

Durham E-Theses

*An investigation into the effects of National Socialism
on secondary education in Germany and some
problems involved in its reconstruction*

J.W. Powell

How to cite:

Powell, J.W. (1948) An investigation into the effects of National Socialism on secondary education in Germany and some problems involved in its reconstruction. Masters thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/9601/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EFFECTS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM
ON SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GERMANY AND SOME PROBLEMS IN-
VOLVED IN ITS RECONSTRUCTION.

ABSTRACT.

The first part of this dissertation consists of an examination of the effects of National Socialism on secondary education for boys. In the introductory chapter the backgrounds and the fundamental principles of National Socialist educational philosophy are considered. The application of these principles and the subsequent innovations in both the form and content of secondary education are then described, with special reference to the part played by the racial doctrines. In Chapter IV the effects of National Socialism on the secondary school teacher, his training and his professional associations are discussed. To conclude Part One, the Hitler Youth, rated by many theorists as a more important educational institution than the school itself, is reviewed.

Part Two contains first of all an account of the disintegration of secondary education during the last years of the war, and the situation which confronted the allied education authorities during the early stages of the occupation. The emphasis throughout Part Two is on developments in the British Zone in Germany, but reference is also made to

educational tendencies noted in the other zones. Some of the divergent aims and methods pursued in the zones in the re-organisation of the form and content of secondary education along democratic lines are detailed in Chapter VII.

In conclusion certain parallel lines of development in contemporary English and National Socialist educational thought have been included which point to the conclusion that the Nazi diagnosis was often correct but that the remedy applied was wholly false. Finally the conditions of and the prospects for education for democracy in Germany are discussed, which lead to the ultimate belief that unless the Western powers can rapidly provide some spiritual goal, the more dynamic, all-embracing totalitarian ideology of the Russians may in the end make more appeal to the Germans.

J.W. Powell,
64b, Park Road,
Lenton,
Nottingham.

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EFFECTS OF NATIONAL
SOCIALISM ON SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GERMANY
AND SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ITS RECONSTRUCTION.

Submitted for the degree of M. Ed.

SYBIL RANG & AP SIMON
43 ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2.
and at 21 Heath Street, N.W.3.
TEMple Bar 1733
HAMpstead 5329
**TYPEWRITING
& DUPLICATING**

March, 1948.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

- I. NATIONAL SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY.
 1. Backgrounds.
 2. Hitler, Rosenberg and Goebbels.
 3. Basic concepts.

- II. THE FORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS.
 1. Secondary education before 1933.
 2. Preliminary measures.
 3. The reform of 1938.
 4. The leadership schools.
 - (a) The N.P.E.A.
 - (b) The Adolf Hitler School.
 - (c) War time developments.

- III. THE CONTENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.
 1. Physical Training.
 2. "Deutschkunde".
 - (a) German.
 - (b) History.
 - (c) Geography.
 - (d) Art and Music.
 3. Natural Science and Mathematics.
 - (a) Biology.
 - (b) Chemistry and Physics.
 - (c) Mathematics.
 4. Languages.
 5. Religion.

- IV. THE TEACHER UNDER NATIONAL SOCIALISM.
 1. The training of the teacher.
 2. The National Socialist ideal of a teacher.
 3. The Nationalsozialistische Lehrerbund.
 4. The results of National Socialist policy.

- V. THE HITLER YOUTH AND EDUCATION.
 1. Aims and principles.
 2. The content of education in the Hitler Youth.
 3. The Hitler Youth and the secondary school.
 4. Resistance to the Hitler Youth.

PART TWO.

VI. THE LEGACY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM.

1. The disintegration of secondary education.
2. German youth in defeat.
3. The German educational scene in 1945.
4. The beginnings of re-education.

VII. TENDENCIES IN GERMAN EDUCATION TODAY.

1. The progress towards democratisation.
2. The contents of the new secondary education.
3. The training of teachers.

VIII. CONCLUSION.

1. The lessons of National Socialism for contemporary education.
2. The outlook on education for democracy.
 - (a) Education and politics.
 - (b) The question of responsibility.
 - (c) Towards new ideals.
3. The challenge to Western democracy.

APPENDICES 1 - 6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART ONE.

CHAPTER I.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY.

1. Backgrounds.

To understand the educational philosophy of the National Socialists one must examine certain aspects of the works of Germany's greatest writers, whom the theorists of the movement claimed as their precursors. With pride they often pointed to many of their most famous figures and praised them for having the foresight to predict those developments which would enable Germany to fulfil her mission. O'Butler, in his book "The Roots of National Socialism" put forward the thesis that the National Socialist outlook was very much an extension of the traditional outlook of Germany. "National Socialism" he claimed, "is not artificial or exotic. It is naturally German." The philosophers of the movement "called up the German spirit from the depths.....these men of limited intelligence but dynamic drive achieved a splendid consummation of a century and a half of German thought."¹

There can be no doubt that some aspects of the work of Germany's most prominent writers in the late eighteenth

¹ O'Butler, "The Roots of National Socialism", Faber and Faber, London, 1941, pp. 283-284.

and nineteenth centuries bear striking resemblance to the tenets of official National Socialist "Weltanschauung". Yet as Kneller points out, "the compatibility of isolated elements of thought does not necessarily show harmony of the whole point of view."¹ The theorists of the new movement were indeed adept at selecting those aspects of literature and thought which were readily adaptable to their "Weltanschauung", and at omitting those which were contrary to it. It will therefore be relevant to examine very briefly some aspects of German writers, from whom the National Socialists claimed to have derived the fundamental principles of their educational philosophy.

Gottfried Herder was venerated by them as the first man to realise the significance of race, and to conceive the idea of the "Volksgemeinschaft" represented as an organic historical growth. Herder, they considered, gave Germans pride in their historic past, from which all true culture originated. This side of his work was eagerly taken up by the educational philosophers, and it would indeed seem that they have some right to refer to him as the inspiration of their ideology. But their technique of

¹ Kneller, "The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism", Yale University Press, 1941, p. 83.

skilful omission is illustrated by the fact that no mention is made of Herder's cosmopolitanism. His desire for a Germanic culture, based on Germany's own literary traditions, never had the purpose of belittling other cultures, or elevating Germany to the status of a "Herrenvolk". On the contrary one of Herder's most striking characteristics was his receptivity to the literature and culture of all countries. Above all things Herder sought for the truth and based his philosophy on the essential unity of mankind.

Superficially Fichte's work has even more points of contact with the principles of National Socialist educational ideology. O'Butler found Fichte's ideas on the folk nation "imbibed with a mystical unity and virtue beyond mere intellectual conception,"¹ which would appear to be in accordance with the National Socialist belief in irrational forces and the revolt against intellectualism. Moreover Fichte argued in favour of a total national autarky, in which the state was all powerful and where blind allegiance was demanded from the individual. Yet Fichte was greatly concerned with human morality and the "Volk" was to be elevated by this means. His desire "to bring Germans

¹ O'Butler, op. cit., p.46.

to that ideal of absolute freedom and mission of German science and philosophy, which were to contribute to the cause of the spiritual emancipation of humanity"¹ was consciously ignored. As with Herder, the National Socialists claimed as their own only those aspects which suited their purpose. Much of Fichte indeed, especially his insistence on the education of the whole man rather than on purely intellectual training, reads like modern National Socialist educational theory, but only when it is divorced from his other views.

In a similar manner the current theories were said to be rooted in the works of other great philosophers and thinkers. The theorists pointed out that the idea of a heroic leader was a recurring theme with Hegel and Nietzsche, and later with Spengler and Moeller v.d. Bruck. Jahn had written one of the earliest assertions of the racial superiority of the Germans, and had been followed by Wagner. Hegel had expounded the theory of the subordination of the individual to the state. Nietzsche had demanded an education, not so much for the masses, but for the select few, who would eventually provide a race of supermen. The tradition of military education and the

¹ Kneller, op. cit., p.95.

glorification of war formed an unbroken chain from Frederick the Great, through Clausewitz and Ranke, to Moltke, Treitschke and eventually to the National Socialist, Banse. But Hegelian rationalism conflicted with National Socialist irrationalism. Nietzsche's superman was to belong to an aristocracy of Europeans, not of Germans, and they were to be picked on the basis of cultural excellence. He had little about him that was either nationalist or socialist. Treitschke revered men of action and advocated strength of will rather than powers of intellect, yet the basic concept of National Socialist "Weltanschauung", the principle of race found no place in his work.

Superficially then, some aspects of the works of the above mentioned and of many other German authors were closely akin to the educational theory of the thirties. The most strenuous efforts were made to fit them into the general pattern of National Socialism. But it would be untrue to assert that its ideology is rooted in its entirety in the works of Germany's foremost thinkers and that it was a complete expression of the German spirit.

Far nearer the spirit of National Socialism were two writers, Lagarde and H.S. Chamberlain, who by normal standards were not considered to be in the forefront of German

thinkers, but who were elevated to positions of importance after 1933. Lagarde, who referred for the first time to the "Herrenvolk",¹ stressed racial characteristics, and considered that Germany had degenerated when it had neglected the racial principles. In education he required attention to be paid to the instinct and will rather than to the intellect and so must be regarded as the first definite precursor of the National Socialist educational ideology. Of even greater importance was "Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts", by the renegade Englishman, H.S. Chamberlain. In this work Chamberlain gave a detailed exposition of the significance of the Nordic race. Its implications for education were that all learning should be conditioned by race, that it should be irrational and that a spirit of objectivity could no longer be tolerated: any science not subservient to a definite ideal of culture was entirely devoid of sense. Moral laws and ideals of life must grow within the race or the community and must be the result not of objective arbitration, but of the promptings of instinct. All objective standards applied to men as rational beings were attacked

¹ Kolnai, "War against the West. The central meaning of the National Socialist attitude," Gollancz, London, 1938, p.600.

by H.S. Chamberlain, and replaced by a "mysterious nobility" of particular breeds of men, a justification of whose existence was neither necessary nor permissible.¹ It will therefore not be surprising to find how completely Rosenberg was dominated by these ideas, nor to find Bauemler, a prominent Berlin professor, calling him "einen Fuerst im Reiche des Geistes" and "einen der schoepferischen Universalgeister".²

The ardent nationalism, the supremacy of the racial idea, the ascendancy of the instinct over the powers of reason, and the reaction against intellectualism, preached by Lagarde and H.S. Chamberlain, all found their echo in the numerous thinkers such as Hielscher, Haiser, Spengler and perhaps most important of all in Moeller v.d. Bruck. All these writers popularised the ideas which were later to become the accepted tenets of official ideology.

2. Hitler, Rosenberg, and Goebbels.

Before proceeding to examine the theories of recognised educationists it will be necessary to estimate the

¹ Kolnai, op. cit., p.34.

² Bauemler, "Politik und Erziehung", Junker und Duennhaupt, Berlin, 1937, p.29.

influence on education of some of the most prominent National Socialists. Three, whose influence is considered of major importance, have been selected, Hitler, Rosenberg, and Goebbels.

"Mein Kampf" contained numerous references to education and there can be no doubt that the "Fuehrer" himself played a considerable part in formulating the general principles, according to which education was ultimately reformed. In the first place Hitler demanded that education in the folk state should not consist of the pumping in of mere knowledge; of greater moment was "das Heranzuechten kerngesunder Koerper."¹ In the second place came the development of character and finally in the third place came normal schooling.

The first essential reform therefore was that Physical Training in the schools should become the affair of the state. The state must guarantee that a healthy body was acquired by all schoolboys so that they would be able to serve the community when they reached manhood. "Der Mensch mit gutem, festem Charakter, erfuellt von Entschlussfreudigkeit und Willenskraft ist wertvoller fuer die

¹ Hitler, "Mein Kampf", Zentralverlag der NSDAP, Eher, Munich, 1937, p.452.

Volksgemeinschaft als ein geistreicher Schwachling."¹
Consequently Hitler suggested at least one hour morning and evening for Physical Training, with a special recommendation for gymnastics and boxing which inculcated the offensive spirit. The aim of Physical Training was to regain "die Unbesiegbarkeit des ganzen Volkstums."²

It was foolish to believe that the state renounced its claim to supervise German youth after schooldays were over. "Der voelkische Staat wird genau so wie die geistige Erziehung auch die koerperliche Ausbildung der Nachschulzeit als staatliche Aufgabe betrachten muessen."³
Education must be continuous and reach its culmination in "der letzten und hoechsten Schule," the army.

By character education Hitler understood above all the inculcation of such virtues as "Treue, Opferwilligkeit, Verschwiegenheit."⁴ The most valuable lessons the schoolboy could learn were subordination of self to the welfare of the community, the principle of silent devotion to duty,

¹ Hitler, op.cit., p.452.

² Hitler, op.cit., p.456.

³ Hitler, op.cit., p.458.

⁴ Hitler, op.cit., p.460.

and implicit obedience. Of great importance also was the training "der Willens-und Entschlusskraft so wie die Pflege der Verantwortungsfreudigkeit."¹ By careful fostering of these attributes and by increased attention to Physical Training Hitler hoped to eliminate what he termed "die Seuche der heutigen feigen Willens-und Entschlusslosigkeit."²

As far as formal schooling was concerned Hitler demanded major changes. Intellectualism as the primary aim of education must disappear. "Erstens soll das jugendliche Gehirn im allgemeinen nicht mit Dingen belastet werden, die es zu fuenfundneunzig prozent nicht braucht und daher auch wieder vergisst."³ Schooling should be limited to what was useful and what would benefit the community. Languages, which the "Fuehrer" claimed had been of use to only two per cent, should be taught merely in "dem inneren Aufriss," so that those who wished to use them later would be able to do so and so that more time could be devoted to Physical Training. A thorough reform

¹ Hitler, op.cit., p.462.

² Hitler, op.cit., p.463.

³ Hitler, op.cit., p.464.

in the teaching of History was essential in which great importance must be attached to recognising "grosse Entwicklungslinien" rather than factual knowledge.¹ History should not only be studied for the sake of the past but as a guide to future behaviour. "Denn man lernt eben nicht Geschichte, um zu wissen was geschehen ist, sondern man lernt Geschichte um in ihr eine Lehrmeisterin fuer die Zukunft und fuer den Fortbestand des eigenen Volkstumes zu erhalten. Das ist der Zweck und der geschichtliche Unterricht ist nur ein Mittel zu ihm."² History must therefore instil racial pride; those great names of German History must be presented in such a forcible manner that they become "Saeulen eines unerschuetterlichen Nationalgefuehles."³

A further vital reform in the curriculum to be found in "Mein Kampf" was Hitler's insistence on the introduction of Biology and Racial Hygiene into the school. "Die gesamte Bildungs-und Erziehungsarbeit des voelkischen Staates muss ihre Kroenung darin finden, dass sie den Rassesinn und das Rassegefuehl instinkt-und verstandesmaessig in Herz und Gehirn der ihr anvertrauten Jugend hineinbrennt."⁴ No boy

1 Hitler, op. cit., p.467.

2 Hitler, op. cit., p.468.

3 Hitler, op. cit., p.473.

4 Hitler, op. cit., p.475.

or girl was to leave the school without detailed knowledge about the importance of purity of the blood.

Leaving the content of education Hitler went on to speak of the selective process in education. The talented peasant boy he maintained, would achieve just as much as the boy of more exalted parentage if he were granted the same opportunities. The duty of the folk state would therefore be to give positions of importance, not to an existing class but to collect the most capable "aus der Summe aller Volksgenossen."¹ In future the individual would be judged according to his racial characteristics and special care was to be taken with "dem rassistisch besonders wertvoll erkannten Element der Volksgemeinschaft."²

Another most important principle to which Hitler made repeated reference was national political training. Each individual was to learn how to play his part as a member of the community and the German schoolboy was to leave school, not a half pacifist, nor a democrat, but "ein ganz Deutscher." National feeling must be genuine. "Wer sein Volk liebt, beweist es einzig durch die Opfer, die er fuer dieses zu bringen bereit ist."³ Consequently Hitler demanded greater

¹ Hitler, op.cit., p.480.

² Hitler, op.cit., p.493.

³ Hitler, op.cit., p.474.

emphasis upon the organic education of Germans, as living members of the community. "Nur wer durch Erziehung und Schule die kulturelle, wirtschaftliche, vor allem aber politische Groesse des eigenen Vaterlandes kennenlernt, vermag und wird, auch jenen inneren Stolz gewinnen, Angehoeriger eines solchen Volkes sein zu duerfen."¹ A pre-requisite of the principle of instilling racial pride into youth would be the disappearance of class so that all should be able to feel themselves as equal members of the same racial community.

There is little indication that Hitler's educational ideas changed in later years. Rauschnig however revealed the "Fuehrer's" ultimate aims and intentions in a clearer light. Hitler's insistence on racial pride as a focal point of all instruction and his attacks on intellectual education are seen as camouflage for his real contempt for the masses. For the lowest members of the order only blind obedience and complete subservience to the community was required and their education, apart from these aspects, was a matter of indifference to him. "Universal education is the most corroding and disintegrating poison that liberalism

¹ Hitler, op.cit., p.34.

has ever invented for its own destruction.....Knowledge is an aid to life and not its central aim. We must therefore be consistent and allow the great mass of the lowest order the blessings of illiteracy. Complete freedom of choice in education is the privilege of the elite."¹

The full extent to which Hitler influenced German education can only be estimated when his ideas are considered in conjunction with the practical reforms. Almost every major reform will be seen to bear the imprint of his doctrines as expressed in "Mein Kampf". Another work of major importance, Rosenberg's "Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts" must now be considered before an attempt is made to detail the fundamental tenets of National Socialist educational theory.

The most important implication for education in the "Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts" was the racial interpretation of History. Elaborating the theories of Gobineau, Wagner and H.S. Chamberlain, Rosenberg maintained that the Aryan race, and primarily the Nordic or Teutonic tribes had spread themselves abroad and created the cultures of Egypt, India, Persia, Greece and Rome. "Wenn irgendwo Nationalkulturen, Schoepferkraft und wagemutiger Unternehmungsgeist

¹ Rauschnig, "Hitler Speaks", Thornton Butterworth, London, 1939, p.51.

wirken, so verdanken diese Kraefte....ihr Dasein einzig und allein der neuen nordischen Welle, die, alles ueberziehend und befruchtend, in stuermischen Fluten ueber das ganze Europa hinwegging, die Fuesse des Kaukasus umspuelte, bis ueber die Saeulen des Herkules hinaus brandete, um erst in den Wuesten Nordafrikas zu vergehen."¹ The ancient cultures collapsed only when they ignored the laws of race and permitted intermingling with inferior races. In a similar manner Rosenberg explained how the foundations of the modern states of Europe were laid by wandering teutonic tribes. During the course of centuries the Germans had often forgotten the principle of race and had become duped with universal, religious and political ideals. The chief enemy, according to Rosenberg, was the Jew, the opposite of Nordic man in all respects. The life of a race, he asserted, cannot be a logically developed philosophy, but is the "Ausbildung einer mystischen Synthese, einer Seelenbetaetigung, die weder durch Vernunftschluesse erkluert, noch durch Darstellung von Ursache und Wirkung begreiflich gemacht werden kann."² Thus for Rosenberg, the intellectual critic who

¹ Rosenberg, "Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts", Hoheneichen, Munich, 1930, p.83.

² Rosenberg, op.cit., p.117.

demands facts and consistency is ruled out from the start. The German of the future must think with his blood. The Hellenic ideal of absolute truth was rejected; for Rosenberg truth became relative to the organic life of the essentially unchangeable race.

Rosenberg's racial ideas made a deep and lasting influence on Hitler and have been re-echoed by almost all the educational philosophers of the movement. These ideas were to become the main integrating force in education and a more detailed consideration of their implications will follow in Chapter III. The idea of organic education of Germans for a truly German life, and concentration on character education, already referred to in "Mein Kampf" can also be traced to Rosenberg. "Die allererste Aufgabe der Erziehung ist nicht technische Wissensvermittlung, sondern Charakterbildung, die Staerkung jener Werte, wie sie zutiefst im germanischen Wesen schluemmern und sorgfaeltig hochgezuechtet werden muessen."¹

Rosenberg's views on religion are of supreme importance if one seeks to understand National Socialist "Weltanschauung", on which all their education was based. The "Myth", which he wished to make the centre of the new German state

¹ Rosenberg, op.cit., p.624.

religion, demanded the substitution of "Nordic blood" to take the place of the old sacraments. No deed he maintained could be approved by a truly German church that does not promote as its main aim the security of the folk life. The belief that religious ties were more important than national ties must be eradicated.¹ Hence Rosenberg's bitter attacks on Roman Catholicism and Jewry. "Sie (the Church of Rome) will uns alle, ob weiss, ob gelb, ob schwarz, auf einen Weg, in eine Form, unter ein Dogma zwingen. Was ihr Leben war, war unser Tod. Dass wir nicht gestorben sind, verdanken wir nur der Macht der germanischen Seele, die den endgueltigen Sieg Roms und Jerusalems bisher verhindert hat."² Rosenberg considered that German blood tended to revolt against the thraldom of Catholicism and later of Jewry, so that it eventually produced a race consciousness essentially German.

Christianity had spread the idea of equality of all men before God, of boundless love and universal human brotherhood. These concepts, argued Rosenberg, had broken down the racial basis of nations, and by the protection of the "Minderwertigen, Kranken, Verkrueppelten, Verbrecherischen, und Verfaulten"³ had paved the way to political democracy.

¹ Rosenberg, op.cit., pp.607-608.

² Rosenberg, op.cit., p.258.

³ Rosenberg, op.cit., p.169.

In the twentieth century Nordic man was to become really conscious of his racial soul. In place of Christianity Rosenberg required a Nordic Church, limited to those of Nordic descent and which was to give expression to the longing of the Nordic soul. That this new religion eventually penetrated the schools and youth movement, can be seen in the festivals, Party services, and camp rituals to which subsequent reference will be made.

Such in barest outlines are Rosenberg's salient ideas effecting education as expressed in the "Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts." The great influence of the book as far as the schools were concerned should never be minimised on the grounds that his theories were of too abstract a nature to have any practical influence. Rosenberg was appointed to supervise all educational activity of the National Socialist Party along intellectual, religious and philosophical lines. He was moreover in charge of ideological training in the most exclusive of the leadership schools, the "Adolf Hitler Schulen", and in the "Ordensburgen". Almost all the educational philosophers of the movement took Rosenberg as their spiritual source. The ideas and sentiments of the "Mythus" indeed pervaded National Socialist education and may be said to have given it its central direction.

Perhaps the greatest intellectual force in the National Socialist Party was Dr. Goebbels, who as Propaganda chief, was responsible for the "education" in its widest sense of the entire nation. Goebbels recognised most clearly that if his propaganda was to succeed, it must embrace every aspect of the nation's life. "Der Revolution", he wrote, "liegt es ob einen Fundamentalsatz zum Durchbruch zu bringen: der allerdings muss dann so allumfassend sein, dass er das gesamte menschliche Dasein in seinem Schatten stellt."¹ Accordingly he set up an immense machine which "controls every means of human expression and every technical vehicle for disseminating ideas."² In the first place came the Propaganda Department of the National Socialist Party, which controlled and co-ordinated all publicity carried out by the numerous Party formations and affiliated organisations, detailed what every German should think and feel, and enlightened the German people about the activities and achievements of the Party. The whole Propaganda Department, concluded Sington and Weidenfeld, "resembled a vast pyramid with its apex, Goebbels, and with its founda-

¹ Goebbels, "Signale der neuen Zeit", containing an essay entitled "Die deutsche kultur vor neuen Aufgaben", Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., Eher, München, 1934, p.324.

² Sington and Weidenfeld, "The Goebbels Experiment", John Murray, London, 1942, p.36.

tions ramifying into every family, office and school in Germany."¹

In the second place, with the creation of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, was established an institution "which was to control the written and spoken word in Germany and to direct every medium of expression."² The most important section was the propaganda co-ordinating division, the centre and brains trust of the Ministry, which initiated and planned all the big nation wide propaganda campaigns at home and abroad. The Propaganda Ministry also controlled another organisation, the Reich Chamber of Culture, which gave Goebbels complete control over every cultural worker in the land. "Revolutionen", claimed the Doctor, "beschraenken sich niemals auf das rein politische Gebiet; sie greifen von da ueber auf alle anderen Bezirke menschlichen Zusammenlebens. Wirtschaft und Kultur, Wissenschaft und Kunst bleiben davon nicht verschont. Auch der schoepferische Mensch und gerade er wird in den Strudel des revolutionaeren Geschehens mit hineingezogen."³ This all embracing organisation, which comprised a Chamber for the film, music, theatre, fine arts, literature, broadcasting and the press, gave Goebbels complete control over a mass

1 Sington and Weidenfeld, op.cit., p.57.

2 Sington and Weidenfeld, op.cit., p.78.

3 Goebbels, op.cit., p.325.

of independent minded Germans who had remained outside the orbit of the Party. All existing cultural organisations were swept in, but not only all writers, journalists and actors but also all members of all the industries connected with the various professions. Each Chamber had a President and Vice-president, both elected by Goebbels, who were endowed with the widest powers over the members of the Chamber, including the right to inflict fines up to a hundred thousand marks.¹

Perhaps the most important Chamber was that for broadcasting, which was recognised by Goebbels as the clearest and most direct instrument for educating and re-organising the German people, and which consisted of "a huge system of interlocking networks, knitting together and controlling everybody and everything connected with wireless."² The Literary Chamber, controlled by Johst, author of the famous slogan, "Wenn ich das Wort Kultur hoere, dann entsichere ich mein Revolver", had wide authority; not only did it blacklist all books detrimental to National Socialist ideology, but it also had an agreement with the Minister of Education to examine all scientific and educational publications

¹ Sington and Weidenfeld, op.cit., pp.110-111.

² Sington and Weidenfeld, op.cit., p.138.

to ensure that they were infused with the correct National Socialist spirit.¹

By these means the whole of intellectual and cultural life was impregnated with the new "Weltanschauung". The artist and the intellectual had in the past, claimed Goebbels, become separated from the people; now they were to take part in the "Volkwerdung der Nation"² and to assist the process whereby the "Einzelmensch" was replaced by the "Gemeinschaft".³ "Wir wollen," wrote Goebbels, "einen deutschen Kuenstlertyp zuechten, der bewusst und offen, mit Stolz und Eigenart den Aufgaben dient, die die Zeit uns gegeben hat."⁴

Since the Reich was destined to last for a thousand years young people were to be the priority target for Goebbels' propaganda rather than the middle aged or the old. Consequently Goebbels invaded the field of education proper in his attempt to capture the mind of youth. One of his principles was to insist on wide generalisations, to keep things simple and confined to a few issues which could be

¹ Sington and Weidenfeld, op.cit., p.225.

² Goebbels, op.cit., p.326.

³ Goebbels, op.cit., p.327.

⁴ Goebbels, op.cit., p.335.

readily understood by the schoolboy.¹ To Goebbels perhaps more than to any other source is due that attitude of mind in German youth, which avoids argument, critical analysis and reflection, and which refuses to admit that there is another side to most problems.² From Goebbels will spring also the consciously constructed symbolism of the Party, the flags, banners, badges, ritual and mystic ceremonies, which played such a large part in Hitler Youth training and produced emotions and sentiments calculated to make youth accept without questioning or reflection the widest generalisations and to encourage slavish adherence to official ideology.

3. Basic Concepts.

An attempt will now be made to clarify National Socialist educational theory as reflected in the works of some of its better known exponents. Five main aspects have been selected. In the first place the theory of folk and race and the community as developed by some of Rosenberg's disciples will be considered. Secondly the revolt against

¹ Bartlett, "Political Propaganda", Cambridge University Press, 1940, p.45.

² Bartlett, op.cit., p.71.

reason and against formal education, and thirdly the re-orientation of educational values or criteria will be examined. In the fourth place is selective education or education for the elite. Finally the principle of "Wehrerziehung" will be discussed.

So much has been written on the racial aspects of National Socialist education that an arbitrary choice of sources must be made. One of the most notorious of the educational philosophers was Ernst Krieck, Rector of Heidelberg University, who attempted in his essay, "Voelkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden"¹, to explain the race theory as applied to education. This essay, coming from the pen of one so highly placed in the educational hierarchy, must be regarded as an almost official exposition of the Party opinion of the subject. Blood and soil, maintained Krieck, were the basic forces of all national life. "Der Leitfa- den der deutschen Geschichte ist das Werden des Volkes aus Blut und Boden."² He then proceeded to define blood as "dieser dunkle Lebensstrom, der Baumeister des Leibes, der Born eines rassischen Seelentumes." "Im Blut," continued Krieck, "lebt das Erbe der Ahnen, im Blut wohnt die Rasse, aus dem Blut steigt des Menschen Charakter und Schicksal

¹ Krieck, "Voelkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden," published in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft", Vol.3, 1933-4, Verlag Bachem, Koeln.

² Krieck, op.cit., p.305.

herauf. Das Blut ist am Menschen das Dunkle, das Untergruendige, der Innbegriff des stromenden Lebens, aus dem der Mensch erst in die Regionen des Hellen, des Geistigen, des Bewussten hinaufwachsen kann."¹

Similarly the life of the individual and of the race is rooted in the soil. "Aus der muetterlichen Erde spriest alles Leben auf, in der Erde bleibt es mit seinen Wurzeln haften, aus ihr empfaengt es seine Saefte und Kraefte."² Mother Earth was conceived as the source of life, from which we were born, in which we developed, and to which we returned at death. Both blood and soil were considered as "Traeger des Schicksales", which moulded our character and united all in the racial community.³ With the national revolution the great undertaking of moulding the character and forming the will of the entire future generation had become the main task, a task which the school alone was not capable of fulfilling. It must therefore be brought into line with other forms of national education, and particularly the youth movement, where the ideal would be the youth who had grown up to feel the bond of race, with a military bearing,

¹ Kriek, op.cit., p.306.

² Kriek, op.cit., p.306.

³ Kriek, op.cit., p.306.

a firm political will and a heroic way of living. All education, asserted Krieck, was one-sided if it did not keep in contact with the new laws of the nation.

In his more famous work, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", Krieck expressed more clearly the task of the future. "Auch dem Deutschtum ist die Aufgabe gestellt, zu seiner Ganzheit, zu seinem volkhaften Werden, zum Ausdruck seines Wesens in einer geschlossenen, organischen, seiner Art angemessener Gesamtlebensform zu kommen und damit einen neuen Typ des deutschen Menschentums auszuformen.....das ganze Volkstum muss zur bewussten Teilhabe an dieser Aufgabe heraufgezuechtet werden."¹ The German state must be powerful, conscious of its political task and its world mission. "Kultur" and intellectual creation in poetry, art, and science were in future to give expression to "dem voelkischen Lebenssubstanz" and to influence the community "im Dienste der Gesamtaufgabe." In the same manner the school would be directed by the state so that all its members would be trained to play a conscious role in the main task. The personality of the individual would therefore no longer be of prime concern in education, which would concentrate on developing the collective folk personality. "Der Schueler steht vor ihr (der Schule) nicht als Privatperson mit seinen Privatbeduerfnissen, sondern als werdendes Glied

¹ Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", Armanen Verlag, Leipzig, 1934, p.22.

des Volkes, unterstellt dessen Autoritaet, dessen Werten und Zielen."¹ Thus the logical outcome of Krieck's views on the folk, on race and on community, was that all education must be guided by racial values, which have been handed to us by our ancestors. Education he concluded, must preserve this priceless racial heritage and develop it for the benefit of posterity.

Other National Socialist philosophers developed similar views. Clarifying Krieck's somewhat obscure thought, Dr. Graefe, who wrote in English for the benefit of English readers, was convinced that community must be regarded as the foundation pillar of all educational theory, as every human being is of necessity bound to it. Education therefore had to serve life, and any spiritual development was impossible outside the community. Education for Dr Graefe, like his mentor, Krieck, was the moulding of man through the community, and the adaptation of the individual to the ever surrounding circle of life. It must therefore be organic and could be defined as that process by which the rising generation was assimilated into the community.²

¹ Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", p.136.

² Graefe, "The Conditions and Content of the New Order of German Education", The Year Book of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1939, p.266.

Stellrecht, another disciple of Krieck, and one of the most prominent Hitler Youth leaders, classed the N.S. D.A.P., the S.S., the S.A., and the H.J. as "Erziehungsgemeinschaften" of equal importance as the school, all with the same aim, to direct youth into the future racial community. Again, like Krieck, he insisted that education had no other purpose, "als einer Rasse ihre Hoehstform zu geben, damit sie die grossen, ihr von der Vorsehung gestellten Aufgaben erfuellen kann."¹ For Stellrecht the individual personality was unthinkable. The individual, he claimed, was bound to the community "wie die Pflanze mit dem Boden."² There could be no education of the individual, which was not also simultaneously education for the community. The individual could not, as Rousseau thought, be educated for himself, because he could not exist outside the community.

Amongst the works of the National Socialist educationists are to be found countless variations of the same theme of race, which is unquestionably the basic principle of all their "Weltanschauung", but the implications of all of them are similar. The very existence of a general human kind was denied. The new outlook was exclusively national, with a

¹ Stellrecht, "Neue Erziehung", Wilhelm Limpert, Berlin, 1943, pp.7-8.

² Stellrecht, op.cit., p.52.

set of values, which was to enable Germany to carry out her mission regardless of the values and standards of others. The racial doctrines meant in fact the negation of human freedom and the denial of the Christian principles of respect for the individual.

Secondly the attack against intellect, against reason and formal education will be considered. They are, in part, the logical sequence of the racial doctrines. Baue-mler, in a short essay, gave an illuminating account of the National Socialist attitude towards intellect. Intellectualism of the past, he claimed, had assumed that man entered this life "tabula rasa", and that education was therefore free to record whatever impressions it desired by means of intellectual training. Baue-mler indicted this system of thought for failure to take the trouble to examine man as he really was: its aim was "ein Mensch an sich", which as we have already seen was impossible to National Socialist eyes. History had proved, "dass der Mensch weder durch Vorschriften, Ermahnungen, oder Strafen.....zu etwas gebracht werden kann, was er nicht im Grunde seines Wesens urspruenglich ist."¹ Racial doctrine established the in-

¹ Baue-mler, "Rasse als Grundbegriff der Erziehungswissenschaft", published in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", Vol.4, 1939, p.254.

disputable fact that a man's character was of primary importance and that in the final issue a man's achievement was dependent on his character. Only when the relationship between intellect and character had been determined was it possible to have a theory of education. Man, according to Bauemler, was not an entirely free being. The best of his character was formed from birth, and education would never be able to alter essential qualities, but only to give character a positive form. "Am Anfange steht die Angeborene, aber noch unbestimmte Richtung des Charakters, der am Ende die klare bestimmte Form in der/Charakter sich erfuehlt. Wir nennen diese Form den Typus, zu dem der Einzelne durch die Gemeinschaft erzogen wird."¹

Stellrecht in his chapter entitled "Das Wesen der Erziehung" also insisted that no education could alter what he termed the "Rassencharakter". For Stellrecht it was the foundation of all education, "das Subjective in der Welt, an dem jede Objektivitaet scheitert. Das Bekenntnis zu sich selbst ist die Voraussetzung fuer jedes Werden und Wirken."² Education would therefore determine whether one's own "Weltanschauung" or a "fremdes Weltbild" would arise.

¹ Bauemler, op.cit., p.255.

² Stellrecht, op.cit., p.23.

This limitation of the powers of the intellect involved a comprehensive attack on educational systems of the past, and in particular on what Bauemler called formal education, founded on the Herbartian educational philosophy. Herbart had maintained that instruction was the method by which educationists should attempt to fashion the mind of the child. Life was too short to allow education to be left to nature and the child was therefore to be adjusted to his environment as quickly as possible. Education was to form character by instilling knowledge of moral ideas so that the child would be able to distinguish between right and wrong. Formal education to the National Socialists meant the exclusive development of intellectual ability, during which process the youth was cut off from the actualities of life and brought up in a purely rational world in which emotion and imagination played no part.

In sharp contrast to the Herbartian system of education, which it was asserted, had dominated the German school until 1933, Bauemler advocated "unmittelbare Erziehung von Person zu Person innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft" in which instead of the powers of reason, the deep regions of the soul, of the spirit, and of the will were of greater importance.¹

¹ Bauemler, "Die Grenzen der formalen Bildung", an essay in "Politik und Erziehung", Junker and Duennhaupt, Berlin, 1937, p.79.

"Unmittelbare Erziehung" said Bauemler, "kann nur emotionale Erziehung sein," which did not, like the Herbartian school, forget the "Ordnung des Herzens." He then proceeded to link National Socialist ideology more closely with Pestalozzi, the "Klassiker der emotionalen Erziehung," who, he said, claimed that the child was not to be educated to be a man by the development of his intellectual faculties, but through "unmittelbare Beruehrung im Rahmen einer konkreten Ordnung." The soul could only be developed in the community and moral education could only be achieved by a "Begegnung von Person zu Person."¹

The school itself could no longer be allowed to remain as it had been, the only educative establishment. The Party formations were to be legalised as educational agencies of equal importance, in which the "Lehrer" became the "Formationsfuehrer" and the "Klasse" the "Gefolgschaft". The fact that the school was no longer regarded as of supreme importance perhaps explains why the revolution did not at once express itself by immediate school reforms. What had really happened was of far greater importance. "Das Ansehen der Schule war erschuettert."² The school had to re-

¹ Bauemler, "Die Grenzen der formalen Bildung", pp.81-82.

² Bauemler, "Die Grenzen der formalen Bildung", P. 85.

nounce its claim to prepare pupils for life and accept the fact that the most decisive educational factor was political education in the Party formations. "Unabhaengig von Rang und Stand, von spezifischem Koennen und spezifischer Leistung, wird hier die Grundhaltung entwickelt, die das Wort Volksgenosse bezeichnet und ohne die man im Staate Adolf Hitlers eine komische Figur ist."¹

Another educationist, Wilhelm, stated the case against rationalism with greater clarity. According to him National Socialist education was the expression of a definite conception of the world and of life directly contradicting that conception which ruled the world almost exclusively for one hundred and fifty years, the rationalism of enlightenment. Only when reason held the reins, it had been thought, could that objectivity rule which was the condition of scientific truth. That conception, said Wilhelm, was basically false. "You do not grasp after truth with cold blooded reason, but with the passion of a glowing heart, in which reason ranges side by side with will, courage, imagination,

¹ Bauemler, "Die Grenzen der formalen Bildung", pp.85-86.

c.f. "Der Schwerpunkt der Erziehung liegt schon heute nicht mehr in der Schule, sondern in der voelkisch-politischen Lebensordnung selbst: im Staat, in den Wehrverbaenden, in der buendischen Staatsjugend, in den werdenden Berufsstaenden als Glieder des totalen Staates und Traeger des nordischen Rassegedankens." (1944. Kriek, "Menschenformung", Vorwort, Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig.)

and enthusiasm."¹ Will could not follow perception as a dog his master. The will, reason, and emotion have equal rights and together form that unity we call character.

The attacks of the National Socialists were not limited to the Herbartian ideal of education. Humanism, with its ideal of a harmonious personality bringing natural gifts to their fullest expression, could not be accepted because of its emphasis on the individual and on the attainment of knowledge. "Humanistic man" said Haupt, "emerged as a sort of microcosm, a complete self contained little world, having no sufficient or morally binding connection with the community of mankind." The scientific attitude which dominated German education in the nineteenth century, was also condemned because of its emphasis on a man's capacity for abstract thought, and for its neglect of "those strivings of the human spirit, which are not susceptible of complete conceptual definition and explanation as unwelcome troublers of the intellectual process."²

¹ Wilhelm, "Scholars or Soldiers", essay published in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", Vol.2, 1939, p.87.

² Haupt, "The Educational Ideals of National Socialism," The Year Book of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1935, pp.923-924.

The age of liberalism and realism was lampooned as an age of doubt and crumbling ideals, completely lacking in unity. There were no standards for the development of character, and education merely pandered to the needs of the individual, who was sent forth into life with no set values but only "with information useful for professional purposes."¹ Thus under the Weimar Republic education developed on lines completely contrary to the natural German character. Under the National Socialists there were to be no individual rights: alone the individual was nothing. "Das Ganze wird fuer jeden auch zur innerlich bestimmenden Lebensmacht. Da wird sich zeigen, dass der Verlust der liberalistischen Individualfreiheit nicht Unglueck und Zwang bedeutet.....sondern eine Erloesung, eine wirkliche innere Befreiung, eine Gesundung."²

Having exposed what they considered to be the weaknesses in their educational heritage, the philosophers proceeded to formulate a new scale of values. It has already been seen that the new education was to be conditioned by race, and that purely intellectual education could no longer be tolerated. The aim in future was to be the education

¹ Haupt, op.cit., p.924.

² Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", p.173.

of the whole man, and all National Socialist educators accepted the "Fuehrer's" three fields of activity, "koerperliche Erziehung, seelisch-charakterliche Erziehung und geistige Erziehung." The body, character and intellect were to be trained in equal measure so that the whole man would be mass produced ready for unquestioning service to the community.

Physical education was to become of primary importance, because only "erbgesunde und rassisch wertvolle Koerper" could have healthy children and so guarantee the future quality of the race.¹ Powerful healthy bodies were not enough in themselves: the ideal was rather "der rassisch schoene und wehrhafte Koerper."² Physical Training was not intended to educate the body alone. It was, claimed Stellrecht, an education for life, "um den Charakter in seiner ganzen rassischen Moeglichkeit, in seine haerteste und beste Form zu bringen."³ It was to make the youth into a man. Intellectual education had too often produced

¹ Benze, "Erziehung im Gross - Deutschen Reich, Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt a Main, 1943, p.6. (N.B. Benze was "Gesamtleiter des deutschen Zentralinstitut fuer Erziehung und Unterricht", under the National Socialists).

² Benze, op.cit., p.8.

³ Stellrecht, op.cit., p.143.

quick-witted enlightened types who had failed in the hour of danger. The new physical education would guarantee that youth would not fail when momentous decisions were required.

