried to understand the best way to teach and learn about geography. In order to do this, geographers created the *Five Themes of Geography*. The themes acted as a guide for teaching the basic ideas about geography to students like yourself.

People who teach and study geography, though, thought that the Five Themes were too broad. In 1994, geographers created 18 national geography standards. These standards were more detailed about what should be taught and learned. The Six Essential Elements act as a bridge connecting the Five Themes with the standards.

These pages show you how the Five Themes are related to the Six Essential Elements and the 18 standards.



5 Themes of Geography

- 1 Location**
Location describes where something is. Absolute location describes a place's exact position on the Earth's surface. Relative location expresses where a place is in relation to another place.
- 2 Place**
Place describes the physical and human characteristics that make a location unique.
- 3 Regions**
Regions are areas that share common characteristics.
- 4 Movement**
Movement explains how and why people and things move and are connected.
- 5 Human-Environment Interaction**
Human-Environment Interaction describes the relationship between people and their environment.

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Numerous assignments in the *Review* and *Assessment* sections involve making use of the many maps scattered throughout the pages, and the maps themselves also almost always have questions attached to them. Beyond discussing the political and cultural impact of the war, the American books place a great emphasis on the student's ability to physically trace the war on a map, and to use the maps to explain the strategies and priorities of the combatants.



GEOGRAPHIC REASONING

By 1941, Germany had conquered most of continental Europe.

1. GLOBAL INTERCONNECTIONS

Why was it significant that Germany failed to occupy the Soviet Union?

2. PATTERNS AND MOVEMENT

What did Axis Powers attempt in Africa?

160

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

1. **Region** Which European countries remained neutral during World War II?
2. **Movement** What seems to be the destination for most of the Allied advances that took place in Europe during 1943–1944?

161

Literacy assignments are assignments that involve testing the student's ability to read, write, as well as their vocabulary. Writing skills are a major part of the American books, and both textbooks have writing activities as a standard part of their *Review* and *Assessment sections*. Every *Review* section in *Patterns of interaction* contains a *Writing activity* assignment, and its end of chapter *Assessment* always contains a *Focus on writing* assignment. Similarly, *Impact* has a *Writing about history* assignment in its *Assessment* section, both at the end of each *Lesson* and at the end of each chapter. A large number of assignments also involve testing the student's reading comprehension and their ability to structure and deconstruct an argument. This commonly takes the form of the book asking the student to deconstruct a paragraph from the flowing narrative, identifying key words and phrases and explaining how the author gets his point across.

¹⁶⁰ *Impact*, 450. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁶¹ *Patterns of interaction*, 942. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

2. ANALYZING EVENTS Reread the paragraph that begins, “When Germany signed the nonaggression pact. . . .” What part of this paragraph states an *effect* of the new pact? What words signal that this is an effect?

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Impact is a great fan of these kinds of questions, and they line the margins of the pages throughout the book. An interesting result of this is that the source the student is most frequently asked to scrutinize is the textbooks itself. It is, however, the structure of the argument the book is asking about, not the argument itself. The student is asked to identify how the narrative defends its arguments, not whether that defence stands up to scrutiny. The inference assignments mentioned earlier could also be considered as part of these literacy assignments. *Impact* also has another type of literacy assignment, the previously mentioned definition assignments where the book asks the student to give a definition for a word used in the flowing narrative.

The Norwegian books most frequently make use of opinion assignments and investigation assignments. An opinion assignment is where the book asks the student to give their opinion on a person, statement, or event, or asks them to debate these things with another student. *Perspektiv* is particularly fond of this type of assignment, but both books dedicate many a question to asking the student to give verdict on events and people. *Sammanhengar* question four in chapter 11 of *Perspektiv* asks the student to explain how they would have fixed the League of Nations, and *Dybdelæring* assignment four in chapter 14 of *Alle tiders historie* asks the student to hold a debate on the merit and morality of bombing civilians in times of war, to give just two examples.

¹⁶² *Impact*, 444. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

- 4 Krigens etikk: Kan bombing av sivile forsvares i en krigssituasjon? Både bruken av atombomber i Japan og de allierte bombetoktene mot tyske byer ble vurdert som etisk riktige under krigen. Lag en debatt der deltakerne innleder og begrunner forskjellige syn på problemstillingen.
- 5 Helt eller skurk? I 1992 ble det avduket et monument til minne om Arthur Harris, sjefen for britiske Bomber Command som sendte bombefly inn over Tyskland. Kort tid etter hadde noen helt rød maling over det. Fortjener en slik mann et minnesmerke?

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The latter assignment further exemplifies a hallmark of these opinion assignments, as it also asks the student to find and explain arguments used for and against the bombing of civilians. While there certainly are questions that simply ask the student for their opinion, the majority of these opinion questions also ask the student to find arguments used by others both for and against the person, event, or concept up for debate. The topics of interest for these assignments are for the student to reach, verbalise, and defend an opinion, as well as the examination of different world views.

- 3 Antisemittisme var ikkje nytt i mellomkrigstida.
 - a Finn fem bilete eller utsegner frå før mellomkrigstida som du meiner uttrykkjer antisemittiske haldningar. Grunngi kvifor du meiner dei uttrykkjer antisemittisme.
 - b Samanlikn dei fem døma dine med døme på antisemittisme frå mellomkrigstida. Finn du likskapar og skilnader? Grunngi svaret ditt.