Character education, to many of the theorists, meant adapting oneself to the community, and realising that the highest ideal one could follow was that of service to the folk. "Willensstaerke" and "Entschlussfreudigkeit" were qualities recommended above all by Benze to German youth as the ideals of character education. In addition the new education would strengthen those traditional characteristics of German men and women, which played such a large part in the history of the nation, such as "Wahrhaftigkeit und Treue, Freiheitsdrang und Ehrliche, Mannesmut und Frauenwuerde, Wehrwille und Opfersinn, Diesseitsfreudigkeit und Lebensernst."¹ The lack of true character education in the past and the concentration on developing intellectual powers, maintained Rust, the Minister of Education, had impaired the healthy spirit of the nation and had produced selfishness and a deficient sense of national solidarity.² What Benze termed "tatlachmende Anhauefung von totem Wis-

¹ Benze, op.cit., p.8.

² Rust, "Education in the Third Reich", an essay in "Germany Speaks", Thornton Butterworth, London, 1938, p.32.

sensvielerlei"¹ was to be finally rejected. The German must never again be allowed to develop into mere theoreticians, thoroughly incapable of playing a part in the community. In a prominent place in the new education would be those elements which would enhance the life and culture of the German race.

The third component of National Socialist education of the whole man, "geistige Erziehung" stood in need of a thoroughgoing reorganisation. Before 1933, said Stellrecht, the teacher had a specific subject, a specific number of periods, and the knowledge mechanically acquired was forgotten in a few months. Education through experience, organic education, had been completely neglected. "Alles was nur durch den Verstand ging, haftet nicht, aber was durch Erleben bewegte, senkt die Wurzel lebendig ein, und waechst lebendig im jungen Geiste weiter."² What was therefore required before all formal knowledge was "eine bestimmte Erlebnisreihe, eine Erlebnisreihe, wie sie durch unsere Rasse gegeben ist."³ The most obvious means of education by experience were camps and marches, when German youth was brought into contact with German landscape and

¹ Benze, op.cit., p.9.

² Stellrecht, op.cit., p.36.

³ Stellrecht, op.cit., p.43.

thus into contact with his race, which had lived for thousands of years on the same ground and which had given it its characteristic form. "Aber der andere.....der Tag um Tag auf langen Wegen, vorueber an den Doerfern und Waeldern, an den Muehlen am Bach, nach Naechten im Zelt, am Feuer, sie endlich vor sich liegen sieht, der fuehlt sich selbst wie in einem wunderbaren Spiegel widergespiegelt, der ist gluecklich in einem unerhoerten Erleben."¹ Education by experience was to replace mere cramming. Curricula of all schools were to be founded on the principle that the fullest possible recognition should be accorded to the national aspect of education, that the child should be educated to feel himself a living member of the community. Knowledge by itself was useless without the realisation of these aims. "Koerper, Charakter und Geist" were to be developed to the highest point, not for the benefit of the individual, but in order to produce a person of most use to the state. The aim of education, concluded Benze, was twofold: to educate the individual to become "ein rassisch gesund und tuechtiger Einzelmensch" and secondly "ein einsatzbereites Gemeinschaftsglied."²

¹ Stellrecht, op.cit., p.44.

² Benze, op.cit., p.6.

The fourth feature of National Socialist educational thought, selective education, or the creation of an elite will now be considered. There can be no doubt that this principle, whereby a small group was consciously educated for the highest posts of leadership in the Party and state, was one of great significance. Rosenberg had outlined his project for a German order, by which the elite of the Party was to receive special training, with the ultimate aim of ensuring for the future that all important Party and state posts should be in the hands of an immutable National Socialist. Thus the Party was to become the permanent basis for the existence of the Reich. "Der deutsche Staat der Zukunft, durch den Machtakt einzelner verwirklicht, wird die typenschaffenden Persoenlichkeiten keiner Wahllaune und keinem Geldbetrug ausliefern, sondern sie vom Staatslenker an der Macht erhalten und durch eine deutsche Ordenserziehung immer wieder erneuern."¹

Krieck had much to say on the training of a select group for political leadership. He scorned the elite of the nineteenth century, which came exclusively from one social class, and had been educated in the "Gymnasium" and the university. "Das Kernstueck des voelkischen Gesamtstaates

¹ Rosenberg, op.cit., p.556.

wird eine politische wehrhafte Ausleseschicht sein, die sich in fest geschlossener Ordnung und Zuchtform quer ueber das Volkstum hinweg erhebt, als der eigentliche Traeger des Staates, der Former des politischen Willens im Ganzen als Representant der politischen Einheit und Organ der politischen Macht."¹ The elite recommended by Krieck, was to be trained with rigorous discipline, and honour, loyalty, readiness to serve, fight and sacrifice and devotion to the community were to be inculcated. "Einordnung in Gehorsam gegen die Fuehrung, Tapferkeit und Mut, Geradlinigkeit, Wahrhaftigkeit und Gerechtigkeit, der Sinn fuer das Ganze" were further essential qualities. A prerequisite for membership of the elite was of course complete racial purity. It was not only a political organisation but "die letzte Zucht und Vollendung des rassisch voelkischen Menschentums."² Once a member of the elite the most careful provisions were made to preserve their racial excellence and to guarantee that it should be reproduced in future generations. Thus matrimonial legislation was introduced for the S.S., whose brides had to prove their racial and eugenic fitness for marriage. The supremacy of

¹ Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", p.83.

² Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", pp.83-84.

the male within the elite was complete, and in an exclusively male society women were treated with scarcely veiled contempt and reduced to the status of satisfying male needs and producing future soldiers.

Few people, according to Krieck, were born for leadership; it would always be the lot of the "Gefolgschaft" to give unquestioning obedience. For Krieck the "Gefolgschaft" was "jener Typus des politisch wehrhaften Maennerbundes, die gemeinsame Willensbildung von unten und autoritative Fuehrung von oben organisch in sich eint."¹ Or as Stellrecht so neatly put it the leader and the "Gefolgschaft" have the same relationship "wie der Sprecher zum Chor, die sich gegenseitig bedingen."² National Socialist education then, although it wished to destroy class distinction, meant the establishment of a caste system, based on the rule of personality. And personality, in the eyes of Krieck, was nothing more than "Sinn fuer das Ganze, und Faehigkeit zur Fuehrung. Alle andere Persoenlichkeit ist wertlos und ueberfluessig."³

The implications of selective education will be seen subsequently when a review will be made of the special

¹ Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", pp.85-86.

² Stellrecht, op.cit., p.53.

³ Krieck; "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", p.84.

leadership schools, which attempted to put the theories of Rosenberg and Krieck into practice. In these schools the leadership principle found its highest expression in the training of those destined to become the guarantors of the National Socialist faith. The leadership principle was not however limited to the special schools: its influence was apparent in all the Party formations, which had their own leadership schools, and in the same manner as the elite of the "Ordensburg", developed their own hierarchies.

Finally the theory of "Wehrerziehung" will be considered as an educational principle. As we have already seen the "Fuehrer" wished the army to be the climax of the entire German educational system, the most vital school of the German nation. But Banse, professor of Military Science at Brunswick, gave a more detailed exposition of the part the new subject was to play in education. Banse was never in doubt about what the future held for the German nation. "Denn darueber darf niemand sich einem Zweifel hingeben, dass zwischen unserer waehrenden Not und unserem kommenden Glueck der Krieg steht."¹ He then continued to define the aim of the new science as the "geistige, seelische

¹ Banse, "Wehrwissenschaft", Armanen Verlag, Leipzig, 1933, Vorwort.

und koerperliche Ertuechtigung der Jugend und ihre fruehzeitige Einstellung in den Dienst des deutschen Staates in seiner Volksgesamtheit."¹ The internationalist was conceived as a "bastard in blood and a eunuch in intellect." National sentiment meant self-respect, international sentiment meant self-abandonment.² Education must therefore inculcate the spirit of nationalism to prepare the younger generations for the coming task. This task Banse then defined as the unification of all German speaking peoples in Central Europe under one flag. "Wehrwissenschaft" was to contribute to the task by the study of countries and peoples "with the object of increasing one's own military strength." Its primary concern was to ensure that eventually "one's own nation will acquire an intellectual and spiritual orientation which will enable it to face future wars with greater intelligence and confidence than it showed in the World War."³

"Wehrwissenschaft" was to derive support from every branch of human knowledge. It was not destined for the use.

¹ Banse, op.cit., Vorwort.

² Banse, "Raum und Volk im Weltkriege". Translated by A.Harris, Lovat Dickson, London, 1934, p.xvi.

³ Banse, "Raum und Volk im Weltkriege", p.10.

of generals but was to become one of the most vital educational principles. It was "the intellectual expression of a nation's military will and the symbol of its heroic instincts.....the consciousness of a wakened desire to assert oneself against neighbouring peoples, and it is a clear unmistakable confirmation of the old saying that the vanquished of today are the victors of tomorrow."¹ Banse concluded that the science of national defence must become a recognised subject of instruction in both university, where he suggested at least two terms work on the subject, and also in the secondary schools and the upper classes of the primary schools.² In actual practice it would include such subjects as war propaganda, the economics of warfare, war communications, all branches of technical warfare, the nature and duties of the various arms of the services, the knowledge of topography and finally war history.

In both schools and university German youth was to be educated to the belief in war as an idea. War was conceived as an "allewig Erneuerer", not a crime against humanity, but an "Erhaltung des Daseins."³ "Damit steht auch die

¹ Banse, "Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg", p.406.

² Banse, "Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg", p.413.

³ Banse, "Wehrwissenschaft", pp.1-2.

Verteidigung und Verbesserung dieses Daseins in der ersten Reihe sittlicher Pflichten und Rechte vom Mensch und Staat."¹ A new national philosophy was thus recommended in which would be created a firm belief in the deeper meaning of war. Just as in primitive tribes the individual was judged according to his ability to assist in its defence, so in the great "Kulturvoelkern" was the individual to be judged according to "seiner ^sfeelischen, geistigen, und kaempferischen Wehr."²

Banse considered it of the greatest importance to establish the new science on a firm psychological basis. The new spirit must never be allowed to develop into one of defence. The Germans must never be "passiv-kriegerisch" types, who fought in order to live, but "aktiv-kriegerisch" types who lived in order to fight. The state must see to it that those warlike elements in the nation were encouraged and strengthened and the unwarlike brought up to their ideals. Youth must be introduced at an early age into a "heldisches Wesen", into a belief that "Wagnis und Angriff" were the bases of all human conduct, and finally educated

¹ Banse, "Wehrwissenschaft", p.2.

² Banse, "Wehrwissenschaft", p.5.

"zu einem rücksichtslosen Einstehen fuer Idee und Ideal."¹

By means of "Wehrerziehung" in the school, in the H.J. and in the Labour Service, a vital link was to be forged in the chain of education. The period of time in the army was no longer to be an episode "aus dem buergerlichen Leben", but the "natuerliche Krone des bisher gelebten jungen Lebens"². The army was the culmination of all education, where the political soldier received his final training in his duties to the Fatherland. What began as play in the "Jungvolk" was gradually developed in the course of years into a serious purpose. In its earliest stages "Wehrerziehung" was to encourage physical education as a means of serving the community, and in the course of time was to develop in the individual a readiness to bear arms for that community. Few of the National Socialist theorists when discussing "Wehrerziehung" were as bold as Banse in anticipating the pleasure at witnessing the destruction that must soon overtake England, "this proud and seemingly invincible nation",³ yet all advocated military preparedness and there can be no doubt that education in its broadest sense was to be adapted to this aim.

¹ Banse, "Wehrwissenschaft," pp.20-21.

² Stellrecht, op.cit., p.145.

³ Banse, "Raum und Volk im Weltkriege", p.254.

CHAPTER II.

THE FORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS.

1. Secondary education before 1933.

Before the application of the principles detailed in Chapter I to secondary education in Germany can be considered a brief review of the preceding system must be included. Before the Great War secondary education had been strictly the concern of the various states; its main pillar was the "Gymnasium", which enjoyed enormous prestige, and which was virtually the only channel leading to the professions, and the higher posts in the civil service. Its aim was to prepare its students through a broad humanistic training for an independent study of the arts and sciences. Amongst the subsidiary types of secondary school were the semi-classical "Realgymnasium", which attempted a compromise between classics and modern subjects, and the "Oberrealschule", which laid greater emphasis on modern languages and natural science. All these three types of secondary school provided nine year courses and each had its corresponding six year course in the "Progymnasium", the "Realprogymnasium" and the "Realschule" respectively. Such in its barest outlines was the form of secondary education before 1914. The system was without question magnificently organised,

the teachers were thorough and efficient and the pupils acquired a high standard of knowledge.¹ Yet the war of 1914-1918 revealed the essential weaknesses of the system. Many of the schools, especially in Prussia, had a militaristic bias; the successful completion of a six year course meant that the pupil served only one year in the army and was earmarked for early promotion, instead of for two years as an ordinary conscript. Many secondary schoolmasters were reserve officers, and the more a school had on its staff the better its tone. This militaristic bias in the secondary schools had the effect of inculcating class consciousness into the pupils, a fact of which the educational reformers of the Republic were clearly aware. "The war and revolution showed with startling clearness that between popular and higher education, between the elementary and the secondary school, between elementary and secondary school teachers, there existed a cleavage, which reached down into the people's life and community of culture and was constantly becoming wider."² Other charges levelled against the secondary schools included assertions, not without some

¹ Roman, "The New Education in Europe", Routledge, London, 1930, pp.229-232.

² "The Reorganisation of Education in Prussia", Official Documents, translated by I.L. Kandel, New York, 1927, p.65.

justification, that they were schools of a dead tradition, of the most unreal rationalism, that analysis and specialisation characterised their work, and nowhere was access provided to the problems of the world.

Some account of the educational reforms carried out under the Republic is necessary before subsequent developments under the National Socialists can be seen in their true perspective. The principle was accepted that the individual states were free to develop as they wished, provided that they did not clash with the interests of the Reich. Regulations were certainly issued but observance was not mandatory. Initiative, independence and greater flexibility were encouraged. In the "Grundschule"¹ the principle of a common primary education for all, irrespective of class distinction, was established and all private schools which provided preparatory courses for the secondary schools were abolished. Furthermore the attempt was seriously made to increase the opportunities for the gifted child to advance beyond the primary stage of education.

As far as the secondary schools were concerned, the three basic types were preserved, but a genuine attempt at democratisation was made by such sincere and enlightened

¹

Saxony introduced the "Grundschule" in 1910.

ministers as Hainisch and Becker. The doctrines of "Voelkerversoehnung" and international co-operation were encouraged, and slowly a realisation permeated some of the schools that education should not have the acquisition of knowledge as its primary aim, but the development of the powers of the individual. Emphasis was placed on the active participation of the pupils through which independence of judgement and imagination might be cultivated.

Apart from the three basic types the Republic witnessed the emergence of a type which was later to assume great significance under the National Socialists, the "Deutsche Oberschule". This school, "based on the experiences of the war and the revolution, places in the centre of its educational tasks the cultural subjects which it brings together into an organic whole," and "incorporates into the whole of its cultural course all the living expressions of the German spirit."¹ Another important innovation of the educational reformers was the "Aufbauschule", a six year school, which enabled pupils in rural areas to take advantage of secondary education, when they had completed seven years of the "Grundschule", which led to the "Reifepruefung", the school leaving examination and entrance qualifi-

¹ Kandel, op.cit., pp.86-87.

cation for the university, in the same manner as the basic types of secondary school.

Briefly the central aim of the reforms in 1924 was to maintain "the greatest varieties of educational possibilities and to make them accessible to everybody and in such a way that individuals of every capacity and bent, can find the path to the highest type of training and education suitable for and at all attainable by them."¹ The aims were admirable and of the good faith and sincerity of their architects in many of the states there can be little doubt. That these aims were never generally attained can be ascribed to a number of causes. First and foremost proposals were made, but they were often ignored by the states, which preferred to continue in their own tradition. The loyalty to the Republic of university teachers was most questionable and four fifths of all professors were said to be in favour of a return of the monarchy.² In the secondary schools too there was considerable opposition to the Republic so that the spirit of the suggested reforms was often deliberately perverted by teachers who were deeply rooted in the pre-1914 tradition. Thus as far as History was concerned Frederick

¹ Kandel, op.cit., p.164.

² Roman, op.cit., p.258.

the Great, Bismarck, and Hindenburg still remained the ideals. Historians of the stamp of Kawerau, who made a sincere attempt to write an unbiased account of German history for school use, were rare indeed and very often the actions of Germany were either excused, justified, or distorted. Describing the atmosphere in a Berlin "Gymnasium" in the early twenties, an anonymous German wrote, "Our schools remained officially neutral towards the struggles over Germany's political appearance. But unofficially the teachers were on the side of the nationalist reaction. I shall never forget the obvious hostility with which the concept "democracy" was dismissed in the occasional political discussions. History classes scarcely took note of the deep spiritual transformation which was supposed to lead the people towards their own destiny. The Prussian monarchical idea was developed just as if there had not been any Weimar Constitution."¹

2. Preliminary measures.

Educational institutions are notoriously slow to respond to social or political reform and even the dynamic

¹ Quoted by Hartshorne, "German Youth and the Nazi Dream of Victory", Oxford University Press, 1941, p.12.

leaders of National Socialist education did not make any decisive attempt to regularise the form of secondary education until several years after the seizure of power. They considered that the form and theory of education could wait until the more important task of training the new teachers in the new ideology had been completed. Meanwhile German youth was required to imbibe practical National Socialism first hand and to learn the value of community life in the H.J. and later in the senior Party formations. Consequently the existing types of secondary school remained until the major reform of 1938.

Before this time however certain administrative changes had been made, the implications of which must be briefly detailed. In the Germany of William II education had been organised on authoritarian lines and a high degree of uniformity had been attained within the autonomous states. The democratic reforms introduced by the Weimar Republic included the establishment of Parents' Councils, to work in close conjunction with the schools, a system of school management in which the teacher could participate, Teachers' Councils with the right to nominate candidates for inspectorships, and considerable freedom in the choice of curriculum. The National Socialists swept these reforms away and

substituted the "Fuehrerprinzip" in all aspects of educational administration and school management. In 1933 the "Ministerium fuer Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung" was a purely Prussian institution, control elsewhere being under the various state ministries. In 1934 the Prussian Minister of Education, Dr Rust, became "Reichsminister", the authority of the "Laender" in educational matters disappeared, and from that time until 1945 education remained completely centralised under a national ministry. The final step was taken in April 1936 when the "Preussische Auskunftstelle fuer Schulwesen" was taken over by the ministry and renamed "Reichsstelle fuer Schulwesen". Its purpose was to provide information and advice in all educational matters for the ministry concerning primary, intermediate, secondary and vocational schools throughout the Reich.¹

As far as secondary schools were concerned, the provincial school boards, which during the Republic had controlled them, surrendered their authority to the Mayor. The latter was advised by one or more Headmasters from secondary schools, by councillors, and by a representative of

¹ Ministerial Decree, 30 July, 1936.

the H.J. Both the councillors and the H.J. representative were chosen after full agreement with the Party authorities.¹ The Parents' Councils were dissolved, the teachers became entirely subordinate to the Principal and were deprived of the privilege of taking part in the management of the school. Conferences were in future to be not for the discussion but for the explanation of duties. The National Socialists had in fact created "an educational system in the form of a pyramid with the leader giving his orders from the apex to be carried out by a hierarchy passing through a series of administrative officials to the teachers in the class-rooms, already selected and trained to know no will and to have no mind other than that of the leader."²

Thus with the diminution of the power of the "Laender" the German secondary school lost all chance of developing upon lines other than those dictated by the central authority. Schools throughout the Reich became standardised and governed by a ceaseless stream of decrees emanating from the ministry in Berlin. The content of education,

¹ Ministerial Decree, 2 December, 1937.

² Educational Yearbook, International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1941, p.125.

time-tables, methods of instruction, school hours, holidays, examinations, all were detailed in official publications from which no deviation was permitted.

In the early years of their regime the National Socialists were content to introduce certain outstanding measures into the secondary school system as they had found it, as pre-requisites for the ultimate reform. The first of these was the compulsory teaching of "Rassenkunde", to take effect from 1 October 1933.¹ Two or three periods were to be devoted each week to "Biology", which was to include Racial Hygiene, the theory of heredity and population policy. "Die Kenntnis," ran the decree, "der biologischen Grundtatsachen und ihre Anwendung auf Einzelmensch und Gemeinschaft ist fuer die Erneuerung unseres Volkes unerlaessliche Voraussetzung."

The increased attention to Physical Training and the new criteria of selection for the secondary schools detailed by the ministry in 1935 in conjunction with the "Rassenpolitischen Amt der N.S.D.A.P."² revealed that Hitler intended to put into practice the theories he had expressed in "Mein Kampf". In this decree the aim of the secondary schools

¹ Ministerial Decree, 13 September, 1933.

² Ministerial Decree, 27 March, 1935.

was stated. "Die Aufgabe der hoeheren Schule ist es, den koerperlich, charakterlich, und geistig besonders gut veranlagten Teil der deutschen Jugend so zu erziehen, dass er faehig wird, spaeter in gehobenen oder fuehrenden Stellen unser politisches, kulturliches und wirtschaftliches Volksleben massgebend mitzugestalten."

In the first place the "koerperliche Auslese" barred from higher education all those boys who suffered from hereditary diseases or physical defects. It also excluded those who showed a "dauernde Scheu vor Koerperpflege" or a "dauerndes Versagen bei den Leibesuebungen." A healthy body was therefore the first requirement for admission into the secondary school. In the second place came the "charakterliche Auslese"; any boy who had committed "Verstoesse gegen Kameradschaftlichkeit und Gemeinschaftssinn" was inadmissible. High ethical standards, ability to show great powers of endurance, a sense of community and a ready response to discipline were the qualities desired. In the third place came the "geistige Auslese" which detailed the role to be played by intellectual training in the secondary schools. The school was no longer to be a "Vermittlerin von Wissen"; knowledge for the sake of knowledge was useless. What was important was not "die Summe angelernten

Wissenstoffes, sondern die geistige Gesamtreife." Finally the fourth criterion demanded that the pupils should be of pure German stock.

With the introduction of these criteria the complete reversal of values, already noted in the writings of the educational philosophers, was established in the secondary schools. It was maintained that the importance ascribed to knowledge had usurped the position due to physical education, and the training of character and will. The individual had been allowed to assume that he was of supreme importance in himself: this was in direct contradiction to National Socialist "Weltanschauung", which claimed that the individual was first of all a member of a racial community, and that his first duty was to become strong and healthy so as to give the best possible service to it. The extent of the supremacy of the first two criteria was clearly to be seen in the instructions in the decree for cases of "mangelhafter geistiger Leistungen". In such cases the physical attainments and the character of the pupil were to be taken into full account. "Wenn der Schueler hervorragende Fueh-rereigenschaften besitzt und getaetigt hat, ist besonders wohlwollend zu verfahren." The converse however did not apply; "rein verstandesmaessige Leistungen" could not be regarded as adequate compensation for deficiencies in charac-

ter.¹ Thus the notorious "Ausleseerlass" of 1935 revealed clearly for the first time the tendencies against the one-sided intellectual standpoint of the secondary school and towards the creation "eines neuen Geschlechts, das koerperlich, charakterlich und geistig in gleicher Weise durchgebildet, in der Lage sein wird, fuehrend im neuen Staat zu wirken und seine Aufgabe der Volksgemeinschaft im nationalsozialistischen Sinne zu erfuellen."

The next important step in the recasting of secondary education was the establishment of English as the first foreign language in all types of secondary school except the "Gymnasium".² In the same year Latin was introduced as a secondary compulsory language.³ In 1936 the nine year secondary school course was reduced to eight years "aus wichtigen bevoelkerungspolitischen Gruenden".⁴ In 1937 the preliminaries for the unification of the secondary school system were laid down by a ministerial decree, in which the "Deutsche Oberschule" was declared to be the basic type of secondary school for the future.⁵

¹ Ministerial Decree, 27 March, 1935.

² Ministerial Decree, 20 April, 1936.

³ Ministerial Decree, 28 December, 1936.

⁴ Ministerial Decree, 11 November, 1936.

⁵ Ministerial Decree, 20 March, 1937.

3. The reform of 1938.

Finally on 29th January 1938 Dr Rust co-ordinated the decrees of the past years into a complete directive for all matters concerning secondary education, including both the external and the internal features of the system.¹ The new order, which took effect from Easter 1938, effected a startling condensation in the many existing types of secondary school. Graefe had referred to seventy different types of "Gymnasium" and "Oberrealschule", the differences being mainly in the sequence of languages taught.² These were now reduced into three basic types for boys, the "Deutsche Oberschule", the "Aufbauschule" and the "Gymnasium" and two basic types for girls, the "Deutsche Oberschule" and the "Aufbauschule".³ The most far reaching effect was that the "Gymnasium" lost its privileged position and was relegated to the status of a subsidiary type.

1 "Erziehung und Unterricht in der hoeheren Schule", Amtliche Ausgabe des Reichs und Preussischen Ministeriums fuer Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, 1938.

2 Graefe, op.cit., p.273.

3 A plan of the Secondary School System as envisaged by the reform of 1938 is given in Appendix 1.

As a result of the unification many "Gymnasien" were changed into "Oberschulen", a fact which caused considerable unrest in secondary school circles, as it was feared that the complete abolition of the type was planned. Consequently a decree was issued to allay these fears and to emphasise that the "Gymnasium" had a special role to play within the framework of the new system.¹ But undoubtedly the "Schwerpunkt" of the structure of secondary education became the "Deutsche Oberschule"; this type, like the "Gymnasium", was to select its pupils by competitive examination from pupils who had completed four years of the "Grundschule". The curriculum was completely revised and the exact time-table categorically laid down for all schools of this type. At the head of the time-table stood Physical Training to which five periods were allotted throughout the school. The second group of subjects, "Deutschkunde", included German, History, Geography, Art and Music, and occupied over a third of the time-table in every class. Next came the Natural Science and Mathematics group and finally the Language group. By the time the sixth class was reached pupils concentrated on one of the last two groups and did extra study in the so-called

¹ Ministerial Decree, 2 February, 1939.

"Arbeitsgemeinschaften". In the case of the Language group French was added to English and Latin.

The "Aufbauschule" was a six year course, drawn from pupils who had completed six years of primary education. Its purpose remained the same as under the Republic, namely to open up the way to secondary schools to gifted children in rural areas. Its time-table followed exactly the same pattern as the "Oberschule" except that the three senior forms were not divided into Natural Science or Language groups.

The "Gymnasium", now classed as a "Sonderform" followed similar lines as far as Physical Training and "Deutschkunde" were concerned. Latin, Greek, and English were the languages to be studied, and no alternative subjects or courses of any sort were allowed.

The curricula of the "Oberschule" "Aufbauschule" and "Gymnasium", detailed in Appendices 2-4, were binding for all boys' state schools. Even those private schools, allowed in rare cases only after their political reliability had been firmly established, on the grounds of meeting a public need,¹ were obliged to conform exactly to these courses of study. That they did so was guaranteed by the

¹ Ministerial Decree, 5 April, 1939.

"Reichsgemeinschaft der deutschen Privatschulen" the function of which was to ensure that non-state schools carried out their duties in the spirit of the National Socialist folk-community.

The implications of these reforms in secondary education were clearly stated in Rust's introductory remarks in "Erziehung und Unterricht in der hoeheren Schule". He admitted that the Republican educational reformers were right in seeing that only a common ideal could restore the lost unity of education. But they failed because they had no political aims, and because they did not realise that no essential reforms in the school system could take place without the creation of a new "Volksordnung". "Man glaubte durch eine Reform des Bildungswesens das einholen zu koennen, was wir an politischer Macht verloren hatten.....man wollte durch Bildung den Staatsbuerger ohne Staat schaffen."¹ Originally the National Socialist educational system was not the work of pedagogues; long before 1933, maintained Rust, there had arisen outside the school a closed system of "Jugenderziehung" in the Party formations. The revolution had made possible for the first time in history "eine wirkliche Bildung des ganzen Volkes auf einer einheitlichen

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.10.

Grundlage".¹

Germany, continued Rust, was poor in "Raum und Boden"; its true wealth lay in the power, faith and efficiency of its people. The task of the secondary school therefore was "Menschen zu erziehen, die in echter Hingabe an Volk und Fuehrer, faehig sind, ein deutsches Leben zu fuehren, ihre geistigen Kraefte zu entfalten und zur hoechsten Leistungsfahigkeit zu entwickeln, damit sie an ihrer Stelle die Aufgabe meistern, die Deutschland gestellt sind."²

One could no longer talk of the secondary pupils belonging to the educated classes in contrast to those who had only experienced primary education. What differentiated the secondary school boy was the greater amount of responsibility and independence, and powers of judgment which were expected from him. The task of the secondary school would be therefore to select from all circles young people, to train them for responsibility, and to cultivate in them powers of decision and trustworthiness. But it would not train for the professions, nor would specialisation be fostered. "Nie darf Wissensvermittlung zum Selbstzweck im Sinne der sogenannten allgemeinen Bildung werden.....er schwaecht anstatt zu staerken, laehmt die Willenskraft..."³

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.13.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.14.

³ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.17.

Thus by the reform of 1938 secondary education in Germany was adapted to conform with the principles enunciated by the educational philosophers. The general tendency to avoid overschooling and specialisation was strengthened and the principle of the education of the whole man was introduced. The establishment of the "Deutsche Oberschule" as the dominant school and the concentration on "Deutschkunde" in all secondary schools meant that German education, in accordance with the "Fuehrer's" wish, was now re-directed into the life stream of the people. Secondary education had in fact been put "on a unified basis in accordance with an officially accepted philosophy."¹ Rust's reform of 1938 was the final word on secondary education in National Socialist Germany, and any changes subsequently proclaimed were largely technicalities, generally caused by the exigencies of the moment.

4. The leadership schools.

No account of National Socialist reform in secondary education would be complete without detailed reference to the notorious leadership schools, which were to play such

¹ Kneller, op.cit., p.214.

a large part in educating the future elite of the nation. Both the "National Politische Erziehungsanstalt", normally termed the "N.P.E.A.", or Napola, and the "Adolf Hitler-schule" were boarding schools and both concluded like the "Deutsche Oberschule" with the "Reifepruefung", qualifying successful candidates for entrance to the university. So many misconceptions have prevailed about the nature, administration and organisation of these two types that it would be relevant to clarify their main differences.

The "N.P.E.A." was the less exclusive of the two, and was in fact a state leadership school, providing a normal eight year course under the jurisdiction of Rust, Minister of Education. Their chief inspector, a high ranking S.S. official, "Obergruppenfuehrer" Heissmeyer, was responsible to Rust and acted as a state and not a Party official. The "N.P.E.A." were founded in 1933 and in many instances took over the buildings of the former "Kadettenanstalten". They were really a compromise between the more conservative type of secondary school and the "Adolf Hiterlschule". The latter was a most exclusive type of school founded in 1937 as "Einheiten der H.J. und als Vorschulen der Ordensburgen",¹ which provided a six year course like the "Aufbauschule".

¹ "Weltanschauung und Schule", February, 1937, p.233.

It was clearly a Party school, the main purpose of which was to prepare the future political leaders. The "Adolf Hitlerschulen" were administered, like the "Ordensburgen" by the "Hauptschulungsamt der N.S.D.A.P.", which was under the command of "Reichsorganisationsleiter" Dr Ley.¹ The department for the "Adolf Hitlerschulen" was run in close co-operation with the "Reichsjugendfuehrung" and consequently Ley and Schirach were almost invariably together at all functions of this type of school. The inspector of the schools was a high ranking H.J. official, "Obergebietsfuehrer" Petter.

(a) The "N.P.E.A."

The aims of the "N.P.E.A." have been clearly stated in the official educational journals, but have nowhere been better expressed than by Heissmeyer himself. "Ich werde danach streben, dass in Zukunft nicht mehr der auf die N.P.E.A. kommt, der es sich leisten kann, sondern nur solche Jungen, die das Zeug dazu haben, spaeter einmal Fuehrerstellungen in Staat und Partei zu uebernehmen.....die Charaktererziehung ist das Wesentliche. Unser Ziel ist, die Jungen zu einer soldatischen Haltung zu erziehen. Das Prinzip des Gehorchens, der Treue, der Einfachheit, und der

¹ "Handbuch der N.S.D.A.P.", Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., Berlin, 1940.

Bescheidenheit muss den Jungen in Fleisch und Blut uebergehen."¹ Consequently the "Schulung des ganzen Menschen" was the avowed aim of the school² rather than "reine Wissenschaft allein", as it was considered that in the hour of crisis character was of greater value than knowledge.

The "N.P.E.A." was then the strongest expression of the new type of higher education. Heissmeyer no longer referred to an "Unterrichtsplan", but to a "Gesamterziehungsplan" which included the "Unterrichtsplan". All education, he maintained, was political education, the purpose of which was "die Erziehung eines Nachwuchses, der die eigene Lebensgemeinschaft in die Zukunft traegt." Education in the "N.P.E.A." was a "moeglichst alle menschlichen Kraefte umfassende Gesamterziehung in einer festgefuegten Gemeinschaft, die als politische Erziehung stets typenpraegende und mannschaftsformende Erziehung ist."³ The ideal "type" however was not one who slavishly carried out orders, but one who felt himself responsible at all times for the fate of the nation and capable of taking independent action

¹ "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", Vol.5, 1936, p.22.

² Hiller, "Deutsche Erziehung im neuen Staat", Belz, Langensalza, 1936. Essay by Kloppe, "Die Staatliche Fuehrerschule", p.183.

³ Speech of Heissmeyer, reported by Benze, "Erziehung im Gross-Deutschen Reich, Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1943. pp.59-60.

if ever the chain of command should break down.¹ The graduate of the "N.P.E.A." had to be a "go-getter", ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of the "Volksgemeinschaft", and to go forth into society with the belief in the "unbesiegbare Kraft unseres Volkes und unseres Reiches", knowing only one obedience, to the "Fuehrer".² His highest virtues were "Kameradschaft, Ordnung, Disziplin"; the greatest crime he could commit was to injure the "Volksgemeinschaft" in any way. He was trained to be a man of action, "sich rasch und energisch zu bewegen" and in the first place "nicht etwas zu werden, sondern etwas zu leisten".³

Such schools were clearly not the place for weaklings and the methods of selection of pupils showed ingenuity and thoroughness. In general the same criteria as already detailed in the "Ausleseerlass" for the normal state secondary school were accepted but a much more rigorous application was required. On 1 November of each year the "Volkschulen" were required to submit a return to the "Kreisschulrat" of all candidates in the third or fourth school year whom they

¹ Kloppe, op.cit., p.183.

² Report of the foundation of "N.P.E.A. Boehmen", "Voelkischer Beobachter", 24 April, 1944.

³ Benze, op.cit., p.60.

considered suitable for admission to a "N.P.E.A."¹ All pupils in the "Volksschule" had the right to ask to be considered. The methods of selection were fully explained in an article in "Weltanschauung und Schule".² After the names had been submitted to the appropriate "N.P.E.A.", a senior "Erzieher", together with the medical officer, visited the "Volksschule" and after a preliminary talk with the teachers a physical and racial examination took place. After this came the "Ausmusterung", or calling up of those pupils with a reasonable chance of success, for a trial period of at least eight days in a "N.P.E.A." Parents were asked to be present for interview before the trial period began, and if attendance was impossible they were requested to submit their photographs. Reports on individual pupils by the H.J. and by the "Volksschule" were then considered and the real examination began. Its main purpose was to estimate "den ganzen Menschen" and to observe him as "ein Glied seiner Sippe." Groups of some twenty boys were put under the command of an "Erzieher", assisted by two "erprobten Jungmannen", all of whom lived from dawn to dusk with

¹ Ministerial Decree, 7 October, 1937.

² "Weltanschauung und Schule", March 1937. pp.300-303.

the candidates, working with them in the mornings, conducting Physical Training and sport in the afternoons, and taking all meals with them. The standard of academic attainment required was not high, but the pupils receptive powers, his attention, his co-operation under instruction, and his "weltanschauliche Haltung" were of prime importance. Nor was the technical standard in physical attainments over-rated. But without the "Wille zur Leistung" the candidate was lost. To prove "Einsatzfaehigkeit" all pupils were made to box, wrestle, climb trees, swing on beams above water and leap out of first floor windows into blankets. Powers of observation, skill in the use of ground, and above all the qualities of "Entschlusskraft, Ausdauer, und Draufgaengertum" were required in "Gelaendesport". The general demeanour and behaviour apart from parade hours was also closely observed and candidates lacking in comradely or community feeling were at once excluded.¹ Cleanliness and orderliness of a high standard were of course a sine qua non.

As far as the curriculum was concerned, all "N.P.E.A.", with the exception of Schulpforta, a school which for cen-

¹ c.f. The War Office Selection Boards in England and the Civil Service also use short residential courses in order to select candidates. Similar methods are now in use for the selection of Youth Leaders in some British Universities.

turies had maintained a high academic standard, Ilfeld, and Haselunne, were basically the same as the "Deutsche Oberschule".¹ These three schools were unique amongst the "N.P.E.A." as they gave a classical education and followed the lines laid down for the "Gymnasium" by the reform of 1938. Referring to the curriculum, one commentator concluded that they could be regarded as "Oberschulen" "allerdings mit staerkerer Beruecksichtigung eines ausgesprochenen nationalpolitischen Unterrichtes in saemtlichen Faechern".² In addition, in the four senior forms national political training was introduced as a definite school subject and allotted two periods a week. As in the "Oberschule" the main emphasis in the curriculum was placed on "Deutschkunde", the component parts of which remained compulsory throughout the school. But whereas the last three years of the "Oberschule" split into either Natural Sciences or Languages, the "N.P.E.A." offered its students a choice of four "Sonderzuege". After the completion of the fifth year the student could specialise in either Latin or Greek, Mathematics and Natural Science, Languages including French or Spanish or Russian, and finally in Music, Painting and Art.³

¹ Benze, op.cit., p.60.

² Hiller, op.cit., p.188.

³ Hiller, op.cit., p.188.

The instructional aspect of these schools was clearly only rated as of secondary importance. The extra curricular activities, and the organisation of community life dominated the scene. Life at the "N.P.E.A." began for the older boys at 6.30 with a morning run before breakfast. Normal lessons generally commenced at 7.30 or 8 and consisted of some five or six periods continuing until lunch time. From 2.30 until 5.15 on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays sports and games took place after which there was a general period of preparation of about one and a half hours.¹ Some "N.P.E.A." seem to have had this preparation period immediately after lunch and then to have had the rest of the day entirely free for extra curricular activities.² The comparison between life in these schools and life in the British public schools was often made by German educationists, with special reference to the emphasis in both on games. One fundamental difference however emerges from a study of the two systems. Whereas in British public schools the emphasis was almost invariably on the team game, the Germans always stressed the individual sports. Every boy had to take part in every sport and the aim was to produce

¹ "Physical Education in Germany", His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937, p.19.

² Kloppe, op.cit., pp.192-193.

a reasonable degree of efficiency all round.¹ All boys received swimming instruction in their first year and did athletics and the normal ball games in the junior forms. In addition to this a systematic training was given in "Gelaendekunst" or "Wehrsport", which included such subjects as the technique of camping, march discipline, the use of cover, the compass, field cooking, map reading and shooting with air guns. In the third year water sports were introduced, comprising paddling in canoes and rowing. In the senior forms such varied activities as horse riding, boxing, fencing, skiing, gliding and shooting with small calibre weapons were introduced, and in the last year pupils were taught to drive motor cycles and motor cars and the principles of maintenance; gardening and carpentry also found a place in the curriculum. Extensive manoeuvres, camps and marches completed what must surely have been the most varied form of extra curricular activity pursued by any type of school.²

Character was formed not only by games but by the communal life in the school. Instead of the house system,

1 "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung". Essay by Rowan-Robinson, "The German 'N.P.E.A.' and the English Public School", Vol.6, 1937, p.161.

2 "Physical Education in Germany", p.17.

consisting of boys of all ages, the "N.P.E.A." was divided into "Zuege", a unit of some twenty or twenty-four boys, all of the same age, under a "Zugfuehrer" who was generally assisted by a senior boy. Thus the pupil continued to live and play with the same boys throughout his period in the school, and was taught from the start to subordinate his needs to those of the small "Gemeinschaft" in which he lived. Within that community he had little chance of responsibility, until he reached his final year at school when he might be promoted to assist a "Zugfuehrer".¹

One danger of these schools was realised by the National Socialist authorities from the start, the danger of exclusion from the rest of the "Volksgemeinschaft". Consequently the week-end was largely reserved for contact with local units of the H.J., of which the "N.P.E.A." formed special units, in communal marches, exercises and camps, "um die Verbundenheit mit ihrem ganzen Volk immer wieder aufs neue zu empfinden."² Other means of bringing their pupils into contact with the rest of the community were regular excursions into local factories, mines and farms. In all schools of this type no normal instruction or games were carried out on Wednesdays; the whole day was left free

¹ "Physical Education in Germany", p.14.

² Kloppe, op.cit., p.190.

for excursions, the purpose of which was to maintain "lebendige Verbindung mit ihrer engeren Heimat mit dem deutschen Blut und deutschen Boden."¹ The culmination of these excursions came in the senior forms when periods of three months at a time were spent in mines, factories or on the land. Every Wednesday evening the schools received lectures from distinguished visitors, especially from political leaders, men of science and letters, and in war time from the national heroes, the "Ritterkreuztraeger". These talks, together with the regular weekly instruction in politics, and the normal "weltanschauliche Schulung" in H.J. activities ensured beyond all doubt that the graduate of this school adhered heart and soul to National Socialist ideology.

The belief in this ideology was further strengthened by semi-religious mystic party ceremonies. An English exchange teacher referred in an essay to the "Morgenfeier" every Monday morning in the school chapel with the "Sprecher" giving patriotic recitations and songs illustrating heroic deeds from the Great War.² He reported that he found no deliberate perversion from Christianity at that

¹ Kloppe, op.cit., p.190.

² "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung". Essay by J.W. Tate. Vol.6, 1937, p.168.

time and that at fifteen or sixteen boys were prepared for confirmation which was held in the school chapel. But it is clear that many ceremonies of a semi-religious nature were designed solely to appeal to the emotions and to inculcate a mystic belief in the supernatural powers of National Socialism. The "Sonnenwendfeier", held at the winter and summer solstice, was of this type; for this ceremony the school assembled on the top of a hill, whereupon torches and bonfires were lit and an address was given to the boys on the subject of the National Socialist faith, which "like the sun continues its unshakeable course".

One other aspect of life at the "N.P.E.A." must be mentioned, the military aspect. The pupils were in uniform, and indeed formed special units of the H.J. Their teachers wore a special type of S.A. uniform and the normal procedure of getting from one place to another was by marching. Yet despite its militarist character and the rigour of its discipline, there can be no doubt that it was congenial to the pupils and all British observers who had experience of such schools testify to the excellent and informal relations between master and boy.¹ Discipline would therefore appear to have been kept not by the methods one would normally associate with the traditional Prussian

¹ "Physical Education in Germany", p.19.

"Kadettenanstalt", but by the deeper sense of community, to which both master and boy belonged. Corporal punishment was in fact unknown, but any boy who failed to pull his weight was at once removed.

(b) The Adolf Hitler School.

On 15 January 1937 the Adolf Hitler Schools were approved by the "Fuehrer"; the N.S.D.A.P. had in fact created its own educational system and these schools remained until the collapse entirely under Party control and administration. Their development cannot be considered independently as these schools were only a part of the educational ladder by which the elite of the nation was to be trained for the highest Party appointments. The Adolf Hitler School was from the start a more exclusive type than the "N.P.E.A.", and a further selective process was to have taken place before the Adolf Hitler graduate was to be allowed to proceed to the "Ordensburg".

Precisely the same ideals already detailed in the case of the "N.P.E.A." applied in equal measure to the Adolf Hitler School. Yet even greater stress was laid on "Weltanschauung" and on personal loyalty to the Fuehrer. In September 1944, nearly four months after the invasion of the allies, and when the German armies in the West were in full retreat towards the frontiers of the Reich, Obergebie-

tsfuehrer Petter, "Kommandeur" of all Adolf Hitler Schools, was maintaining in a final address to Adolf Hitler School pupils who had completed their course, "Die Schulen des Fuehrers sind nicht allein Staetten des Geistes und des Koerpers, sondern Hochburgen des Glaubens. Der Name des Fuehrers, ist fuer uns nicht ein formeller Titel sondern Gesetz und Auftrag."¹ Gauleiter Florian, in a speech at the calling up of potential Adolf Hitler Schoolboys, referred to "echter Hingabe an Volk und Fuehrer" as one of the pre-requisites for such schooling.² Dr Ley in his speech at the opening ceremony of an Adolf Hitler School at Iglau, again described this type of school as "eine Burg des Glaubens."³ It was then essential that the graduate of the Adolf Hitler School go out into the community with a fanatical devotion to the "Fuehrer" and Fatherland.

The methods of selection for these schools differed considerably from those used in the "N.P.E.A." Parents did not have the right, as they did in the case of the latter school to ask for their children to be considered. Instead, the first step came when the "Gefolgschaftsfuehrer"

¹ "Voelkischer Beobachter", 20 September, 1944.

² "Voelkischer Beobachter", 29 July, 1944.

³ "Voelkischer Beobachter", 28 April, 1944.

recommended a boy at the age of approximately eleven and a half to the "Bannfuehrer" in the H.J. Every H.J. "Gebiet" eventually formed a six months' course for potential candidates, which was conducted after normal school hours. Subsequently promising candidates were re-examined and sent to a special selection camp, where the final selection was made after a fortnight's intensive observation of the pupil by the H.J. and the Party authorities.¹ It is clear that only those boys who were "koerperlich und charakterlich bewaehrte Jung Volk Mitglieder, aus rassisch hochwertigen, erbgesunden und politisch gefestigten Familien" and who had an "entsprechende geistige Begabung" had any chance of admission.²

The Adolf Hitler Schoolboy began his life at the new school at the age of twelve, two years later than his counterpart in the "N.P.E.A." and remained there for six years at the expense of the Party. After six years, having received the "Fuehrerdiplom" from the hands of either Ley or Schirach, he was in the same position as any normal schoolboy who had passed his final examination, and was qualified if he so desired, to go to the university.

¹ "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", 23 April, 1944.

² Benze, op.cit., p.154.

Very little information about the curriculum of the Adolf Hitler Schools is to be found in the official educational journals, but there are indications that in general outlines the school followed the curriculum of the six year state "Aufbauschule".¹ One report maintained that as many as forty-one periods a week were taught, with the main emphasis, as in the other types of secondary school, on "Deutschkunde". Latin was begun in the first form and English and other living foreign languages followed later if desired. There can be no doubt that political education played an important role in the curriculum and instruction in political oratory was also reported to have been given.² Extra curricular activities were as many and varied as those described in the "N.P.E.A.", and an article in the "Hamburger Fremdenblatt" stressed the fact that artistic and cultural activities were not to be neglected. "Der politische Nachwuchs soll auch auf kulturell-kuenstlerischem Gebiet seinen Einfluss ausueben". Musical education, workshop instruction, painting, carving and modelling all found their place in the Adolf Hitler School.³

The original plan of the National Socialists was for

¹ Benze, op.cit., p.154.

² "The Times Educational Supplement", 20 June, 1942.

³ "Hamburger Fremdenblatt", 20 February, 1943.

the Adolf Hitler schoolboy who had successfully completed his six years course to prove himself in civilian life, having performed of course his Labour Service and military service. He had a free choice of profession, but in any case he was expected to devote a great deal of his time to the affairs either of the Party or one of the affiliated organisations. In actual practice the majority of Adolf Hitler schoolboys chose careers as political leaders, very small numbers only entering the professions.¹ After seven years the graduate of the Adolf Hitler School, at the age of twenty-five could apply for admission to the "Ordensburg", where a thousand men per year were to commence a four year course.²

The "Ordensburgen", the building of which began in February 1934, "in aller Stille und ohne viel Aufheben" under the direction of "Reichsorganisationsleiter" Dr Ley, were to have been the culmination of the training of the elite.³ The buildings of the four "Ordensburgen", Vogelsang, Sonthofen, Kroessinsee, and Marienburg, were on a lavish scale,

¹ 67% became political leaders, 11% officers in the armed forces, 7% students of science, 5% teachers, 3% doctors, 3% students of economics, 2% farmers. These figures for the first batch of Adolf Hitler graduates were quoted in "The Times Educational Supplement", 30 May, 1942.

² Dr Ley, "Der Weg zur Ordensburg", essay in "Wir alle helfen dem Fuehrer", Franz Eher, Munich, 1937, p.127.

³ Dr Ley, op.cit., p.120.

with spacious administrative buildings, guest houses, mess halls, swimming pools, gymnasias, and open air theatres. Vogelsang had large courts, in the centre of which were fountains, flanked by German eagles and statues of Teutonic knights.¹ The buildings were indeed meant to impress the students with the sense of membership of an elite order, a "Rittergemeinschaft" and to form "ein Sinnbild der Groesse und der Wuerde der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung."²

After the completion of the "Ordensburg" at the age of approximately twenty-nine, a further selection was contemplated for entry into the "Hohe Schule der N.S.D.A.P." at Chiemsee in Bavaria, an establishment which was to have been set up for training leaders of leaders, or "Junkers", under the personal direction of Rosenberg.³ The training of the elite of course never developed to the extent planned because of the war, and the stage had not been reached when graduates of the Adolf Hitler School joined "Ordensburgen". The vast majority of them went into the armed forces where they remained. The original students were selected when these establishments opened, on the basis^{of}/three

1 "New York Times", 6 February, 1945.

2 Dr Ley, op.cit., p.121.

3 Benze, op.cit., p.154.

simple questions formulated by Dr Ley. In the first place the potential candidate must prove that he had made service to the community his "Lebensinhalt": the second question was "Bist du gesund und zwar absolut gesund, ohne Fehler?"; and the final question was "Bist du erbggesund, ist deine Ahnentafel in Ordnung?".¹

Once accepted, the student spent a year at each of the "Ordensburgen" and concentrated his studies on six main subjects, racial doctrine, History, "Weltanschauung" and Philosophy, Art and Culture, economic and social doctrines, and "Wehrwissenschaft". They were in fact political universities, comprising "einen politischen Fanatismus, der ausserhalb jeder verstandesmaessigen Erfassung liegt."² But as in the Adolf Hitler School, the stress was on what Dr Ley termed the "Pruefung des Mannesmuts". Consequently the most advanced courses of alpine training and parachute jumping in addition to all the more normal activities of the Adolf Hitler School were introduced to see if the men had the "Willen zum Fuehren, zum Herrsein, zum Herrschen".³ But even more important than the development of character or the acquisition of such knowledge as Rosenberg decreed,

¹ Dr Ley, op.cit., p.127.

² "National Zeitung", Basel, 8 June, 1944.

³ Dr Ley, op.cit., p.131.

was the training of the individual as the member of an order. Once a member there was no way out. "Unsere Lehre", said Dr Ley, "ist eine Glaubenssache, hier muss der Instinkt des Blutes sprechen. Sie muessen fuehlen und wissen, dass unsere Rassenlehre richtig, dass unsere Kultur in Deutschland das Produkt unseres Blutes und unserer Rasse ist."¹ "Ganz anders ist es jedoch wenn Sie aus charakterlichem Grunde versagen oder gar auf den absurden Gedanken kommen uns hintergehen zu wollen. Dann allerdings treffen Sie die unerbittlich harten Gesetze des Ordens. Wem die Partei das Braunhemd auszieht, verliert nicht allein Amt und Stellung, sondern er ist auch persoendlich vernichtet."² In much the same manner as the mediaeval "Feme" Courts the Party would eliminate all renegades.

Such then was the educational system of the National Socialist Party: it was the logical result of the application of the leadership principle, of the training of an elite to act as the guardians of state power, which had been advocated so strongly by Hitler himself, by Rosenberg, by Krieck and many of their disciples. The fundamental aim of

1 Dr Ley, op.cit., p.150.

2 Dr. Ley, op.cit., p.157.

3 Dr Ley, op.cit., p.118. (see p. 87.)

both the state and the Party leadership schools was to provide fanatical National Socialists for all state appointments, and to guarantee "dass, fuer Jahrhunderte und Jahrtausende niemand anders den Anspruch auf die geistige Fuehrung Deutschlands erheben kann, als die N.S.D.A.P." ^(a)

The system in the leadership schools rested on the belief of the National Socialists in the inequality of man.¹ No class distinction was permitted in these schools. But in place of class distinction a caste system was encouraged which consisted "aus den besten Typen des nordisch bestimmten Menschen", with superbly fit bodies, with faultless "Ahnentafeln" and with illustrious records of service and devotion to the Party. Despite much lip service to the effect that the leadership schools were open to all, irrespective of the status of the parents, the number of boys from working class homes remained remarkably small. The representatives of the Ministry of Education, who visited the "N.P.E.A." of Spandau in 1937 found that only fourteen percent of the boys came from parents who were manual workers.² In both the "N.P.E.A." and the Adolf Hitler Schule the majority of boys came from lower middle class homes, a fact which clearly illustrated the deliberate intention of

¹ Kneller, op.cit., p.66.

² "Physical Education in Germany", p.15.

(a) See footnote 3 to p. 86.

the authorities to suppress the influence of the higher branches of the civil service and of the educated classes. From the purely negative point of view the National Socialists feared the intellectual powers of the more educated classes, but they also wished to harness to the service of the state the greater energy of a new and more dynamic group, whose prospects under the new regime would be limitless.

(c) War time developments in the leadership schools.

That the National Socialists were really serious with their plans for the leadership schools is confirmed by a quick glance at their development since 1933. No time was lost before the first three "N.P.E.A." were opened on 20 April, 1933 at Ploen, Koeslin and Potsdam. Others followed in quick succession and by the end of 1940 twenty-one such schools were in existence.¹ The war did not stop their development as might be supposed. By 1942 there were thirty-one "N.P.E.A." in the Reich, and on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the institution of Dresden a German newspaper reported that the number had grown to forty.² Nor were these schools limited to the 1939 frontiers of the Reich.

¹ "Hamburger Fremdenblatt", 22 April, 1941.

² "Voelkischer Beobachter", 1 June, 1944.

A precursor of the Adolf Hitler School was established in 1934, the so-called "Reichschule der N.S.D.A.P. Feldasing", by the Starnbergersee, under Martin Bormann.¹ The aim of this school was to create a "hochwertigen Nachwuchs" for Party and State. It ran two parallel courses, the one modelled on the eight year "Oberschule" and the other on the six year "Aufbauschule". As in the "N.P.E.A." successful completion of the course enabled the student to enter a university. Further education of suitable candidates was sponsored by the "Personalamt" of the N.S.D.A.P. After 1937 it became more and more similar to an Adolf Hitler School, and was also regarded as a "Vorschule der Orden-sburgen".

During the war experiments were also made with another type of leadership school, the "Deutsche Heimschule". By order of Hitler this type of school was established in 1941 and, like the "N.P.E.A.", was supervised by S.S. "Obergruppenfuehrer" Heissmeyer, who was directly responsible to the Ministry of Education. The "Deutsche Heimschulen" were boarding schools for children of parents who lived abroad, or of officers, political leaders, and officials, who were forced by the war to change their place of abode frequently; pupils also included specially gifted children whose parents

¹ Benze, op.cit., pp.154-155.

had been killed in action, and specially gifted children of farmers and workers.¹ Normally they operated as "Oberschulen", but in certain cases they adopted the curriculum of the "Gymnasium", or even of the "Haupt" or "Volksschule", according to need. Whilst definitely inferior to both the Adolf Hitler School and the "N.P.E.A." as training establishments for the future elite, these schools, forty-seven in number,² at the beginning of 1944, offered a similar community training and cannot simply be regarded as an emergency measure.

The number of completed Adolf Hitler Schools was much smaller and few references to their development can be found in the National Socialist press during war time. The original scale planned was one school in each "Gau", which at the end of the war would have meant a total of some forty schools. Ten foundation stones were laid in 1938,³ but few seem to have been completed. One report in 1943 stated that eleven Adolf Hitler Schools were in existence and of these, seven had been evacuated to "Ordensburg" Sonthofen, the remaining four having stayed in their origi-

¹ Benze, op.cit., p.61.

² "Voelkischer Beobachter", 4 March, 1944.

³ "National Sozialistische Landpost", 17 April, 1944.

nal "Gauen".¹ An American authority discovered that only four hundred Adolf Hitler pupils were admitted to the schools each year.² Furthermore the course was reduced from six years to five, the first graduates leaving the schools in 1942.

By this time the character of the war was changing; Germany was experiencing defeat for the first time and it seems likely that the character of the leadership schools was to a certain extent modified to meet the exigencies of the moment. The "N.P.E.A." seem to have become more and more like officer cadet training units. Potsdam, Koeslin, and Rottweil had special "Sonderzuege" for air training and recruited pupils from all other secondary schools who wished to become air force officers.³ A Swedish newspaper also reported that both the "Ordensburgen" and the Adolf Hitler Schools were teaching their pupils how to behave "if extremely great distress should afflict the country",⁴ in other words it was alleged that these institutions were training for guerilla warfare. Although it is certain that former Adolf Hitler Scholars found their way into the ranks of the

¹ "Bodensee Rundschau", 21 April, 1942.

² Ebenstein, "The Nazi State", Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1943, p.180.

³ Benze, op.cit., p.60.

⁴ "Afton Tidningen", 13 October, 1943, reported by Curt Riess, "The Nazis go Underground", Boardman, London, 1945.

"S.S. Jagdverbaende", it is extremely unlikely that any official training in sabotage or in post occupational resistance was given at either of these establishments, because in such "Burgen des Glaubens" the very mention of defeat was tantamount to treason and punishable by death.¹ Had the National Socialists ever really seriously considered the possibilities of defeat it is probable that their plans for resistance after the defeat of the field armies would have been more efficient.

¹ The "S.S. Jagdverbaende" were units formed some months before the collapse, with the intention of carrying on post occupational resistance. This intention was never fulfilled.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The diagnosis by many of the National Socialists of the failings of German education before 1933 was in many respects accurate. The curriculum lacked synthesis and the school subjects were generally regarded as water tight compartments. Consequently the new educationists considered their first task was to integrate the curriculum. The entire National Socialist "Weltanschauung" centred round the idea of race and it was therefore not surprising that the principle of racial education was introduced into the schools as the basis of every subject.

For the National Socialists "race" was never in the inferior position of a new subject, to which an occasional period was allotted. "Die groesseste Torheit und ein Fehlhandel nach liberalem Muster waere es, wollten wir uns damit begnuegen, Erblehre und Rassenkunde als ein neues, fein saueberlich abgetrenntes Fach in die Schule einzufuegen. Rasse ist alles, und muss daher aller Erziehung und allem Unterricht Grundlage, Inhalt und Ziel werden.....Alle Erzieher, alle Faecher, werden zu einer grossen weltanschaulichen gleichgerichteten Front, wenn sie die Rasse zum Grundsatz

ihres Wesens und Wirkens machen."¹ Thus every subject in the curriculum was to have as its primary aim the heightening of consciousness of all things German, of inculcating a sense of devotion and service to the "Volksgemeinschaft", rather than the independent study of the subject based on objective truth.

1. Physical Training.

Physical education, which was raised to the importance of a main subject by the reform of 1938, and to which five periods a week were allotted, did not merely aim at producing a healthy body for the sake of the individual. It was described as a "Mitgestalterin des voelkischen Wehrwillens"², which eventually found its highest expression in the bearing of arms in the service of the race. Physical Training was to become a continuous education in the values of true comradeship and readiness for service. Accordingly from the earliest days in the "Volksschule" the German boy was made to believe that every team, whatever its raison

¹ Benze-Pudelko, "Rassische Erziehung als Unterrichtsgrundsatz der Fachgebiete", Diesterweg. Frankfurt a Main, 1937. pp.10-11.

² Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.28.

d'être, represented the Fatherland, so as to encourage a sense of responsibility and obligation to co-operate.¹ The physical tests for entry into the secondary schools included a jump over a 2' 6" box horse, climbing a rope to one's own height, and an upward circle on a bar at chest height. In the secondary schools Physical Training was a serious business. Record cards of the accomplishments of every boy were filed centrally, and all children were weighed and measured twice a year.²

All secondary teachers had to undergo a thorough training in physical education. One of his three subjects in his study group had to be Physical Training and during his first three semesters at the university attendance at classes held by the "Hochschulinstitut fuer Leibesuebungen" was compulsory.³ A certain number of marks had to be obtained before he could proceed to the fourth semester. After the third semester the potential secondary school teacher spent four practical and four theoretical periods each week on Physical Training. Thus every German secondary schoolmaster, trained under the National Socialists,

¹ "Physical Education in Germany", p.10.

² "Physical Education in Germany", pp.11-12.

³ "Physical Education in Germany", p.20.

was a specialist in the subject and was able to take his own form. The inspectors of the British Ministry of Education, who reviewed Physical Training in Germany, considered that the subject was closely connected with the leadership principle. It was thought necessary for the German teacher to undergo a hard and exhaustive training so that he could be a living example of his subject to his pupils. They found too that the British laid greater stress on harmonious action, technique and style, whereas with the Germans success in carrying out the exercise was the primary concern.¹ What the German Physical Training instructor sought was not grace or harmony, but the "Wille zur Leistung" and "Draufgaengertum". "The German gymnastic teacher," said the report, "regards the gymnasium and its apparatus as representing the outside world: the apparatus is the task-master or obstacle to be overcome by agility, skill and determination."²

2. Deutschkunde.

(a) German.

After Physical Training the next group of subjects

¹ "Physical Education in Germany", p.28.

² "Physical Education in Germany", p.32.

specified in secondary education was "Deutschkunde", which included German, History, Geography, Art and Music. This group in every type of school including the "Gymnasium" and the leadership schools, was considered all important, no doubt because it could be so closely related to the National Socialist "Weltanschauung". The fundamental aim of the study of German in the secondary schools was frankly stated by Rust as the creation of "Deutschbewusstsein", "als etwas Lebendiges und Bewegtes", and to stimulate thereby "nicht den beschaulichen, sondern den taetigen Mensch".¹ The study of German then was to be the calling of German youth to action, a call to eradicate such national failings as "die Neigung zur Selbstaufgabe aus Unbekenntnis des eigenen Wertes", as the excessive admiration for things foreign, and as "den Hang sich gehen zu lassen". As a substitute Rust recommended the "kaempferische Haltung."²

Other directives for the teaching of German included more emphasis on learning by heart those passages which would help to mould the character of the youth. Every essay that he wrote was to be an "Erlebnisaufsatz," in the sense that nothing should be set ~~in~~ which the pupil might

1 "Erziehung und Unterricht....." p.35.

2 "Erziehung und Unterricht....." p.36.

not experience. An individual style was not the aim of essay writing, but what Rust called "die Uebereinstimmung von wirklichem Gehalt mit der Ausdrucksform."¹ Furthermore youth must be convinced of the necessity of the struggle against the use of foreign words. The use of the German word must be valued as the most precious racial inheritance. By official decree such words as "Imperatif" became "Befehlsform", "Aktif" became "Tatform", "Nominatif" became the "Werfall", followed by the "Wenfall", "Wesfall" and "Wemfall". Instead of writing a "Diktat" the German schoolboy now wrote a "Nachschrift" and mistakes in spelling were now classified as mistakes in "Rechtschreibung". "Adjektivum" was replaced by "Eigenschaftswort" and "Konjunktion" by "Bindewort".²

Rust's remarks on the choice of reading material and the lists of titles he suggested are very interesting if we seek to understand how he intended to make every German schoolboy conscious of race. He stated categorically that the inheritance of the past had to be judged according to the standards of the German present. "Selbstverstaendlich duerfen nur solche Stuecke ausgewaehlt werden, die in der Geistesrichtung des neuen Deutschlands liegen, die die neue

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht....." p.45.

² Ministerial Decree, 31 December, 1937.

Weltanschauung haben vorbereiten helfen."¹ Only those works in which some connection with any of the aspects of National Socialist thought could be found were to be permitted. Rust continued to enumerate four standards for education through reading. The first of these was the "Volk als Blutsgemeinschaft" by which the youth should be made to realise that he was a member of the Nordic race and to become aware of its accomplishments. The next was the "Volk als Schicksals-und Kampfgemeinschaft", in which the favourite subject would be Germany's fight for space, the heroic deeds of the armed forces, the struggle of the "Volksdeutsche" abroad and the fight for colonies. The third standard was the "Volk als Arbeitsgemeinschaft", which was to illustrate the nobility of work on the land. Finally the "Volk als Gesinnungsgemeinschaft" was to give the pupil knowledge of those authors who preached the doctrine of race and of the struggle of political thinkers.²

Rust then detailed the course of reading which was to become standard in the German secondary schools, and from which the conception of "Volk" was to be revealed as a living organism. The first form was to read about the envir-

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht....." pp.48-49.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht....." p.52.

onment of the child including simple stories of the national life in the new state. The horizon of the second form was to be extended to general aspects of community life in Germany, and stories were included of the Great War and of legendary heroes of ancient time. The third year concentrated on stories of action, heroism and sacrifice, of "Draufgaengertum und Manneszucht."¹

At this point it would perhaps be relevant to examine a typical German "Lesebuch" in use in the junior forms of German secondary schools, and obviously written in fulfillment of Rust's requirements.² The first section of the book is entitled "Gefahren mutig entgegen", consisting of short stories. One of these illustrates the courageous qualities in battle of August von Goeben, General of the Eighth Army Corps in the Franco-Prussian War. Another describes a rescue by Ernst Udet, the airman, of Dr Sorge, the polar explorer. Schiller's "Taucher" concludes the section on heroics. After various "Tiergeschichten" comes a section entitled "Verwegene Streiche", one of which describes the discomfiture of a Jewish money lender. "Bei der Muehle wurde der Wucherer Espach bis auf die Haut entkleidet, von dem Knechte Michael an das Muehlrad gebunden, um

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp.54-56.

² "Deutsches Lesebuch", fuer hoehere Lehranstalten, Teubner, Leipzig, 1941.

ness of Germany's oversea's claims. It contains a poem by Willy Vesper entitled "Voelkerwanderung", which describes a mass migration.

"Ein Stierhorn bruellet. Woher?

Aber vom Norden, hinter den Bergen her,
Ueber alle Daemme steigt
ein Voelkermeer.
Zu Rosse, zu Fuss, in schwer knurrenden Karren,
Mit Weibern und Kindern, mit Ochsen und Farren,
Mit Herden von Schafen, von Hunden umbellt,
bricht ein Volk auf in die Welt.

Und vor ihm her,
riesengross, uralte,
gestuetzt auf den Speer,
geht,
weissbaertig, mantelumweht,
ein Urgestalt.
Am Himmel weit vorn,
steht er und blaest des Schicksals Horn."¹

"Gegen eine Welt von Feinden" is the title of the next section, at the head of which stands a picture of the German infantryman, with the caption "Die letzte Handgranate". The section includes stirring accounts of patrols by night, of the troop commander who sacrifices his own troop for the sake of other units, of an address by a major at the close of the Great War, to his unit which was to be dissolved. The section also includes a poem explaining why Germany entered the war in 1939.

¹ "Deutsches Lesebuch", Teubner, p.152-153.

"Wir haben den Krieg nicht gewollt,
Wir haben an unserer Arbeit gestanden,
Fuer die Welt gewirkt mit Hand und Hirn,
Ihr neidet uns um Glueck und Gold,
So nehmt unsere Faeste und unsere Stirn."¹

"Wir brechen die Ketten", the next part of the reader, includes poems expressing fanatical devotion to the Fatherland, a description of communists being routed by the National Socialists during the election campaign, the heroic death of a H.J. leader at the hand of his political opponents, and finally of Schlageter's exploits. "Arbeiter sind wir alle" makes an attempt to stress the dignity of the peasant's vocation and of manual labour and includes a poem by Schirach.

"Ich fasse deine harte Hand
Hier halte ich mein Vaterland,

Denn du und ich, wir fuehlen schon,²
In diesem Handschlag die Nation."

The book closes with a chapter entitled "Immer stehen wir zusammen", which illustrates the solidarity prevailing in all sections of the community. Throughout the book are scattered various "Sprueche", quotations, and aphorisms to support various aspects of National Socialist ideology, such as Reuckert's lines,

¹ "Deutsches Lesebuch", Teubner, p.176.

² "Deutsches Lesebuch", Teubner, p.221.

"Wie gross fuer dich du seiest, vorm Ganzen bist du nichtig, doch als des Ganzen Glied, bist du als kleinstes wichtig," are quoted to make every person feel he was an important member of the community.

Another German "Lesebuch", designed for pupils of the same age follows exactly parallel lines; it is again subdivided into sections with similar titles, such as "Blut und Eisen", "Adel der Arbeit", "Im Stahlgewitter", "Ehre und Kampf", "Nordisches Heldentum", "Wir sind die deutsche Unsterblichkeit" and others.¹ Both books are entirely episodic and one cannot but conclude that their literary value for thirteen year olds, is almost nil. The sole purpose seems to have been the adulation of the German race, regardless of the rights of other races, and the deliberate inculcation of the idea that every boy must grow up to be a fighting member of the great German community.

Returning to Rust's schemes for the various forms of the secondary schools, one finds that the theme for the fourth year was "der kaempferische Mensch", for the fifth, Germany's struggle for living space, and for the sixth Germany and the Germans as they were in the earliest days. Finally the last two years at school were to reveal to the

¹ "Deutsches Lesebuch", Ambelang und Schulz, Weidmann, Berlin, 1942.

adolescent "die Selbstbefreiung des deutschen Geistes und das ewige Deutschland."¹ The books he recommended for study in the senior forms included Goethe's and Schiller's Storm and Stress plays, Herder's essays, Schiller's later dramas, "Faust", Kleist's "Michael Kohlhaas" and "Prinz von Homburg", "Aus des Knaben Wunderhorn" and Fichte's famous eighth speech to the German Nation.²

Some light on how such books were studied is thrown by Benze's directions for the teaching of German Literature in the schools. Neither "Aufklaerung", "Humanitaetsklassik", or "Fruehromantik" were in accordance with the German "Ras-senseele". "Dieser mythenlosen, unreligioesen, ungerman-ischen Lebensnuetzlichkeit gilt Vaterlandsliebe als veraltet, Volkstuemliches wird ausgerottet, der Weltbuerger ist Vor-bild, und es ist nicht verwunderlich, dass in solchem Zusam-menhang die Juden geschaeftig im Hintergrund des deutschen Schriftums erschienen."³ By contrast the Storm and Stress period was mirrored as a "gewaltiger Ausbruch der deutschen Seele" because it went back to the primitive forces in German life, and because it revolted against the "volksfremde Gelehr-tenkultur" of the "Aufklaerung". The Heidelberg Romantics

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp.60-68.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.68.

³ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.64:

Benze raised to an elevated position because in their works was to be found the fullest realisation of the national idea, the fullest expression of the glories of the Middle Ages, of the "Volksmaerchen" and of the "Volkslied", and because they re-directed literature to "das wurzelhafte unseres Wesens."¹ Realism was condemned because the forces of emotion and irrationalism, the "Mythussuche" were neglected; the "Jungdeutschland" movement was condemned out of hand because it was dominated by Jewish influence and because it inaugurated the "soziale Mitleidsdichtung". Naturalism succeeded only in creating "neugierig aufdeckendes Mitleid" and hence, contrary to the intentions of the authors, really only increased class hatred. In more modern times the literature of "Blut und Boden" had helped to counteract Jewish influences, to form the "myth of our century" and to help in the restoration of a "rassebezogenes Weltbildes".²

For the National Socialists the study of German Literature centred around one basic question. "Was ist von unserer Volkskultur arteigen geblieben, was auf dem Weg der Ueberfremdung durch nicht nordische Herkunft in Gesinnung und Haltung artwidrig geworden?"³ The task of deciding this

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.67.

² Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.68.

³ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.77.

could only be satisfactorily performed if the entire study was put on a racial basis. This necessitated a complete re-orientation of values, as many famous works in German Literature did not accord with the new "Weltanschauung". It was difficult for the National Socialists to approve of Lessing, despite his attacks on the "volksfremde Literatur" of Gottsched, because of the principles of toleration enunciated in "Nathan der Weise". Thus Lessing was generally depreciated with such faint praise as "Er leuchtete, aber er brannte nicht, er war kein Anfang sondern ein Ende."¹ Herder was venerated as the source of the nationalist movement, who re-directed German Literature to genuine German sources, and who conceived the idea of the "Volk" as a living organism. The position of Goethe and Schiller was too secure for open attack. But by the principle of selection and omission, and by applying quotations to support National Socialist ideology, much of the content of the acknowledged masters of German Literature was either distorted or perverted. Thus Goethe's later works were not recommended to the extent of his Storm and Stress creations and efforts were made to prove his sympathy with the "Fuehrerprinzip". Schiller was classed as "viel germanischer als Goethe" no doubt

¹ Nadler, "Literaturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes", quoted by Atkins, "German Literature through Nazi eyes", Methuen, 1941. p.35.

because his works were easier to fit into the official pattern. His debt to the "Aufklaerung", his lofty moral conception of the drama, his humanity, were entirely subordinated to the aspects which could so easily be made to serve the purpose of National Socialist philosophy. Thus Schiller was to be brought before the German schoolboy as a "Dichter des Kampfes" as a heroic poet, as a champion of the idea of the "Volksgemeinschaft".

Goethe and Schiller were not allowed by Rust to reign supreme in the secondary schools; the popularity of Kleist, for example, is not difficult to explain. He was wholeheartedly accepted because he expressed most clearly some ideas dear to the National Socialist philosophers. To the "tatfremden Marmorruhe der Humanitaet" Kleist opposed a "wilden Schaffensantrieb".¹ His "Penthesilea" was the most startling contrast to the Weimar ideal of beauty, and his "Hermannschlacht", recommended by Rust to the sixth form of the secondary schools, with its doctrine of ruthless annihilation of the enemy, and of the interests of the Fatherland overruling humanity, suited the National Socialist purpose admirably.

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.66.

"Die Guten mit den Schlechten. Was! die Guten,
Das sind die Schlechtesten! Der Rache Keil
Soll sie zuerst, vor allem andern treffen.

.....
Ich will die hoehnische Daemonbrut nicht lieben!
Solang sie in Germanien trotz,
Ist Hass mein Amt und meine Tugend Rache."¹

Kleist's "Prinz von Homburg" was also a favourite choice, doubtless because the hero follows the dictates of instinct rather than reason, but nevertheless remains a man of action. Very little nineteenth century literature, with the exception of the Heidelberg Romantics and one or two plays by Grillparzer and Hebbel, was recommended. It was generally regarded as a period in which Jewish influence was slowly gaining the upper hand until it was rescued by people of the stamp of Blunck, Agnes Miegel, Stehr, and Kolbenheyer, who restored to German Literature a consciousness of the "Rassenseele".²

Thus the literature drilled into the German secondary schoolboy was one which had been subordinated to the interests of the National Socialist community and was an admirable exposition of the doctrine "Recht ist was der Partei nutzt". In the new age all literature to be recognised had to be "volkhaft" and what was found lacking in Germany's

¹ "Die Hermannschacht", Kleist, Act IV, Scene 7, quoted by Atkins, "German Literature through Nazi eyes", pp.57-58.

² Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.68.

heritage according to this standard was simply discarded. The new ideal in German Literature was the heroic, the irrational, the exclusively German and the anti-christian. The study of German Literature was given a completely new direction by the reforms of Rust in 1938. In future literature was studied not for the sake of art or culture, but solely to further the new national and racial ideals; and the message of some of the greatest writers in German Literature was perverted to bring it into line with official National Socialist "Weltanschauung".

(b) History

The National Socialist educators were quicker to set about the reform of History than that of any other subject, which in itself is adequate testimony to the importance that was attached to the subject. Already in May 1933, Dr Frick, German Minister of Interior, laid down the "Leitgedanken" for historical instruction in all German schools;¹ these were subsequently issued to the Union of School Book Publishers to serve as a standard for education authorities in forming opinion of text-books.

In the treatment of prehistoric times, ordered Frick,

¹ Frick, "The Teaching of History and Pre-history".
Translated in "Nature", Vol.133, 1933.

the significance of race must receive due attention, for they represent the "Urboden" from which all fundamental characters spring. The German school was to educate the political man, rooted in a spirit of service and self-sacrifice in all his thought and action to the "Volk", and inextricably bound up with the history and fate of his state.¹ Rust elaborated Frick's views in the reform of 1938. All historical instruction, he said, should offer the past to the pupil in such a manner that his knowledge of the present should be increased and that each individual should be enabled to feel his obligation to the "Volksganzen". The "Bluterbe" of the past must always be shown in its connection with the present.² Three standards were detailed for historical instruction. The first was the influence of personalities and their deeds on the formation of the German race, with special reference to "dem heldischen Gedanken", and "dem Fuehrergedanken". Roediger, an eminent National Socialist historian, confirms Rust's first principle. "Im Mittelpunkt eines Unterrichtes", he wrote, "der die Jugend begeistern und zu Taten anspornen will, muessen immer die grossen Gestalten unserer Geschichte

¹ Frick, op.cit., p.298.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.70.

stehen. Der Held ist der Traeger der Werte, die eine Nation gross machen."¹ The second standard was to be the promotion ~~of~~^{or} prevention of the "Volk" idea and the third the maintenance or suppression of the racial heritage. History was not to be an accumulation of facts, but a drama in which the great laws of historical process became clearly visible.²

To revert to Frick, all textbooks were to begin with an account of the primeval history of Central Europe and to show how distinct races were the bearers of specific "arteigener" cultures. In the earliest ages the Nordic and Faelic races spread over Northern and Central Europe, and to them the economic and cultural structure of Europe is really due. Attention should be drawn to the first Nordic invasions of Asia and North Africa in the fifth millenium B.C., to the Nordic skulls in earliest Egypt, and to the blonde population of North Africa.³ On the same theme Roediger wrote, "Unsere Vorfahren besaessen schon eine ansehnliche Kultur, als die griechische Kultur.....ueberhaupt noch nicht gegruendet war." The very word "Barbarentum" was a crime and its use must be prohibited. The

¹ Roediger, "Geschichte, Ziel, Stoff und Weg", Klinkhardt, Leipzig, 1934. p.56.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.70.

³ Frick, op.cit., p.298.

main aim of the study of the earliest times was to prove that Germany was the oldest "Kulturvolk" and to awaken intense pride in the racial heritage.¹

Frick referred to the Greeks as "unsere naechsten rasischen Brueder". The Nordic Greeks, as conquerors, formed the aristocracy in the land and their fate only became sealed when class barriers were broken down by democracy and when unrestrained mixture of races was permitted. Another authority classes the Romans as "ein indogermanisches Bauernvolk von Sittenreinheit und heldischem Lebensgefuehl."² The struggle between patricians and plebeians, he continues, must be taught as pre-eminently a racial struggle, and the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire may be said to be due to "Verstaedterung, Vernichtung des freien Bauerntumes, und Rassenvermischung". The most important aim of teaching the history of the Greeks and the Romans will be to inculcate "den Willen zum eigenen Wesen" in the pupil, to make him conscious of the responsibility he has to bear as a link in the "Schicksalskette" of his own race. The stronger the youth is impressed by the feeling of kinship with the Greeks and Romans the more easily will he feel their fate as a warning.³

¹ Roediger, op.cit., pp.11-12.

² Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.95.

³ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.145.

Frick decreed that the German migration of the Middle Ages should be represented as having brought fresh Nordic blood into the Roman Empire, which had become a "Rassenmischmasch". Thus the new culture of the Middle Ages bloomed only where the Germanic peoples settled permanently, that is in North but not South Italy, in Spain, France and England, but not in the Balkans. "Only the fact," says Frick, "that the Germanic ruling class in Central, West, and South Europe was the bearer of medieval culture makes it possible to understand how medieval chivalry at its height exhibits everywhere such a uniform character."¹

The Thirty Years' War was to be regarded as a "weltgeschichtlicher Entscheidungskampf zwischen nordischem und vorder-asiatisch mittelmeerischem Geist."² Consequently the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus was to be welcomed, despite the harm it did to Germany, as it contributed to an awakening of the Nordic spirit. The result of the Thirty Years' War was a "rassenseelische Vergiftung durch fremde Soeldner", from which Germany was only saved by the rise of Prussia, a process conceived as a "Heimfinden zu nordischer Wesensart". In the leadership of the Prussian Kings the

¹ Frick, op.cit., p.299.

² Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.112.

old Germanic "Heerkoenigs-und Gefolgschaftsidee" was born anew, and the rise of Prussia was to be regarded as a fresh manifestation of the Nordic soul. In a similar manner the urgency of the Turkish war roused Austria to the consciousness of her Germanic mission and Maria Theresa was to be depicted as "die lebenvollste und waermste Verkoerperung nordisch reiner Fraulichkeit und Muetterlichkeit."¹

Modern history, said Frick, revealed for the first time the evolution in the direction of the national state.² Yet from the beginning of the modern period international influences made themselves strongly felt. The influence of the "Aufklaerung" was pernicious because its main task was to guarantee the life of the individual. The words "Staat, Volk, Dienst und Opfer," were derided, and "voelkische Eigenarten" gave way to "allmenschheitlichem Kosmopolitanismus". "Verzichtender Pazifismus" began its progress and the way was opened up for the Jews to gain positions of power and importance, and for the intrusion of alien elements into German blood and speech.³ These tendencies which opposed the development of German national consciousness must be clearly brought out so that the problems of the present

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.116.

² Frick, op.cit., p.299.

³ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.119.

could be better understood.

Napoleon had been the most dangerous opponent of the Nordic spirit in the nineteenth century, but this threat roused the Nordic soul to a deep consciousness of its purpose. This must be clearly illustrated with reference to Stein, with his conception "des deutschen Volksstaats", Scharnhorst, with the idea of "altgermanischer Wehrpflicht," Gneisenau, Fichte, Jahn and Arndt. Thanks to the work of these men "der gegennordische Geist christlicher Orthodoxie" suffered its first defeat.¹

After 1815 Jewish Liberals increased in importance, and tried to lead the people into ways of thought alien to their nature. Later Marx, Engels and Lassalle gave proof of the baneful influence of foreign thought on the fate of an entire nation. But fortunately once again men of Nordic race arose to meet the threat to the "Volk". "Bismarck, Moltke, Roon sind die Verkoerperung nordischer Rasse in ihrer vielfaltigen Einheit, untereinander zusammengehalten durch das nordische Verhaeltnis von Fuehrer und Gefolgschaft, der gemeinsamen Verpflichtung an ein Ganzes."² Bismarck had had to face two main enemies; firstly the Jews,

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., pp.120-121.

² Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.125.

connected with the rise of Social Democracy, and secondly political Catholicism, with its renunciation of "geschlossener Nationalstaaten."

It was perhaps fortunate for Germany that war broke out in 1914 when even amongst the Socialist Proletariat there was so much unspoilt blood. A decade later all might well have been lost. The fact that Germany held out for four and a half years against overwhelming odds was a tribute to the healthy core of the German race. The Great War must be taught as a racial struggle, with England in the role of a treacherous cousin. For the first time in history Germany became an "einheitliches Volk", with all unnordic feelings cast aside; hence its superiority in arms. Yet on the home front Liberalism, Judaism, and political Catholicism came out more and more into the open and eventually sapped the will to resistance.¹

History in the schools found its culmination in the study of the Great War and of the postwar years. The degradation of Versailles, the consequent infiltration by the Jews into every sphere of German life, the resurgence of Marxism and political Catholicism must be revealed side by side with the gradual awakening of the nation. Finally

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., pp.128-133.

the "Durchbruch" of 1933 to the most complete expression of the German "Rasenseele", under the guidance of Adolf Hitler, with the foundation of the German national community which was to last a thousand years, must be thoroughly understood in all its implications.¹

On these bases the new text-books on German History were re-written. The student of History must above all realise the fundamental fact that neglect of the racial laws had more than once led the nation near to ruin. Its most glorious periods had always coincided with the expression of the idea of "Volk" and with the close observance of the racial laws. "The contemplation," maintained Frick, "of what is specifically ours leads to a greater emphasis on the bond of blood which unites us to our kinsmen in neighbouring regions." Historical instruction must therefore keep in mind the fortunes of that third of all Germans who lived outside the frontiers of the Reich, so that all Nordic peoples should feel themselves a community united by destiny upon which the existence of a higher Nordic civilisation absolutely depends.² The vital part played by the individual in the community and the necessity of his unquestioning devotion to it under the command of a strong united

¹ Benze-Pudelko, *op.cit.*, p.133-135.

² Frick, *op.cit.*, p.299.

government must be the final aim of all historical instruction.