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The investigation assignments involve the student digging deeper into a specific person, event, or idea. These can be found throughout both books, as part of their dedicated assignment pages, in the margins of their flowing narratives, and as part of the supplemental

¹⁶³ Alle tiders historie, 484. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁶⁴ Perspektiv, 287. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

sections of *Alle tiders historie*. The two books go about these types of assignments somewhat differently. *Perspektiv* prefers to give clearer guidance on what the student should look for, generally asking them to look for a specific type of information. In the *Oppdrag* at the end of each chapter it also likes to combine investigation with opinion, asking the student to investigate a topic before drawing their own conclusion. *Alle tiders historie* is a great fan of giving very vague assignments that are short in word count and which give the student complete freedom to approach them as they see fit, but which also give no guidance on how to reach an answer. *Dybdeløring* assignment three in chapter 13 is the archetypal investigation assignment of *Alle tiders historie*.

3 I begynnelsen av 1930-årene kom en rekke vestlige intellektuelle og politikere begeistret tilbake fra Sovjetunionen. Hvorfor?

165

A very short question, a topic not discussed by the book itself, and no guidance on where to start looking. The student has complete freedom to investigate on their own. The two Norwegian books like to make use of investigation assignments to fill out gaps not covered by the flowing narrative, as well as to train the student in finding information on their own.

The German books are defined by opinion and repetition assignments. The opinion assignments are similar to those of the Norwegian books, however, the German books do not, like their Norwegian counterparts, ask the student to gather arguments for or against, instead only asking for the student's opinion on or their assessment of a person, event, or idea, though *Forum geschichte* is quite fond of turning these assignments into group discussions.

5. Nimm Stellung zu der These, dass mit den drei Gruppen „Opfer, Täter, Zuschauer“ die gesamte deutsche Bevölkerung erfasst ist.

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¹⁶⁵ *Alle tiders historie*, 464. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁶⁶ *Das waren zeiten 2*, 61. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

2 Plenum: An beide Attentäter wird in Denkmälern (M5, M6) erinnert. Diskutiert, ob sich diese Widerstandskämpfer zu Recht als Vorbilder für uns heute eignen.

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The vast majority of assignments in the German books qualify as repetition assignments, that is, assignments that ask the student to reiterate in their own words what was said in the flowing narrative, or rather, in this case, the provided sources. Neither of the German books makes much use out of their flowing narrative in their questions. There are certainly some assignments that specifically ask the student to find their answer in the flowing narrative, but the vast majority are directly linked to one or more of the sources found on the same page. This differentiates the German books from the American and Norwegian ones, as the German books make extensive use of primary sources as part of their assignments. That they utilise primary sources, however, does not change that the vast majority of assignments focus on the student extracting and articulating what was said in a provided piece of text. They have no interest in or focus on inference or investigation like the American and Norwegian books do. Assignments even list exactly which source or piece of text they want the student to find their information in.

.....
1 Erläutere anhand von M1–M3 die Maßnahmen der Nationalsozialisten gegenüber den Juden.

Tipp: Nimm den Darstellungstext zur Hilfe.

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¹⁶⁷ Forum geschichte 9, 95. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁶⁸ Forum geschichte 9, 89. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

1. *Beschreibe, wodurch ein Deutscher in der Heimat von den Massentötungen Kenntnis erhalten konnte (Darstellung, Q4).*

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There are two more types of assignments that can be consistently found in both German books, though they are much less common than the two mentioned above. The first of these are assignments that involve investigating how modern German law differs from the laws of the NSDAP, typically with an eye on how modern German laws and government have changed as a result of the 12 years of NSDAP rule.

7. *Informiere dich, wie in der Bundesrepublik eine Diktatur verhindert werden soll (Grundgesetz, Art. 1,3; Art. 20,4 und Art. 79,3).*

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The other type are memorial assignments, which involve discussing whether or not a specific kind of memorial or indemnity payment can be considered as appropriate or good enough.

.....
2 **Diskussion:** Im Jahr 2000 wurde in Deutschland unter Beteiligung der Industrie eine Stiftung gegründet, die die Entschädigung der Zwangsarbeiterinnen und Zwangsarbeiter organisieren soll. Ehemalige Industrie-Zwangsarbeitskräfte erhielten in der Regel eine Einmalzahlung von 2556 Euro. Diskutiert, inwiefern ihr diese Entschädigung für angemessen haltet.

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¹⁶⁹ Das waren zeiten 2, 91. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁷⁰ Das waren zeiten 2, 43. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

5.5.2 The Axis Powers

The primary topic of assignments in all six books are the Axis Powers. Far more assignments are given to the structure, ideologies, origins, leadership, and actions of the Axis Powers, in particular Germany and Japan. Italy also receives more regular mention in the assignments than it does in the flowing narrative. The Norwegian and American books all have assignments asking the student to compare and contrast the different Axis Powers, sometimes also involving the Soviet Union in these assignments. The German books do not have these assignments, likely a result of their narrower, German only, focus. The Allies are all but absent from assignments in all six books, typically only getting a select few in each book.

Writing About History

23 USING EVIDENCE Explore the ways in which Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler implemented totalitarian regimes. How were these authoritarian states similar? In which ways were they different? Examine the political structures from the Soviet Union, Italy, and Germany during the 1930s, listing two similarities and two differences. Be sure to explain your choices.

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5 Totalitære ideologier: Forbered et debattprogram der du sammen med medelever diskuterer likheter og forskjeller mellom kommunismen, fascismen og nazismen. Dere bør komme inn på mål, virkemidler og menneskesyn, samt hvilke konsekvenser de totalitære bevegelsene fikk for mennesker og samfunn i mellomkrigstiden. Trekk inn relevante historiske personer og kilder. Diskuter til slutt hvorfor noen mennesker fortsatt tiltrekkes av totalitære bevegelser.

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¹⁷¹ Forum geschichte 9, 85. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁷² Impact, 390. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

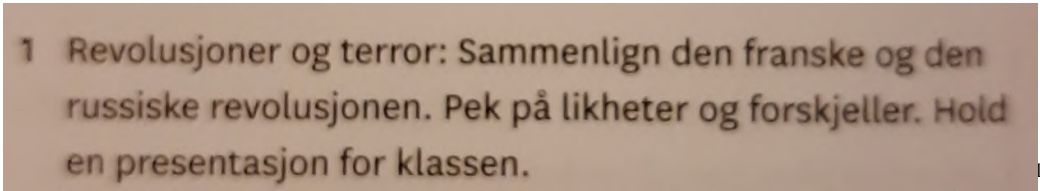
¹⁷³ Alle tiders historie, 464. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

5.5.3 Independent research

An independent research assignment is here defined as an assignment that asks or requires the student to find information outside of the pages of the textbook, in order for the student to reach an independent conclusion. They may be vague, asking the student simply why something happened, or they may be specific, asking the student to take a stance on a specific idea. The unifying factors of independent research assignments is that they require research and for the student to present a personal conclusion. Assignments that ask the student to find a very specific type of information, such as finding a number of arguments for and against an idea or finding information on the activities of a business, may require research, but they do not involve the student reaching an independent conclusion, and as such do not match the definition used in this text.

The Norwegian books make the greatest use of independent research assignments. As mentioned above, investigation assignments are among the most common in both books. These typically have very straightforward wordings, often only a sentence or two followed by the questions “why?” or “how?”, and while they do not explicitly state that they want the student to find information outside of the book most of them all but require it, being almost impossible to answer properly with just the textbook.

The hallmark of the independent research assignments in the Norwegian books is an almost complete lack of guidance.



1 Revolusjoner og terror: Sammenlign den franske og den russiske revolusjonen. Pek på likheter og forskjeller. Hold en presentasjon for klassen.

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¹⁷⁴ Alle tiders historie, 464. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

Oppdrag 2:

Korleis kan ein skape fred?

Ynske om å skape varig fred etter krigar går som ein raud tråd i historia. Sjølv om ein har ynskt det same, har løysingane variert. Somme har vore meir varige enn andre, men ingen har greidd å hindre nye konflikhtar og krigar fullstendig. I dette oppdraget skal du utforske og samanlikne tre fredsslutningar, og reflektere over ulike faktorar som kan skape fred.

Post 1: Undersøk tre fredsslutningar

Finn informasjon om dei tre fredsslutningane nedanfor, som alle har hatt som mål å skape varig fred. Finn ut kva strategi dei tre fredsslutningane brukte for å nå dette målet.

- freden i Westfalen, 1648
- freden etter den første verdskrigen, 1919
- freden etter den andre verdskrigen / opprettinga av FN, 1945

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Perspektiv does tend to give more guidance than *Alle tiders historie*, but both books are quite happy to throw the student into the deep end on their own. This lack of guidance gives the student great freedom in how they work, though it does leave the interpretation of the assignment up to the student. Since they never demand the use of outside sources it is entirely possible for the student to choose to do no research and answer the assignment using only the textbook. It is up to the student to decide what is a satisfactory answer to the question.

The American books are not very fond of independent research assignments, at least by the definition used by this text. Using the definition used by this text, independent research is completely missing from *Patterns of interaction*. The relevant chapters have no assignments that ask the student to research a topic to reach an independent conclusion. However, the book does have numerous assignments that ask the student to research a specific topic.

¹⁷⁵ *Perspektiv*, 333. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

CONNECT TO TODAY CREATING A RADIO NEWS REPORT

Conduct research on a recent trial at the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. Use your findings to create a two-minute radio **news report** on the trial.

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These kinds of assignments can be found throughout the book, with hardly a subchapter going by without one. *Impact* is similar in this regard, with numerous assignments that ask the student to investigate a very specific topic to find very specific information. *Impact*, however, also has a few assignments that give the student the freedom to find their own sources and reach an independent conclusion, though not to the same extent as the Norwegian books.

Research and Presentation

23 **RESEARCHING FOR INQUIRY** Research the Sino-Japanese War. How does knowledge of this conflict provide you with context for better understanding the ideologies, goals, and strategies of the Axis Powers? Write an essay in which you compare the two, making sure to include the role of civilians and the horrors of the Rape of Nanjing in your analysis. Then, present your essay to the class.