History was to be taught systematically on these lines from the first form of secondary schools. Instruction in the first year was to centre around the great popular characters such as Adolf Hitler, Bismarck, Hindenburg, Bluecher, and Frederick the Great. The second year was to lay the foundations for "das Verstaendnis fuer den nordischen Uraep-rung unseres Volkes und seiner Kultur, fuer Nationalstolz und nordisch deutsche Haltung" by the study of German pre-history. The third year was to take the pupil to 1648 and the fourth to 1871. The fifth year covered the period from 1871 to the present, with special references to the rise of "judengegnerischer Stroemungen", and such precursors of the National Socialist movement as Wagner, Lagarde and H.S. Chamberlain, and to the war guilt lie.¹ Only those facts which suited the purpose of the Party were to be taught. "Die Tatsachen," said Rust, "sind streng auszuwaehlen, und nur die zu bringen, die zur Herausarbeitung der grossen Linien und der obengenannten Gesichtspunkten notwendig sind."² The sixth class reverted to pre-history and the seventh covered in greater detail the period from the migra-

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp.75-90.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.85.

tions to the East up to Bismarck, emphasising the dangers that beset Germany when the powers of reason, the denial of "Volkstum", indifference towards race, and too great an attention to the individual took precedence over "unbewusste Seelenkrafte" and the necessity of sacrifice. The last year of the secondary school again covered the period from Bismarck to the present, ending with the disintegration of parliamentary government in Germany, the final defeat of the old "Aufklaerung" ideals, of the ideals of Western democracy, of the "Humanitaets-und Zivilisationsgedanke" and with the final rescue of Germany by Hitler.¹

The new teaching could obviously not succeed unless the teacher was himself an ardent National Socialist. "Nur wenn im Erzieher selbst ein Feuer brennt, wird er in der Seele seiner Kinder einen Brand zu entzuenden vermoegen aus dem alles echt Deutsche gelaeutert hervorgeht und in dem alles unserem Volkstum Abtraegliche vernichtet wird."² But even for the teacher who did not support the movement wholeheartedly the teaching of History according to the standards of absolute objective truth was an impossibility. A study of any German History text-book will suffice to prove that History was written on the lines ordered by Frick and later systematised by Rust. No teacher could afford to point to

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.101.

² Roediger, op.cit., p.7.

to the omissions and distortions which abounded in all the text-books printed after 1933.

In one such book¹ in use in the senior forms of secondary schools, the nineteenth century is regarded principally as one of "kritiklose~~r~~ Bewunderung" of everything that came out of Western Europe and one of "weltbuergerlich pazifistische~~r~~ Schwaermerei", largely due to the alien influence of the Jews, which led eventually to the "Zersetzung der Volksgemeinschaft".² The 1848 Revolution and the Frankfurt Parliament were condemned because the freedom of the individual was placed above the "Ordnung des Ganzen" and receive but little attention. Bismarck was revealed to the German schoolboy as a "deutsch nordische Kraftnatur, mit ungestuemem, kaempferischem Wesen,"³ who strove valiantly to oppose the disintegration of the "Volk" idea by Marx, Liebknecht and Bebel. Of decisive importance too was the emigration of Germans to the U.S.A. and the flood of Slav workers which streamed into the Ruhr and the Rhineland, the flight from the land and the development of big city life.

The account of the Great War denied categorically the

¹ Maier - Schirmeyer, "Lehrbuch der Geschichte", Oberstufe, 3 Band, Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1937.

² Maier - Schirmeyer, op.cit., p.13. Part I.

³ Maier - Schirmeyer, op.cit., p.24. Part I.

theory of German war guilt. "Haette Bethmann-Hollweg die Ruhe bewahrt, so waere der Ablauf der Kriegserklaerung folgender gewesen: auf die Kriegserklaerung Russlands an Oesterreich, waere die deutsche an Russland, dieser die franzoesische an Deutschland gefolgt. Dann waere Russland und Frankreich vor aller Welt als die Angreifer erschienen, was sie tatsaechlich waren."¹ Later the author declared, "Wir alle wissen, dass wir im Jahre 1914 mit reinen Herzen in einen Verteidigungskrieg gezogen sind, den uns franzoesischer Revanchegeist, englischer Konkurrenzneid, und russischer Panslavismus aufgezwungen haben."² "Deutsches Heldentum" remained the main motive of the Great War; defeat was due entirely to the "Dolchstoss in der Heimat" and to red revolution, but never to defeat in the field. After the war the main stress of the book is placed on the rise of the National Socialist Party, on the struggle with "artfremden" elements, on the foundation of the totalitarian state and on the bases of its "Weltanschauung".

(c) Geography.

The third subject of the "Deutschkunde" group was "Erdkunde", or Geography, the aim of which was no less than

¹ Maier - Schirmeyer, op.cit., p.88. Part II.

² Maier - Schirmeyer, op.cit., p.35. Part III.

with German or History to heighten racial consciousness and to stimulate a feeling of responsibility for the future of the community. The study of such subjects as Germans outside the Reich frontiers, the movements of populations, the organisation of Germany's living space, and the colonial question, said Rust, must figure prominently in the study of Geography, and as a consequence of this the pupil would join the "Front der Kaempfer fuer ein grosses und schoenes Vaterland", and would try to win prestige for the German race in the eyes of the world.¹ The whole of the world, continued Rust, was to be treated with special reference to those parts in which Germans lived. National Socialism had no intention of disappearing from the stage of world affairs and leaving to others the fruits of their work. "Erdkunde" must make obvious to the school-boy the implications of German policy. "Dass wir in alle Welt hinausfahren, wird, da wir ein Volk ohne Raum sind, auch in Zukunft der Fall sein."²

In the first form of the secondary school the simple Geography of Germany was taught with the aid of maps and aerial photographs. The second year was to deal with other countries of Europe, but particularly with those Germans who

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.107.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.109.

lived outside the Reich frontiers. The old Germanic emigration areas of Eastern and South-eastern Europe were regarded as the "Vorfeld Mitteleuropas" and as in historical study the idea of a "Schicksalsgemeinschaft" of all Germans was to be fostered. In the second year too there was further study of maps and such subjects as weather observation and their significance for air travel, and "wehrgeographische Beschreibungen" were also introduced. In the third and fourth years non-European countries were studied. In these years of course no opportunity was lost to stress Germany's claim for colonies, which was justified on the grounds of "deutscher Leistung" and because of the heroism of early German settlers. Another point to be brought out clearly in the study of non-European countries was the consequence of racial mixtures in North and South America. Fifth form Geography was to consist of a survey of the German nation, with the history of its various branches and "Volksgruppen". In addition elementary meteorology was introduced. "Erdkunde" culminated in the seventh and eighth classes with a mixture of National Socialist economic, political and racial theories, and included amongst many other subjects, the division of the world by the great powers, the battle for raw materials, Germany's relations with the rest of the world, the economic and agri-

cultural methods of the National Socialists to secure the future of the state.¹

Further thoughts on "Erdkunde" were expressed in an "Ergaenzungsheft" to the study of the subject by a prominent educationist.² Apart from the Great War, one reads, two things have wrought more damage to Germany than anything else; the first was industrialisation and the second the loss of eighty-five percent of German territory (including the colonies). Industrialisation had led to the agglomeration of people in towns and had caused the decline of the birth rate.³ "Erdkunde" must therefore educate future generations to the vital importance of work on the land and to the need for such measures as Labour Service.

Another fundamental task of "Erdkunde" was to create an atmosphere in which willingness to bear arms could be fostered. The subject must accordingly include detailed reference to the dangers of Germany's geographical position, surrounded by thirteen neighbours, and to the extremely vulnerable position of her industry.⁴

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp.112-121.

² Jantzen, "Die Geographie im Dienste der nationalpolitischen Erziehung", Hirt, Breslau, 1936.

³ Jantzen, op.cit., p.29.

⁴ Jantzen, op.cit., p.37.

Thus the purpose of "Erdkunde" in the secondary schools was to educate the pupils "in erster Linie.....zu ganzen Deutschen und ganzen Nationalsozialisten", to give them a sound understanding of Germany's economic and political aspirations. Finally from the study of "Erdkunde" the necessity of the racial laws for the protection of German blood and the German community would be self-evident and would be a still further manifestation of the principle of race already applied to the teaching of German and History.¹

(d) Art and Music.

To complete the "Deutschkunde" group came Art and Music. Whilst they were not perhaps rated as important as the primary subjects of the group as far as their "weltanschauliche" significance was concerned, they were nevertheless adapted to suit National Socialist ends. Thus according to Rust, German Art had to be the expression "des deutschen Wesens".² It was the concern of the Art master to see that subjects which were "schlecht gewachsen, entartet im Ausdruck, oder ein Rassengemisch" were not set before their pupils as they could never form the correct inspira-

1 "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.109.

2 "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.124.

tion for the creative works of properly educated Germans. The subjects recommended by the National Socialist Art authorities were German landscapes, the German man or woman, or anything that illustrated some aspect of the national life. Art education became in fact a "Dienst am Volke" and the same selective principle already examined in the case of German Literature was applied. The "Verstehen und Wollen eigener Art" was required as opposed to the "Abwehr gegen Ueberlagerung und Zersetzung durch fremde Art".¹

Thus the "Haus der deutschen Kunst" in Munich was full of Graeco-German types depicting symbolical and allegorical figures. Art for the German youth under the new regime meant paintings of the Fuehrer mounted on horseback in silvery armour, bearing a fluttering standard in his hand; or a picture such as "Noble Blood" by Adolf Ziegler, President of the Reich Chamber of Plastic Art, depicting a nude woman with long blonde hair; or "Maidenhood", a girl standing amid green, blossoming shrubbery, with her head slightly bowed and a halo of little white clouds in a blue sky behind her.²

Musical education received greater attention from the

¹ Benze - Fudelko, op.cit., pp.183-185.

² Thoene, "Modern German Art", Pelican Special, 1938. pp. 106-107.

authorities, who went as far as to found special experimental schools, the so-called "Musische Gymnasien". The experiment was commenced in 1940 when musically gifted pupils were recruited in the third year of the "Volksschule" and sent to the "Musisches Gymnasium" in Frankfurt am Main, which was to have been a ten year state boarding-school, providing a leaving examination with a musical and scientific bias.¹ The pupil completed first of all the third and fourth year of his "Volksschule" education in the preparatory department or "Vorstufe" of the "Musisches Gymnasium" before he went on to the "Unterstufe" of the main school, where his secondary education began. Here the curriculum was based on that of the "Oberschule" but it included throughout the school six periods of Music a week and in the senior forms four periods a week of Art. After the Frankfurt experiment a similar school was opened in Leipzig; both of them recruited pupils from throughout the Reich, consisted of some three hundred boys and used the timetable given at Appendix 5.

Yet the aim of these schools was not to produce specialists or musicians, but "Fuehrerpersoenlichkeiten" trained to take a leading part in the "voelkischen Musikleben".²

¹ Benze, "Erziehung im Gross - Deutschen Reich", pp.53-55.

² "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", 1939.
Vol. 5/6, p.340.

This aim gives the key to the National Socialist conception of Music and explains why so much attention was devoted to the subject in the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung".¹ Musical education could never primarily serve the needs of the individual; it must lead to experience of the community. It was to be made an important factor in community life and the first aim of all musical instruction was to make the pupil feel himself by singing an active member of the community, and thereby to heighten his racial consciousness. "Wenn der Deutsche seine Lieder singt, bekennt er sich zur Gemeinschaft."

Musical education in all schools had an "umfassend volkspolitischen Sinn". It was to become "ein selbstverstaendlicher Ausdruck unseres Daseins" in the normal daily life of the community. The "Volkslied" must become the centre of all musical education because it represented "die schoepferische Kraft des eigenen Volkes",² but of even greater importance because of its nearness to present day life was the song which gave expression to the new spirit, the political song. German Music must turn away finally from the "Judenherrschaft" of the nineteenth century and seek "eine neue Volkstumlichkeit mit einer gerad-

1 See p. 153.

2 "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", 1939. Vol. 5/6, p.328-330.

linigen, schlichten, klaren und zuchtvollen Musik."¹

3. Natural Science and Mathematics.

(a) Biology.

At the head of the Natural Science and Mathematics group stood Biology, which received two periods a week in every form in the secondary school. Because of its extraordinary "weltanschauliche" significance it had been compulsorily introduced into the curriculum by ministerial decree long before the systematic reform of 1938.² The aim of biological instruction, according to Rust, was not to amass facts, but rather to draw the correct ideological deductions from them. Scientific facts in themselves were not enough: "organisches Fuehlen und Denken" must be aroused to ensure the future security of the race. Biology must lead to an understanding of a completely new conception of life, in which the individual has only one raison d'etre, to serve the community. "Das Einzelwesen," wrote Rust, "ist vergaenglich, das Leben der Rasse und der Art, der es angehoert, dauert fort." The pupil must be

¹ "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", 1939. Vol. 5/6, p.331.

² Ministerial Decree, 13 September, 1933.

made to feel his membership of the "Schicksalsgemeinschaft" and that he himself stands "mitten im rassischen und voelkischen Lebensstrom." He must be brought to a realisation of his essential duties to this community by a study of how nations degenerate when their "hochwertige Erblinien" are neglected, or when they destroy their "leibliche und seelische Harmonie" by intermingling with alien races.¹

Biology began in the secondary schools with a simple study of plants, animals and birds. Subsequently the simple human biological processes were introduced: not until the fifth year did the schoolboy discuss such themes as the emergence of "Urrassen", the role of Nordic Man, public health, racial doctrine and population policy. The sixth and seventh years went on to show the duties of the individual to the community as far as biological processes were concerned, with special reference to the importance of heredity. In the last year of the secondary school course the biological causes of the collapse of the great "Kulturvoelker" were investigated so as to bring home the vital necessity for complete racial purity. Finally the need for and the content of the Nuremburg Laws were closely studied.²

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp. 144-147.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp. 155-160.

The aim then of National Socialist Biology was to introduce youth to the laws of life and to give "unerschuetterliche Einsicht fuer die Nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung."¹ It assumed the very greatest significance, because its central message, the racial doctrine, became the touchstone to which all other subjects were co-related, and the main integrating force in the curriculum. There can be no doubt that the racial doctrine was an obsession with Hitler and that it was largely due to the "Fuehrer" that it was so rigorously observed in the schools. As we have seen, he expressed himself unequivocally on the subject in "Mein Kampf", and with almost his last breath commended the Germans to remember the racial laws. "Vor allem verpflichte ich die Fuehrung der Nation und die Gefolgschaft zur peinlichen Erhaltung der Rassengesetze und zum unbarmherzigen Widerstand gegen den Weltvergifter aller Voelker, das internationale Judentum".²

(b) Chemistry and physics.

Whilst Chemistry and Physics could not have great "weltanschauliche" significance, they no less than any other

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.57.

² The Fuehrer's will of 29 April, 1945. Photostat in "The Last Days of Hitler", Trevor-Roper, Macmillan, 1947. p.196.

subject, were recast on national political lines. The role played in chemical research by Nordic investigators was to be made clear; instruction in both Chemistry and Physics was to reveal to the pupil how continuous research in Natural Science would secure the economic and cultural status of the nation. The German schoolboy must know how German chemists had created valuable new substances from raw materials. Chemistry instruction especially had a vital role to play in the defence of the Fatherland in the new science of "Wehrwissenschaft". "Dabei liegt ihm in besonderem ob, dazu beizutragen, dass dem Luftschutz eine genuegende Zahl von Helfern und Helferinnen mit chemischen Vorkenntnissen zur Verfuegung steht."¹ Chemistry then must be closely co-related to the understanding of important questions of the day, and must remain in close touch with the practical needs of life. Thus for the last year of the secondary school course a study of "Wehrchemie" was ordered by the 1938 reform; this included such subjects as a knowledge of poison gases, of explosives and war materials.

In the same way Physics at all levels of instruction was to be connected with the active life of the people. "Vordringlich ist der Erwerb solcher Kenntnisse, die in der

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.165.

Industrie, im Haushalt, und der Technik und bei der Wehr-
erziehung anwendbar sind, und die Schueler zum Verstaendnis
von Gegenwartsfragen fuehren."¹ Another authority recom-
mended "eine gewisse Aufgeschlossenheit wehrtechnischen
Fragen gegenueber, das ist Verstaendnis fuer militaerische
Massnahmen".² He accordingly detailed exercises on the
use of the compass, the director, on the projection of
shells, and on survey, flash spotting, and sound ranging
problems.

(c) Mathematics.

Even in the study of Mathematics Rust insisted on "ras-
siche Bedingtheit". The work of Copernicus, Kepler, Lei-
bnitz, Kant, Gauss, he maintained, had left its "weltan-
schauliche Gepraege" on the subject.³ The German mathema-
tician Gauss had served his "Volk" with his scientific and
technical knowledge, but on the other hand the Jew Einstein
"wenn nicht ausschliesslich seinem materiellen Vorteil",
had served only his personal ambition.⁴ As far as Mathema-

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.177.

² "Deutsche Volkserziehung", Vol. 5/6, 1937. p.144.

³ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.187.

⁴ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.198.

tics in the school was concerned those subjects were first to be considered which could be taken from "der voelkischen politischen Gegenwart", and once more "Wehrwissenschaft" was advocated as a suitable field. That such a field was a most popular source is clear from a remark in the introduction to a text-book in use in secondary schools.¹ "Es hat sich gezeigt, dass unsere heutige Jugend den hier erwaehten Fragen viel naeher steht, und ein groesseres Interesse entgegenbringt, als es noch vor wenigen Jahren die entsprechenden Klassen taten." This would perhaps indicate that the authorities succeeded in arousing the interest of the pupil by national political instruction and that in technical subjects at least it is wrong to talk of "retarded development" in the secondary schools. The mathematical problems which followed included calculations on the length of German motor roads, on population statistics, the cost to the German nation of two hundred thousand mentally deficient people, the total cost of army rations, the territorial losses sustained by Germany at Versailles, and other national political aspects of German life. An "Ahnen-tafel" was appended, a card in the shape of a semi-circle,

¹ "Nationalpolitische Uebungsstoffe fuer den Mathematikunterricht". Ergaenzungsheft zu Loetzbeysers Mathematik fuer hoehere Schulen, Ehlermann, Dresden, 1936.

divided into thirty numbered sections in which the child wrote the names of his ancestors to the fourth generation.

Simple calculations were then carried out in the junior forms on the average age of each generation.¹

Part two of the same book introduced various systems of making graphs, and typical exercises included the representation of the fall in unemployment since 1933, the number of Jews in the trades and professions, and the number of Germans living outside the frontiers. A typical problem on "Rassenkunde" was the following:

"Der nordisch-faelische Blutsanteil im deutschen Volke, wird nach Schaetzungen auf $\frac{4}{5}$ der Bevoelkerung veranschlagt. Der dritte Teil davon kann als blond angenommen werden. Wieviel Blonde muesste es demnach in Deutschland bei einer Bevoelkerung von 65 Millionen geben? Veranschauliche dies."²

Soon after the outbreak of war the curriculum of the Natural Science group was brought even closer to the study of "Wehrwissenschaft". By a ministerial decree aeronautics were introduced, the aim of which was to maintain German air supremacy. "Der auf allen Gebieten der deutschen Luftfahrt

¹ "Nationalpolitische Uebungsstoffe", p.13.

² "Nationalpolitische Uebungsstoffe", p.57.

bestehende Vorsprung muss gehalten werden."¹ The closest liaison was to be maintained with the N.S.F.K.², which ran courses of three weeks and ten days duration for the benefit of teachers of scientific subjects. Physics in the schools was to include the foundations and first principles of flying technique and the theories of wind resistance. Practical calculations, based on aeronautics, were to be included in Mathematics. Biology was to explain the theory of heights and speed, whilst in Chemistry the schoolboy was to investigate fuels, the materials required for chemical warfare, incendiary, high-explosive and gas bombs. The construction of model aeroplanes was to be carried out in Art periods in primary, intermediate, and secondary schools. In the "Arbeitsgemeinschaften" in secondary schools the selection of material was governed by "der praktischen Verwertbarkeit der Arbeit zum Nutzen der Gemeinschaft."³ Detailed study of metallurgy, biotechnics and aerial photography was to be undertaken in comprehensive courses organised by the N.S.F.K.⁴

¹ Ministerial Decree, 30 December, 1939.

² Nationalsozialistischer Fliegerkorps.

³ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.204.

⁴ Anlage 4. Ministerial Decree, 30 December, 1939.

4. Languages.

Modern Languages lent themselves readily to the new education. Every period in a foreign language was to become at the same time a German period, in that it must contribute to the "Vertiefung des rassischen Bewusstseins", "zur politischen Aktivierung", and "zur Staerkung der eigenvoelkischen Kraefte."¹ Rust defined the aim of Modern Languages in similar terms and detailed three principles for instruction. First of all he insisted on a practical use of the written and spoken language; secondly on constant comparison with the mother tongue, and finally on the process by which the pupil relates "das fremde Geistesleben" with his own. English was naturally the first foreign language in the "Oberschule", because it was the language of "eines uns rassisch verwandten Volkes", of a predominantly Nordic race. The primary aim of English instruction was to study Anglo-Saxon history, culture and spiritual life and by example and counter-example awake in German youth new forces in the service of the racial community.²

English was a fit subject for the National Socialist to study, because its great "Fuehrerpersoenlichkeiten" had

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.163-164.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp.207-208.

instinctively overcome alien influences. Moreover during the course of its history England had been repeatedly conquered by peoples of Nordic race and had thus acquired a Germanic character.¹ Its value as a national political subject was very high because England more than any other country had distinguished itself by its care for "gesunde Koerperlichkeit und charakterliche Staerke." Other aspects of British life from which the National Socialists drew valuable lessons included the dynamic nature of British History, the "unbekuemerten Vikingertum" of men like Hawkins, Drake, Gilbert and Raleigh, and the aims and ideals of British education. Self-assurance, pluck, manliness, playing the game, were precisely, claimed Benze, those ideals which the "Fuehrer" wished to see in his new schools.² Their treatment in English works would therefore be valuable national political training.

Reading material in English for use in German secondary schools was limited by these considerations and only such authors from whom some national political lesson could be derived were admitted. Shakespeare, the great Nordic poet,

¹ Kruper, "Die nationalpolitische Bedeutung des englischen Unterrichts", Diesterweg. Frankfurt a Main, 1935. p.9.

² Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.167.

composed "durch und durch maennliche Dramen" which must be regarded "im hoechsten Sinne als politische Dramen", because they grew out of the "Spannungen seines Volkstums".¹ Another authority maintained that Shakespeare showed significant racial features in his works. "Wie tief Shakespeare davon durchdrungen ist, dass des Menschen Denken und Handeln durch das Blut bestimmt wird, zeigt sich besonders an Shylock und Othello, die ganz unmittelbar rassische Bedeutung haben."² Taught from this angle Shakespeare was to be just another exposition of the National Socialist racial doctrine.

A reading list of English books for use in secondary schools reveals how the study of English was to serve National Socialist ends.³ The titles were classified under headings, many of which resemble the normal pattern of the German "Lesebuecher". Thus under the section "Rasse und Volk" are to be found Freeman's "Race and Language", and Maddison Grant's "Race, Language and Nationality". Under "Maenner und Helden" are found Carlyle's "Heroes, hero worship and the heroic in history", in which the author's

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.165.

² Kruper, op.cit., p.87.

³ Appended to Benze-Pudelko, op.cit.

"kaempferische Haltung fuer eine heroische Auffassung des Lebens" was much admired. Other books listed in this section included Kingsley's "Westward Ho", and lives of Clive, Cromwell, Cecil Rhodes, "Heroes of modern adventure" by Henty, "The ascent of the Matterhorn" by Whympfer, and "The epic of Captain Scott" by Lindsay. In "Jugend und Erziehung" we find such titles as "The Gentleman Ideal" and "Gentlemen in the making" both by unknown authors, and "Tom Brown's Schooldays". Under the section entitled "Imperialismus" "Right or wrong my country" by Seely was recommended and also J.A. Froude's "How England founded her maritime power". Finally in the section entitled "Land, Volk; Nachkriegszeit" appeared a history of British Fascism.

Rust made recommendations of a similar type in the reform of 1938. He too advocated above all the study of such "Fuehrerpersoenlichkeiten" as Drake, Blake, Nelson, Wolf, Washington and Wellington, together with the exploits of the explorers and Empire builders.¹ The only conclusion one can reach from such suggestions by eminent authorities on secondary education is that the language, literature, history and culture of England was not of prime concern. What was important was to seek out those elements in English

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.219.

writings which could be adapted to fit National Socialist "Weltanschauung" and to offer to the pupils yet another manifestation of the racial doctrines.

The study of French was treated in the same manner. It was to reveal the essential struggle between the Nordic and the Latin elements, which are to be seen in the contrasts between German activity and French passivity, between the dynamic and the static, between Romantic and Classic, and between Calvinism and Catholicism. The Nordic idea must constantly be brought out, and above all in the works of Gobineau, so that the basic principle of language instruction, that of acquiring "neue Kraefte fuer das Deutschtum" could be followed.¹

The aim of Latin and Greek was likewise to strengthen and clarify "die nordische Geistesrichtung" of German youth. Greek instruction was to reveal how closely National Socialist ideology approached to the ideals of Hellas, especially to its conception of the body, of art and of political life.² The lesson of the inevitability of political disintegration as a consequence of the intermingling of races, already taught in the history periods, must be brought out

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.175.

² "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", pp.231-233.

once again in the study of Greek and Latin. The special values must be borne in mind of those works which illustrate "die Werte des eigenen Volkstumes", such as the "Germania" of Tacitus, which increased knowledge of race and the "Weltanschauung" of our forefathers and which even now could serve as a "verpflichtendes Vorbild."¹

5. Religion.

The final subject in the curriculum was Religion, yet in Rust's lengthy and detailed exposition of the content of the new education no mention of it was made as a school subject, nor were any directives for teaching it offered. Certain facts however are highly significant. The "Oberschule" of the Weimar Republic allotted two periods a week over a period of nine years making a total of eighteen periods.² The reform of 1938 allowed only a total of twelve periods, the four senior forms being allotted one period instead of two. In the simplified time-table issued by ministerial decree in 1940, the total number of periods was reduced to seven, the four senior forms dispensing entirely

¹ Benze-Pudelko, op.cit., p.180.

² Kandel, "The re-organisation of Education in Prussia", p.309.

with the subject.¹ But as in 1938 there was no official comment from the Ministry. Government decrees seemed to be purposely vague on the subject, except for the establishment of the principle of voluntary attendance at school religious functions;² furthermore there was almost complete silence on the content of religious education in the official educational journals. The obvious conclusions are that the authorities wished to encourage devotion to the new state religion at the expense of orthodox religion; however it would seem that they were not as sure of their ground as they had been in political, economic or social matters. Therefore as far as the normal state secondary schools were concerned they had to proceed warily as they realised that many were opposed to radical changes in religious life. But the ultimate aim of converting youth to the new religion was quite clear. "As long as youth follows me," said Hitler, "I don't care if the old people limp to the confessional. But the young ones will be different I guarantee that."³ Accordingly the new religion, with its belief in the exclusively German mission, with its

¹ Ministerial Decree, 20 March, 1940.

² Ministerial Decree, 9 July, 1935.

³ Rauschnig, "Hitler Speaks", p.61.

most important command, "Thou shall maintain the purity of thy blood", and the idea that he who serves Germany serves God, and with its new symbols encroached into the life of the school in the numerous National Socialist ceremonies. Amongst these were the ceremonies on "Heldengedenktag" on 16 March, the "Machtuebernahme" on 30 January, the "Jahrestag der Vollendung des Grossdeutschen Reiches" on 13 March, the "Marsch zur Feldhermhalle" on 8 November, the "Fuehrer's" birthday, the May Day celebration, the "Deutsches Jugendfest", the "Tag des deutschen Volkstumes" and the "Erntedankfest". Yet it would be wrong to assume that Christianity in the state secondary schools had been entirely deposed. The attempt to wean youth away from orthodox religion was only in its infancy during the early days of the war. The forces that opposed the new religion were still not without influence, so that Kneller concluded after his investigations that "traditional Christianity still dominates the school system, although there is strong inferential evidence that the new religion forms a vital part of the instruction."¹

¹ Kneller, "The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism", p.202.

That was perhaps true of the state schools. But in the Adolf Hitler Schools the National Socialists felt on firmer ground. "There is no special religious instruction in our schools," said S.A. Brigadefuehrer Goerlitz. "Our boys are brought up to believe in God. But the religious conception is bigger than that of Christ. It is love of family, the community, people and nature. We tell the boy 'You have God in you, in your breast, and the way you live and do business, is all that is important...'" Christian learning is not deep enough. Concepts of moral behaviour were formulated long before Christ."¹

The long term plan of the National Socialists then was not to delete religion from the life of the child. It was rather to decrease and finally to omit altogether formal religious instruction, and at the same time to make the pupil experience in his daily life the new state religion. Religion was not to be destroyed but eventually harnessed to National Socialism.

¹ Quoted in "Its your souls we want", Hodder and Stoughton, 1943. p.73.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TEACHER UNDER NATIONAL SOCIALISM.

1. The training of the teacher.

The National Socialist educationists understood that their ideals could never be fulfilled in the schools unless the teachers were fanatical adherents of the new regime. "Eine Schule ist so viel wert," wrote Rust, "wie die Erzieher, die darin wirken."¹ Thus although special courses in National Socialist educational thought were arranged in the vacations for senior teachers, it was realised at once that the whole system of training teachers must be completely reorganised.

There had been a definite break under the Weimar Government with the traditional methods of teacher training. Before the Great War it had been normal to recruit the potential elementary school-master at the age of fourteen. The Republic ordered that all teachers should receive a general education in secondary schools and that graduation should be a pre-requisite for admission to the training colleges. Each state was to establish its own system. Saxony and Thuringia and the town of Hamburg trained their primary teachers at universities, whereas Prussia trained

¹ "Erziehung und Unterricht.....", p.18.

them in the "Paedagogischen Akademien". The training of secondary school-teachers remained virtually the same. After a university training the potential secondary school-teacher took a state examination, having completed two years in a designated school. The National Socialists, with considerable justification, were not slow to point out one essential weakness of the system as it existed at the beginning of 1933. There was undeniably a social gulf between the elementary and the secondary school-teacher. The solution of the new government was to create in their first year of office a unified system for the training of teachers which was to unite the entire profession into a "geschlossenes Korps".¹ The new "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" provided a course of which the first year was communal to teachers preparing for both primary and secondary schools. After this year the former remained for a further year at the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung", and the latter went to the university for specialist training. Thus both elementary and secondary school-teachers were to feel themselves equal members of the same community. The elementary school-teacher, maintained *Stellrecht*, must always be given the chance of rising to a secondary school. "Mir scheint, dass der Weg fuer den Erzieher an den hoeheren

¹ *Stellrecht*, "Neue Erziehung", p.178.

Schulen ueber den Volksschullehrer fuehren musste, genau so wie man zuerst Leutnant und Hauptmann wird bevor man Stabsoffizier werden kann."¹

Some consideration of the aims, the spirit and content of the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" will be necessary if one is to understand the type of teacher created by the National Socialists for both primary and secondary schools. Rust, as Minister, should perhaps be consulted first. He was wise enough to understand that the training of the new type of teacher, "der selbst erzogen ist durch die formende Kraft der Bewegung" was of greater importance than any mechanical reform of the school. The old style of pedagogic academy he claimed was "eine Einrichtung der abstrakten Bildung" and "eine Staette des Wissens". In its place he intended to put the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung", "die den Menschen in seiner Gesamtheit erfasst." Life in these establishments was to be "ein staendiger Dienst unter der Fahne....gekennzeichnet durch eine Kameradschaft, die Lehrer und Lernenede zu einer Gemeinschaft verbindet."² It was to be a political school, which was to be created in the service of the Reich "zum kultur-

¹ Stellrecht, op.cit., p.178.

² Speech of Rust, reported in "Weltanschauung und Schule", March, 1937. pp.258-259.

politischen und schulpolitischen Bollwerk gegen jeden Reichsfeind."¹ Teacher training must never be regarded as the process by which the technicalities of the profession were imparted: it was to be rooted in the "erziehungspolitischen Geschehen der Gegenwart."²

Rust enumerated two further principles for his new "Hochschulen", "Volksverbundenheit" and "Bodenverbundenheit". The new colleges were constructed for the most part in rural districts so that the intending teacher should have intimate contact with those nearest the soil. "Hinaus auf das Land," wrote Rust, "dort soll der junge Lehrer sich bilden....und er soll sich nicht bilden in den vier Mauern seiner Schule, sondern er soll aus ihr herausgehen und die unmittelbare Verbindung mit Volk und Boden taeglich und stuendlich herstellen."³

The views of Ernst Kriek on the training of teachers in his standard work "Nationalpolitische Erziehung" should not be omitted from any discussion of the subject. Germany needed for the future, he maintained, not "Traeger einiger

¹ Hohlfeld, A., "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Lehrerbildung", Deutsche Volkserziehung, January, 1937, p.12.

² Freudenthal, "Die Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung", Deutsche Volkserziehung, January, 1937, p.3.

³ Quoted by Hiller, op.cit., pp.43-44.

Fachwissenschaften" but "deutsche Bildner mit weitem Blick und Sinn." The function of the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" would therefore never be to train specialists. The "Fachlehrer" was no longer admissible, as education could no more be divided into various compartments. The "Hochschule" must therefore train teachers "die auf das nationalpolitische Ziel realistisch von den verschiedensten Seiten her anschauen, und die durch ihre bildende Arbeit in den Schulen bewusst mitwirken am Werden der Nation."¹ National Socialism was thus not to be regarded as a special subject but the basis of all instruction and the awakening of "national politischen Bewusstseins" in the potential teachers and leading them to the broad concepts and aims of the "voelkischen Weltbildes" was one of the most important lessons to be taught by the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung". The teacher must understand how the "viele Einzelheiten und Einzelaufgaben" were to be transformed into "lebendige Ganzheiten". In other words the centre of the entire training was to become National Socialist "Weltanschauung", which was to be the means of unifying all instruction in the Third Reich. The school would thus be able to take its place alongside

¹ Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", p.177.

the other educational institutions, and all based on the same ideology, unite to form a new culture. Or as Krieck put it, "Damit schliesst sich der Ring: Schule und Bildung reihen sich organisch dem Ganzen des nationalen Lebens und der voelkischen Gesamterziehung ein, die im gleichen Sinne von den Ordnungen der Familie und der Jugendbuende, der Berufe und des Staates, geleistet wird. Das Ganze steht auf der gemeinsamen Grundlage der voelkischen Weltanschauung mit der auch eine neue Kultur heraufkommen wird."¹

The criteria of selection for the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" followed the normal pattern. No student was accepted, who in the opinion of the educational authorities, was deficient as far as his physical attainments, his character and his intellect were concerned. His "Ahnentafel" was of course required to be in perfect order. In addition the candidate must have completed the secondary school course, proved himself in the H.J. during his school life, and performed satisfactorily both the Labour Service and military service before he was accepted for a preparatory or trial course at a selection camp.² At these camps, which were organised by the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung"

¹ Krieck, "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", p.186.

² Ministerial Decree, 1 March, 1935.

in conjunction with the local representatives of the "Nationalsozialistischen Lehrerbundes", the potential teacher was brought into contact with those already training; here his "Lagerkameradschaft" and readiness to co-operate were closely observed. The candidate was only finally accepted if his "weltanschauliche Haltung" was above reproach, if he had considerable athletic ability and if he had innate teaching ability. The last requirement was tested at the selection camp in the following manner. Each candidate was given a choice of three lessons which he was given a quarter of an hour to prepare. Then he gave it to a group of three children in the presence of an examiner. Finally there was a discussion with the examiner about the aim of the lesson and what had actually been achieved, which helped, "im Rahmen der Gesamtbewertungen", to decide the candidate's fate.¹ A further requirement was an ability to sing or to play some musical instrument. This was considered of great importance, especially as far as primary school-masters, destined for smaller schools in rural areas, were concerned, as it was here where the school-master would come into closest contact

¹ Leistner, M., "Die Berufspraktische Ausbildung an den Hochschulen fuer Lehrerbildung", Deutsche Volkserziehung, January, 1937, p.17.

with the people. "Hier soll er mit seiner Musik wirken zum Erhalt alten Brauch-und Volkstumes, und zum bedeutungsstarken Neuaufbau blühenden klingenden Lebens. Sein Singen ist politische Mission."¹

Perhaps the most important aspect of the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" lay in its community life and training. The "Flaggendienst" at the beginning and end of each week, the "Tag der Verpflichtung", the "feierliche Entlassung", the celebrations on the important Party dates, the communal hikes and camps, the visits by guest lecturers held in high esteem by the N.S.D.A.P., all had the same aim in view. "Alles wirkt zu seinem Teile mit, im Antreten und Beisammensein, die Hochschule immer wieder als ein lebendiges Lager, als eine Schicksals-und Arbeitsgemeinschaft in mannschaftlicher Bindung zu erfahren und zu gestalten, sie fuer sich selbst in den anderen sichtbarlich herauszustellen."² Community life was organised on strong militaristic lines in the "Kameradschaftshauesern" where the students lived. The "Hochschule" was ordered according to "dem Geiste unseres grossen feldgrauen Heeres"³ and it was

¹ Spreckelsen, O., "Musikerziehung in der neuen Lehrerbildung", Deutsche Volkserziehung, January, 1937, p.32.

² Freudenthal, op.cit., pp.2-3.

³ Speech of Rust at "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung", Lauenburg, Pommern, quoted by Hiller, op.cit., p.41.

to ensure that the whole nation was to be educated according to the same standards. Iron discipline was demanded in the field of "Weltanschauung" and "Wehrerziehung". Exceptions and private wishes or requirements were not allowed. Thus during training at one of these institutions a "kraeftiges Mittun" in one of the "Kampverbaende" in which teacher and student marched side by side according to their rank, was considered educationally essential.¹ As a result of this soldierly attitude, the future teacher would become aware of one of the fundamental aims of education, to impress youth that service to the Fatherland was the greatest that could be achieved.

A full discussion of the curriculum of the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" does not properly fall within the scope of this dissertation, as it is not all relevant to the training of the secondary school-master. But without detailing the curriculum, certain aspects of the professional training which affected the potential secondary school-teacher may be considered. The purpose of the first year communal training was to create an "einheitliches politisch-weltanschauliches Ziel fuer die gesamte Erzieherschaft."²

¹ Freudenthal, op.cit., p.5.

² Ministerial Decree, 16 July, 1937.

Thus the secondary school-master had his first experience of teaching in exactly the same manner as the prospective primary teacher. In the first term candidates were divided into groups of from six to ten in number under a "Dozent" or tutor who was inevitably "ein im Volkstum und Vaetererbe fest verankerter deutscher Mensch",¹ and who had at one time been a primary school-teacher himself. Four periods were devoted each week to teaching practice, at which two were at first set aside for visiting classes for observation. In some places, notably Saxony, the original method of having a "Volksschule" next to and under the direction of a "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" was followed. Some of the tutors were also responsible for classes in the "Volksschule", teaching a maximum of twelve periods a week, to ensure that their theory was rooted in "unmittelbarer Schulwirklichkeit". The tutor would introduce his group to his class at the beginning of the term and it would continue with the same class throughout the first term. The second term was arranged in a similar manner, but under another "Dozent". At the end of the second term the student reported to the "Bezirksschulrat" of his home district with a recommendation from his "Dozent"

¹ Leistner, op.cit., p.16.

and was directed to a primary school, in which he taught for three weeks. He was also obliged to report to the "Ortsgruppenleiter" and to the H.J. leader in order to live himself into the life of the community. The potential secondary school-master was thus given considerable insight in his first year of training into elementary school life. In addition he studied the general theory of education, special methods in the teaching of German, History, "Heimatkunde", Natural Science and Biology, Sociology, which included race theory and a study of heredity, Physical Training, Music and Art.¹ The two last mentioned subjects were conducted in a "Kunstseminar", described by one authority as a "kunsterzieherischer Stosstrupp",² an institution which would appear to have much in common with the Russian "shock brigades" for art education.

After successful completion of the first year, the secondary school-master candidate would leave for the university. Primary school candidates remained for a further year at the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" after which they sat for a state examination entitling them to accept a post on two years' probation in a "Volksschule". They

¹ Leistner, op.cit., pp.16-21.

² Seidensticker, "Kunst und Musikerziehung", Deutsche Volkserziehung, January, 1937, p.27.

were finally accepted at approximately the age of twenty-five. The conditions for secondary school-teachers were detailed by the Ministry in 1937.¹ After the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" the student had to spend at least three years at the university, "Technische Hochschule" or "Kunsthochschule" and study one "Grundfach" and two "Beifaecher" of which one had to be Physical Training. Having passed the examination "fuer das Lehramt hoeherer Schulen", the student, now described as a "Studienreferendar", joined a seminar or as it was more popularly called a "paedagogische Arbeitsgemeinschaft", which was connected with a secondary school. Here the student had his first experience of teaching in a secondary school, but at the same time he embarked on an intensive study of the theory of education. The function of the "paedagogischen Arbeitsgemeinschaften" was defined by ministerial decree in 1938 as the study of "der nationalsozialistischen Erziehungsordnung, deren Ziel der in seinem Volk wurzelnde nationalsozialistische deutsche Mensch ist."² The same decree stated that the first requirement was the complete mastery of "Mein Kampf" and of the "Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts", and of the most important political and pedagogic

¹ Ministerial Decree, 16 July, 1937.

² Ministerial Decree, 16 August, 1938.

periodicals. These readings were designed to give the student a "sicheren Standort zur Beurteilung der weltanschaulichen Voraussetzungen anderer Bildungssysteme." The two year course followed by the "Studienreferendar" included in the first year a study of the main decrees by the central authority, the structure of the educational system, a study of the aims and content of secondary education as detailed by the reform of 1938 and finally advanced "Jugendkunde". The second year concentrated mainly on the "zusammenfassende Betrachtung der weltanschaulichen Grundlagen der nationalpolitischen Paedagogik," the "Durchbruch des Rassegedankens", and the application of National Socialist educational principles to the various types of school. Finally methods of teaching special subjects were studied with special reference to the relationship between the teacher, his pupil and his material. During this year frequent visits were arranged to "Volks-Mittel-Fach-¹ and Berufsschulen".