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Assignment 23 of chapter 12 is the archetypal research assignment of *Impact*. The student is given a topic to investigate, with the freedom to make use of any information they see fit, but with the requirement to fit in a very specific idea or piece of information. The American textbooks place great importance on research as a skill. They want to teach the student how to find information, but unlike the Norwegian books they do not do so by giving them free reins to dig as they see fit, preferring instead to give the student a clear path to follow. The goal of the assignment is to teach the student how to find information, not how to reach an independent conclusion.

¹⁷⁶ Patterns of interaction, 951. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁷⁷ Impact, 478. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

Across both German books there is a single assignment that can be considered to meet this text's definition of independent research, that being an extra assignment found at the back of *Forum geschichte*.

zu S. 82/83:

1 **Recherche:** In der Diskussion über den Vernichtungskrieg behaupten nicht nur Zeitzeugen, dass die deutsche Wehrmacht „sauber“ geblieben sei. Informiert euch im Internet über die aktuelle Dis-

kussion zur Rolle der Wehrmacht im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Vergleicht die dort gefundenen Positionen mit den beiden Darstellungen auf S. 82.

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Besides this one question the two books have no assignments that ask the student to perform independent research. Research assignments in general are quite rare in the German books. While certainly not non-existent, they do both have a few, they are very few in number. As mentioned above the German textbooks favor tying their assignments to the sources found on every other page. With almost every assignment linked to a specific source there is little room for questions that involve finding sources outside of the book, and when these types of questions do feature, they tend to involve finding extremely specific information, such as a specific law or the names of local Jews that fled from the regime. A defining trait of the assignments in the German textbooks is predetermined answers. At the back of each textbook one can find an answer sheet for a number of assignments, the *Kompetenzen prüfen* assignments in *Forum geschichte* and almost all assignments in *Das waren zeiten*. Even assignments that ask for the student's opinion have an answer to be found at the back of the book.

Orientierungskompetenz

6 Im NS-Staat spielte die staatliche Propaganda eine zentrale Rolle. Diskutiere vor diesem Hintergrund, ob die Deutschen verführte Opfer dieser Propaganda und Manipulation waren.

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¹⁷⁸ Forum geschichte 9, 234. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁷⁹ Forum geschichte 9, 67. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

6 Die Propaganda der NSDAP war dank neuer Medien allumfassend und zeigte Wirkung. Wenn man die Deutschen aber nur als „verführte Opfer“ sieht, erklärt man sie für unschuldig. Man übersieht ihre Mitwirkung und Mitverantwortung an den Verbrechen der Diktatur.

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The *Wähle aus* sections found in *Forum geschichte*, where the student is asked to use different kinds of sources to investigate a topic, openly state that the student is intended to reach the same conclusion no matter what source they choose.¹⁸¹ The German textbooks do several times acknowledge that different people have reached different conclusion on the same topic, *Das waren zeiten 2* for example has *Geschichte kontrovers* sections dedicated to this fact, this idea is not present in their assignments.

5.5.4 Purpose

What truly separates the assignments of the three nations is the purpose that they serve in the textbook, the role they play in the chapter. The U.S books have a very test centric view on assignments. The *Assessment* pages are structured exactly like a test, with simple short answer questions, a few multiple-choice questions, and towards the end a few longer answer assignments. This may explain why the books have so little interest in assignments that require independent research, as these kinds of assignments are not something that you will find on a final exam.

¹⁸⁰ Forum geschichte, 238. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁸¹ Forum geschichte 9, 7

CHAPTER 11 Assessment

Directions: On a separate sheet of paper, answer the questions below. Make sure you read carefully and answer all parts of the questions.

Short Answer

1. **SUMMARIZING** Identify two leaders of nationalist movements in the Middle East and how their leadership changed their nations.
2. **UNDERSTANDING CONTEXT** What might have happened differently if Arabs had been able to unite as one nation after the war?
3. **IDENTIFYING STEPS** Before World War I, the Young Turks were organizing for reforms in the Ottoman Empire. What four steps led to their organization and the achievement of independence after the war?
4. **SUMMARIZING** What was one of the motivating factors for the nationalists in Kenya to work for independence from Great Britain?
5. **EXPLAINING CAUSES** What led so many Africans to demand independence after World War I?
12. **IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** What effect did the economic crises of the 1930s have on many Latin American countries?
13. **DESCRIBING** Describe the effect the Argentinian labor strikes had in 1930. Could they be considered successful?
14. **IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** What does the presence of Rivera's murals in the Ministry of Education and the Social Security Hospital reveal about the government's opinion of his nationalism?
15. **EXPLAINING CAUSE AND EFFECT** How did President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy result in the Mexican government's success in seizing the property of American oil businesses in Mexico?
16. **IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** How were the philosophies of Omar Mukhtar and Mao Zedong similar?

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Chapter 32 Assessment

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, briefly explain its connection to World War II.

1. blitzkrieg
2. Atlantic Charter
3. Battle of Midway
4. Holocaust
5. genocide
6. D-Day
7. Nuremberg Trials
8. demilitarization

MAIN IDEAS

Hitler's Lightning War Section 1 (pages 925–930)

9. What event finally unleashed World War II?
10. Why was capturing Egypt's Suez Canal so important to the Axis powers?

Japan's Pacific Campaign Section 2 (pages 931–935)

11. What was Yamamoto's objective at Pearl Harbor?
12. How did Japan try to win support from other Asian countries?

The Holocaust Section 3 (pages 936–939)

13. Name two tactics that Hitler used to rid Germany of Jews before creating his "Final Solution."
14. What tactics did Hitler use during the "Final Solution"?

The Allied Victory Section 4 (pages 940–947)

15. Why were consumer goods rationed during the war?
16. What was Operation Overlord?

Europe and Japan in Ruins Section 5 (pages 948–951)

17. Why did Europeans leave their homes following the war?
18. What were two of the most important steps that MacArthur took in Japan following the war?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES

Copy the chart into your notebook and specify for each listed battle or conflict whether the Axis powers or the Allied powers gained an advantage.

Battle/Conflict	Allied or Axis Powers?
Battle of Britain	
War in the Balkans	
Pearl Harbor	
Battle of the Coral Sea	
Battle of Midway	

2. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Consider the personalities, tactics, and policies of Hitler, Rommel, MacArthur, and Churchill. What qualities make a good war leader?

3. COMPARING AND CONTRASTING

EMPIRE BUILDING Compare and contrast Japan's and Germany's goals in World War II.

4. EVALUATING COURSES OF ACTION

ECONOMICS Why do you think the governments of the United States and other countries encouraged people on the home front to organize programs for such activities as scrap collection?

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In the American textbooks the assignments are a form of practice exam, a preparation for the test the students will go through after the chapter is done. To facilitate this the American books are very structural. Each *Lesson* and *Section* represents a new day of schoolwork, and

¹⁸² Impact, 435. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

¹⁸³ Patterns of interaction, 952. Photo: Robyn Hagemann

end with a short set of assignments to test whether or not the student has memorised what the flowing narrative said, before the end of chapter *Assessment* prepares them for the likely upcoming exam. The student acquires information from the flowing narrative, and the assignments check that they acquired this information.

Conversely, to the Norwegian books the assignments are the whole point of the chapter. Rather than being something the student does at the end to check that they acquired the important information, they are where the student acquires said information. The flowing narrative is a support for the assignments, giving the student a baseline of information so that they can begin their work of truly studying the relevant period through the assignments. Investigation is the name of the game in the Norwegian textbooks. They don't want the student to memorise everything the chapter said, but to acquire a basic, general understanding of the period, with a deeper level of understanding on a few chosen topics.

The German books want the student to work very closely with the textbooks themselves. With very few assignments that involve working with material outside of the textbook's own pages, a set of assignments every other page, and each set of two pages being a new topic, the German books operate a little like a checklist. Each two-page pair is a new topic, to be looked into and moved on from. There are very few essay writing assignments, or assignments that involve holding a presentation. In the German books the assignments are largely something to be done and moved on from, a final look at the current topic before the next one begins, not something to spend time on and to write long essay about. They are designed for quiet classroom work, or homework. Unlike the American books the important information of the chapter is not to be found in the flowing narrative, however, but rather in the primary sources found throughout the books.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Key findings

6.1.1 Norway and America - Sequence of events

One of the most striking things one will notice when reading these six textbooks is the near identical sequence of events between the Norwegian and American textbooks. The four books have an almost identical list of topics. The only place where there is a notable divergence is in their respective second interwar period chapters, where the American books take a global approach and look at the development of national movements around the globe while the Norwegian books look more thoroughly at developments in Norway. While there

are differences in length and detail, and on a few occasions a small shuffling of events, the path from depression, to fascism in Italy as the introductory example, Nazism in Germany with mentions of the many coalition governments, the Reichstag fire, the widespread propaganda system, and the expulsion of the Jews, to the increasing territorial demands of Hitler with a supplemental mention of the civil war in Spain, and ending with the Hitler-Stalin pact, is the same in all four books. The paragraphs describing in quick succession the attacks on Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and France are extremely similar across the books, as are the paragraphs discussing the Blitz. The sequence of events in the Norwegian and American books are so similar that it is far more expedient to list the extremely few places they differ than the immense number of places where they are the same.

6.1.2 Germany - Fundamentally different

Just as striking as the similarity of the Norwegian and American books, is the extreme dissimilarity of the German books. With the Norwegian and American books, one has to look for where they are different, but when one tries to compare the German books with those of the other nations one will be hard pressed to find a place where they are the same. The German books have a narrower scope, with their eyes being solely and entirely on Germany, they have a completely different sequence of events, with an almost all-consuming focus on the NSDAP regime, its founding, development, and crimes. They also have an entirely different structure than their counterparts. Where the Norwegian and American books tell a story to later be examined in greater detail, the German books are a collection of case studies with a great focus on primary sources. To them the second World War is not a straightforward story simply told from start to finish. It is a topic that must be looked at in thorough detail and examined piece by piece. The German textbooks disassemble the period, dividing it into the myriad smaller pieces that make up the larger story, so that each piece can be examined by itself, and be fitted into the larger picture they all make up together, as well as to see how each individual piece still bears relevance today. They take the era apart, that they may see exactly how things went wrong. The final topics of *Forum geschichte* are not the fall of the Reich or the post-war settlement, but modern efforts to memorialise the victims of the period and the prevalence of antisemitism in modern German rap. To the German books a simple chronological telling of events is inappropriate for discussing the era.