The final pedagogic examination came at the end of two years in the "Paedagogischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft", after which successful candidates were appointed "Studienassessor". The examination consisted of a thesis of the

¹ Ministerial Decree, 16 August, 1938.

candidate's own choice to be taken from his own practical experience. Two test lessons were to be given, one to a class with which the candidate was acquainted, and the other to a strange class. One of the lessons was to be given to a lower or middle school form and the other to a senior form. Detailed plans for each lesson had to be submitted. Lastly an oral examination of one hour's duration was given to each candidate, to be held in front of the entire examining board. Thus at the age of approximately twenty-seven the "Studienassessor" was ready to receive his first appointment and to begin full time teaching in the secondary school.

Higher standards were required from teachers in the "N.P.E.A." and Adolf Hitler Schools. Benze demanded that such teachers must have in addition to the normal academic qualifications high "gelaendesportliche" accomplishments and an "ursprung lebendigen Sinn fuer Jugenderziehung".¹ Kloppe also maintained that only teachers whose "ganzes inneres Sein" was pervaded by the ideology of the new state were acceptable.² That a thorough knowledge of the National Socialist way of life, coupled with superb physical fitness was perhaps of greater importance than academic

¹ Benze, "Erziehung im Gross Deutschen Reich", p.60.

² Kloppe, op.cit., p.185.

attainment was confirmed by a ministerial decree of 1941 concerning recruitment of teachers for the "N.P.E.A."

"Sie haben mir in Zukunft in jedem Jahre qualifizierte Lehrkraefte Ihres Bezirks namhaft zu machen, ohne Ruecksicht darauf, ob die Betreffenden zur Zeit einen Beschaef-tigungsauftrag an der hoeheren Schule haben oder nicht."¹

It would appear therefore, that during the course of the war teachers obtained posts in the N.P.E.A. by reason of other qualifications although they had not previously taught in secondary schools. It seemed likely that the intention of the N.S.D.A.P. was to train its own teachers for the Adolf Hitler schools. As they were regarded as units of the H.J., it was logical for Ley and Schirach to entrust the teaching to proved H.J. leaders who had had some academic training. In 1937 the "Adolf Hitler Akademie" for training teachers opened in Brunswick and it seems probable that teachers for the Adolf Hitler schools would in the future have been recruited from this source. The plan was for candidates to have four terms at the Academy, of which the first was a trial term, followed by four further terms at a university, during which time two subjects were to be studied. The war however seriously restricted the growth of the Academy.²

¹ Ministerial Decree, 24 February, 1941.

² "Der Angriff", 6 May, 1944.

2. The National Socialist ideal of a teacher.

Having considered the training of the teacher it would perhaps be of value to review the completed article as envisaged by the National Socialist educationists. Much was written in the educational journals about the ideal teacher but from a mass of confused and varied statements some points common to many writers seem to emerge. Almost all of the theorists agreed that the school could no longer be regarded as the main educative institution. The H.J. must always be considered as an equal partner and the two systems of education were to be closely integrated. Therefore the word "Lehrer" was no longer operative. The ideal to be sought was the man who could unite formal instruction in the school with his functions outside the school as a "Parteifuehrer". The National Socialist educator therefore would be, according to Rust, a man "der nicht nur aus Buechern schoepft, der nicht nur das Vergangenen neu lehrt, sondern der in der Gegenwart mitlebt, der nicht nur geistig ueberlegen, sondern mindestens auch in mutigem koerperlichem Einsatz der Jugend gewachsen ist. Der nicht nur unterrichtet, sondern fuehrt."¹ Thus the word "Fuehrerkorps" will be more applicable than

¹ Speech by Rust at opening of "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung", Trier, reported in "Weltanschauung und Schule", December, 1936, p.72.

"Lehrerschaft". For the older type of school-master who was interested only in the intellect of his pupils the National Socialists had nothing but contempt. The new educator was to be an outdoor man, a sportsman and soldier alike, thoroughly alive to the principles of National Socialism. "Vor den Augen des Jungen," wrote Stellrecht, "steht das Bild des Mannes, der er werden soll, und das muss er in seinem Erzieher verkoerpert sehen koennen."¹ The military tradition was important and was universally stressed. Hans Schemm went so far as to say "Der wird kein guter Lehrer sein, der nicht zu gleicher Zeit auch Offizier ist, und der wird kein guter Offizier sein, der nicht zu gleicher Zeit auch Erzieher ist."²

The teacher must be a living example of the German racial doctrine, a "Rassenbiologe". "Was der Erzieher im innersten Herzen tragen muss," wrote Schemm, "heisst Volk.....jeder Lehrer, der das deutsche Volk und sein Leben dabei verdraengend andere Interessen und Ziele in den Vordergrund rueckt, ist ein Verbrecher." His highest task would be to inculcate "einen grandioesen Stolz ein deutsches Kind zu sein, ein deutscher Held werden zu wollen."³ The teacher must understand clearly all the pro-

¹ Stellrecht, op.cit., p.175.

² Schemm, "Seine Reden und rein Werk", Hauptamtsleitung des nationalsozialistischeⁿ Lehrerbundes, Bayreuth, 1935, p.172.

³ Schemm, op.cit., pp.154-156.

blems of the day before he could hope to introduce children to life. Therefore said Schemm, "Herein mit der Politik in die Schule.....wer heute fuehrend vor der deutschen Jugend steht, hat nationalsozialistischer Politiker zu sein."¹ The teacher must be so intimately concerned with the problems that face the "Volk" that he must become a real "Schicksalsgenosse der Gemeinschaft",² or as Schemm variously described him, a "Bildhauer am Antlitz der Nation",³ a "Wecker zu Kampf und Leben"⁴ or a "Schatzgraeber im Bergwerk des deutschen Volkstumes."⁵

Three qualities continued Schemm were essential for the teacher. The first of these was "Klugheit", not in any narrow academic sense, but in his relations with life. The second quality of the teacher was "Guete", by which the author signified not "kindness" but "offene und geradlinige Kameradschaft"; "Heiterkeit" was the last quality. Above all the teacher must be able to laugh and to rejoice in being a teacher.⁶

¹ Schemm, op.cit., p.157.

² Schemm, op.cit., p.158.

³ Schemm, op.cit., p.191.

⁴ Schemm, op.cit., p.193.

⁵ Schemm, op.cit., p.193.

⁶ Schemm, op.cit., pp.199-201.

The most obvious omission in these descriptions of the ideal National Socialist school-master was any reference to the teacher's academic attainments. Wilhelm, writing mainly for the English, was acutely aware of this, and in his pamphlet "German Education today" was at pains to point out that academic training would always be an important element in the training of teachers, but that it would take place in "an atmosphere of strict selection, comradeship, social harmony and complete discipline."¹

3. The Nationalsozialistische Lehrerbund.

One important institution which had decisive influence on the teaching profession, particularly the older teachers, remains to be considered, the "Nationalsozialistische Lehrerbund" or N.S.L. Founded in 1927 by Hans Schemm as a "Kampforganisation", its numbers remained small until 1933, when it expanded rapidly and soon became the only recognised teachers' association. Since the earliest days its alleged aim had been the unification

¹ Wilhelm, "German Education Today", (Terramare Office, Berlin, 1937). pp.34-36.

of the entire teaching profession from the Kindergarten teacher to the university professor. Once accomplished, the official task became according to the Handbook of the N.S.D.A.P. "die Durchfuehrung der politisch weltanschaulichen Ausrichtung aller Lehrer im Sinne des Nationalsozialismus."¹ Tolerance of Adolf Hitler and the Party was not enough, and it was the duty of the N.S.L. to ensure complete acceptance of the new ideology. It did not exist, like most teachers' associations, to do something for its members, but rather to ensure that they did something for the state.

The leader of the union had complete executive powers and was responsible for the appointment of administrative officers at all levels. In each "Gau" was the "Gauamtsleiter des N.S.L." and at both "Kreis" and "Ortsgruppe" level the N.S.L. had their "ehrenamtliche" officials, in most cases persons who were also practising school-masters. Each unit comprised teachers of all types, irrespective of differences in training or social position, "in einem einzigen Brennpunkt, in einer einheitlichen geistigen Fuehrung."² Each district was divided into seven "Fachschaften",

¹ "Handbuch der N.S.D.A.P.", 1943. Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P. Munich, pp.252-253.

² Schemm, op.cit., p.166.

university, secondary, intermediate, primary, special schools, vocational schools, and finally those in social work, each "Fachschaft" being under the command of a "Gaufachschafsfuehrer", who was of course responsible to the senior N.S.L. official at "Gau" level.¹ Membership of the N.S.D.A.P. was not essential for admission into the N.S.L. but naturally all Party members who taught were automatically enrolled in it. Membership for all the teaching profession was virtually compulsory as there were no prospects for promotion for those who remained outside.

The work of the "Fachschaften" was mainly to organise study groups, lectures and courses on various aspects of National Socialist "Weltanschauung", and to guarantee that teachers kept up to date with modern educational thought. Vacation courses and training camps were arranged so that the older teachers who had not passed through the National Socialist teacher training institutions should fall into line with the new ideals. In time of war a host of new duties were inflicted on the school-master through the N.S.L. such as the organising of school books and materials for the "heimgekehrten Gebieten" and welfare duties of va-

¹ "Teachers' Associations after the National Socialist Revolution". Educational Yearbook, International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia, University, 1935. p.326.

rious kinds.¹

The whole work of the N.S.L. was symbolised by the famous "Haus der Erziehung" in Bayreuth, the birthplace of Hans Schemm; just as Munich was the home of the Party, Berlin of the government, and Potsdam of the army, so Bayreuth was to become the home of education. The dedication ceremony at the "Haus der Erziehung" by Hans Schemm is of interest as it typified the ideals of the N.S.L. The first "Hammerschlag" was dedicated to Pestalozzi, the pedagogue of love (Schemm added that this signified love of the Fatherland). The second was for Fichte, the pedagogue of the state, and the third and last was to Adolf Hitler, the synthesis of the two, between "heisser Liebe² and stahlhartem staatspolitischem Willen."

4. The results of National Socialist policy:

The practical results of the National Socialist reforms in the sphere of teacher training are most revealing. Even before the war Germany was experiencing a shortage of both secondary and elementary teachers and by 1950 it had

¹ Benze, op.cit., p.124.

² Schemm, op.cit., p.211.

been calculated that there would have been a deficiency of some twenty thousand.¹ The National Socialists virtually admitted the failure of their efforts to make all members of the teaching profession secondary school graduates by their creation of the "staatlichen Aufbaulehr- gaenge" in 1939, by which gifted pupils from the "Volks- schulen" were given a special four year course to admit them at the age of eighteen to the "Hochschule fuer Leh- rerbildung".² In the same year a decree cancelled the compulsory year at the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" for the potential secondary school-master, the measure which only a few years before had been heralded as the move which was to unite the teaching profession.³ In Au- tumn of 1940 the practical training of the "Studienrefe- rendar" was reduced to one year so that now two years had been cut from the original plan for the training of sec- ondary school teachers.⁴ Finally came the abolition of the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" in 1941 and the creation of the "Lehrerbildungsanstalt".⁵ The significance of this re-

¹ "The Times Educational Supplement", 21 November, 1942.

² Benze, op.cit., p.132.

³ Ministerial Decree, 27 November, 1939.

⁴ Benze, op.cit., p.139.

⁵ Benze, op.cit., p.79.

form in teacher training lay in the fact that the National Socialists abandoned finally the principles of 1933 and reverted to the 1919 method of recruiting the primary school-master. Coupled with this reform was the introduction of the "Hauptschule" into the Reich in 1942.¹ These schools were theoretically to be a sort of upper elementary school with one foreign language, but in the majority of cases they were little more than the old "Mittelschulen" renamed. These schools were to be the main recruiting ground for the "Lehrerbildungsanstalt";² this institution was to take pupils from them at the age of fourteen, after they had passed through the usual selection camps, and give them a five year course. At the conclusion of this the candidate took the first teachers' examination, which entitled him to become an "ausserplanmaessiger Beamter". His promotion to "planmaessigen Beamten" followed after three years' probation when the second teachers' examination was taken.³

One most interesting feature of the new "Lehrerbildungsanstalt" was its close integration with the H.J. which

1 "The Times Educational Supplement", 20 February, 1943.

2 Benze, op.cit., p.49.

3 Benze, op.cit., p.137.

was detailed in an agreement by Rust and "Reichsjugend-
fuehrer" Axmann.¹ The "Lehrerbildungsanstalt" was to
form a special unit of the H.J.: pupils wore the H.J.
uniform with the addition of a special flash; the officer
in charge of the unit had to be a member of the staff and
was in some cases the director of the institution itself.
"Die Leiter der Lehrerbildungsanstalten", ran the decree,
"sollen in Zukunft gruendsaetzlich H.J. Fuehrer sein."
Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, two evenings a week,
and the first and third Sunday in each month had to be kept
free for H.J. duties.

In any final assessment of the teacher under National
Socialism certain facts stand out. It is clear that a con-
siderable number of teachers of all kinds were National So-
cialists even before 1933 and that they therefore welcomed
the reforms. Many of them left the profession to take up
more lucrative appointments in the Party. On 1 May 1936
the N.S.L. proudly announced that seven "Gauleiter" and de-
puty "Gauleiter", seventy-eight "Kreisleiter", and two thou-
sand six hundred and sixty-eight "Ortsgruppenleiter" were
former teachers. In addition sixty-two per cent of all
male Party members in the N.S.L. were at the same time ac-

¹ Ministerial Decree, 4 November, 1942.

tive political leaders and over ten thousand held appointments in the H.J., over one hundred and seventy being of the rank of "Bannfuehrer" or above.¹ In 1937 considerable pressure was put on the teachers to join the Party and eventually in some areas almost the entire profession did so. It is equally clear that as far as the future elementary school-teacher was concerned the reform of 1941 and 1942 meant that recruitment could only take place through the H.J. It was equally certain that the vast majority of new secondary school-masters were so well drilled in National Socialist ideology that complete adherence to the system was inevitable.

There still remained large numbers of teachers trained before 1933, who although they paid lip service to the National Socialists and were without doubt members of the N.S.L., were in the movement, but not of it. Almost all former secondary school pupils testify to at least one or two members of their staff who were not in fact ardent supporters of the Party.² The dilemma of such teachers was unenviable. Either they could make open protest against the new teaching in the schools, which meant certain ruin

¹ Reported in "Demokratischer Schulreform", Verlag "Einheit", Berlin, 1945, p.9.

² Evidence based on personal interrogation of prisoners of war.

for their families or they could acquiesce to all external appearances and avoid open conflict with the authorities. It is probable that a small minority of the older secondary school-masters did in fact take the latter course and that many never taught the new ideology as it was intended. Many a German school-master no doubt saw the fundamental inaccuracies and perversions of what he was supposed to teach; and it is virtually certain that these few failed to give the necessary emphasis to the new racial concepts which governed all teaching. Few were perhaps bold enough to deny any of the new doctrines but it was easy for an experienced school-master to make such subjects as the theory of race a purely formal and uninteresting lesson. In conclusion one might say that at least a generation would have been required for National Socialist educational practice to have caught up with the theory, before all members of the teaching profession approached the standards envisaged by the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung".

CHAPTER V.

THE HITLER YOUTH AND EDUCATION.

1. Aims and principles.

Baldur von Schirach referred to the H.J. as one of the three forces which determined the correct development of youth, the other two being the family and the school. So that no doubt should exist about the time to be allotted to each of these institutions he ordered that five days should be given to the school, one to the H.J., and one to the family, but Wednesday was to be the traditional "Heimabend" for the H.J. This "klare Diensterteilung" was to enable all three institutions to know exactly where they stood.¹

From the start the H.J. was to be classed as an instrument of education of equal importance as the school. "Die H.J. ergaenzt die oberste Aufgabe der Schule, die Erziehung der Jugend zum Dienst am Volkstum und Staat im nationalsozialistischen Geist durch Staehlung des Charakters, Foerderung der Selbstsucht, und koerperliche Schulung."² As the normal entry into the "Jungvolk" took place at the age of ten, followed by service in the H.J. between the ages of

¹ Schirach, "Die H.J. Idee und Gestalt", Koehler und Amelang, Leipzig, 1934, p.168.

² Ministerial Decree, 1 December, 1936.

fourteen and eighteen, it is clear that the youth movement played an important part in secondary education. In contrast to former youth movements, the H.J., as Schirach bluntly declared, did not exist for the benefit of youth. "Die H.J.," he wrote, "ist keine Gruendung des Staates fuer die Jugend, sondern eine Gruendung der Jugend fuer den Staat."¹ The fundamental aim was for youth to be trained not by the state but for the state. Youth, it was argued had no rights, only a duty. A "Kameradschaft" was required of those Germans who wanted nothing for themselves. "Weil sie nichts fuer sich wollen, koennen sie alles fuer ihr grosses Volk", thought Schirach, and accordingly service and sacrifice for the community became the watchwords of the H.J.²

The H.J. was to be an educational totality, uniting all German youth, and as such was an important means of carrying out the state's educational plans. It was to be in the H.J. rather than in the normal activities of the school, where training as a member of a community was to take place, where character was to be formed, and where the inculcation of the powers of leadership and responsibility would occur. The H.J., unlike its predecessors, was not romantic, nor

¹ Schirach, op.cit., p.71.

² Schirach, op.cit., p.16.

would it offer its members a flight from reality. ' Its members were to be made sharply aware of present day problems, with the aim of guaranteeing complete support when they emerged from the H.J. as fully fledged National Socialists. The H.J. was thus based on the principle, "whoever has youth has the future". "Die H.J.," wrote Schirach, "fluechtet nicht aus der harten Gegenwart, sondern steht mitten in ihr. Sie dient der Zukunft indem sie die Aufgaben loest, die ihr von dem Leben der Gegenwart gestellt werden."¹

The H.J. was not to be merely recreative, but on the contrary an "ernstere Zeit des Dienstes." Yet it was never primarily regarded by the National Socialists as an organisation "zum Soldatenspiel". More important was the political aspect. "Ihre Kaempfer," maintained Schirach, "sind bewusst nicht die jungen Soldaten eines Heeres, sie tragen eine Weltanschauung. Ihr Ziel ist jenes politische Soldatentum."² The Hitler youth was to be the soldier of an idea, and the more thoroughly the idea had pervaded his whole being, the greater his worth to the community. "Ein Arbeiterjunge, dessen Herz heiss fuer unseren Fuehrer schlaegt ist fuer Deutschland wesentlicher als ein hochgebildeter Aesthet."³

¹ Schirach, op.cit., p.94.

² Schirach, op.cit., pp.90-91.

³ Schirach. op.cit.. p.130.

A final principle of the H.J. was that youth was to be led by youth. Leaders were to be trained from within the community and were to be selected on the grounds of merit. Only one qualification was necessary; the leader must be a member "des Adels der Leistung".¹ Responsibility was to be regarded as the most vital educational factor, as it aroused the "Fuehrerinstinkt" and corrected those feelings of inferiority which had been transmitted by faults of the educative system of the past. The training of leaders in responsibility would therefore be one of the primary aims of the H.J.

2. The content of education in the Hitler Youth.

Three aspects appear to dominate the education provided by the H.J., firstly the indoctrination of youth with National Socialist "Weltanschauung", secondly, the character, leadership and community training, and finally the pre-occupation with "Wehrerziehung". "Weltanschauung", as it was taught in the H.J., was to some extent a repetition of the lessons learned during formal schooling in the German, History, Geography and Biology periods. Perhaps the most complete official exposition of the political and "wel-

¹ Schirach, op.cit., p.65.

tanschauliche" instruction given in the H.J. is to be found in the "Handbuch fuer die Schulungsarbeit in der H.J.", published by the N.S.D.A.P.¹ It begins by emphasizing the unlikeness of men and the impossibility of bridging differences between races. Intermarriage, it must be clearly brought out, brings out the worst characteristics of both groups and must be sedulously avoided. German youth must be taught to recognise the implacable opponents of the racial idea, the Jews, the Freemasons, the Marxists and the Christian Church. For the H.J. the study of race was to assume the proportions of a defensive war against blood contamination by the Jews.

From these premises German youth was to be taught that German blood was essential before one could be admitted into the community of German people. The Hitler youth must be quite clear how the Nordic race differed from all others. "It is uncommonly gifted mentally," one reads, "it is outstanding for truthfulness and energy. Nordic men for the most part possess a great power of judgment. They incline to be taciturn and cautious.....they are predisposed to leadership by nature."² On the other hand the

¹ Brennecke, "Handbuch fuer die Schulungsarbeit der H.J." Eher, Munich. Translated by Harwood Childs, New York, 1938.

² Brennecke, op.cit., p.20.

Western races lacked creative power, and the Eastern races were thick set, clumsy, unwarlike, destined to be led, but never to lead. The Hitler youth must understand that in the long run heredity always proved victorious over environmental influences. All branches and families of a people had a common origin, but the hereditary stream could suffer many kinds of pollution and injury when diseased elements entered the blood stream. Therefore the youth must have a basic knowledge of the eugenic reforms effected by the National Socialists.

Closely allied to the conception of heredity and race was the population policy, which was to form another subject for instruction in the H.J. The Hitler youth must be taught that a growing population alone guaranteed the future life of a people. National Socialism had removed the spiritual causes for the decline of the birth rate by converting the German people to a faith in the community.

The chapters on German territory and the German population areas were without doubt the culminating point of the book. German territory, for the H.J. was "every region of Central Europe which is inhabited by Germans in more or less permanent settlements and which has received its cultural imprint from the German people."¹ Europe, as a cul-

¹ Brennecke, op.cit., p.105.

tural and spiritual unity was conceived as entirely the work of Germans. Elsewhere the German culture was still plainly visible, from the settlements in the Volga area to the U.S.A., where over three million Germans resided. Other statistics for H.J. consumption included the numbers of Germans in all countries of the world. It was taken for granted that the so-called political areas, the territories lost at Versailles, must be restored to Germany, but the teaching in the H.J. also included the principle that Germany was justified in annexing those population areas even when they were outside the frontiers of the Reich in the possession of non-German states. These areas included the German areas in Canada, U.S.A., South America, Australia, and South Africa.

The purpose of this training in "Weltanschauung" was therefore to bring home to German youth the value of his racial heritage. Having realised the need for suppressing the enemies of the racial idea, for purging alien elements, and for increasing the quantity of the population, German youth was to be trained to think not only in terms of the political areas, as defined by the boundaries of the Reich, but in terms of the "Volk" policy. German youth must accept the idea of the unification of all German speaking peoples within the framework of a National Socialist community, which in fact meant nothing less than the preparation for a

nazified world.

The "weltanschauliche" training in the H.J. was further re-inforced by semi-religious ceremonies, the ultimate aim of which was to wean youth away from the orthodox church and to encourage belief in the omnipotence of the new state religion. Reference has already been made to ceremonies in the "N.P.E.A.";¹ of a similar type were chorus plays, specially written for the H.J., with such titles as "Volk und Fuehrer". One such play commenced with the lamentations of the chorus over the state of Germany. Suddenly a voice from the darkness announces that a leader has been found, whereupon the cries of the chorus rise to a crescendo. The stage is then illuminated, revealing a pyramid at the foot of which the leader is sitting. The chorus clamours for help, and after a time the leader, aroused by its entreaties, rises and speaks. The chorus becomes ecstatic as the leader finally mounts the pyramid, stands on the apex, surrounded by a mystical flashing light.² Another type of ceremony had a more direct religious parallel; in this case the introduction of the flag replaced the introduction of the sacrament, the reading from "Mein Kampf" took

¹ See p. 77.

² Sington and Weidenfeld, op.cit., p.61.

the place of the reading from the gospel, and the vow of loyalty to the "Fuehrer" was substituted for the Apostles' Creed.¹ In all the varied mystic rites and ceremonies practised in the H.J., most of which clearly bear the imprint of Goebbels, the central theme is unchanged: Hitler becomes the Almighty and is consistently represented as the modern Saviour.

Character and leadership training in the H.J. followed closely those principles already detailed in the consideration of the "N.P.E.A." and the Adolf Hitler schools. The way to posts of leadership in the H.J. was to be a hard one and selection for one of the "H.J. Fuehrerschulen" was to be regarded as a distinction. Each "Gebiet" had its own "Fuehrerschule" where sub-unit leaders were trained in "Weltanschauung", in Physical Training, and "Wehrerziehung". In these schools the H.J. leader was trained to be an "entschlossener und wagemuetiger Draufgaenger" and the qualities desired were "Schnelligkeit, Kraft, Ausdauer, Gewandheit, und Entschlusskraft".² But the central message of these schools was to make the leaders realise that they were not "selbststaendige Herrscher, sondern Teile eines grossen Ganzen, dem sie sich sinnvoll einzuordnen haben."³

¹ Sington and Weidenfeld, op.cit., p.62.

² Schirach, op.cit., p.136.

³ Schirach, op.cit., p.64.

Apart from the "Fuehrerschulen", numerous camps existed to train youth in character and community life, as well as to provide physical exercise and relaxation. Week-end hikes, excursions, parades, and the normal Wednesday "Heimabend" were all pervaded by the spirit of serving the community, and in all H.J. activity the "Gedanke des Dienstes" was never far distant. The deeper purpose of this community training was to destroy any class consciousness, or in other words to socialise youth. This process of socialisation of youth went right through the National Socialist educational system, beginning with the "Landjahr" or nine months in the country at the end of the primary school course, continuing in the community life in the "Jungvolk", in the H.J., in the Labour Service, and eventually finding its culmination in the army. Consciousness of ties of the blood, and of membership of the same "Schicksalsgemeinschaft" had, it was alleged, destroyed the system of class and produced a unified youth, not seeking self advancement, but all vying with one another in service to the community. The secondary schoolboy, in fulfilment of these ideals would in his H.J. unit parade alongside the manual worker, and if the latter had proved himself to be a member of the "Adels der Leistung" would be bound to offer him unquestioning loyalty.

The character training in the H.J. aimed at producing a type to whom honour was everything, who had learned the valuable lesson of blind obedience, whose courage and loyalty were beyond doubt. In the words of the "Fuehrer" the German youth of the future was to be "schlank und rank, flink, zaeh wie Leder, und hart wie Kruppstahl".¹ Once he had left the H.J. the educative process was not regarded as complete. "Schulung" of various kinds continued indefinitely. "Von einer Schule wird in Zukunft der junge Mann in die andere gehoben werden. Beim Kinde beginnt es und beim alten Kaempfer des Bewegung wird es enden."² The Hitler youth was then to be toughened by rigorous outdoor life, yet at the same time, sensitive to the achievements of the German "Volk", he was to pass on to the next stage of his education as a political soldier and dedicated to the service of the folk community.

One of the controversial questions which puzzled many foreign observers was that of pre-military training in the H.J. National Socialist educators strenuously denied that it was primarily designed to provide a pre-military training and argued that it could not be regarded in the same

¹ Quoted by Schirach, op.cit., p.197.

² Quoted by Schirach, op.cit., p.197.

light as the British Army Cadet units in the schools. Schirach himself wrote, "Eine Regierung, die ihre Jugend militaerisch ausbilden will, pflegt die Fuehrung ihrer Jugend nicht solchen Personen anzuvertrauen, die selbst keinerlei militaerisch Ausbildung aufzuweisen haben."¹

It is perhaps true to conclude that to give youth a military training was not the first purpose of the National Socialists. To socialise all young people, to give them a "Weltanschauung" for life, to guarantee unquestioning loyalty for the future, were no doubt regarded as more important aims. Yet the principle of "Wehrerziehung" remained an essential one and it will therefore be necessary to examine the role it played in the training of the H.J.

Writing on the part played by "Gelaendekunst" in the curriculum of the H.J., Stellrecht, who himself had had long experience as a H.J. leader, was much more open about its value as purely military training than Baldur von Schirach had been. "Das Ziel," he wrote, "ist den Jungen..... beim Heere abzuliefern, dass dort dafuer keine Zeit aufgewendet werden muss. Eine zehnjaehrige systematische Schulung kann erstaunlich weit fuehren, viel weiter als dieses jemals in der Zeit des Heeresdienstes geschehen kann."²

¹ Schirach, op.cit., p.139..

² Stellrecht, "Die Wehrerziehung der deutschen Jugend", Mittler und Sohn, Berlin, 1938, p.70.

According to Stellrecht the basic aim of "Wehrerziehung" was to enable the youth to grow up in a soldierly background and to assimilate organically those qualities which would make him a successful soldier. The new type of soldier to receive his basic training in the H.J. was to be "nicht das Produkt neuer Taktik, neuer Waffen, sondern eines neuen Denkens." He was to realise that the "Geist des Angriffe" was peculiarly a characteristic of the Nordic race and that it worked in their blood, "wie eine unnennbare Sehnsucht". Defensive war was psychologically most difficult for Germans. "Wehrerziehung" in the H.J. was therefore to inculcate the offensive spirit and to glorify death on the battlefield as the finest end to life and the greatest service to the community. "Wir wollen nicht in Trauer um die Denkmaeler der Toten stehen, und von dem grossen Opfer reden, sondern wir wollen sie gluecklich preisen, dass ihr Leben dieses grosse Ende fand." The greatest hour of a man's life was that of decision in battle.¹

Thus "Wehrerziehung" was to form the culmination of the racial doctrine which had been made the core of all instruction in the class room, by leading youth to glory in all things German and to the belief that the best German was

¹ Stellrecht, "Die Wehrerziehung.....", pp.9-13.

also the best soldier.

At the age of ten the member of the "Jungvolk" began his "education for defence", the most striking characteristic of which was training for courage and toughness. Quite remarkable achievements, maintained *Stellrecht*, were possible in hardening youths if a systematic course was followed. The most essential part of the practical training by which this was achieved was "*Gelaendekunst*". Only he who has seen the camouflaged youth, "fast eine geworden mit Gras und Busch, mit zwei brennenden Augen, die zum Gegner spaehen,.... der bereit ist aufzuschnellen, wieselgleich durch die Buesche zu gleiten, einen der feindlichen Spaeher zu fassen, der ihm den Weg verlegt"¹ has any idea what is meant by education in land sport. The earliest lessons included march discipline, care of the feet, first aid, the correct packing of the kit-bag, field cooking, erecting a tent, and digging.

Map reading, direction finding, field sketches, judging distances, writing reports and messages, selection of lines of advance, the principles of camouflage and cover, all found their place in the H.J. curriculum. The recruit for the army was to arrive with eye and ear fully developed and with all his elemental instincts fully roused. "Wir wollen

¹ *Stellrecht*, "Die Wehrerziehung.....", p.159.

unsere Jugend so erziehen," wrote Stellrecht, "dass sie wie Woelfe und Fuechse durch Wald und Feld laufen und schleichen koennen. Wir wollen in ihnen die eingeschlafenen Instinkte wieder wecken."¹ Finally it was asserted that training in shooting could not begin early enough. Between the ages of ten and fifteen air guns were used and from fifteen to nineteen shooting with small calibre rifles was carried out, the most careful records of achievement being kept. The importance of shooting must always be stressed because ultimately everything depended on the "gutgezielten erfolgreichen Schuss, der den Gegner erledigt."²

Side by side with these activities went normal Physical Training, the avowed aim of which was to produce healthy bodies, on which the whole army training could eventually be founded. The H.J. was kept at a high level of fitness by annual examinations, "Leistungspruefungen", from the age of fifteen to eighteen. Finally in the Labour Service a more difficult test took place, which was really a "Mannesprobe", in which "alles Weiche und Schwaeche, das bisher mitgeschleppt wurde, endgueltig weggeschnitten wird."³

By the time the German youth was about nineteen he was ready

¹ Stellrecht, "Die Wehreziehung.....", p.79.

² Stellrecht, "Die Wehrerziehung.....", p.101.

³ Stellrecht, "Die Wehrerziehung.....", p.115.

to enter the army, that "Gemeinschaft der Tapferen", with a superbly healthy body, and a firm belief in his country's mission, "voll Lust des eigenen Einsatzes zum Heile seines Volkes."¹

3. The Hitler Youth and the secondary school.

Such a comprehensive movement as the H.J. could clearly not exist without effecting the most profound changes in the life of the secondary school. Schirach insisted that they were both to be regarded as educational institutions. "Die Schule ist die Erziehung von oben, die H.J. die von unten. In der Schule erzieht die Lehrerschaft, in der H.J. die junge Fuehrung."² The authority of the teacher must be final in the school, but maintained Schirach, it was equally obvious that the highest authority outside the school was that of the H.J. leader. The teacher must realise that his position gave him no claim to the leadership of youth. He must remember that "Lehren und Fuehren" were two fundamentally different things.³ The one quality required by the H.J. leader was the inborn power of leadership, and whoever possessed it, irrespective of whether he was a teacher, peasant

¹ Stellrecht, "Die Wehrerziehung.....", p.111.

² Schirach, op.cit., p.169.

³ Schirach, op.cit., p.170.

or labourer, was to be used for youth work.

Although there was to be a sharp division between the school and the H.J., close liaison about individual pupils was recommended. Schirach considered it advisable for a teacher to consult the H.J. leader first about an idle boy rather than reprove him direct. In secondary schools it happened frequently that the teacher would find a H.J. leader in his class. In such cases special tact was to be employed by the teacher. "Es ist etwas anders ob man einen Schueler tadelt, der ausserhalb des Unterrichts eine Gefolgschaft fuehrt, oder einem solchen, der eben nichts anders als Schueler ist."¹ The teacher must therefore not presume to lower the authority or prestige of the "Gefolgschaftfuehrer" by rebuking him in front of his comrades; he must tell him "unter vier Augen was ihm im Interesse seiner Schulbildung gesagt werden muss."² The teacher must not criticise the H.J., as a word against it in the heat of the moment would destroy the confidence between pupils and master which would not be easy to replace. The H.J. leader was then in a privileged position in the schools. There was a very strong tendency to encourage other boys to respect him rather than the school-master, especially if

¹ Schirach, op.cit., p.173.

² Schirach, op.cit., p.173.

the latter was of the older, more academic type. "Gewiss hat die Jugend keinen Respekt vor dem Wissen. Sie achtet nur den Kerl.....wer keiner ist, kann nicht geholfen werden."¹

Encouraged perhaps by Schirach's pronouncements on the subject, encroachments were clearly made by the H.J. against the authority of the school. That this had been the case is evident from a ministerial decree which stipulated, "Eingriffe in die Taetigkeit der Schule von aussen her sind verboten. Im Schulleben haben die Schueler den Leiter und Lehrern unbedingt zu gehorchen."² To smooth out differences the same decree established special "Vertrauenslehrer", or "liaison teachers" who had to be members of the N.S.L. and who were preferably also members of the H.J. Their duties were clearly defined and included the dissemination of information on the aims and work of the H.J., discussions with parents on the relationship between H.J. and the school, and interviews with the responsible H.J. leaders concerning pupils whose zeal in either school or H.J. was deficient. These liaison officers also answered questions on the child's H.J. record at examinations and other interviews.

¹ Schirach, op.cit., p.174.

² Ministerial Decree, 18 February, 1938.

The same decree was to guarantee a "reibungsloses Zusammenarbeiten von Schule und H.J.", but that it was not perhaps completely successful in eliminating friction was indicated by a special agreement concluded in 1941 between Rust and Axmann,¹ stressing once more the importance of unity between the school, the H.J. and the family, and the necessity of avoiding overlapping. Once more a "regelmässiger Wochendienst" was detailed with which the school had no right to interfere. The school could also have no claim on the pupil during the holidays, when the "Landfahrten" and the "Grossfahrten" of the H.J. took place. On the other hand members of the H.J. were granted leave of absence during school time to attend "Fuehrerschulen", which provided courses up to a length of three weeks. As the war continued the H.J. encroached more and more on the time of the school, and this became the subject of a further decree in 1943, when leave of absence from schools for various H.J. courses and war duties was regularised.²

It thus becomes clear that the H.J. played a dominant part in reversing the scale of values in the secondary schools. The normal youth in normal conditions will rarely overwork himself intellectually. When however knowledge

¹ Ministerial Decree, 8 February, 1941.

² Ministerial Decree, 19 November, 1943.

and intellectual attainment are openly derided by those in authority and the ideal of the "Kerl" is substituted, disintegration of the academic side will eventually result. Yet despite the assurances by the National Socialist educationists of the revolution effected by the H.J. in the education of German youth, there is great uncertainty as to the actual extent of the triumph. Did German youth surrender completely to the new ideology or did a part of it see the evils of the H.J. system? Did those members of the pre-1933 youth movements remain content with a purely passive role? These questions cannot be left unanswered as they are of great importance when considering the re-education of Germany.

4. Resistance to the Hitler Youth.

One of the professed aims of the H.J. was to bring back youth to the community, but there was little spontaneity about it. The state arranged everything, and although youth was to be led by youth, everything was ordered from the highest Party level and the junior unit commanders had the power to decide nothing. Another professed aim of the H.J. was to instill the highest form of comradeship amongst

young people outside the school. Yet there was no suggestion of equality about the training. Life in the H.J. with its constant "Leistungspruefungen", its organised courses and camps was a continual selective process and it would seem that the constant rivalry for posts of leadership led to the stressing of purely material ends, to the growth of ambition and the lust for power, rather than to those spiritual ends over which some of the Party idealists enthused. The biography of a Hitler youth, Adolf Goers, is perhaps typical of many who joined full of enthusiasm for the principle of "Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz", and who eventually learned that the only sure way to advance was to pull strings.¹ His experience revealed that the creation of a hierarchy often led only to envy, frustration and jealousy. The background of the H.J., described by Goers, with the ambitions of its leaders, the continual hunt for position and influence, their corruption, their night life and attendant vices, illustrate only too clearly the wide gulf between National Socialist theory and practice. Goers finally became attached to a training company led by a former member of the scouts. Eventually other boys, also members of pre-1933 youth organisations, joined the company, which rapidly became

¹ Siemsen, "Hitler Youth", Lindsay Drummond, London, 1940.

more and more like the scouts. There was no thought of conspiracy; indeed the majority still believed in Hitler, but they wanted freedom, to have no superiors, and no subordinates, and to be amongst comrades on an equal footing. The company was finally dissolved when its nature became apparent, and Goers formed a small unit of his own which was however soon liquidated and its members arrested.

While this was certainly a most uncommon occurrence in the H.J., there is further evidence that the old youth movements did not entirely collapse with the "Gleichschaltung" of 1933. The "Meissner" formula, which proclaimed the right of self-determination, still lived. Many group leaders found their way into the H.J., with the intention of undermining it and numerous reports from Germany, official speeches, press articles, and even police decrees testify that they were not entirely unsuccessful. The formation of the "H.J. Streifendienst", a sort of mobile patrol with police powers, created to comb out recalcitrant elements amongst adolescents, shows that German youth was not entirely unanimous in its support for National Socialism.

Yet one must be cautious in estimating the tradition of opposition to the H.J. That it existed throughout the regime is certain, but it would be wrong to over-estimate its importance, or even to assume that there were many units

like that of Adolf Goers. There can be no doubt that the majority of secondary schoolboys enjoyed their days in the H.J. and that many of them never saw the darker side described above. The success of Hitler's appeal to German youth cannot be doubted for a moment by any person who has had contact with young German prisoners. The almost complete unanimity with which they worshipped the "Fuehrer", and ascribed all the evils in the world to the influence of the Jews, their fanatical belief in the Nordic myths, the supremacy of their own race, and the mission of Germany indicate a very thorough and systematic "weltanschauliche" training in the H.J. and a widespread acceptance of what was taught. The National Socialists were skilful enough to realise that youth needed a set of values and how completely they held sway is clear from the small numbers who understood how they were being perverted and intellectually stunted. Becker concluded that the grip of the new ideology grew as the war went on. "Until well into the third year of the present war," he wrote, "and perhaps even the fourth it is altogether likely that the external grip of the National Socialist Party grew stronger and stronger and that the ideology of the "Volk" community as embodied in the Nazi system was hammered home with greater energy."¹

¹ Becker, "German Youth, bond or free". Kegan Paul, London, 1946, p.202.

Yet as the war went on and the German military machine tasted defeat for the first time, disrespect for the Party leaders and hatred for careerists became more common amongst youth. Becker referred to various groups¹ which engaged in street brawls with the H.J. and it is certain that from 1943 onwards a reaction against regimentation set in. These gangs however, amongst which juvenile delinquents were common, were generally not co-ordinated and had little political significance. The "Edelweiss" movement, which was perhaps more co-ordinated than any other anti-Hitler movement amongst recalcitrant youth, arose mainly in the industrial districts in the Rhineland and drew its recruits largely from working class homes: only rarely was anybody found in the movement who had had a secondary school education. The chief occupations were horseplay at H.J. meetings, including physical violence to H.J. leaders, the chalking up of such slogans as "Raeder müssen rollen fuer den Sieg. Koepfe muessen fallen nach dem Krieg," and the distribution of subversive pamphlets. Considerable numbers of the "Edelweiss" movement found their way into the armed forces, from which they were not slow to desert once they

¹ Becker, op.cit., p.209.
c.f. "Inside Germany Reports", American Association for a democratic Germany, New York, April 1945, p.3., which refers to anti-Nazi groups such as "The Pack", "The Falcons", "The Black Party", "The Three Iron Arrows", and "The White Rose".

were posted to front line units. The character of these anti-Nazi groups proves that the H.J. did not entirely succeed in creating a generation of indoctrinated fanatics. The real result of the H.J. training can be seen in the sense of confusion and in the nihilistic tendencies of the majority of youth groups opposed to Hitler. At the end of the war these youths were in opposition to everything they had ever known, to the state, to the H.J., to the family, to adults, and in general to all society.

Any discussion of opposition to the H.J. must include the declaration by students of Munich University in January and February of 1943, which cost many of them their lives. The spirit of the manifesto bore a striking resemblance to the "Hohen Meissner" doctrine and was in large measure a protest at "the suffocation of the growing power of thinking and judging for oneself in a fog of empty phrases" and which stated the intention "to fight for the right to untrammelled self-determination without which spiritual values cannot be created." The manifesto proclaimed "the struggle for our future, our freedom and our honour within the framework of a national existence conscious of its moral responsibility."¹

¹ Borinski-Milch, "Jugendbewegung", German Educational Reconstruction, Westminster Press, 1945, p. 45.

Finally amongst the forces that challenged the authority of the National Socialists must be numbered such figures as Bishop Bornewasser of Trier, Count Galen, Bishop of Muenster, and Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich, whose teachings must have reached a small minority of German youths. Of special significance too was the trial of Count von Moltke's group, which had started discussions with a view to uniting healthy elements remaining in Germany, in 1940 at the very peak of Hitler's success. Freisler, the President of the People's Court, was quick to realise that Moltke's group was if anything more dangerous than those which had planned violent action against the state because it emphasised the supreme importance of spiritual resistance to National Socialism. Moltke and his associates were accordingly sentenced to death for asking the question, "Womit kann im Chaos das Christentum ein Rettungsanker sein."¹

In assessing the effects of the H.J. on secondary education certain facts stand out. The tradition of resistance, as we have seen found its main support amongst the sons of industrial workers and in clerical circles and in fact effected only a very small minority. Certain secondary school-masters were clearly not in sympathy with the

¹ "A German of the Resistance", The Last Letters of Count Helmuth Janes von Moltke, Oxford University Press, London, 1947, p.59.

H.J. movement and the frequent ministerial decrees prove that relations were at times strained. The secondary schoolboy, who according to the Minister of Education, was being trained for a position of responsibility, if his career was to be successful had to prove a faultless record in the H.J. It seems clear therefore that in case of any conflict between the H.J. and members of the staff known not to be ardent supporters of the Party, the boys would give their allegiance rather to the H.J. unit. For the careerist a good record in the H.J. had greater market value than academic attainment and so the normal secondary schoolboy entered with vigour into H.J. activities and later obtained the Party badge as a safety pin. The Hitler Youth movement therefore, although it perhaps gave former primary schoolboys, who were content to remain in the rank and file, opportunities for community training and comradeship, offered enormous scope to the secondary schoolboy, and fostered in many cases opportunism, hypocrisy and dissimulation rather than those virtues extolled by the educational philosophers. The pressure of the weekly parades, the week-end camps, the courses away from home, took up a great amount of time of the secondary school pupil, whose academic development must surely have been severely retarded. But more vital than either the opportunism or the restriction of intellectual progress was the stifling of free discussion. In

the H.J. there were no such things as the standards of objective truth. A thing was no longer true or false but right or wrong politically. "Criticism of the leadership," wrote Goers, "is the greatest crime of which a member of the H.J. can be guilty. Better that he should lie, cheat, steal, commit all sorts of follies. That is not half so bad as making the slightest criticism."¹

¹ Siemsen, op.cit., p.157.

PART TWO.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LEGACY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM.

In Part One of this dissertation the attempt has been made first of all to clarify the principles of National Socialist education and to examine their application to the field of secondary education for boys. In Part Two the legacy of National Socialism will be discussed; subsequently various trends in secondary education in Germany today will be noted with special reference to the British Zone. Finally the lessons of National Socialism for contemporary educational thought will be reviewed and the attempt made to assess the progress towards and the prospects of a democratic system of education in Germany.

1. The disintegration of secondary education.

Before attempting to describe the educational scene in the summer of 1945 it would be relevant to detail some of the stages of the disintegration of secondary education during the war and to estimate the effects on the German schoolboy. The early years of the war clearly gave a great impetus to "Wehrwissenschaft" and those aspects of school subjects were stressed which would prove of direct use to the

war effort when the pupil left school. Yet the ministerial decrees for 1940 and for 1941 offer little evidence that secondary education was being seriously retarded. The final secondary school examination, the "Reifepruefung", was certainly simplified by a reduction in the number of written papers,¹ and the time-table was also slightly simplified.² But it was not until the full impact of the failure of the German armies to gain immediate victory in the East had been felt that secondary education was seriously threatened. Early in 1942 the whole of Germany began to realise for the first time that war could mean sacrifice and hardship rather than triumphant military parades. The continued failures on the Eastern Front had their immediate repercussions on the schools and in Spring, 1942, the Minister of Education issued a decree, in conjunction with the "Reichsjugendfuhrer" and the Minister for "Ernaehrung und Wirtschaft", which marked the first major stage in the disintegration of secondary school education.³ This decree established the principle of agricultural labour for secondary schoolboys of the fifth and sixth years between 15 April and 15 November.

¹ Ministerial Decree, 13 January, 1940.

² Ministerial Decree, 20 March, 1940. See Appendix 2.

³ Ministerial Decree, 24 April, 1942.

This service was either "zeitweilig" or "ununterbrochen" according to the agricultural situation. Service of shorter duration was decreed for primary school pupils, which was to take place within reach of their homes. Secondary school pupils were to be accommodated in hostels or camps or even with individual peasants. Schooling and H.J. duties, said the Minister, were to be carried on when agricultural work was limited through bad weather or other causes. On such days instruction was to be confined to scientific subjects.

Early in 1942 a wide spread call up to the forces took place in preparation for the summer offensives and it was estimated that at about this time over fifty per cent of the teachers in primary schools and forty per cent of those in secondary schools were in the forces.¹ It was clear also from the number of secondary school graduates entering the universities that serious shortages would be felt in the professions in subsequent years. In 1931 seventy-three per cent of all "Abiturienten" had gone to the universities or to the technical high schools, By 1938 the number had fallen to forty-two percent and in 1941 to twenty-seven percent.² These figures meant that by 1950 there

¹ "The Times Educational Supplement", 30 May, 1942.

² "The Times Educational Supplement", 1 November, 1942.

would have been serious deficiencies of teachers, lawyers and engineers. The standard of entry into the professions was greatly lowered so that secondary schoolboys of quite inferior quality were admitted. The study of Law was reduced to four semesters, the training of the secondary school teacher, as we have seen, was reduced by two years, and the engineer's training by one year. Quite the most remarkable reduction in standard however, took place in the medical profession. Nearly all British medical officers, who came into contact with their German counterparts, trained in the early years of the war, were amazed by their lack of knowledge on what seemed to them routine matters.

By the time the disaster of Stalingrad had overtaken Germany it was obvious that the war was making serious claims on the secondary schools. Apart from agricultural work, boys were detailed for the collection of salvage, and to gather herbs, wild vegetables and plants; the Christmas holidays were extended to four weeks to save fuel; and school buildings were requisitioned in large numbers by the military, sometimes enforcing several schools to share the same building. Furthermore in places exposed to air attack, secondary schoolboys were recruited as air force auxiliaries, with a subsequent reduction of periods attended in school.¹

¹ "The Times Educational Supplement", 29 May, 1943.

H.J. duties increased as the war went on as it became more necessary to shorten the time spent in the army in training recruits. Consequently leave had to be granted for the numerous leadership courses during normal school time.¹ By March 1944 the standard of work of many pupils entering secondary schools had deteriorated so much that special classes were arranged in the latter for boys retarded by war and other causes.² The entrance examination was also simplified.

In the Autumn of 1944 the last year of the secondary school was called up for full time anti-aircraft duties. These pupils were to have been awarded the "Reifeprüfung" certificate on 31 May 1945, if in the meantime they had acquitted themselves honourably in action. "Schueler und Schuelerinnen, die im Kriegseinsatz charakterlich versagen, kann der Reifevermerk nicht gegeben werden." Teachers in the secondary schools, freed by this decree, were themselves called up whilst it was recommended that a mobile body of teachers should visit the gun sites to provide instruction.³

A further decree of the same month legalised the use of the H.J. for frontier duties.⁴ The use of boys under the

-
- ¹ Ministerial Decree, 19 November, 1943.
² Ministerial Decree, 9 March, 1944.
³ Ministerial Decree, 28 September, 1944.
⁴ Ministerial Decree, 23 September, 1944.

age of fifteen and of girls under sixteen was forbidden. Members of the H.J. so employed were to be paid one mark per day and accommodated as far as possible in camps. Art and Music higher institutions were closed by decree. Another decree in Autumn 1944 when allied troops were already fighting on German soil, ordered the distribution of the pamphlet issued by the army, "Vorwaerts, ran an den Feind" in all secondary schools. "Bei der kriegsentscheidenden Bedeutung des Heeres und den Leistungen unserer unvergleichlichen Infanterie", stated the decree, "ist es Pflicht der Schule, im Unterricht das Heer, seine Geschichte, Bewaffnung und Kampfweise und den heldischen Einsatz seiner Anhaenger in angemessener Form herauszustellen."¹ By such means it was hoped to bolster up morale amongst boys who would shortly be in action against the enemy.

A review of the official decrees in the last three years of the war leaves no room for doubt. The schools were no longer regarded as of great importance. It was their duty to adapt themselves to war time and that meant the complete abandonment of peace time working. So many additional tasks were thrown on to both teacher and pupils that the energies of both had little left for formal educa-

¹ Ministerial Decree, 12 October, 1944.

tion. One need not dwell on the effects of the tremendous air raids on the larger German towns in the final stages of the war. In the majority education ceased to exist and by the beginning of 1945 the disruption of the entire educational system was complete.

2. German Youth in defeat.

What had been the cumulative effects of National Socialist education and the war years on the German secondary schoolboy? No doubt the generations most deeply affected by National Socialist education had been decimated during the five years of war. Indeed in the final stages of the war on all fronts the number of soldiers in German units between the ages of nineteen and thirty was less than that of youths below the age of nineteen and those over thirty. As the casualty lists mounted more and more demands were made on German youth to the detriment of their schooling. Many were driven to a suicidal death in the "Volkssturm", or in ordinary army units. The strength of others was taxed far beyond the limits of their endurance by rigorous camp or barrack life in rear areas, where they dragged on a dreary existence, digging defensive positions or repairing communications. Others were engaged on the production of armaments or on heavy agricultural work. Thus the majority

of German youth which survived the war emerged from it in a state of complete physical exhaustion. The physical factors, together with that contempt for intellectual attainments which the German youth had acquired through the H.J., combined to produce complete apathy. Amongst youthful prisoners of war the habit of independent thought was almost unknown, and their horizon was limited by official propaganda and by the Party slogans. Few had ever thought why German troops had fought in all countries of Europe. The Fuehrer had ordered it and therefore there could be no discussion or thought on the justification for such moves.¹ Countless Hitler youths, when asked what they thought about Hitler's invasion of Poland would reply that the "Fuehrer" would know why; they themselves were much too small to express an opinion on such important matters of state policy. The triumph of those irrational forces already mentioned in both the H.J. and formal schooling is clearly revealed in the attitude of mind of German youth in the later years of the war. On purely rational grounds they could find nothing to support their belief in ultimate victory. They consequently turned to a fanatical adherence to superstitions, myths, and intuitions, to extricate them from their

¹ These and the subsequent observations are based on personal interrogation of prisoners of war captured during the Tunisian and Italian campaigns 1943-1945.

difficulties. Like many of their leaders, they ruled their lives according to various theories of astrology, and the belief in secret weapons which would win the war for Germany at the last minute was implicit amongst the H.J. The feeling of exhilaration and relief at the news of Roosevelt's death can only be explained by the fact that German youth considered that event a divine intervention, one of the "Fuehrer's" intuitions that some unforeseen stroke of fortune would eventually take place to turn the scales in favour of Germany.¹ Thus with the majority of German youth, a belief in irrational powers had gained complete ascendancy over their limited powers of reasoning, creating, when the moment of total defeat came, a condition of mental stagnation and bewilderment.

Hand in hand with intellectual demoralisation went moral degeneration. German youth, completely without spiritual values, as defeat approached, turned towards material things. The authority of the school and the parent had suffered to such an extent at the hands of the H.J. that there were few restraining influences. Family life itself

¹ Based on the interrogation of German prisoners captured in North Eastern Italy during the final offensive of the Eighth Army in April 1945 when the military situation from the German point of view was quite hopeless. Such beliefs were widespread amongst former H.J. members under the age of twenty, but infrequent amongst older men.

had suffered grievously during the war and thus an insatiable desire for pleasure, distraction and material possessions became more and more widespread amongst German youth in the final stages of the war. The National Socialist teachings of the freedom of the instinct, and the encouragement the movement gave to women to bear children irrespective of marriage, led in time of war to unbridled sexual licence and a slackening of the moral fibre of the nation. Juvenile delinquency increased to such an extent that on 1 January, 1944, special courts were set up for youths between the ages of ten and seventeen, with powers to order detention in special camps, "Jugendschutzlager".¹ The institution of the "H.J. Streifendienst" meant that the H.J., as defeat approached was unable to control its own members. German youth in the forces showed the same tendencies. Punishment battalions in 1944, even in S.S. formations were full of youths convicted of such offences as robbery with violence, rape, drunkenness and acts of indiscipline. Other German youths were more unfortunate and instead of to normal punishment units were sent to the notorious 999 units, which consisted partly of hardened criminals and partly of political offenders, who had been sent to the front in view of

¹ Siebert, "The Remaking of German Youth", I.N.G. Publication. 1945: p.56.

Germany's increasing shortage of manpower.

The final defeat in May 1945 brought tragic disillusionment to the vast majority of German youth, who until the last weeks of the war had relied on the "Fuehrer's" intuition to ensure German victory. The careers of many were ruined, but more important was the psychological result of the sudden collapse of all their ideals. German youth became nihilistic, cynical, embittered, and profoundly mistrustful. Having been regimented in the school, the H.J. and later in the army, German youth in the days of defeat found itself adrift without guidance. Their moral fibre was sapped by the transfer of loyalty from the family to the state, and by the rejection of Christianity. The orgy of destruction to which Hitler had driven German youth in the final months of the war indicated that the Fuehrer did not intend the German nation to survive the collapse of the Third Reich.¹ The survivors indeed could scarcely have had less promising conditions in which to found a healthy system of education for the future.

In the first years of occupation most observers noted certain attitudes prevalent amongst German youth to which

¹ c.f. Trevor-Roper, *op.cit.*, p.79. "Satisfaction never abated this terrible appetite for blood which, like his appetite for material destruction, seemed rather to grow when the price was to be paid, not in inferior currency, but in good Aryan coin."

reference will now be made as re-education in Germany will be primarily concerned with their correction. The most conspicuous attitude, maintains Kellermann in an official American report, is nationalism,¹ and many allied authorities have agreed that large numbers of German youths are still violently nationalist and look back to the Hitler period with its order and efficiency as the Golden Age. Many still insist on the original sincerity of National Socialist ideals and reject uncompromisingly the theory of collective guilt. Such views are especially predominant amongst secondary school students and amongst student ex-servicemen who feel that their sacrifices during the war are now passing unnoticed.² Such attitudes are not solely the result of National Socialist indoctrination, but are also in large measure due to the intellectual isolation of the war years and to the presence of the occupying armies. That nationalism is so widespread in Germany today is perhaps the most eloquent testimony to the failure of the allies to replace National Socialism by a new creed.

The National Socialist policy of destroying the traditional authority of the family, the school and the church has clearly had the most serious effects on German youth;

¹ Kellermann, "The Present Status of German Youth", U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946, p.2.

² Kellermann, op.cit., p.3.

when the Nazi edifice collapsed the average young German was incapable of believing in anything and his attitude was characterised by unwillingness to accept any sort of supra-national standards or values and by apathy and indifference towards the future. Democracy as a way of life has not made any dynamic appeal to German youth who continue to associate it with hunger, distress and lack of the most rudimentary needs of everyday life.

Another disturbing feature of the German youth is the prevalence of anti-social activity. In Berlin alone, reports "The British Zone Review",¹ two thousand juveniles are arrested each month for crimes which arise mainly from economic circumstances but which also include crimes revealing distorted moral values. As many as fifteen juveniles were awaiting trial for murder in August, 1946, including girls only fifteen and sixteen years old. In Frankfurt am Main, reports Kellermann, nearly a thousand juveniles were arrested in the period 13 September to 30 October, 1945.² A contributory cause to such social disorders is the mass exodus of Germans from the East. Beginning during the final stages of the war as a result of fighting on

¹ "The British Zone Review", 23 November, 1946.

² Kellermann, op.cit., p.7.

the Eastern Front, the exodus was vastly increased after the collapse by the expulsion of Germans and "Volksdeutsche" from many areas in Eastern Europe. The consequences of the arrival of several million refugees in areas already congested clearly assisted the process of social and moral integration.

The key to many of the attitudes of German youth today is undoubtedly to be found in the disruption of family life. The extent of the break up of family life can perhaps be gauged by the incredible number of divorce petitions filed in Germany today: in Berlin alone, reports "The British Zone Review", over twenty-seven thousand divorce petitions were filed between November, 1945 and October, 1946.¹ In a penetrating article, Dr Mitscherlich, a psychopathologist in the University of Heidelberg, maintains that the collapse of family life is the most important cause of the stage of moral destitution, through which German youth is now passing.² The disappearance of so many fathers and the destruction of so many homes has put an intolerable strain on German mothers, who have become tired and embittered through intense suffering and have inevitably been forced to

¹ "The British Zone Review", 23 November, 1946.

² Mitscherlich, "Moral Destitution", article in "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", December, 1947, p.12.

neglect the requirements of their children. Children failing to find "a positive attachment founded on human love" have thus been led into open conflict with society. German youth, continues Mitscherlich, decisively requiring guidance, is facing an adult population whose "whole order of values is experiencing a severe crisis owing to the consequences of war."¹ Very often the German youth will find flouted in his own home the same rules designed to educate him into a socially valuable member of the community. The "double morality" so prevalent in Germany today, cannot long remain hidden from youth. Thus, concludes Mitscherlich, "the more young people approach and grow into adult life, moral forces increasingly reveal to them their terrifying impotence." The results, finds Mitscherlich, are "an entirely unyouthful, unrevolutionary lack of drive," an "uninhibited social attitude of a large section of youth, particularly in the cities" and a "regression into an exclusively self-centred existence."²

The lack of subversive activities bears adequate testimony to the disillusionment and apathy of German youth in defeat. Immediately before the collapse such organisations as the "Werewolves", the "S.S. Jagdverbaende", and the

¹ Mitscherlich, op.cit., pp.12-13.

² Mitscherlich, op.cit., p.15.

"Freikorps Adolf Hitler", were hastily planned, but all these post-occupational resistance groups rapidly disintegrated without ever having attempted to carry out their original function. An effort by former H.J. leaders to keep alive their traditions was indeed made, but rapidly liquidated by "Operation Nursery", a joint action by British and U.S. intelligence. Of greater consequence are such groups as the "Edelweiss"¹, which was originally an anti-Nazi movement; after May, 1945 it rapidly became a rallying point for youths determined to oppose the social order and to live illegally. Other activities include the discrediting of German officials co-operating with the allied authorities and attacks on women who fraternise with the occupying forces.

Such are some of the attitudes with which allied educationists have been meeting in the first years of occupation. The collapse of the totalitarian system and the subsequent mood of distrust and cynicism make it extremely difficult for the allies to enlist the active co-operation of German youth in the work of reconstruction. To convince them of the sincerity of allied intentions in creating a new order remains almost an insuperable problem in the face of the catastrophic economic evils such as the

1 See p. 197.

scarcity of food, the lack of housing and unemployment.

At this stage reference should be made to the fundamental difference in the approach to the problem of German youth in the Western and Eastern Zones, a difference which will subsequently be seen to pervade all aspects of education. In the British Zone the authorities have encouraged the formation of autonomous groups affiliated for the most part to the political parties or to the religious denominations, but occasionally to independent non-political and non-denominational associations. But the authorities have clearly avoided taking the initiative in the co-ordination of a large scale German youth movement because of the political issues involved.¹ In the Western Zones the emphasis is therefore more on welfare as a means to restore youth morally and socially. In the Russian Zone however, a definite attempt has been made to harness youth to the task of reconstruction. "Here," reports "The British Zone Review", "the structure is built from the top downwards through the medium of the "F.D.J.", or "Freie Deutsche Jugend", to which all youth movements must be affiliated and with which therefore their principles must be in accord."²

¹ Mende, "Europe's Suicide in Germany", St Botolph Publishing Co. Ltd., 1946, p.60.

² "The British Zone Review", 23 November, 1946.

The "F.D.J." is in fact sponsored by the Russian authorities and is a conscious attempt to integrate youth into general political life by means of the unification of all youth movements under communist direction.

3. The German educational scene in 1945.

In addition to the problem of German youth the material difficulties confronting the allied educational authorities at the beginning of the occupation were tremendous. A very high percentage of school buildings had been destroyed; in Berlin one hundred and forty-nine schools were destroyed, and in one district alone it was found possible to repair only seven out of fifty-three.¹ In Hamburg thirty-five percent of all the schools were completely ruined and of Bremen's one hundred and fifty-one schools in 1939 only twenty-eight remained unharmed.² In Bremen of the four hundred rooms available for secondary education in 1939 only fifty remained in 1945. In Cologne one hundred and four primary schools out of two hundred and twenty-three

¹ "Germany under Allied Occupation", (as mirrored in the German Press), 1 April - 1 October, 1945. The Wiener Library, London, 1945, p.22.

² "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", London, March, 1947, p.3.

were completely destroyed, and a further sixty-eight severely damaged, and of the twenty-one secondary schools fifteen were destroyed and the remaining six all severely damaged.¹ In September 1945, when schoolchildren registered in Augsburg fifty-six rooms only were available for their education whereas four hundred and fifty had been available in 1939.² Throughout the length and breadth of the Reich vast numbers of schools had been ruined or badly damaged, and certain smaller areas found themselves completely without educational facilities. The figures for "Land" North Rhine-Westphalia will perhaps serve to give a more general picture of the situation in the autumn of 1945 when education re-commenced. By September 1945 only three thousand eight hundred and eighty-three elementary schools out of a pre-war total of nearly five thousand five hundred were available and only one hundred and forty-one of three hundred and eight-nine secondary schools.³

Such figures, taken in conjunction with the acute shortage of essential school furniture, the impossibility of providing adequate heating and lighting facilities, protec-

1 "The Administration of the City of Cologne", a report by the Chief Burgomaster and Chief Town Clerk, July 1946, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London.

2 "Germany under Allied Occupation", op.cit., p.22.

3 "The British Zone Review", 23 November, 1946. p.14.

tion against the weather and proper sanitary conditions, illustrate the enormity of the task of allied educationists. To the material damage and shortage of essential equipment two other factors must be added, the difficulty of finding teachers of the right type, and the impossibility of providing text-books in adequate numbers. In accordance with the de-nazification programme vast numbers of teachers had to be dismissed. Hamburg lost one thousand four hundred and forty-two of its two thousand four hundred and fifty teachers;¹ in Bremen, Senator Paulman reported that approximately fifty percent of the teaching staff had lost their posts, and that the average age of the remainder was fifty-three.² In Aachen only twenty-six teachers out of a pre-war total of three hundred and twenty-five were found suitable. In October 1945 the teacher pupil ratio in Berlin-Spandau was found to be one to one hundred and thirty-seven, although for Berlin as a whole the ratio by the end of the year was one to forty-five.³ In the American Zone at the same time the ratio was one to fifty, and it was estimated that about twelve thousand teachers were needed to bring the staff up to strength. In the British Zone over

1 "Germany under Allied Occupation", op.cit., p.22.

2 "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", London, March, 1947, p.3.

3 "Germany under Allied Occupation", (as mirrored in the German Press) 1 October to 31 December, 1945, p.29.

ten thousand teachers had been removed from their appointments for political reasons.

The Western Zones experienced a desperate shortage of text-books in the early period of the occupation. The Russian Zone, with reasonable supplies of paper and the monopoly of the printing works of Berlin and Leipzig, had fewer problems to solve. National Socialist text-books were of course proscribed in all the zones, but virtually nothing was found in their place as the majority of school editions of the Weimar Republic had been used by the Nazis for pulp. Some of them, in such subjects as Natural History, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry could be reprinted, but German, History and Geography books were almost invariably found to have a nationalist bias. Thus of over one thousand pre-1933 text-books submitted to the allied authorities only very few were approved. The shortage of text-books undoubtedly handicapped the development of secondary education more than primary education, of which some form is often possible without text-books; but secondary education without reasonable supplies is clearly impossible. In the British Zone it was estimated that one thousand tons of paper would be needed each month to meet the most urgent demands of the educational authorities, but finally only one

hundred tons were allocated.¹

In assessing the material problems of education in Germany the home environment of the child cannot be neglected. The overcrowding of houses with many different families create tension and friction from which young people cannot be protected. In a moving report of the home life of the average German schoolchild Senator Paulman declared, "Much of what they see and go through now is rapidly accelerating the process of premature disillusion and nervous instability, resulting in lack of concentration and a measure of precocity which are very frequently confronting teachers with new and extremely difficult educational situations.....The very soul of the child is exposed to constant attacks by the naked brutality, bitterness and harshness of life, by the disillusioning observations which children cannot escape making and against which it is impossible to protect them."²

Finally in the autumn of 1945 the ignorance of many pupils due to lack of schooling during the period of disintegration of the Third Reich was almost incredible. A

¹ Dr. Werdier, (Inspector^{or} of Schools, and President of the Text-Book Commission in the British Zone), speaking at a G.E.R. Conference in London, July, 1947.

² "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", London, March, 1947. pp.4-5.

single instance must suffice to illustrate a situation which was undoubtedly characteristic of many areas.

When schools reopened in the Marburg (Lahn) district preliminary examinations revealed that most pupils of the age of ten to twelve were unable to read or write. None of the children of the first four forms could multiply thirty by twelve and only two knew the names of the months.¹

4. The beginnings of re-education.

Such then in broadest outline was the educational scene in the early months of the occupation. By top secret directive to General Eisenhower the Western Allies were committed as far as education was concerned to a "co-ordinated system of control over German education and an affirmative programme of re-orientation" to be established "in such a manner as to eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines and to encourage the development of democratic ideals."² The same directive abolished permanently the Adolf Hitler Schools, the "N.P.E.A.", the "Ordensburgen" and all National Socialist organisations within other educational institutions. Primary, intermediate and vocational schools were to be per-

¹ "Germany under Allied Occupation", 1 October - 31 December, 1945. p.28.

² Pollock and Meisel, "Germany under Occupation" - Illustrative Materials and Documents. George Wahr Publishing Co. Michigan, 1947. p.106.

mitted at the earliest opportunity and programmes were to be prepared for secondary schools and universities. It was generally recognised in all four zones that a whole "Weltanschauung" had collapsed, and that there was nothing to take its place. The school, and pre-eminently the primary school, was therefore recognised at once as the most important medium for helping German youth from the vacuum to a more normal life. Thus throughout the summer of 1945 preparations were made for a speedy re-opening of the schools. Special short emergency teacher training courses were opened in all four zones. Five million text-books based on the Weimar Republic were printed for the American Zone by photo mechanical process, and four million were printed for the British Zone.¹

The first German school to re-open was a primary school in Aachen, which commenced on 1 June, 1945. In August one hundred and fifty schools were opened in Hamburg and three hundred and eighty-four in the district of Oldenburg. By 1 September, 1945, one million children were at school in the British Zone, and by 1 October, it was claimed that schools had begun work in every town district and village in both the British and the American Zones; furthermore the

¹ "Germany under Allied Occupation", 1 April - 1 October 1945
p.24.

first secondary schools, the Cecilian School in Oldenburg and the Graf Spee School in Kiel had been re-opened. 1 October also witnessed a general re-opening in the French Zone and on 15 October the Russians announced that all private schools in their zone had been nationalised.¹

In the early days it was doubtful if the primary schools did much more than keep the children off the streets, as all the requirements for normal studies were lacking. Yet the situation as far as the secondary schools were concerned was much worse. Secondary education indeed was rapidly organised in most of the large towns in all the zones, but scarcely on a scale compatible with the needs of the population. The shortage of teachers and books was even more acute and difficult to remedy. It is quite clear that both allied and German education authorities consider the primary schools as the "Schwerpunkt" of educational effort for the first years of the occupation at least. Discussing the problem of school reform at a conference in Berlin, one of the speakers of the Socialist Party declared, "der verstaendliche Wunsch vieler Eltern, ihre Kinder in die sogenannten mittleren und gehobenen Berufe zu fuehren, muss zuruecktreten vor der harten Notwendigkeit, dass das aufzubauende

¹ "Germany under Allied Occupation", 1 April - 1 October, 1945, p.25.

Deutschland vor allem Handarbeiter, Handwerker und landwirtschaftliche Arbeiter braucht. Es geht daher nicht laenger an, dass nach vierjaehriger Grundschule ein grosser Teil der Schueler in die Hoehere Schule abstroemt."¹

It was generally realised that the needs of primary education must come first and that the rebuilding of Germany would make it impossible for the great majority of young people to attend secondary schools, and that therefore only the most gifted could be accepted. Yet considerable progress was made in reorganising and simplifying the whole secondary system. The main principle laid down by Military Government in the British Zone was explained to the German people in a message by Field Marshall Montgomery, in which he stated that the Germans would not be compelled to accept foreign educational systems. They would be free, he said, to experiment and try out new ideas. Accordingly it was made possible for forty educationists to meet in Hamburg in the autumn of 1945 and to discuss the form that secondary education would take in the future.² Amongst the problems discussed was the necessity for finding a way out of the pre-1933 tradition of numerous types of secondary school, all trying to work out a compromise between a classical and a

¹ "Demokratische Schulreform", Verlag "Einheit", Berlin, 1946, p.27.

² "Germany under Allied Occupation", 1 April - 1 October, 1945, p.26.

scientific-technical education. Meanwhile secondary schools in the British Zone continued to re-open, and by June 1947, Education Branch of the Control Commission was able to report that six hundred and thirty-nine secondary schools had opened, attended by nearly two hundred and seventy thousand pupils and staffed by over eleven thousand teachers. The number of pupils for whom no provision was made was only point two percent, but forty-five percent were receiving only part time education, generally limited to about two and a half hours a day.¹ By the beginning of 1947 over two thousand secondary school-masters had been dismissed under the de-nazification laws and it was estimated that a further nine thousand six hundred were required.²

1 "Monthly Report of the Control Commission", His Majesty's Stationery Office. June, 1947, p.46.

2 "Education Progress Report", 18 January, 1947. Control Commission for Germany.

CHAPTER VII.

TRENDS IN GERMAN EDUCATION TODAY.

Some attempt will now be made to describe tendencies in German education today, with particular reference to the development of secondary education. This chapter will deal mainly with the British Zone in Germany, but wherever possible reference will be made to those principles according to which education in the other zones is being recast. It must be recognised at the start that there is no such thing as a common German educational programme, and that aims and methods pursued in the zones are diverging more and more. Each of the four powers has influenced the various fields of education in its own way, and will naturally have tended to propagate its own educational principles. Even within the zones there will often be marked differences between the "Laender", especially in the British and American Zones, where great latitude has been given to the "Land" authorities in the matter of educational reform. Thus a coherent and comprehensive account of secondary education in Germany is not at present feasible; this chapter therefore, will attempt nothing more than to present in the most general terms some aspects of German re-education.

1. The progress towards the democratisation of secondary education.

By 1947, when the control of education in the British and American Zones was handed over to the "Land" authorities, the statistics reveal progress in all fields of education which reflects great credit on both allied and German officials. Statistics however can only tell a part of the story and it will therefore now be necessary to investigate some of the problems peculiar to secondary education and to estimate what steps have in fact been taken to ensure the reform of the system in accordance with democratic principles.

Speaking at a Zonal Conference on 3 May, 1946, Grimme, a former Minister of Education in Prussia and at present Minister in "Land" Niedersachsen, analysed the social classes of students at Goettingen University. He revealed that out of a total of four thousand students only thirty-three came from proletarian homes. One of the smallest sections of the community, the professional classes, provided nearly one quarter of the students, whereas the largest section of the community provided substantially less than one percent. It should thus be clear that the nation was not granting equal opportunities to all sections of the community. The fault, maintained Grimme, lay not so much with the universities as with the whole structure of education. The problem, he rightly argued, was one of "volkspolitischer Bedeutung" and must be viewed not from the angle of the universi-

ty, the secondary school or any other single educational establishment, "sondern ausschliesslich vom Volksganzen¹ her."

The first requirement, he maintained, was to establish the principle of free education for all types of school. Grimme's investigations revealed the disproportionate representation of the various sections of the community in secondary schools, due to the fact that the financial situation of the parent had hitherto played such an important role. He estimated that nearly sixty percent of the pupils came from middle class homes, twenty-five percent from upper class homes and only thirteen percent from the homes of tradesmen, minor officials and working men.² Thus once more the smallest section of the community provided one quarter of the total number and the largest section of the community about one eighth. Despite considerable propagan- da to the contrary by the National Socialists the purse of the father still played a vital part in the state system of secondary education. The number of boys in the secondary schools who failed their "Abitur" was microscopically small and the numbers who took the state examinations over and over again would indicate that many totally unsuitable people

¹ Grimme, "Selbstbesinnung, Reden und Aufsätze". Georg Westermann, Braunschweig, 1947, pp.184-185.

² Grimme, op.cit., p.188.

entered the professions. As long as free education was not a reality, access to the secondary schools must be made easier by providing more free places. In the Province of Hanover, reported Grimme, the quite inadequate sum of eight thousand RM was available for providing free¹ secondary education for pupils in need of assistance.

The aim for the future then should clearly be to guarantee that the leading academic strata should consist of people who belong there, irrespective of financial limitations. Until the new order of education has been definitely established one of the most pressing problems therefore is to widen the channel by which the gifted might reap the benefit of higher education. A temporary expedient, suggests Grimme, could be the creation of large numbers of free places in the secondary schools, sponsored by such agencies as the Trade Unions, or the Teachers' Bodies.²

Secondly far greater elasticity must be attained in the school system. It must be made possible for boys to change from one type of school to another if the development of the individual requires it. "Wir haben," reports Grimme, "auf unseren hoeheren Schulen eine Unmenge ungeeignete Elemente, die den Anforderungen des Gymnasiums nicht gewachsen

¹ Grimme, op.cit., p.189.

² Grimme, op.cit., p.192.

sind, sich muhselig weiter durchschleppen lassen muessen, weil sie sonst in den luftleeren Raum fallen wuerden."¹

Furthermore, Grimme recommended that it should be possible for boys who have not been to secondary schools to enter a university, which would of course entail the "Abitur" examination becoming a leaving examination and no longer the open sesame to the universities. Realising that a vast amount of research was required on the criterions for the selection of pupils for secondary and higher education, Grimme advocated the establishment of a "Leitstelle fuer Begabtenfindung und Begabtenfoerderung" with the primary tasks of carrying out research into the presence of talented boys in the various types of schools and the means of providing them with financial assistance.²

In conclusion Grimme defines what he considers the basic aim of the new education. "Es soll darauf hinarbeiten," he says, "dass jeder einzelne Mensch aus seinen Kraefte das macht und herausholt was er hat, dass er das werden kann, worauf er angelegt ist."³ If this aim is to

¹ Grimme, op.cit., p.186. c.f. "The New Secondary Education", Ministry of Education Pamphlet No.9. His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947, p.26. "Now that there are to be other types of secondary schools specially designed to provide for pupils whose aptitudes require a different kind of approach, there should be no need for the grammar school to go on organising modified courses....to meet the requirements of pupils for whom its own form of education is not really appropriate."

² Grimme, op.cit., p.196.

³ Grimme, op.cit., p.197.

become a reality then the finance of the parents must cease to be a decisive factor and youth must be able to see a chance of being able to play his part in the industrial and economic life of the nation.

Such opinions as Grimme's are by no means unique. A Socialist writer in the Russian Zone writes, "Den bisherigen Zustand, wonach nicht Begabung, Faehigkeiten, Leistungen des Schuelers sondern der Geldbeutel und der Stand der Eltern darueber entschieden, wer eine hoehere Schule oder eine Hochschule besuchen soll, halten wir jedenfalls fuer einen Zustand, der unserem Begriff ueber Demokratie nicht entspricht."¹ The same feeling of urgency for the creation of wider educational opportunity, for the abolition of all school fees and for the right of intelligent boys from the vocational and technical schools to enter the universities is expressed by many different authorities. Lord Chorley, after his visit to universities in the British Zone, reported on their undemocratic organisation, the small percentage of boys from working class homes and the complete lack of an adequate scholarship system or of allocation of free places.² The American education mission to Germany found that less than ten percent of the children leave the primary

¹ "Demokratische Schulreform", op.cit., p.15.

² "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", February, 1947, pp.2-3.

schools and enter the secondary schools. "A secondary school," reported the commission, "which contains all the different kinds of curriculum like the United States' High School never has existed in Germany. Nor has the secondary school ever been a continuation of the elementary school."¹ At the age of ten, maintained the commission, the German schoolboy was classified by factors over which he had no control, such grouping to determine almost inevitably his status throughout life. This system had in the past "cultivated attitudes of superiority in one small group and inferiority in the majority of the members of German society, making possible the submission and lack of self determination upon which authoritarian leadership has thrived."² The commission subsequently made the only logical conclusion, that secondary schools should be organized into unified systems, and that all schools should be tuition free so that attendance should no longer be limited to the privileged. Reporting on higher education in the British Zone in Germany the Association of University Teachers concluded that the social structure of the universities was bound up with that of the secondary schools and both of them with the

¹ "Japan and Germany. Problems in re-education." Official summaries of the Reports of U.S. Educational Missions. George F. Zook. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1947, p.8.

² "Japan and Germany", op.cit., p.9.

traditional structure of German society as a whole.

"Reform of the education system," it maintained, "is unlikely to be brought about save in context of a much wider movement of social reform."¹ One of the main tasks for the future therefore would be to persuade the "Land" authorities to agree on reform necessary to integrate higher education into the life of the community.

There is thus agreement about the social defects of secondary education in Germany. Some account will now be given of the efforts made to correct them by the occupying powers. Certain basic principles for the democratisation of education in Germany were detailed in Berlin in June 1947 by the Allied Control Council, of which the most important decreed that there should be equal opportunity for all, that education in all institutions should be provided free of charge, and that the terms elementary and secondary were no longer to mean two different types or qualities of instruction, but two consecutive levels of instruction. In addition a democratic way of life was to be fostered in instruction.² In theory therefore the development of secondary education in the four zones should be running on

¹ Quoted in "Monthly Report of the Control Commission for Germany", September, 1947, p.20.

² See Appendix 6, "The Basic Principles for Democratisation of Education in Germany", Allied Control Authority. Control Council Directive, No.54, Berlin, 25 June, 1947.

parallel lines, but in practice widely different tendencies have prevailed according to the conception of democracy of the occupying power concerned. Even within the individual zones a uniform development has not always been possible because of the different traditions of the "Laender". This is most clearly marked in the American Zone, where the three "Laender" have produced very different constitutions. Thus Article 135 of the Bavarian Constitution established the principle of the confessional school, whereas Article 56 of the Constitution of Hesse favours the "Gemeinschaftschule" or community school. Both Wuertemburg and Hesse stress the point that they are members of the "future German Republic", but Bavaria remains silent on this subject, no doubt preferring to indulge in separatist dreams.¹

In the British Zone there are indications of a lack of constructive ideas on re-education, of inertia, loyalty to tradition and routine, and of a dislike of change. Controversies have centred on questions like the future of Latin in the secondary schools, which at this juncture would not appear to be among the most vital of the issues to be solved. But the manner in which it has been settled affords interesting evidence that the authoritarian tradition has not yet disappeared. In Bonn for example the City Council decided

¹ Pollock and Meisel, op.cit., pp.151-153.

to apply to the authorities to establish a Latin-less school which would nevertheless enable pupils to enter the universities. In order to obviate the necessity for establishing an additional school the Bonn Oberstadtdirektor suggested to the Ministry of Education in North Rhine Westphalia that a Latin-less tract should be introduced into one of the two secondary schools for boys. The following reply was received: "I inform you herewith that there are no longer Latin-less schools. Consequently a Latin-less tract can neither be permitted."¹

Such attempts at dictatorship, maintained Roennebeck, of the Ministry of Education, Hanover, were not infrequent. Everywhere, he reported, "Societies of friends of the Humanist Gymnasium" were being formed, and some of the philosophical faculties of the universities had decided only to admit students with considerable qualifications in Latin.² The opponents of the Latin monopoly in the secondary schools do not deprecate the formative value of the subject, but oppose the fact that every boy and girl should be compelled to study Latin if they wish to enter a university.

Up to the present time no clear out re-organisation of

¹ Quoted in "German Educational Reconstruction", Bulletin, June-July, 1947, p.13.

² Speaking at a G.E.R. Conference in London, July, 1947.

the educational system has emerged in the British Zone. Despite the creation of the "Dreimaennerkollegium" and the "Zonen-Erziehungs-Rat",¹ to co-ordinate policy on important matters, two distinct plans have emerged for secondary education. The first, emanating from "Land Nordrhein-Westphalen", and often referred to as the "Nordwestdeutsche Plan", has abolished the term "hoehere Schule". Instead there are to be three different types of "Gymnasium", the "altsprachliche Gymnasium", the "neusprachliche Gymnasium", and the "naturwissenschaftliche Gymnasium". The spirit to pervade all three types of school is to be "ein traditions-gesaettigter, gegenwartsnaher, und zukunftsstraechtiger christlicher Humanismus". The choice of school is to be made at the age of fourteen and Latin will be the first language in all three types. Curricula have been drawn up for these schools and many reports of Teachers' and Parents' associations indicate a favourable reception to the scheme especially in "Land Nordrhein-Westphalen".²

¹ The "Dreimaennerkollegium" consisted of Grimme, (Hanover) Landahl, (Hamburg) and Schnippenkoetter, (Duesseldorf). The "Zonen-Erziehungs-Rat" consisted of the "Kultusminister or Kultusleiter of each "Land" or free city in the British Zone. See (Schnippenkoetter) "Zum Nordwestdeutschen Plan fuer hoehere Schulen", Ferd. Duemmlers Verlag, Bonn, 1947, p.5.

² Schippenkoetter, op.cit., pp.6-7.