6.1.3 Norway – Investigation

The Norwegian books stand out for their focus on investigation, particularly the investigation of opinions. These kinds of assignments are of course found in all six books looked at here, in

particular *Das waren zeiten 2* has a dedicated supplemental section called *Geschichte kontrovers* where different interpretations of an event are discussed. However, the Norwegian books feature these kinds of assignments far more frequently than the textbooks of the other two nations. They are a core part of what they want to teach, not just another skill among many for the student to learn. The second World War is not an answered and concluded question to them. Its origins, key players, and outcomes are all things that can be discussed. Germany and America, conversely, far prefer factual investigations, assignments that ask the student to look for quantifiable, provable facts. The Norwegian books are less fond of these kinds of assignments, and their investigation assignments tend to give a fair bit of freedom, or lack of guidance depending on how one chooses to see it, in what the student is looking for.

6.1.4 Germany - Downplaying of Hitler

Hitler features as the central character for all three nations, and he is in fact the only character of real interest to the Norwegian and German books, but the German textbooks interestingly utilise him the least, and even go out of their way to try and minimise his influence on events. In the Norwegian and American books Hitler is given a fair bit of both blame and credit. He is the architect of the holocaust, the war, the brutality of the war against the Soviet Union, and in *Perspektiv* he is even given the blame for the great damage done to Germany in the final years of the war. It was not the Allies that destroyed Berlin, but Hitler. He is, however, also given some credit, particularly for leading Germany out of the Great Depression, and his political and oratory skills are acknowledged by both the American and Norwegian books. Not so by the German books. They make sure to mention that Hitler was brought to power, he did not take it nor ascend to it, he was given it by other politicians that misjudged the political landscape. He is also denied the economic improvements, as the textbooks mention that economic improvement had already begun, and many of the projects Hitler saw to fruition were planned or begun by his predecessors. He isn't even given full credit for the atrocities, as he often is in the other nations. While he certainly commanded and inspired much, he did not give any written command to begin the Final Solution, he is not mentioned at all when it comes to things like Aktion T4, and in the war against the Soviet Union the textbooks are more occupied with the culpability of the Wehrmacht and other branches of the German military than with the high command.

6.1.5 Three against two

The main characters of the second World War are the Big Three from the Allies and Germany and Japan from the Axis Powers, the former acting as the heroes of the story while

the latter play the role of the villains. Other combatants from either side go all but unmentioned. On occasion there may be a mention of some Australians fighting on one side, or of a battle taking place in Greece, but beyond these single line mentions the second World War in effect only had five combatants, at least as far as these six textbooks are concerned. The Big Three are in these textbooks effectively the only three, and the Axis Powers were a two man show. This depiction is particularly interesting in the Norwegian books, as they list the resistance of Britain as one of the most important parts of the war specifically because the nation housed many governments in exile and allowed many nations to continue the fight even after the nominal loss of their government. Despite this, none of the nations that shared this fate with Norway are mentioned, and names like Charles de Gaulle are never brought up even in passing.

6.1.6 Norway and Germany - Guilt

Guilt features as a central part of the narratives of Germany and Norway. Perhaps *the* central idea of the two German textbooks is universal culpability, the fact that no one person or organization is to blame. That all of Germany, from the upper ranks of Nazi command, to the common soldier, to the civilians at home share some amount of responsibility for what happened. The crimes of the NSDAP regime, be it the holocaust, the brutal progress of the war, the killing of the disabled including children, none of it would have been possible without the at least tacit, and frequently open, support of the German people. This is an idea brought up time and time again by almost every page of the two books. The Norwegian books are not quite so self-loathing, and in their war chapters they are most occupied with the guilt of the Japanese, even more so than the American books. However, in their Norwegian history chapters they make a great deal out of discussing the role played by Norwegians in the holocaust, as well as on the dubious nature of the post-war settlement. The key topic here is not just that Norwegians took part in the crimes of the occupiers, but also that it is time to acknowledge that fact. That in the past the nations involvement has been overlooked, perhaps intentionally, and that this must be corrected. The Norwegian textbooks seek a reckoning with the past, to rebuild the nations image of it more correctly. The American books are not totally devoid of this idea, *Patterns of interaction* for example brings up the poor treatment of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor, but this idea never acts as more than trivia in the American books. They have no great need to correct or scrutinize their past like the German and Norwegian books do.

6.1.7 America – Not our war

The second World War has a different historical role in the American textbooks than it does in the Norwegian and German ones. In those two nations the war is an event of monumental importance, its own historical era, a special part of their history that is over, but still reverberates today. In the American textbooks there is a measure of distance from events. America is just another nation among many involved in the conflict. Unlike the other two nations, which consistently go out of their way to discuss the impact of events on the home front, the American textbooks only rarely bring up how the war in Europe reverberated back home. It is the war with Japan that is of real interest to the American textbooks, and it is there that they discuss the effects the event had on the nation. Conversely, Germany and Norway have a similar measure of distance to the Pacific campaign. To these six textbooks World War two was two largely separate conflicts raging at the same time. The distance the American books have to the war in Europe can be seen in the final topics discussed in the war chapter. In the Norwegian and German books these final sections are given to the damage caused by the conflict, the post-war settlements, and the technological and political changes it wrought. In the American textbooks these final sections are given to set up the Cold War, a topic the other nations leave to the next chapter. In *Impact* the final *Lesson*, which discusses the fall of the Reich, begins not with a look at the final years of the war, but a quote from President Truman about how he does not trust the Soviet Union. To the two American textbooks the second World War is of interest not because of its own immediate impact on the nation, but because it is the background for a far more important conflict, that did have a great impact on the nation. The war chapter, in effect, acts as the necessary background the student will need for the next chapter.

6.1.8 America – War and Armies

The actual war part of the second World War features surprisingly little in the German and Norwegian textbooks. It is all but entirely absent in the German books, and even when the Norwegian books discuss it, they give little more than summarising cliff notes of the events. The war itself is simply not the interesting part of the second World War. It would be an overstatement to say the American textbooks are war centric, they do give a lot of space to many other topics, but they certainly spend far more time and space on the battles, tactics, and leadership of the conflict than the other two nations. *Patterns of interaction* is a bit of an outlier here, however, as it has by far the greatest focus on the war of all six books looked at here. But even if one only counts the more recent *Impact* the war is still a more consistent

presence in the American books than in the German and Norwegian ones, with plentiful descriptions of troop counts, the movements of armies, the new technology being employed, and the tactics utilised. While the German and Norwegian books end the war with the invasion of Normandie, deeming everything that took place after this to be a foregone conclusion and little more than a formality, the American books discuss the military activity that took place after this, and end the war in Europe with the Battle of the Bulge, an event which, much like almost every other confrontation in the war, goes entirely unmentioned in the other four textbooks.

6.2 Why?

The principal focus of this text is *how* the depictions of the war differ across these three nations, but when one asks this question, it is natural to then also wonder *why* do they differ in these ways? One could argue that without the *why* dimension the investigation of this topic is incomplete. Topics like how the school systems of the three nations, their geographic and historical places, and their wider cultural differences affect their historical understanding, and by extension their textbook narratives, are all just as interesting as how those narratives differ from one another. This final section will briefly contemplate where the differences in the three nations might stem from. As this is not the focus of this text, and as this is indeed a question that one could spend an entire book trying to answer, the contemplation will have to necessarily be somewhat brief, and a more thorough investigation will have to be left to someone else. The principal focus here will be how the nations place in the history of the second World War may have impacted their narratives.

Starting with the United States, the first thing to consider is the nation's position in the war, both in terms of the role they played and their physical, geographic location. America is separated from Europe by a vast ocean, and the nation was never in any real danger of seeing a land invasion, and the one nation that felt in needed to act in areas that threatened American interests, Japan, itself did not feel that it could defeat the colossus across the sea. Pearl Harbor was not an attempt to defeat the Americans, but an attempt to convince them that fighting half a world away wasn't worth it. The distance from events evident in the American textbooks comes from a very real place, as the nation was quite distant from the war, and could likely easily have stayed out of it had they so chosen. In a way, it really wasn't their war. America was also the effective victor of the war, not just in that they were a member of the Allies, but also in the position they found themselves in after the conflict ended. With Europe and much of Asia in ruins the economically strong and little affected United States

were in a truly dominant position, rivalled only by the USSR as the only other superpower. That the American textbooks see the war as the background information on the Cold War is perhaps to be expected, as the Cold War is, to the states, the conflict with far greater consequences for the home nation, being the conflict that left them as the world's lone superpower. While the second World War is of truly monumental importance to Europe, it is mostly a steppingstone for the United States. A somewhat distant event with limited emotional attachment, which acts as set up for the far more important event. This distance from events may well explain other aspects of the textbooks as well. The further away one gets from an event the more simplified it often ends up being, and the same is true the more one tries to do or see at once. With the distance from events evident in the American textbooks it is perhaps to be expected that individuals like Hitler will be given far greater importance, as it is far simpler and much more expedient to use one character as the proxy for a whole group. "Hitler" in effect becomes an umbrella character. Here one must also consider other concerns, in particular the American school system. While there is no uniform school system for the whole nation, one thing shared by both states relevant to this text, Texas and California, is that both have two separate history subjects, one for American history and one for world history, with the former typically being taught earlier and having its own textbook. This is a likely explanation for the global focus of the American textbooks, as well as the lack of attention given to the United States in them. Unlike the other two nations, which only have one history subject and therefore have to spend time and space on national history, the American textbooks need not spend time on the home nation, as the student has already had a class that covers the history of the states during the war.