The second plan, that of Minister Grimme in Hanover is fundamentally different. Selection is made at the age of ten for absorption into one of three streams, the determining factors being the pupils inclination and achievement in the "Grundschule". The first of the three schools will be the "Fachschule", which under the new system will correspond to the Modern Secondary School in England. The second stream will go to the "Mittel" and "Oberschule", the purpose of which will be to equip children for entry into agriculture, domestic science, commerce and similar occupations of a more practical nature. Finally the third stream will be the "Gymnasium", of which there will be only one form, which will however comprise two "Zweige", "sprachlich" and "mathematisch". In the first there will be five compulsory subjects from the age of fourteen, Religion, German, Latin, Greek and Physical Training; in the latter Religion, German, Mathematics, Natural Science and Physical Training will be compulsory. In the ninth year of the course, the "Philosophicum", those likely to secure admission into a university, will be accommodated in "Landstudienheimen", where they will experience "ein Gemeinschaftsleben humanistisch-philosophischer Art," and taught by both school and university teachers.¹ Further interesting fea-

¹ Schippenkoetter, op.cit., p.7.

tures of Grimme's system are that transfers between the three types of school are to be easily carried out up to the age of fourteen; also, although selection takes place at the age of ten, the curriculum in all three types of school is to remain fundamentally the same for the first two years after the change from the "Grundschule".¹

The Russian Zone has unquestionably made the greatest advance in the re-organisation of the school system, Early in 1946 after various educational conferences the principle of the "Einheitsschule"² was accepted. Aiming at giving all children equal opportunities in education, irrespective of the parents' income, or social status, the "Einheitsschule" planned to provide one year's compulsory nursery schooling, eight years primary training, to be followed by either two years vocational training, or four years secondary instruction for potential university candidates. This standardised "Einheitsschule", which has many features in common with the multilateral school, came into existence in the Russian Zone at the end of the autumn term of 1946.

1 "The Times Educational Supplement", 27 September, 1947.

2 The subsequent account of the "Einheitsschule" is based on articles by Fraenkel in "The New Statesman and Nation", 11 May, 1946 and 25 May, 1946: and in "The Times Educational Supplement", 27 September, 1947. See also, "Die neue Schule", a pamphlet published by the Provinzialverwaltung Sachsen, Abteilung Presse und Propaganda, Halle, (Saale), pp.10-13.

At the age of five compulsory nursery training begins. Subsequently eight basic forms of primary education follow, taking the child to the age of fourteen. At this age those who attain the highest standard receive a concentrated four year course in preparation for the university or the technical college. The remainder, which will form approximately ninety percent of the total number, proceed to two years full and a further one or two years part time vocational training but will also be able to qualify for entrance to the university.

In the "Einheitsschule" the first foreign language, Russian, is introduced in the second form of the primary stage, that is at the age of seven, and is followed at the age of thirteen by English and French. The pupil may however at the age of thirteen take up the elementary stages of higher mathematics. Great attention is to be paid to the encouragement of the special talents of individual pupils and at various stages they are to be given repeated opportunities of adjusting their curriculum according to their gifts. The ten percent who conclude their schooling with four years of secondary education will choose between the classical side, with the emphasis on Latin, Greek, Philosophy and Literature and the Modern side, concentrating on Mathematics, Natural Science, Social Science and Economics. The vocational training for the majority will include at

least twelve periods per week of general education.

The speed with which this system was initiated in the Russian Zone makes it evident that the Russians were acting according to a pre-arranged plan and that they arrived in Germany determined to carry out a set educational policy. Almost immediately after the armistice it became clear that the Russian support for educational reconstruction was in advance of that of the Western Allies who seemed to prefer to adhere to known methods and to concentrate on higher education through institutions largely as they had existed in 1933.

Nevertheless despite the widely divergent political views between the zones it is clear that the "Einheitschule" has aroused the admiration of some leading educationists in the Western Zones. The managing committee of the "Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrer und Lehrerinnen Verband", the A.D.L.L.V., passed a resolution in Brunswick favouring the "Einheitsschule"¹, and Grimme himself advocates a similar system, although he condemns the sweeping nature of its reforms and bows to tradition in maintaining three different types of school. But fundamentally he is in agreement with the Russians in that he too would advocate that

¹ Reported in "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", August-September, 1947, p.33.

any pupil from any type of school should have the chance of university education. The main criticism of the "Einheitsschule" would appear to be that selection for secondary education is delayed as late as fourteen and that it is crammed into the space of four years. To a certain extent this criticism was met by the introduction of Latin in the seventh year of the primary course for those pupils who gave promise that they would qualify for the secondary course after a further two years.

Secondary education in the French Zone reveals quite different tendencies, and many witnesses have concluded that there is a complete absence of hope that the conditions necessary for re-education will emerge. France, it has been alleged, is concerned with trussing and taming a wild beast, and has one basic aim in educating young Germany, namely that they will look west for cultural and intellectual inspiration. In the new directives for the reconstruction of secondary education in the French Zone it was established that four years of primary education would precede secondary education, which would be provided in four types of "Gymnasium", the "Reformgymnasium", the "Reformrealgymnasium", the Science "Gymnasium", and the Modern Language "Gymnasium". For the first three years the curriculum does not vary in the four types of school, in all of

which six periods per week were devoted to French, more than to any other subject. The dominance of French continues throughout the higher forms, even of the "Reformgymnasium" so that the classical languages no longer hold sway in the old humanistic "Gymnasium". In the upper forms of this school Latin and Greek are only allocated four periods per week whilst French still receives six. The only difference in the "Reformrealgymnasium" is that four periods are devoted to English in the place of the four Greek periods, from the tenth to the thirteenth year.¹

These reforms will eventually mean the virtual destruction of the humanistic type of secondary education in the French Zone as the number of lessons provided would appear to be inadequate for an efficient study of the classics. But an even more serious consequence is that German educationists brought up in the classical tradition feel that an attempt to inflict cultural propaganda on the secondary schools has been made and that German traditions in education are being wilfully suppressed.

¹ Reported in "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", January, 1947, pp.3-4. An account of school reform in the French Zone is also given in an article "Die Schulreform in der Franzoesischen Zone", in the periodical "Schola", Lehrmittelverlag, Offenbourg-Mainz, July-August, 1947, pp.559-561.

Another complete break with the past has been made in connection with the examination system and the entrance to the universities.¹ The final examination for secondary schools, the "Abitur", is no longer to remain an internal affair, but is in future to be administered entirely by the Zonal Ministry of Education, and to be marked entirely by external examiners. Only those successful in obtaining a certain number of marks in the written examination will be admitted to the oral examination. This measure is again felt to be an infliction by force of foreign traditions, as the examination of secondary school pupils had always taken into account the individual's record and personality throughout his school career. In taking this step the French authorities no doubt felt it essential to limit the number of university students and to prevent the growth of an academic proletariat. For admission to the three universities in the French Zone, Tuebingen, Mainz and Freiburg, over fifty thousand students applied, but only ten thousand could be admitted. The French solution to this problem was to decree that only those who have obtained a certain number of marks in the "Abitur" will be allowed to matriculate at a university.

¹ Article in "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", August-September, 1947, pp.31-33.

Thus to a great extent the French have introduced their own traditions and regulations into secondary education in their zone. A heightening of the intellectual standard will perhaps be achieved as a result of the external competitive examination but the feeling cannot be avoided that foreign influences have been forcibly introduced into educational life. The best of the "Gymnasien" had always considered it their idea function to form personalities instead of transmitting mere factual knowledge, and it would now seem very doubtful if training pupils for competitive examinations is the true concern of re-education at a time when the spiritual side of training German youth requires such close attention.

Included in the official report of the United States Educational mission to Germany appears the view that, "re-education can be successful only if the Germans draw upon their own resources and themselves exercise initiative."¹ Thus in striking contrast to the French and the Russian educational authorities, the Americans are allowing the German "Land" authorities the greatest latitude in working out their own schemes for education. Thus the same tendencies noted in political life would appear to govern education in the "Laender" in the American Zone. Bavaria,

¹ "Japan and Germany", op.cit., p.28.

with its powerful Minister of Education, Dr Hundhammer, assisted by Dr Hans Meinzold, reported as a former member of Von Epps' Corps, has gained the reputation for reaction in educational matters. ¹ As far as secondary education is concerned Bavaria has insisted on a unified curriculum based on classical studies. The course will last nine years: Latin will be taught in the first and English in the third form; in the fifth the pupil may decide whether he will take up Greek or French, and in the seventh he may choose between Mathematics and Natural Science and the humanities. ² Furthermore Bavaria was prepared to offer only four years of common schooling, whilst the other two "Laender" of the American Zone were prepared to offer six. ³ Finally the decision by the Minister in Bavaria to re-introduce corporal punishment drew most unfavourable comment from elsewhere in the Reich. "Die Aussprache" of Berlin wrote, "We are fighting for the education of youth in a humane spirit, we are attempting to educate a free generation conscious of its human dignity and are therefore protesting loudly and formally against this attempt at educating a generation of

1 "Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Territory". U.S. War Department, Public Information Division. 3 April, 1947, p.16.

2 "Germany under Allied Occupation", 1 October - 31 December, 1945. The Wiener Library, London, 1946, p.30.

3 "Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Territory", 15 May, 1947, p.6.

slaves by methods of physical castigation."¹ The "Kurier" of Berlin revealed the manner of the introduction of the order which would appear scarcely to be in the best democratic tradition. "The Bavarian Minister of Education stated that it was necessary to obey the democratic will of the majority, but that caning would be introduced in those districts as well which had voted against it. After all the noes had not had so much of a majority in the districts concerned."²

From other accounts of the attitude of university students towards active fighters against the National Socialists, of responsible German officials, who backed by Military Government, do their utmost to maintain professors and teachers with National Socialist or military ties, one might conclude that education in the American Zone, and especially in Bavaria, is being organised on strictly conservative lines and that the authorities are loth to insist on those radical changes which alone could bring about the democratisation of education.

Thus educational tendencies in the four zones tend to correspond to the political ideologies of the occupying power. It is perhaps noteworthy that the powers which have

¹ Quoted in "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", August - September, 1947, p.40.

suffered most material damage at the hands of the Germans, that is the French and the Russians, have unquestionably followed more radical lines in their re-organisation of education than the British and the Americans who suffered less. The Russians are determined that the "Einheits-schule" shall be the mainstay of German education, and the French, especially in higher education are making a complete break with the past in what they consider to be an effort to sweep away the whole ponderous authoritarian tradition of German education. The British and American administrations on the other hand have preferred to follow traditional lines and have made no deliberate attempt to force their own educational organisation and principles on the Germans.

2. The content of the new secondary education.

As we have seen in Chapter III National Socialism had pervaded every school subject; the History text-book had breathed waves of hatred and enmity towards other nations; the "Lesebuch", from the primary to the secondary school, presented nothing outside the frontiers of the Reich, whilst even Mathematics and Natural Science had been taught from the national political angle.

Clearly, none of the text-books in use in the National

Socialist schools could be used. Some of the least offensive were, it is true, used in the initial stages in the British and the American Zones, with certain parts blacked out. The "paste-pot" purge was however a complete failure as guessing games were initiated by the pupils, in which books were held up to the light and the censored material often no doubt doubly impressed on the youthful mind. The few surviving pre-1933 editions were for the most part found unsuitable, the History and German books especially having frequently a strong nationalist and militarist bias. It soon became obvious that the production of entirely new school books was a vital necessity. Consequently a Central Text-book Committee for the British Zone was established in Buende, the function of which was to examine new manuscripts submitted by the Book Commissions of each "Land". In the early days, reported Dr Werdier,¹ President of the Central Text-book Commission, many of the old firms, which in 1933 had changed overnight to the production of books to illustrate the new ideology, again changed their tune and submitted manuscripts illustrating the democratic way of life. The manuscripts were refused. In July 1947 the British Education Branch reported that, consequent upon the devolution of powers to the "Laender", the

¹ Speaking at a G.E.R. Conference in London, July, 1947.

system for the submission of text-books had been modified. The "Laender" themselves became responsible for the approval of manuscripts for printing; and the Central Text-book Committee no longer exercised the powers of pre-publication censorship, and became a co-ordinating agency to ensure that the best possible use was made of paper supplies and man power available for the production of text-books. The Control Commission however retained the right to object to any book which conflicted with official policy.¹

There can be little doubt that the subjects most in need of reform in the secondary schools were German, especially the reading material at all levels, History, and Religion; this discussion of tendencies in the content of education will therefore be limited to these subjects and mainly refer to developments in the British Zone. One of the earliest controversies centred round the choice of reading material for the "Lesebuecher". Grimm's Fairy Tales, the "Niebelungenlied", the "Gudrunlied", and some of the works of Hebel and Raabe were banned from the schools by Education Branch because they were considered to have been corruptors of German youth.² It was held that descriptions

¹ "Monthly Report of the Control Commission for Germany", July, 1947. p.46.

² Quoted by Dr Werdier, at G.E.R. Conference in London, July, 1947.

of cruelty, bloodshed and violence had had in the past a bad effect on children and that stories of pagan mysticism had played too great a role in the education of the young. By over-emphasising the German folk-lore German youth had been initiated into a "glamorous glittering world of make believe"¹. Morality it was argued was handled in a pernicious manner in these stories; the hero rarely triumphs by ordinary means but is almost invariably assisted by some supernatural power. Thus the German schoolboy was led automatically to a belief in irrational forces, to the conviction that there is an easy way out of one's difficulties and responsibilities, and to endow their leaders with the divine mystic qualities of their legends. Eventually they led to escapism and to lack of responsibility, to the creation of such myths as the "stab in the back" and the betrayal of Hitler. The opinion of many British educationists therefore subscribes to the view that the creation of a morbid, unreal world of phantasy can only be unhealthy; the subjects recommended for reading material will in the future tend to concentrate on Nature as it is, and on the romance of real life.

Other trends in the selection of material are directed at furthering the ideal of humanity and co-operation amongst

¹ "First steps in cruelty", article in "The British Zone Review", 15 February, 1947. p.10.

the peoples. The National Socialist "Lesebuecher" portrayed the German race as a race of supermen and the virtues of other nations were consistently ignored. Now in fulfilment of paragraph six of Control Council Directive 54, school curricula are to promote understanding of and respect for other nations. Perhaps at this stage it would be relevant to examine one of the new "Lesebuecher" at present in use in secondary schools in the British Sector in Berlin to see how such tendencies are expressed. The tone of the book ¹ is admirably summarised in the "Vorspruch", a poem entitled "Wir sind bereit" by Graf von Zinzendorf, which ends with words so significant for German youth today;

"Wir wollen nach Arbeit fragen,
Wo welche ist,
Am Leben nicht verzagen
Uns froehlich plagen
Und unsere Steine tragen
Auf's Baugerüst."

None of the traditional fairy stories or folk-lore are included in the section "Maerchen und Geschichten"; in their place are found such stories as "Der glueckliche Prinz" by Oscar Wilde, "Ilyus" by Leo Tolstoi and "Zeus und das Pferd" by Lessing, which are not characterised either by violent action nor by any morbid interest in the occult. A section entitled "Aus der Natur" contains simple straight-

¹ "Lesestoff fuer Schulen", Dritter Teil, 7,8,9 Schuljahr, Paedagogischer Verlag, Berthold Schulz, Berlin, 1946.

forward nature descriptions, taken mainly from school texts printed in the twenties. The usual "Heimat und Vaterland" finds a place, but is now limited to simple tales of travel, such as "Weinlese am Rhein", "Im Boehmerwald", "Deutscher Sueden" and "Heuzug in den Allgaeuer Alpen". In the section entitled "Aus fernen Laendern" a somewhat uninspiring attempt is made to portray scenes of other countries in such excerpts as "Der Skilauf nach Lapland", "Flandrsiche Landschaft", "Reisebilder der U.S.A." and "Sonne ueber dem Nil". Subsequently an attempt is made to introduce the German schoolboy to the thoughts of writers of other nations and to extend his vision beyond the boundaries of the Reich by the inclusion of short extracts from Bjornson-Bjornstjerne, Tschechov, Tolstoi and the famous speech of Roosevelt, in which he outlined the conditions of peace, and detailed the four essential freedoms. A section of Ernst Wiechert's "Rede an die deutsche Jugend", pleading for a return to the eternal values is also included, "Ihr sollt Gott ausgraben unter den Truemmern des Anti-Christ.....und ihr sollt die Liebe ausgraben unter den Truemmern des Hasses. Und ihr sollt die Wahrheit wieder ausgraben, und das Recht und die Freiheit und vor den Augen der Kinder die Bilder wieder aufrichten zu denen die Besten aller Zeiten emporgeblickt haben aus dem Staub ihres

schweren Weges".¹ Other stories included in the section "Lebensweisheiten" make a further effort to establish a set of values by upholding such qualities as honesty, good living, brother love and humanity, illustrated in such short stories as "Des Vaters Vermaechtnis" by Claudius, and "Der kluge Richter" by Hebel.

In an accompanying book of verse² the selection of German poets is significant. The patriotic poets like Arndt, and Schenkendorff are omitted and the only "Kriegslied" is one by Claudius,

"Was huelf mir Kron und Land und Gold und Ehre,
Die koennten mich nicht freuen!
's ist leider Krieg - und ich begehre
Nicht schuld daran zu sein."

Heine's poems re-appear and others whose poems are featured include Droste-Huelshoff, Eichendorff, Fontane, Heyse, Lenau, Moerike, Uhland, Geibel and Storm. The main emphasis in the anthology is on lyric poetry and nothing which could be said in any way to glorify violent action, militarism or nationalism is included.

The content of History poses even more serious problems. Even less than in the case of German could an answer be provided by turning the clock back to Weimar. Article 148 of

¹ "Lesestoff fuer Schulen", op.cit., p.226.

² "Deutsche Gedichte", Paedagogischer Verlag, Berthold Schulz, Berlin, 1946.

the Weimar Constitution had indeed decreed that "all schools must aim at moral development, a sense of citizenship and personal and professional efficiency in the spirit of the German people and the reconciliation of the nations"¹. Yet the various states had full powers to decide on the introduction of text-books and their contents. The schools had to accept what was decreed by the State Minister of Education, invariably a political appointment, Kawerau's "Denkschrift ueber die deutschen Geschichts- und Lesebuecher vor allem seit 1923" revealed that despite many innovations, such as the dropping of the Imperial portraits, the soul of the History text-book had remained the same, and that the German revolution had failed to change the German "Geist". He explained how the History books in the twenties had infected German youth with a dangerous brand of nationalism and how militarism had remained a potent force in education. The majority of History books, he asserted, had instilled nationalism by the glorification of the national heroes and their warlike exploits, and by racial discrimination had led German youth to overestimate their own worth and to underestimate the values and rights of others.²

¹ Quoted in "The British Zone Review", 1 March, 1947, in an article entitled "The Danger in the Text Book".

² Kawerau's "Denkschrift ueber die deutschen Geschichts- und Lesebuecher...." was reviewed in "The British Zone Review" of 1 and 15 March, 1947, in the articles "The Danger in the Text Book".

Emphasis had been laid on the losses under the Treaty of Versailles, and very little attention was paid to the League of Nations. All these tendencies, as observed in Chapter III were developed by the National Socialists to fantastic proportions, but one would do wrong to ignore the fact that important details had often been suppressed, and that recognition of foreign achievements had often been refused in History books before 1933.

It will therefore be at once apparent that the problem of the content of education in History is almost insoluble as there is so little solid foundation on which to build. In fact Dr Werdier reported in July 1947 that historical instruction had begun in very few of the secondary schools in the British Zone and in many cases where it had begun it was limited to visits to churches and museums and confined to various aspects of local history. The majority of teachers, he continued, were loth to proceed too hastily as they were themselves not clear about the subject matter they were supposed to teach. Many of them were of the opinion that History should not yet be taught in secondary schools until a clear interpretation of recent German History could be given. Yet there is considerably evidence that problems concerning the teaching of history are occupying the attention of many German educationists who have re-

cognised the faults of historical instruction in the past. In an article in "Paedagogik" Hadermann roundly condemns the "Mythisierung und Irrationalisierung" of History, the glorification of "heldischer Fuehrerpersoenlichkeiten", "die Einengung des Blickfeldes" to the German race, and the "Verleumdung, und Entwertung" of a common European heritage. For such methods must be substituted, he maintains, a scientific contemplation and careful analysis of the facts, the extension of the field instead of its limitation to Germany, and the objective instead of the subjective approach.

Tendencies therefore in the British Zone today are to scale down the importance of the great leaders of the past, such as Frederick the Great, Bismarck and Hindenburg, and to divert attention from the periods of military glory; greater emphasis is now given to some of the broader aspects of European History, such as the Peasants' War, the Reformation, the intellectual re-birth after the Thirty Years War, the growth of Liberalism and the significance of the 1848 Revolutions in Europe, the development of the working classes and the importance of the Russian Revolution. What the writers of German History text-books will strive to tell will be German History as a part of European History

¹ Hadermann, "Ueber Aufgabe und Methode des ^g Geschichtsunterrichts in der demokratischen Schule", article in the periodical "Paedagogik", September, 1946.

and to elucidate the present by a study of the past. If the History text-book of the future is to succeed it must explain how reactionary forces gained the ascendancy over the progressive and thereby led Germany into two wars.

In the Russian Zone the aims and content of historical instruction were soon clarified. The first drafts of a new syllabus were begun soon after the occupation, appeared in June 1946, and have now been approved for the "Einheitsschule". Historical instruction begins at the age of ten with a study of the ancient world and progresses until the 20th century at the end of the primary school period. The whole syllabus is studied again in the four years of secondary schooling. Theoretically the aim of History teaching is to make young people "understand the inner and mutual relation of historical events, to make them realise the influence of progressive as well as retrogressive social forces on historical developments, to make them see how deeply our recent catastrophe is rooted in our own history, thus to arouse a sense of responsibility and the urgent desire freely and gladly to share in the regeneration of our national life, to make them proud of those achievements of our people that helped to serve the progress of mankind, and to make them understand and respect other nations and to see how their achievements have helped to shape the development

of our own nation."¹

Hero worship is to be expressly avoided in the Russian Zone. Frederick the Great is accordingly to be referred to as King Frederick. All the facts which the National Socialist historians falsified or omitted for propaganda reasons are to be emphasised, but above all the "fake mysticism and bogus racial ideology must be eliminated". Teachers are everywhere to be encouraged to understand that the child should not so much be expected to learn historical data by heart as that they should be given some idea of the history of civilisation in its broader aspects. The "Schwerpunkt" is undoubtedly on developments as seen through the eyes of a Marxist;² thus special attention is to be paid to the revolution of 1848 and the working class movement in Germany, during the study of which Marx and Engels are to be cleared of all reactionary distortions and misrepresentation. The Revolt of the Netherlands, the American War of Independence and the Socialist Revolution in Russia are also recommended for close study. The history of modern times is to pay special attention to workers' move-

¹ Fraenkel, "History in the Einheitsschule", article in "The Times Educational Supplement", 4 October, 1947.

² "Soviet Re-education", Guiding Lines for the Teaching of History", article in "Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Territory", 24 July, 1947, p.17.

ments and anti-fascist organisations; German teachers were advised to represent the Weimar Republic as only a formal democracy, which failed to destroy the economic power of monopolist organisations, of the Junkers, and to destroy the power of the Reichswehr.

History teaching then will clearly not be put on a satisfactory basis for several years. It would be absurd to assume that history masters brought up on the authoritarian tradition can have learned a completely new approach to the subject. An observer reported that lessons often consisted of monologues by the master interrupted by an occasional question. Little is apparently done to make the pupils think for themselves or to make any critical judgements. Education Branch in the British Zone indeed established the principle that care must be taken that the idea does not grow up that there is only one interpretation of History.¹ Each teacher should accordingly be encouraged to find out the facts for himself and arrive at his own conclusions. The means at the teachers' disposal are however most limited. Apart from the sets of illustrated booklets giving full details of school broadcasts very little material is available to assist masters to arrive at their own conclusions. Yet History cannot permanently be

¹ "Schools in Germany", Secondary Education, article in "The Times Educational Supplement", 15 February, 1947.

confined to visits to churches and museums. Thus amongst the most important books to have been published by German writers must be numbered those which have attempted to elucidate vital questions of the moment.

One of these, "Die Deutsche Frage" by Wilhelm Roepke, traces the misfortunes of Germany to the policy of centralisation inaugurated by Bismarck. "Was aber Deutschland angeht," he says, "so sollte es klar sein, dass wer die Lösung des deutschen Problems mit dem Rezept des notwendigerweise zentralistischen Kollektivismus versuchen wollte, nur den Weg zu Ende gehen wuerde, der dieses Volk seit drei Generationen ins Verderben gefuehrt hat."¹ Roepke then illustrates how the heavy industry in the Ruhr grew up with a strongly feudal character to become a pillar of Prussianism and the unhealthy political influence wielded by the cartels and syndicates. German history from Bismarck onwards has been a long series of calls, "Deutschland erwache", of finding "Erbfeinde", of painting the picture of "Einkreisung".² Everybody who was not blinded by the material success of Germany under Bismarck could scarcely have failed to recognise, "dass dieser Geist eine abscheuliche Verwirrung

¹ Roepke, "Die Deutsche Frage", Eugen Reutsch Verlag, Zurich, 1945, p.204.

² Roepke, op.cit., p.184.

und ein Verrat nicht nur an den ewigen Werten unserer Zivilisation sondern auch an den besten Ueberlieferungen war."¹

After 1918 there was to a certain extent a moral revolution but it was not completed by a political, economic and social revolution, the common aim of which should have been to make an end of the influence of heavy industry and to establish agrarian reform. Roepke's answer for the future is highly debatable; he advocates decentralisation, and the establishment of a German Confederation, or rather in the existing circumstances a Western German Confederation. All collectivising tendencies must disappear from this federation of autonomous German states, and also any form of large economic organisation. In this respect he neglects entirely the factor that German industry has, as after the last war, been made a guarantee of reparations.

Another work by a famous German historian has a vastly different standpoint. Friedrich Meinecke, in his book "Die deutsche Katastrophe", which was suggested for use in the upper forms of the secondary schools and later withdrawn by Military Government because the author finds certain positive features of National Socialism, maintains that Hitlerism owned its appeal to the fact that it had formed a

¹ Roepke, op.cit., p.209.

synthesis of two revolutionary waves which had dominated the nineteenth century, in Europe, the "national-buergerliche Welle" and the "sozialistisch-proletarische Welle".¹ These two forces, he claims, were often in conflict and the traditional order of society was often maintained only by playing off the one against the other, as Bismarck did. The first attempt at a union of Nationalism and Socialism was made in August 1914, an experience which belongs to the "unverlierbaren Erinnerungswerten hoechster Art."²

Although Meinecke admired Bismarck, and classified the formation of the German Empire by him as an accomplishment of "historischer Groesse"³, he considered that the Bismarck period unquestionably gave too much scope to Prussian militarism and paved the way to what he termed "Massenmachivismus"⁴, by the unscrupulousness of the means employed to gain the end. Once Nationalism and Socialism had united and government was no longer the preserve of a small class the masses soon outdid their former masters in ruthlessness and the use of force. The synthesis of classical liberalism between "Geist" and "Macht" gave way and Christian values were pushed into the background.

¹ Meinecke, "Die deutsche Katastrophe", aero Verlag, Zurich, 1946, p.33.

² Meinecke, op.cit., p.43.

³ Meinecke, op.cit., p.85.

⁴ Meinecke, op.cit., p.81.

Meinecke found a positive element in National Socialism in the conscious intention, "die beiden grossen Wellen des Zeitalters, die nationale und die sozialistische Bewegung in Eins stroemen zu lassen, und fuer diesen Zweck die amorph gewordenen Schichten der Gesellschaft wieder fester in sich und fuer das Ganze zu formen,"¹ but the hybrid manner in which Hitler integrated them was "ja nichts Ideelles, sondern etwas ganz Gemeines, war Verbrechergesinning."² Meinecke also asks if Hitler did not after all have a serious mission in defending Europe against Communism, but concludes that his real intention was to win territory and to assume the role of the protector of Europe only as a "Maske fuer den eigenen Eroberungswillen."³

Meinecke's final judgement is that Germany must renounce the idea of becoming a great power and be content to exist in the same manner as Switzerland, Holland and Sweden. The task of the future is to work "im Zeichen der Humanitaet an der Reinigung und Verinnerlichung unseres seelischen Daseins". Germany's political traditions are destroyed but the German "Geist" still has a mission to fulfil. To accomplish this Meinecke recommends Germans to seek once more

¹ Meinecke, op.cit., p.137.

² Meinecke, op.cit., p.153.

³ Meinecke, op.cit., p.119.

"Pfade zur Goethezeit" by founding Goethe societies, serious cultural groups for the study of music and literature.¹

Alfred Weber, brother of Max Weber, and at present Professor in the University of Heidelberg, and joint editor of the leading intellectual periodical, "Die Wandlung", in his "Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte"² agrees with Meinecke that Germany cannot emerge as a sovereign power, and envisages the new age as one of "world syndicates" as rival nations he claims have outlived their day. In a penetrating analysis of the nineteenth century Weber shows how man's social evolution, which had hitherto developed very slowly, was suddenly hastened by revolutionary changes. Amongst these Weber lists the increase of population, scientific achievement, the unlimited advance of capitalism and the dominance of militarism. As a result society was split into two horizontal strata and there ensued "that perilous cleavage between culture and life which reduced the spiritual forces to an irresponsible libertinage of the mind whilst leaving the social and political processes to run wild in a libertinage of power."³ Nietzsche, he asserts,

¹ Meinecke, op.cit., p.164.

² Weber, "Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte", translated by R.F.C. Hull, Kegan Paul, 1947. The English translation is entitled "Farewell to European History".

³ "The Times Literary Supplement", 1 February, 1947, review of Weber's "Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte"

by his denial of all the established values, helped to assist the forces of disintegration and nihilism.

Such books by eminent German historians like Roepke, Meinecke and Weber, although they contain much highly controversial matter, such as Roepke's insistence on federalisation, are of vital importance for the teaching of History in the secondary schools. There more than anywhere it is essential to combat the idea that History is capable of only one interpretation; the works of these three historians should therefore provide much ground for discussion on such important topics as the origins of National Socialism, the military and racial tradition of Germany, and the effects of industrial and urban civilisation. By such means the National Socialist over-simplification of History would disappear and pupils be given an idea of some of the complex issues of the problems of Germany's past.

The third subject considered of major importance is Religion. If Christian re-education is to mean anything, religious instruction in the schools will clearly play an important role in the future. As we have seen the National Socialists virtually outlawed the Christian religion from the schools and substituted their own mystic state religion. The Church, which had presented the only really co-ordinated resistance to the Nazis, soon showed that it was vitally concerned with the introduction of religious

instruction into the schools, but once more the policies adopted in the East and West have proved to be diametrically opposed. In the West, reports Herman, churchmen are aiming at substituting "Christianity" for "Religion".¹

In the summer of 1945 the Church authorities in the Rhineland urged the appointment of specialists in educational affairs to be responsible for relations with the schools; a conference of all Protestant teachers of Religion was called, so that a regular organisation under Church supervision might be created.²

Tendencies noted by Herman include the discouragement of old fashioned religious instruction and the insistence on "christliche Unterweisung", "which would nourish faith as well as increase knowledge" and offer "practical guidance in Christian living". He could discern no unanimous opinion as to how religious instruction was to be organised except in the Roman Catholic Church "which makes no secret of its determination to regain the Church schools."³ As far as the majority of secondary schools in the British Zone are concerned it would appear that the majority follow the pattern of the "Christlichen Gemeinschaftschulen" or "Simul-

¹ Herman, "The Rebirth of the German Church", S.C.M.Press, London, 1946, p.165.

² Herman, op.cit., p.165.

³ Herman, op.cit., pp.166-167.

tanschulen" which allow teachers of both confessions to give separate religious instruction.¹ Religious instruction in schools in the Russian Zone on the other hand has been completely banned despite the fact that between eighty-five and one hundred percent of the parents in some areas desired it, and despite protests by high Church dignitaries. No connection between Church and school is allowed, but outside the school the Church is granted complete freedom. This policy, maintain the Church authorities, will seriously handicap all efforts to re-Christianize youth in the Russian Zone.²

But it would be foolish to imagine that the problem of Christian re-education can be solved merely by the introduction of religious instruction in the schools. The intention, therefore in the West, is to incorporate children in Christian congregations, to assure early Christian training, and to envelop children "in a living environment of active faith". The plan now is to "maintain so firm a grasp of young people after confirmation that they will no longer slip by the thousands out of the Church's hands into the sort of secular society which becomes susceptible to pseudo religious ideologies like Hitlerism."³ The Church authori-

¹ Grimme, op.cit., p.131.

² Herman, op.cit., pp.167-168.

³ Herman, op.cit., p.169.

ties in the West hope that these measures, together with the strict control of religious instruction in the schools, will lay the foundation for re-education in the Christian tradition.

Other subjects in the secondary school curriculum had not perhaps suffered to the same extent as German, History and Religion, and some of the older text-books, published before the introduction of the national political aspects, have even been found suitable for school use. But to help teachers in all subjects "source libraries" were opened in all the larger towns, which receive current periodicals from abroad and afford the opportunity for German teachers to break in some measure the intellectual isolation in which they were imprisoned until 1945.

No discussion of the content of education is complete without a brief reference to the use of school broadcasts, a scheme which has helped more than any other single factor to make up for the difficulty in supplying text-books. School broadcasts were not unknown before 1933, but the majority ceased with the accession to power of the National Socialists. In the British Zone there is a vast organisation known as the "Nordwestdeutscher Schulfunk". Programmes, reports "The British Zone Review",¹ are planned six

¹ "Radio and Film in the German School", article in "The British Zone Review", 30 August, 1947, p.8.

months in advance and schools are sent a printed sheet detailing the broadcasts for the following half year. Teachers are issued, on application, with illustrated booklets to provide the necessary background for the lesson and to enable them to fit the lessons in with their normal work. The subjects broadcast include German and German Literature, English, Science, Music, Geography and History, all of which are presented at various levels. Nor are the broadcasts limited to academic subjects. A series "Der Arzt spricht", introducing the secondary school pupil to the study of hygiene and a further series, "Unsere Welt" dealing with citizenship, brought the ordinary man into the classroom to talk about his work. But perhaps the most interesting series in the programmes for secondary schools, was one for the senior form entitled "Neues fuer die Jugend". "Unsere Sendungen" says the official programme, "wollen helfen, ihren Blick aus der zerbrochenen Welt zu lenken, dorthin wo die Aufgaben dieser jungen Generation liegen"¹. Therefore personalities of public life, politicians, educationists, artists, and church dignitaries, are invited to speak to youth, not so that their opinions may be accepted as final, but to encourage them to understand the problems of the

¹ "Schulfunk", Sendeplan fuer die Zeit vom 13 Januar, bis 22 Maerz, 1947.

time, and to initiate the habits of free discussion. Altogether, reports "The British Zone Review", over six thousand of the fourteen thousand schools in the zone are known to be listening to the broadcasts and the organisation hopes in the future to be able to supply every school with at least the opportunity of listening.¹ The programmes are also re-diffused in the American Zone.

3. The training of teachers.

The problem of teacher recruitment has been as great a problem as the recasting of the curriculum. The educational authorities of all the allied powers realised from the start, that whatever their conception of democracy, it could not be instilled from above; consequently the project of introducing foreign teachers, often suggested before the cessation of hostilities, was abandoned and it was accepted that a lasting change of mind could only be brought about in Germany by Germans. Reference has already been made to the extent the de-nazification laws have diminished the ranks of the teachers. To those must be added the inevitable war casualties, those who retired, and those who for other reasons failed to return to the profession. The

¹ "The British Zone Review", 30 August, 1947, p.8.

situation in all the zones is that the large majority of teachers fall into one of two categories; either they are of an age at which they are unlikely to be receptive to new ideas or to be capable of adapting themselves to changed conditions, and when their capacity for work is on the decline, or they are extremely young and inexperienced without a thorough training, and expected to teach whilst they are still learning. From such a teaching body the outside world expects a radical change in the education of German youth. Many of the senior members of the profession in Germany today are unquestionably too old, too weak and too tired to bring about a change of heart in those entrusted to their care. In their hearts many of them do not dislike the authoritarian system as it absolved them from taking risks or from making decisions. Amongst youth leaving the universities tendencies have been noted towards a preference for "revolutionssichere Stellungen": twice in the last fifteen years they remember that vast numbers of teachers have lost their appointment as a result of their political allegiance. Consequently many potential teachers have tended to avoid the profession and to turn to professions in which they consider the consequences of further domestic upheaval might be avoided. It would therefore be naïve to conclude that the majority of German school teachers are all convinced democrats, imbued with a missionary zeal to educate

youth in the democratic way of life. Indeed, as "Die Neue Schule" points out, "Viele Lehrer sehen heute zu sehr das Negative, halten Schwachen der jungen werdenden Demokratie fuer das Wesentliche, sind misstrauisch gegen das neue, das aus Schutt und Truemmern erwaechst. Diese Lehrer erwarten Schulgesetze und Verordnungen in passiver Haltung, wie einen Befehl, den sie auszufuehren haben." They are not, the article concludes, aware of their vital role as "Haupttraeger einer neuen freiheitlichen Kultur des deutschen Volkes".¹

The conditions therefore for a healthy development of the teaching profession cannot yet be said to exist, but there is considerable evidence that enlightened educationists in Germany are recognising some of the faults of the past. At the basis of all pedagogic training, insists one authority, Deiters, should be the "klare Erkenntnis dessen was geschehen ist".² Teachers, he claims, must everywhere recognise their particular responsibility and understand that "nirgends war der Realismus zynischer, der Kultus der Macht knechtischer, der Hass gegen die Demokratie hemmungsloser als in Teilen unseres Buerkertums und unserer Intelli-

¹ "Die Rolle des Lehrers", article in "Die neue Schule", Volk und Wissen Verlag, Berlin, 1946. Heft 6. p.4.

² Deiters, "Der deutsche Lehrer vor der Welt", Aufbau Verlag, Berlin, 1946, p.8.

genz."¹ The secondary school-teacher in the past had often striven violently against the democratisation of public life, elementary teachers had never been converted to a militant support of the Republic and university teachers had rarely opposed students' demonstrations against the Republic, nor did the profession as a whole ever protest against the wholesale suppression of freedom.

After the blind acceptance of the National Socialist ideology in all schools it is clear that one of the most important tasks of the future in Germany will be to lead pupils whose minds have been warped by their experiences and by propaganda to the habits of independent thought and judgement. This will scarcely be possible if the traditional methods perpetuated in the German teacher training establishments are followed. One of their most fatal mistakes was to put didactics and methods of teaching in the foreground of studies. Semi-education and intellectual dependence, concludes Dr Horst Wetterling, Head of the "Paedagogischen Hochschule" in Celle, in the British Zone had been the result.² If teacher training in the new Germany is to succeed, didactic and problems of method must

¹ Deiters, op.cit., p.11.

² Speaking at a G.E.R. Conference in Bristol in April, 1947. The address is reported in the Bulletin, May 1947, p.5.

cease to dominate the curriculum. Of far greater importance will be the cultivation of intellectually independent personalities; the principles must be generally introduced so that the pupil is never again forced to accept a ready made doctrine, but is enabled to experience a search for knowledge.

As far as the training of secondary teachers is concerned the great fault of the past may be laid at the door of the universities, which had consistently neglected their responsibility. Yet large numbers of students of the Philosophical Faculty eventually entered the profession and were generally found to be uncritical of their own courses. "Teaching thus goes on from generation to generation untouched by the results of pedagogical research and educational research in other countries," reported the American education mission.¹ The recommendation finally put forward was that the universities should assume responsibility for the preparation of all secondary school teachers and administrative officers of the school system. Furthermore it was suggested that a separate Pedagogical Faculty for the teaching of the professional subject matter required by future secondary school-masters should be set up. From the

¹ "Japan and Germany.....", op.cit., p.13.

Russian Zone came a similar plea, "Auch an den Universitaeten muss mit der Geringschaetzung der paedagogischen Wissenschaft aufgehoert und eine paedagogisch Fakultaet geschaffen werden."¹ Finally article 9 of the Control Council Directive 54 established the principle that all teacher education should take place in a university or in a pedagogical institution of university rank.

The most grievous difficulty experienced by all teacher training establishments in Germany is the lack of contact with modern educational thought. There is a serious danger, noted by British observers, for German educationists to be obsessed with the "Weimar fixation", which leads them to look back to the days of perfection of the Republic. New ideas and new contacts are essential in this sphere of education, especially as the libraries were purged by the Nazis of all educational thought except that in accordance with the official ideology. It is therefore clear that opportunity must be afforded the German teaching profession to gain contacts with teachers of other countries by means of international conferences and visits, and for the results of current educational research to be made available to them.

The tendencies in teacher training in the zones might

1 "Demokratische Schulreform", op.cit., p.21.

perhaps help us to estimate how far reform has gone and the prospects for a healthy development of the future teaching profession. In the British Zone, immediately after the collapse a number of German educationists came together in Hamburg, and led by Minister Grimme, prepared the way for four "Paedagogische Hochschulen" to open in January 1946.¹ To meet the immediate difficulty of staffing the primary schools, numerous emergency courses were organised in the addition to the normal two year course. In the course of 1946 numerous "Paedagogische Hochschulen" were opened and Education Branch reported that on 1 January, 1947, sixty-four colleges and courses were in progress, of which however only two dealt exclusively with secondary education.²

Speaking of the spirit which permeated these institutions, Grimme maintained that the new colleges were elevating teacher training "aus dem uniformierten Drill" into "die Freiheit persoenlicher Bildung". The new aim was to educate in all the schools "den freien deutschen Menschen"

¹ Report by Dr Horst Wetterling, at a G.E.R. Conference in Bristol, April, 1947.

² "Educational Progress Report", No.13, Control Commission for Germany, 18 January, 1947.

and no longer "ein Geschlecht von Untertanen".¹ The first essential was to give to the teacher the possibility of developing himself into such a personality and this could only be done if the teacher felt he was trusted. The previous conception of instilling certain principles (the National Socialists used the words "Einbrennen" and "einimpfen" in this connection) must give way to the spirit of the free development of the intellect. Grimme concludes by exhorting teachers to be seekers after truth "in Wahrheit, Sauberkeit, und Selbstataendigkeit des Denkens".² But this is not enough in itself, he adds. "Die Erziehung," he maintains, "kann und muss mit dazu beitragen den Menschen unseres Volkes inmitten aller Not und Bedraengnis ein sinnerfuelltes Leben zu ermoeeglichen....Erziehen heisst die Augen oeffnen fuer die Welt der Werte und fuer den Sinn des Lebens." Only by free discussion and "im eignen Ringen" can the potential teacher learn what the ultimate purpose of education is.³

A fundamental change in the tradition of teacher training in the British Zone can be observed. In the "Paedagogische Hochschule" each student now belongs to a

1 Grimme, op.cit., p.37.

2 Grimme, op.cit., p.41.

3 Grimme, op.cit., p.41.

tutorial group, whose tutor is responsible for communal life of the group, and the personal care and instruction of the individual student. Regular discussions with distinguished visitors about present day problems guarantee a connection of college life with political, cultural, economic, social and religious problems of the day, and train the pupils in habits of objective and fair discussion. Reporting on the first batch of teachers to leave the "Pae-dagogische Hochschule" in Niedersachsen in the Spring of 1947, Dr Wetterling stated that it had been successful in developing their capacity for independent thinking and in freeing them by ethical analysis from National Socialist ideology. In most of the candidates "a light of confidence in the meaning of educational activity could be kindled."¹

Even a cursory examination of methods in the Russian Zone will reveal quite different tendencies. A joint plan produced by the Communist and Socialist Parties for democratic school reform demanded that "tens of thousands of anti-fascist fighters should be given the opportunity of joining the teaching profession."² Marshall Zukhov approved the plan and accordingly some thirty thousand young people, recruited mainly from the working classes were selected for

¹ Reported in "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", May, 1947, p.8.