Moving to Germany, the first and most obvious thing to note is that where American can be said to have a level of distance from events, the same is most definitely not true of Germany. It is quite frankly impossible to be closer to events than Germany was. As the aggressor and loser of the war situated in the centre of Europe, Germany's position in the war could not be more different from that of America. Wars are hardly rare, and every nation looked at here has found itself as both the aggressor and loser of a conflict at some point in time, but the second World War is on a completely different scale to any other war these nations were involved in. The most destructive war in history, with an unmatched cost in human lives, and which also involved a genocide campaign that saw millions of non-combatants specifically targeted for death. And with Germany placed right in the centre of Europe, surrounded on all sides by former enemies, it is hardly possible for the nation to simply ignore the war, as a

more distant aggressor might have been able to do. To America, the war in Europe was a somewhat distant event they benefited greatly from, but to Germany the war is one of the most important events in the nation's history. These concerns, being the aggressor in the world's most destructive war, having initiated a genocide campaign, and having been completely changed by the course of the war, may well explain one of the most notable aspects of the German textbooks, that being just how fundamentally different they are from their counterparts in the other nations. One of the chief concerns of the German textbooks is to explain how things could have gone the way they did, and this is not a question one can properly answer with a simple narrative, chronological telling of events. It requires that one look at all the pieces, examining them one by one, before they are put back together. Sources feature so prominently because they are where you find the answer to the myriad questions that are a part of this much greater question. This desire to answer how this could have happened, brought on by the nation finding itself forced to question its actions by victorious neighbours, could explain the structure of the German textbooks. That leaves one other topic of interest, that being the extremely self-deprecating presentation of Germany. This may have two answers, time and necessity. In the span of human history, the war is still fairly recent, but in the span of a human lifetime it is becoming ever more distant. New generations have taken over the nation, generations that have no memory of the war, to whom it is an event of the distant past. Not only is it common for new generations to have different opinions than the previous ones, and actions that seemed justifiable to the old can be inexcusable to the young, but these new generations, which have grown up in the shadow of the war, are likely to wish to move out of this shadow. Both German textbooks have multiple assignments where they ask the student to look at modern German law, to see how it has changed since the war, and how it is designed to ensure that such a thing never happens again. The message of these assignments, and one of the core ideas of the German textbooks as a whole, is clear: this is an event of the past. It is a shameful part of our history, but it is also over. The self-deprecating presentation of Germany could be an attempt to show how things are different now. How this happened, and can now never happen again. It is also quite possible that Germany has no choice but to have this presentation of the period. The years are leaving the event behind, but haven't done so quite yet. It is perhaps impossible for Germany to have any other depiction of the war years than this, at least not until the war truly leaves living memory.

That leaves Norway, a nation with a more complex place in the war than the other two. Not one of the victors, but also not one of the losers. In effect a victim of the war, albeit one that did not suffer nearly the same level of damage as say France. One of the things that inspired this text was the phrase “the victor writes history”, and from the perspective of answering the truth of that statement Norway definitely has the most interesting position. How much is Norway’s portrayal of the war influenced by the American version? The initial answer has to be “a lot”, with the two nations sharing an almost identical sequence of events, and even sharing a particularly harsh view of Japan. There is no doubt that the American version of events has had a notable influence on the Norwegian portrayal. But once one starts to dig deeper into the textbooks one does begin to find places where the nations split. Narratively the most notable of these splits is in their moral presentation. For one, the Norwegian books are more careful to divide blame for events. Where the American books are quite happy to blame Hitler and Germany for just about everything, the Norwegian books go out of their way to separate “the Germans” and “the Nazis”. In their interwar chapters they are also willing to put a level of blame on America for not doing a better job of preventing or containing the financial crisis that initiated so many of the events. It is however worth noting that this division of blame is nowhere to be found where Japan is concerned, and in matters relating to the Pacific theatre the Norwegian books are in effect in total agreement with the American version of events. So, while there are differences between the two nations, the initial conclusion ends up being that the American version of the story has found root in Norway. There is one more topic of interest with the Norwegian books, and that is the focus on guilt that they share with the German textbooks. Why do the Norwegian textbooks share this interest in investigating the guilt of the war, a topic that is of no interest and no complexity to the American textbooks? Similar to the German textbooks, the answer here may simply be “time”. The war is still in living memory, but it will not be for much longer. New generations have gotten their hands on old interpretations and found them lacking. They have learned what happened, looked deeper into it, and found that the old depiction is simply self-deceiving. The textbooks, especially *Perspektiv*, make it clear that the old depiction of the innocent Norway simply does not hold water, and is no longer acceptable. They are explicitly attempting to correct a former mistake. If the simple, American version of events has truly taken root, then this attempt to re-examine and correct the past may be a sign that time is leaving this interpretation behind. A distance of time can sometimes make things clearer, and new generations may be able to see things that older ones could not, or perhaps would not. Perhaps more parts of the narrative will become the subjects of re-examination in

the near future? This desire to tell a more correct story of past may also explain the great focus on investigation that sets the Norwegian textbooks apart from the American and German ones. After all, if the innocence of the home nation can be the subject of debate, what part of the narrative could not be? If so central an aspect of the story can be the subject of investigation, why should other parts not be put under the investigative lens? One part of the story did not quite add up, so now it is time to examine them all. Clearly, the story is not quite as finished as once supposed.

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