² "Demokratische Schulreform", op.cit., p.39.

emergency courses lasting from eight to ten months for eventual employment in the "Einheitsschulen".¹ The so-called "Junglehrer", upon whom the ambitious "Einheitsschule" will largely depend, have for the most part come to the teaching profession from other occupations; the only thing that many of them have in common is that they can all be classed as politically reliable. Their initial training, reports an observer from the Russian Zone, was obviously inadequate, yet they seem to be shaping remarkably well.² They have the opportunity to draw on expert advice when confronted by problems, and as soon as the first fully trained teachers are available, many of the "Junglehrer" will be released for another two years study. Teachers for the senior departments of the "Einheitsschule" will also be recruited from the same source: the Russians are determined to make a clean sweep with the past, and to ensure that their conception of democracy prevails in the educational system. The universities, accordingly are in the Russian Zone filled with eager young proletarians, who have undoubtedly helped to re-invigorate academic life, which is not characterised by overcrowding as in the other

¹ Mende, op.cit., p.58.

² Fraenkel, "In the Russian Zone", article in "The New Statesman and Nation", 30 August, 1947.

zones.¹ Yet there is undoubtedly discrimination against potential university candidates from bourgeois homes, and especially against former officers, which has tended to create an embittered class.

Of tendencies in teacher training one might then conclude that in the Western Zones there are admirable characters who have realised many of the mistakes of the past and who are striving honestly to create a worthy tradition based on the values of Western Democracy. The Russians on the other hand have adopted a far more radical solution of the problem, which they maintain with some justification, is the only means of ensuring a real change of heart.

¹ In the Russian Zone there were 9,803 students in 9 universities.
In the U.S. Zone there were 33,736 students in 14 universities.
In the British Zone there were 24,597 students in 12 universities.
In the French Zone there were 9,371 students in 3 universities.

These figures were given by Fraenkel in the above mentioned article.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

This investigation has attempted to describe objectively the theory and practice of National Socialist Education with special reference to the secondary schools, and to outline various trends in the first years of the occupation. It is considered that German re-education will prove to be one of the vital factors in the preservation of world peace during the coming generations, and this problem can only be attempted when we realise exactly what happened to German education and seek to clarify some of the important issues involved. In conclusion therefore the lessons of National Socialism for contemporary educational thought will be discussed. Finally those conditions will be examined which are considered indispensable for the fulfilment of the primary aim of allied educational policy as detailed in the Potsdam Agreement, i.e. "to eliminate completely National Socialist militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideals."

1. The lessons of National Socialism for contemporary education.

That current educational theory has many lines of development parallel with the National Socialist experiment

is clear when considering the suggestions of prominent educationists today. Marjorie Reeves, like Krieck, maintains that education could never be limited to schooling; "It is the total life of the community which educates its younger members" she claims.¹ Like so many of the German theorists she also deplores the shifting of the emphasis from upbringing in the community to the intellectual development of the individual, and that the state schools of today have hitherto made little attempt to provide training in community life.² Asserting that it was a mistake to attack the total systems of education without recognising that the "liberal theory was neither true nor adequate", she embarks on a penetrating analysis of the fundamental errors of the National Socialist system. The National Socialists made a complete break with the liberal idea of education and substituted community values with the concomitant requirements from its members. Yet in so doing they repudiated the principle of an objective standard of truth. The selection of material in their education was made with the idea of ensuring their own particular "Weltanschauung", not to bring home to the young a true view of the world.

¹ Reeves, "Growing up in a Modern Society", University of London Press, 1946, p.12.

² Reeves, op.cit., p.31.

Instead of the criterion of truth the National Socialist asked, "will it serve the German race?" Intellectual training had been subordinated to emotional training and every kind of emotional device was used to enthrall the individual. "At the heart of National Socialist education," says Marjorie Reeves, "there was a denial of the integrity of the individual; he was permitted neither to seek truth by free enquiry for himself nor to understand exactly and soberly the community in which he must play a part. The Nazis gave German youth once more an essential sense of belonging, but they demanded from the individual a blind participation at a sub-personal level. Their education was designed solely to perpetuate the community."¹ The lesson for community training in the future would therefore appear to be that the group must never be allowed to enslave the individual for its own ends. Community training should mean, concludes Marjorie Reeves, "the experience of living social situations through which each can come to know himself justly in relation to others."²

One of the most frequent criticisms of contemporary British education is that it lacks an integrating force. "Society," claims Jacks, "has sectionalised itself in its

¹ Reeves, op.cit., p.33.

² Reeves, op.cit., p.35.

operations in its habits of thought, in the mutual relations of its citizens, in its scales of value and institutions."¹ National Socialists, from Krieck onwards, had said much the same thing about German education before 1933, and their attempt to remedy that state of affairs will clearly hold important lessons for the future. Like many of the German educationists, Jacks remarks on the "rigid isolation between types of school....with a profound ignorance of one another's circumstances and problems."² He considers that examinations have dominated the curriculum as far as the secondary school was concerned and that over-specialisation has resulted, so that all contact with the community has been lost. The curriculum must be integrated and discordant elements harmonised. Again Jacks insists that the teacher must be a teacher of the whole man, and he can never be this unless he is a whole man himself. All teachers should be trained together and those social distinctions which characterise the teaching profession should be destroyed.³

As we have seen the National Socialists made a very similar diagnosis about the shortcomings of education in Germany in 1933. The rigid isolation between types of

¹ Jacks, "Total Education", Kegan Paul, 1946, p.10.

² Jacks, op.cit., p.28.

³ Jacks, op.cit., p.148.

school, the social distinctions within the teaching profession disappeared to a very great extent with the creation of the unified Teachers' Association, the N.S.L. The attempt was made in the "Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung" to train primary and secondary school-teachers side by side. All subjects in the curriculum were integrated on a racial basis, the purpose of every subject being to enhance national consciousness. In the very nature of this integrating force, which became the main-spring of all educational theory, is to be found one of the keys to any future system of education. It was a system which imposed complete isolation, without the slightest possibility of the free exchange of ideas. Jacks therefore points out that the structure, aims and content of education in one country are the concern of all other countries. "Total education," he maintains, "must prepare its children for citizenship in this interdependent world."¹ He continues by recommending an International Educational Organisation, not to impose educational reforms, but to collect and disseminate information, to assist research, arrange missions and conferences and generally to promote cultural relations on a world wide scale.² Instead of an integrating force within a closed social group, Jacks insists that education must cultivate

¹ Jacks, op.cit., p.117.

² Jacks, op.cit., p.119.

"the synthetic attitude of mind.....so that men and women..
...may be able to form a coherent vision of their experi-
ence and act as an integrating force, both in the national
and international society."¹

Livingstone also considers that secondary education
"suffers from lack of integration from the absence of a
spirit to order and guide its processes, and that in the
choice and teaching of subjects it thinks more of what its
pupils should know than of their outlook on life."² In an
earlier book he had defined the dominating idea of the post
primary school as the provision of knowledge which an in-
telligent man should possess. Education had thus become a
"chaos instead of a cosmos", a collection of "stars wander-
ing each on its irregular way, occasionally dashing into
each other."³ The German answer to this problem was to
substitute a system, the ultimate end of which was to pro-
duce good National Socialists and so to perpetuate the com-
munity. Livingstone's remedy is to substitute a "solar
system whose ruling principle is the making of human beings."⁴

¹ Jacks, op.cit., pp.11-12.

² Livingstone, "Education for a World adrift", Cambridge, 1943, p.36.

³ Livingstone, "The Future in Education", Cambridge, 1941, p.126.

⁴ Livingstone, "The Future in Education", p.126.

In this system he stresses three aspects of man, body, mind and character. But it is a very different conception from the famous Hitlerian trilogy of "Koerper, Charakter und Geist". Neither the mind nor the character, he asserts, can be trained without a spiritual element. Its omission is fatal, "because its absence may be long unperceived"¹ and this is precisely what happened in National Socialist education. The spiritual roots had been cut and the consequent disintegration of all moral standards was therefore not surprising. Character training as it was understood in Germany, was restricted to inculcating the manly virtues of determination, will-power and readiness for sacrifice. Moral education was completely overlooked in the zeal for presenting the great German "Fuehrerpersoenlichkeiten" as models to youth. This narrow type of character training, considers Livingstone, could be carried out by a drill sergeant.² The results of National Socialist character training bear adequate testimony to the soundness of Livingstone's thesis that character must be trained through the intellect as well as by other means. Moral education, he insists, is impossible without Professor Whitehead's "habitual vision of greatness". Character then, can be trained by bringing

¹ Livingstone, "Education for a World adrift", p.48.

² Livingstone, "Education for a World adrift", p.51.

to youth visions of greatness in literature and history. Spiritual values, patterns of goodness must be sought in the personalities of history, which should be read as a record of human progress, not as the National Socialists did, as a means to shape the future.¹ Examinations and specialisation are conceived by Livingstone as two dragons on the road as they "encourage the neglect of the moral and spiritual factors which constitute the most valuable parts of education."²

Every modern educationist agrees that one of the fundamental tasks for the future is to find a set of values, according to which life may be ruled. The Germans found this in the ideal of unquestioning service to the community, which was perverted with them into a preparation for fanatical obedience and complete uniformity. No real community training can exist without deep common values, which will counteract the prevalent tendencies of acquiring material possessions, of doing as little work as possible for the maximum reward, of getting on at all costs. Marjorie Reeves finds no better set of values than those offered by Christianity. Professor Jeffrey¹⁶ is of the same opinion

¹ Livingstone, "Education for a World adrift", pp.58-63.

² Livingstone, "Education for a World adrift", p.123.

but maintains that the Church must first achieve what he terms "federal unity". From such a united Church he would expect a charter of social justice which would increase enormously its influence throughout society. "Its position in social and educational matters," he writes, "would be clear in general principle and it would have the strength to begin to tackle the rescue of our culture from the deep secularisation into which it has fallen."¹

Livingstone also advocates "a philosophy of living, a definite ideal to guide, discipline and dominate the lives of individuals and through them national life." This philosophy is to give youth a "sense of values, an insight into the science of good and evil which will later ripen into rational conviction. The fundamental task of education is to put into the mind some idea of what these things are and some desire to pursue them."²

Karl Mannheim advocates the defence by "militant democracy" of such basic virtues as brotherly love, mutual help, social justice and freedom:³ without settled views concerning right patterns of human conduct there can be no agreed

¹ Jeffreys, "Education. Christian or Pagan?" University of London Press, 1946, p.66.

² Livingstone, "Education for a World adrift", pp.31-32.

³ Mannheim, "Diagnosis of our time", Kegan Paul, London, 1943, p.7.

educational policy. Failure to achieve such principles is fraught with great danger and may well lead to another form of totalitarian planning, which once established, would be difficult to remove.¹ The militant democracy, recommended by Mannheim, will be "neither fascist nor communist, but which eliminates all those elements which make for chaos in "Laissez faire" liberalism without abolishing the great achievements of liberty and democratic control."² The new democracy should never tolerate the intolerant as the Weimar Republic tolerated the N.S.D.A.P., but it will never be authoritarian. It will seek in its community training to educate youth in co-operation, to give them a sense of belonging to a community but will never insist on blind obedience. The ideal for youth will be "to co-operate in groups and remain a person of judgment and independence of mind."³

Thus National Socialism, despite its obvious absurdities and perversions is not without its lessons for the future of education. In many cases the National Socialists were ahead of their time; very often the diagnosis of German education by many of the philosophers of the movement

¹ Mannheim, op.cit., p.30.

² Mannheim, op.cit., p.48.

³ Mannheim, op.cit., p.52.

was correct¹ and bears a striking similarity to the criticism of British education today. The National Socialists were right in protesting against a one-sided emphasis on the intellect. They were right in insisting on education of the whole man; but for them the whole man meant an ardent National Socialist, bound by slavish obedience to the incontrovertible laws of the community. They were correct in their assumption that knowledge for the sake of knowledge was useless, but wrong in claiming that it should only serve to enhance the requirements of the racial community. They were correct to take account of non-rational factors, but utterly wrong to deny the forces of reason and to substitute "mythos" for "logos".² They were correct in their criticism of school subjects which were divided into compartments, but the means of integration employed, as we have seen, meant the exclusive concentration on the German race, and the consequent denial of humanity and universal standards. The diagnosis was then in many cases correct, but the remedy applied was false.

The final lesson of National Socialism is therefore clear. The German people, failing to find any spiritual va-

¹ Nash, "The University and the Modern World", Camelot Press, London, 1945, p.114.

² Kneller, op.cit., p.253.

lues in the years after the World War, accepted an evil purpose, attractively camouflaged, which temporarily unified and strengthened them, and gave to vast numbers of them a meaning to their lives hitherto unknown. We would do well to remember that the forces to which the Germans responded with such violence are also at work elsewhere. "We may," says F. Clarke, "make the wrong response and bring disaster, but to make no response is not possible. To make it with less awareness than we might achieve by taking timely thought is to invite confusion and accentuated conflict. For the problems that loom before us, the forces that work among us are not just Russian or German, Communist or Fascist: they are in the ultimate resort historical, the impact of history itself upon our generation and therefore inescapable."¹

The development of National Socialism was largely due to blunders on the part of the Western world. A defeated Germany was never given a real chance to co-operate with the West until it became too late through the emergence of a philosophy which emphasised race, power, blind obedience, iron discipline, and the right to conquest, which derided the pursuit of truth and rendered independence of outlook impossible, which persecuted her own and other distinguished

¹ Clarke, "Education and Social Change", The Sheldon Press, London, 1940, p.3.

scholars and generally lowered the tone of civilisation. In 1945, with far greater experience at their disposal, the Allies were given a further chance to assist in re-educating the Germans to take their place in the community of nations. How successful they have been in creating conditions in which the healthy development of democratic ideals is possible will be assessed in the concluding section of this dissertation.

2. The outlook on education for democracy.

In attempting to describe the conditions considered necessary for the healthy development of a democratic tradition in German education, one must bear constantly in mind that the National Socialists gave to German youth a definite set of values, a purpose and a dynamic inspiration, which even total defeat has not yet eradicated completely; under the National Socialists the German youth had experienced very considerable material comforts and amenities and a high standard of living. One must remember too that the revolution of 1933 embraced every aspect of life; a fundamental change therefore in the mental attitude instilled by the National Socialists cannot be achieved by educational reforms alone but will involve also a transformation of the political, economic, social and moral structure of Germany. The

clarification of these issues is thus a necessary prerequisite for democratic re-education.

(a) Re-education and politics.

E.H. Carr, in his book, "The Conditions of Peace", maintained that one of the cardinal errors of the past had been to apply co-ercion to Germany at a time when a policy of reconciliation might have succeeded, and to attempt reconciliation when nothing but co-ercion could avail. Today the world is confronted by the same choice, either to attempt a policy leading towards reconciliation, or Vansittartism, which will keep the Germans permanently weak, and which treats them as outcasts. Carr went on to give a warning, the relevance of which is even clearer today than at the time at which it was written. "No policy," he states, "ultimately incompatible with reconciliation can endure, for it will be found morally unbearable. The danger is that it may be pursued long enough to destroy the chances of reconciliation."¹ Carr was further convinced that any attempt to break up Germany would strengthen national cohesion and increase chauvinism. On economic grounds the creation of small economic units would be in direct contradiction to the trend of contemporary economic development,

¹ Carr, "The Conditions of Peace", Macmillan, London, 1942, p.221.

which demands agglomeration and not disintegration.

"If Great Britain," maintained Carr, "and her present allies, misled by what they have suffered at the hands of Nazi Germany, were to embark on a policy which broke up German productive capacity and destroyed the flow of German trade, the repercussion on their own heads would be prompt and severe." The policy of repression is therefore "morally repugnant, physically impracticable and economically retrograde."¹ The best means by which the German dilemma may be solved is not by diminishing her, but by making her a partner in a larger unit. Her belated nationalism, he concludes, can only be overcome by making internationalism worth her while, and by making the masses feel that they have a part to play in the new order.

A policy aimed at fitting Germany into the society of nations, with a definite role to play in the reconstruction of Europe is then far more likely to succeed in solving the German problem than one of permanent repression. Such a policy would clearly be mirrored in the education of Germany, one of the aims of which would be to create citizens with a world outlook, who would learn by experience that differences can be settled peaceably by the path of mutual understanding.

¹ Carr, *op.cit.*, pp.223-225.

The problem of the development of democracy in Germany is however immensely complicated by the radically different approaches to the subject by the occupying powers. There are thus two quite distinct conceptions of democracy in Germany. The British and the Americans, on the one hand, attach greater importance to democratic institutions, with stress on the traditional democratic freedoms whereas the Soviet Union has constantly shown a complete disregard for the "rules of the game" in their conviction that the social structure of Germany is in need of a complete reform if the forces of reaction which in the past inevitably led to aggression are not once more to regain power. After more than two and a half years of occupation evidence is not lacking that nationalism is on the increase and that democratic re-education has in fact made little progress. The fusion of the American and British Zones has given rise to the feeling that the original British intention to create a planned socialist economy in Western Germany has been discarded in favour of re-introducing "laissez-faire" economics. The feeling is thus widespread that German politics in the Western Zones are emerging not in new forms but exactly as in the early years of the Weimar Republic.

A glance at the condition of the political parties in the zones of Germany today will suffice to illustrate the

lack of fertile soil in which ^{democracy} might take root. In the "Landtag" elections of 20 April, 1947, two parties were pre-dominant, the Social Democrats (SPD) and the Christian Democratic Union, (CDU).¹ The Social Democrats stand in general for nationalisation, for land reform, for a loosely centralised Germany with a planned economy, and for a certain measure of curtailment of property rights and of free enterprise. The Christian Democrats, who in the three Western Zones taken together have an absolute majority, are opposed to nationalisation and land reform and would revert to free enterprise. The third party of importance, the Communists, demand immediate nationalisation of all major branches of industry, the creation of small peasant holdings, widespread restriction of property rights and the creation of a full employment economy. All three parties claim to be democratic, and each party receives the official backing from the occupying power whose conception of democracy coincides with its own. Thus the British support primarily the Social Democrats, the Americans the Christian Democratic Union, and the Russians the Communists. Germany is split between two irreconcilable conceptions of democracy and the possibility arises that

¹ "Monthly Report of Control Commission for Germany", April, 1947, p.13.

undemocratic forces will take advantage of such conflict to launch a purely emotional appeal for Germany unity.

Beyond doubt many Germans feel today that democracy can never correspond to their needs and that it is completely incapable of solving the monumental tasks of reconstruction; (in Wuerttemberg.-Baden, reports Brailsford, only two percent of the population have joined the parties).¹ One of the great errors of the Weimar Republic was to allow democratic privileges to the sworn enemies of democracy. There were many in the early twenties, who whilst paying lip service to democracy, had only joined some of the political parties as a cloak to their real intentions. That history is repeating itself today to a certain extent is clear from the latitude given to those whose past records make it questionable if their attitude to democracy is genuine. The separatist and federal tendencies in the American Zone, especially in Bavaria, where the Christian Democratic Union is the strongest party, have caused grave concern to Russia, which has felt that they are motivated by an attempt to save the power of German imperialism from destruction and to re-instate the forces of reaction. "Bavaria today," reports Mende, "has certainly succeeded in becoming the stronghold of German fascism, at least poli-

¹ Brailsford, "The Mind of Germany", article in "The New Statesman and Nation", 15 November, 1947.

tically.....it is an eldorado of political opportunists and adventurers."¹ On the other hand the Americans are convinced that the political parties in the Eastern Zone are without real significance as they believe that the Russians intend to transform their zone into a communist bastion in the heart of Europe. This conviction had no doubt been strengthened by the recent dismissal of Jakob Kaiser, the leading figure of the Christian Democratic Union.

Thus before ^edemocracy can be expected to make any dynamic appeal to the Germans it must be thoroughly revitalised, so as to give them confidence that it can approach the gigantic problems of today with some prospect of success. "If life goes on today," maintains one expert on German affairs, "with no prospect of the attainment of a tolerable standard of life and the recovery of national unity, then in German eyes, the parties and the principles for which they stand will be doomed by their association with hunger and stagnation. Germany can be won for democracy only if it has a message of hope to bring them."² Before democracy can hope to become a vital factor in the creation of a new world certain fundamental conditions for its regenera-

¹ Mende, op.cit., pp.71-72.

² Brailsford, op.cit.

tion must be fulfilled, and nowhere have they been more clearly expressed than by Carr. In the first place he maintains, the democratic ideals of equality and liberty must find a re-interpretation in predominantly economic terms. Liberty must be redefined as the maximum social and economic opportunity, the freedom from exploitation.¹ As far as economics are concerned, democracy must abandon the hypothesis of the pursuit of individual interests as the motive force of an economic system; the quantitative conception of wealth must be discarded in favour of the qualitative conception of welfare.² The requirements of peace must be met in exactly the same serious and methodical way in which we meet the requirements of war, but this has not been possible because no peace time aim has yet been recognised as being so worthy of sacrifice as war. Carr then formulates his final and most important condition for the rebirth of democracy. "The essential nature of the crisis throughout which we are living, is neither military, nor political, nor economic, but moral. A new faith in a new moral purpose is required to re-animate our political and economic system.....our civilisation is in danger of perishing for lack of something with which we have dispensed for two hundred years, but with which we can dispense

¹ Carr, op.cit., p.31.

² Carr, op.cit., p.68.

no longer; a deliberate and avowed moral purpose, involving the call for common sacrifice for a recognised common good."¹ In other words the individual member of society must be made to feel responsible as a member of the community for common corporate standards of values.

Unfortunately the conditions for the regeneration of democracy cannot be said to have been fulfilled. Democratic institutions have certainly been established in Western Germany but they cannot really hope to take firm root; democracy cannot be planted artificially, but must be created by the growth of a democratic attitude in individual people in Germany. They must find the courage to defend their own convictions and at the same time to express tolerance towards the opinions of others. In Germany today such conditions do not obtain. There is a widespread feeling that nothing can be done by Germans to improve their lot as long as the allies are incapable of reconciling their different conceptions of democracy. Hunger, cold, and general despair have made democracy unpopular in Germany and have created an atmosphere of resentment incompatible with the spirit of tolerance. Every action, concludes one writer on contemporary Germany is characterised as "ein Schachzug auf dem internationalen Spielbrett";² democracy in the West is

¹ Carr, op.cit., pp.110-111.

² Guerster, "Volk im Dunkel", Vita Nova Verlag, Luzern, 1946. p.126.

very often interpreted as a bulwark against communism and a means to preserve the rights of property, whereas in the East it is merely regarded as a transition period on the road to communism. "Das allgemeine Klima", concludes the same author, "steht nicht mehr im Zeichen der Demokratie, nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern ueberall in Europe hat sie ihren Grundcharakter eingebuesst."¹ In the matter of moral regeneration the responsibility of the allies is very great, since they had proclaimed a moral crusade against National Socialism. The onus therefore is on them to prove that they can conquer Germany not only militarily but also morally, but so far the allies cannot be said to have revealed to the Germans any set of moral values which might convince them of their superiority.

The educational system of a country inevitably reflects its political, economic, social, and moral conditions and educational reconstruction can only proceed if such conditions reveal a healthy development. It cannot proceed in a vacuum, and until the Germans know for what to educate, until a goal is provided for which they can strive, re-education has little prospect of success. The National Socialist idea of education for something was correct, and

¹ Guerster, op.cit., p.136.

today it is vital that the purpose of education shall be clearly stated so that educationists should not from the start be working in the dark. In this respect re-education is a political problem.

(b) The question of responsibility.

A second requirement considered necessary for the healthy growth of democratic educational tradition is a firm grasp of the conditions and the background which led to the rise of National Socialism as without this the work of reconstruction will be without solid foundations. This will involve a clear recognition of the responsibility for National Socialism by the German nation. Certain eminent German educationists have given this question their close attention in works published since the end of the war and it would be relevant to examine some of their theories and to estimate their influence in present day Germany.

Karl Jaspers, Professor in Heidelberg University, complains that the majority of Germans wish to forget the past, that they are not concerned with the fate of the world, but only with finding a way out of their own misery. His main thesis is that the question of guilt is the most vital factor in the rehabilitation of the German nation. "Die Schuldfrage," he maintains, "ist eine Lebensfrage der deutschen Seele. Nur ueber sie kann eine Umkehrung stattfinden, die

uns zu der Erneuerung aus dem Ursprung unseres Wesens bringt."¹ Amongst the possibilities of excuse for the passive acceptance of National Socialism the author lists terrorism employed by the state, the consequent impossibility of great actions against the authorities, and Germany's geographical position which in the past has led her to create military states to safeguard her existence. The Germans, he continues, are prone to emphasise the guilt of others, and claim that the Versailles Treaty deprived the new Republic of the means of existence, and in fact made it an easy prey to reactionary industrial and financial forces. Moreover the allies are often blamed for not supporting the opposition to Hitler, for easing the path of the aggressors in the case of Manchuria, Abyssinia, the Rhineland and Czechoslovakia. Yet despite these factors which play such a large role in the discussion of the guilt question in Germany today, Jaspers concludes, that, although it is impossible to indict a whole nation, every German is in some measure guilty. Naturally only a very small minority of Germans is deserving of punishment for crimes committed. But it is the duty of every German to examine his own conscience and to recognise above all his share of guilt and to collaborate with the allies in the work of restitution and recon-

¹ Jaspers, "Die Schuldfrage", Artemis Verlag, Zurich, 1946, p.8.

struction. But, he concludes, the principle of "Wiedergutmachung" is not enough. "Die Klaerung der Schuld," he says, "ist zugleich Klaerung unseres neuen Lebens und seiner Moeglichkeiten. Aus ihr entspringt der Ernst und der Entschluss."¹ The process of purification, he claims, does not manifest itself through external actions, but is rather an inner process, and a consciousness of solidarity and co-responsibility, without which freedom is impossible, can arise only through the knowledge of guilt.

Wilhelm Roepke also accepts the theory of the collective guilt of all classes, but argues that National Socialism was a particularly violent outbreak of the general disease of totalitarianism rather than a manifestation of the Teutonic spirit.² He too would draw attention to the guilt of the rest of the world, which is therefore not justified in its Pharisees' attitude of condescension towards Germany. Germany should be recognised as "das beklagenswerte Opfer oder doch als widerstrebend Verfuehrte" rather than as the "Urheber des namenlosen Unheiles."³ Yet in addition to the collective guilt of all classes there can be no doubt of the increased guilt of certain groups.

¹ Jaspers, op.cit., p.93.

² Roepke, "Die Deutsche Frage", Eugen Reutsch Verlag, Zurich, 1945, p.66.

³ Roepke, op.cit., p.66.

Amongst these Roepke details the industrialists, the Wehrmacht officers, the economic leaders, the members of the Reichstag who approved the "Ermaechtigungsgesetz" and finally the intellectuals.¹ The guilt of the latter group is perhaps greatest of all as their activities led to a "Laehmung des Gewissens der deutschen Nation".² "Hier an den deutschen Universitaeten" writes Roepke, "war auch die Staette, an der in den Hoersaelen, in den Verbindungen und bei jeder sich bietenden Gelegenheiten, ein brutaler Nationalismus, ein dummer Nationstolz, ein stumpfsinniger Hass gegen die Siegermaechte und eine inhumane Verachtung des Voelkerrechtes gepflegt wurden."³ Few of the faculties were not anti-liberal and anti-democratic, and did not materially help to undermine the authority of the Weimar Republic by preaching the doctrine of the authoritarian state. The picture before 1933 was dark enough but after the seizure of power the guilt of the professors was enormous. In contrast to Italy, where many University professors refused the Fascist oath, the number of Germans who lost their appointments as a result of their convictions was very small. Nearly all who lost their posts in both the Universities and in the secondary schools lost them on account of their race.

¹ Roepke, op.cit., p.70.

² Roepke, op.cit., p.70.

³ Roepke, op.cit., p.77.

We do wrong, maintains Roepke, to think of National Socialism as a sudden lunacy of a single race in the midst of a healthy world.¹ It was not the sign of a race but of an epoch manifest in the whole of the civilised world, "eher der Ausdruck eines internationalen Zeitgeistes als derjenige eines nationalen Volksgeistes."² That the true nature of National Socialism was not recognised was due ultimately to moral defects, but in this respect the world must share German guilt. The representatives of other states hastened to National Socialist conferences and celebrations, admired the semblance of order and discipline, the economic and social policies, and tried to uncover the good side of National Socialism, but only rarely was anybody as tactless as to mention concentration camps or special courts. "Die heutige Weltkatastrophe," writes Roepke, "ist der gigantische Preis, den die Welt dafuer zahlen muss, dass sie sich taub gestellt hat gegenueber allen Alarmsignalen die von 1930 bis 1939 in immer schrilleren Toenen die Hoelle ankuendigten, die die satanischen Kraefte des Nationalsozialismus loslassen sollten, zuerst gegen Deutschland selbst, und dann gegen die uebrige Welt."³

¹ Roepke, op.cit., p.41.

² Roepke, op.cit., p.44.

³ Roepke, op.cit., p.29.

Very many Germans only became guilty in the course of time, although they had originally not desired National Socialism. Thousands of diplomats, professors, journalists and teachers, without ever being National Socialists, never summoned up enough courage to break with the regime, preferring instead to remain in their positions of authority. The final position they took up was one from which they sought the good sides of the movement and hoped for a process of "Normalisierung". They were deceived by the early victories and were indifferent to the fate of Warsaw, Rotterdam, and Belgrade, but this claims Roepke, was the guilt "der Verfuehrten, nicht der Verfuehrer, die Entehrung der Vergewaltigten nicht die Ehrlosigkeit der Vergewaltiger."¹

Ernst Wiechert, the poet, also supported the theory of collective guilt of Germans, without emphasising the joint responsibility of the allies to the same extent as Roepke. "Lasst uns erkennen," he writes, "dass wir schuldig sind und dass vielleicht hundert Jahre erst ausreichen werden, die Schuld von unseren Haenden zu waschen. Lasst uns aus der Schuld erkennen, dass wir zu buessen haben, hart und lange."² Karl Barth urges the German people to admit their

¹ Roepke, op,cit., p.60.

² Wiechert, "Rede an die deutsche Jugend", Rascher Verlag, Zurich, 1945, p.27.

guilt, to make a clean break with the past and to work together for the future, whilst Niemoeller and others have also lent their support to the theory of collective guilt.

The attempt has been made therefore by individual German writers to lay the foundation for reconstructional work by a frank admission of the collective responsibility of Germans for National Socialism and the war. But it will be necessary to examine how far such sentiments have found an echo in the German people of today. What is the reaction to the theory of collective guilt? The majority will blame one or more groups of Germans, the industrialists, the Party or the generals, but will almost invariably reject the theory of collective guilt. Roepke and Jaspers are no doubt correct to point out that the Western powers are not without their share of the responsibility for the rise of National Socialism, yet this is the only aspect of their work which seems to have found a sympathetic hearing amongst the German people. Thus arguments often heard in Germany are those which condemn the allies for their failure to stop Hitler when there was still time and those which seek to justify support for National Socialism by reference to the incompetence and confusion of the democratic parties in Germany. The view is widely upheld that the allies, with their vastly different experiences, are not really

qualified to teach the Germans about their failure to avoid the Nazi system. Incidents at the universities indicate that the theory of collective guilt is generally rejected. Speaking in Neustadt Church to Erlangen University students, in January 1946, Pastor Niemoeller declared that the only possibility for rehabilitation of Germany, "lay in the complete recognition by each individual German of his own guilt for the crime of Nazism." At this point the Pastor was greeted with prolonged shuffling of the feet and several hundred students left the church. A fortnight later at Marburg University a repeat performance was planned, but on this occasion Niemoeller left the hall without giving his talk to the accompaniment of booing and whistling.¹

The majority of observers agree that the Germans do not as a whole accept the thesis of collective guilt. Leading educationists have indeed made sincere attempts to base a philosophy for the future on the clear recognition of the responsibility of the German people for National Socialism, but the acceptance of such a principle, it would seem, will remain distant whilst collective atonement continues to be a correlative of collective guilt.

(c) Towards new ideals.

Before the democratisation of Germany can be attempted

¹ Reported by Mende, op.cit., p.63.

the mental attitude engendered by years of National Socialist training must be transformed. It will therefore be of great value to resume briefly some of the factors which in Germany have tended to create an anti-democratic tradition, as only by the substitution of new psychological attitudes can education for democracy proceed and the fatal errors of the past be avoided.

One of the most interesting experiments in this direction has been carried out by the German Personnel Research Branch, under the command of an eminent British psychiatrist, Lt. Col. Dicks, Professor of Psychiatry in the University of Leeds. General symptoms common to the majority of Germans were found to be earnestness, industry, respect for authority, docility, rank consciousness, love of uniformity, and regimentation, sentimental romanticism, rigidity of outlook, the cavalier treatment of women, a national arrogance and self adulation. These qualities explain to a large extent why the Germans became such ready victims to totalitarianism. But how did these qualities arise in the first instance? The German Personnel Research Branch found the key to this problem in the influences to which the average German child was submitted from his earliest days. The German boy, it claimed, was almost invariably trained to submissiveness in the home, where the father is generally

all-powerful and the mother rarely an equal partner. The result is often a repression of the tender tie with the mother, and a cowed acceptance of paternal attitudes. As the child grew up under the strict authoritarian rule of the father, he would gradually wish to imitate the wielder of power, a process which accounts for the strange mixture of submission and aggression in the fully fledged National Socialist. Father symbols are those to which the young child would aspire, which in turn accounts for the importance attached to such qualities as love of rank and military discipline. The dominance of the father in the home, and the lack of prestige of women give rise to the cult of masculinity, which expresses itself in intolerance for tender feelings and humaneness, in ruthlessness and admiration for the soldier ideal.

This submissiveness in the earliest years had to be idealised in later life and rationalised. Thus as the child grew up, his self will was curbed and he accepted readily the principles of blind obedience, readiness for sacrifice and love and loyalty for a leader. By the importance attached to ranks the German achieved a sense of security, a show of strength to compensate for weakness. The harm which ensues from submission in earliest childhood to a rigid paternal authoritarianism can easily be traced.

It will lead to frustrated rage and an inferiority complex, which will provide the urge to bully all who are weaker. To be thought bad or weak becomes intolerable for a German; his self respect is so easily disturbed that he finds the need to inflate it by insistence on honour and status. The badness is always someone else's, which explains the fact why the National Socialists needed enemies, such as the Jews, the communists, the Freemasons or the pluto-democrats. The resultant need for security was satisfied by the sense of belonging to a mighty state organism which enabled all to feel good, strong and important.¹

Extensive interrogation of ardent National Socialists revealed a significant concentration on the following set of attitudes: "An undue acceptance of paternal authority and leader worship with a resultant docility towards those above him and an expected right to dominate those below him; that is authoritarianism. Then an exaggerated shame about and a contemptuous rejection of tender relationships in the family.....a taboo on the gentle affectionate side of life.....an overvaluation of masculinity and gang solidarity, associated with personal and social depreciation of

¹ Dicks, "Why the Germans became Nazis", article in "The British Zone Review", 26 July, 1947, pp.5,7,23.

women....a tendency to read his own motivation or characteristics into the behaviour or intentions of others..... a proneness to re-act with neurotic anxiety to situations where he is not at ease."¹ Interrogation also revealed beyond doubt that anti-Nazis did not possess such characteristics to the same extent. It was found that whereas ardent National Socialists to a very great extent had been submitted in early childhood to a strong paternal authoritarian rule, anti-Nazis had most frequently come from homes where the mother had played an important role, and where there had been scope for tender relationships and individual freedom. The German Personnel Research Branch thus established a definite co-relation between paternal severity in family relations and the incidence of National Socialism in the national group.

It would thus appear that the Germans were able to offer little resistance to National Socialism because, by reason of their traditional rearing, they already had the propensities towards Nazism. These propensities still exist today and will not be eliminated until the entire structure of family and inter-personal relationships, and the authoritarian way of education have been changed. It is still evident that men have not yet attained the right

¹ Dicks, op.cit., p.23.

attitude towards women, and still find it difficult to accept the principle of equality of opportunity for women. Many will deny their womenfolk the right to a career, and many still find it beneath their dignity to assist in domestic duties. German women, on the other hand, after their inferior status under the National Socialists, have in their new-found urge to express themselves, often tended to become aggressive, and to blame men for all their misfortunes. The Research Branch concluded that these qualities were the result of a cultural disorder, not of any inborn unalterable viciousness. The lesson for re-education to be learned from the study of the psychology of National Socialism is that neither military, economic, political or social measures will themselves ensure that the disease will not recur. To produce a change of heart will involve a complete re-orientation of the authoritarian tradition of education both in early childhood and in the school.

In the British Zone there is evidence that leading educationists, led mainly by Dr Grimme, have recognised the need for a complete reversal in educational values and for the elimination of the authoritarian tradition, before a new educational philosophy can be founded. The root of the evil in the past maintains Grimme, was "Verzicht auf Eigendenken" and the prevalence of the subordinate type,

who instead of obeying the voice of his own conscience, was wont to listen to the opinions of others and keep one eye on the attitude of his superior.¹ The ideal of a new education should be to serve the idea of a free humanity amongst all people in both Germany and in the whole world. "Wir muessen los vom Untertanmenschen und hin zum freien deutschen Menschen, der nicht mehr andere fuer sich denken laesst, der zu den Fragen des Staates und der Menschlichkeit von sich aus Stellung nimmt, und sich entwoehnt stets nur auf den Befehl zu warten."² The submission of self to an idol, the idea of self subordination, such powerful concepts of National Socialist education must disappear. The highest aim of education, claims Grimme, is ultimately to choose between good and evil and produce men who will hear nothing but the voice of their own conscience. Grimme then appeals for the return to eternal values, "Auf Religiositaet, auf Recht und Wahrheit, auf Guete und auf Freiheit der Person, auf Menschenwuerde und auf Menschenleben, auf Werte, die niemand ungestraft missachtet."³ The most

¹ Grimme, op.cit., pp.4-5. This attitude has to some extent been replaced by the habit of keeping one eye on the views of the occupying forces, for the sake of material advantages.

² Grimme, op.cit., p.7.

³ Grimme, op.cit., p.9.

pressing need of the moment is to see that youth does not fall a victim to the spirit of negation and to try and substitute creative impulses in the place of nihilism.

What is important is to give youth a feeling that it is collaborating in the task of "Durchgeistung der Welt" and a feeling of responsibility for the future.¹

In the past German education was characterised by "Subalternitaet", by the flight from responsibility which found its most typical expression in the catch phrase "Fuehrer befehl, wir folgen."² The new ideal must be "der Mensch der Selbstverantwortung". "Was wir brauchen," claims Grimme, "ist Erziehung zur Synthese von Eigeninitiative und von Einordnung um der Mitverantwortung jedes einzelnen fuer alle willen. Wo diese Synthese Leben geworden ist, da ist der freie Buerger einer Republik erzogen."³ Grimme's next point for the re-orientation of German educational philosophy was tolerance. German youth must be taught to dispense with the habit of scorning other people's views, to realise that every individual has a right to his opinion and to understand that basically democracy means "nichts anderes als in jedem Menschen seinen Wert und seine Wuerde als menschliche Person bejahen", whereas National

¹ Grimme, op.cit., pp.20-21.

² Grimme, op.cit., p.27.

³ Grimme, op.cit., p.28.

Socialism had preached the doctrine of "Volksverachtung".¹

Finally education must restore to German youth a proper sense of values amidst a world of "Wertdesorientiertheit und der Wertepervertierung" to counteract the worship of Hitler as the Almighty. The new ideal might well be the "miles religiosus", who will fight with God against demonic forces and who will strive to make a reality of those genuine values, "damit aus Nichtsinn endlich Sinn wird." In this manner education will not only be "Volksdienst" but "Weltdienst", and more than either "Gottesdienst", the reward of which would be the creation of a youth which would rescue Germany from the "Irrweg seiner Geschichte".²

3. The challenge to Western democracy.

The future of education in Germany will remain uncertain until vital social, political and economic issues have been clarified. The magnitude of the task, so ably put by Weber, "To resuscitate the forces which have almost atrophied in the average German but were once operative in him as an unbounded urge to freedom, as independence of character, as the ability to decide his own life,"³ has never be-

¹ Grimme, op.cit., p.107.

² Grimme, op.cit., pp.28-35.

³ Weber, op.cit., pp.168-169.

fore been equalled. In the British Zone, reports Robert Birley, the Educational Adviser, an excellent start has been made; the small group of British education officers have "succeeded in building up an absolutely natural and reasonable tradition of co-operation between those of the two nations concerned with education."¹ But the most difficult part of the task has clearly yet to be accomplished. Before an elite "qualified for political and practical leadership, but composed of persons spiritually and intellectually pre-eminent"² can be created Germany's isolation must be broken. The opportunities for young Germans to study the British way of life in the universities, schools, adult organisations and youth groups must be multiplied. Leading educationists in this country must be prepared to accept responsible posts in German institutions to provide the much needed "stimulus of mind on mind" and to help to "call forth this body of men dedicated to the task of rousing once more in Germans through education the love of freedom, the readiness to accept responsibility for the actions of the community which seem to have been lost to the nation."³

¹ Birley, "The German Problem and the responsibility of Britain", Burge Memorial Lecture at Westminster School, reported in "The Times Educational Supplement", 6 December, 1947.

² Weber, op.cit., p.167.

³ Birley, op.cit.

Recent developments reported by the Control Commission suggest a welcome increase in opportunities for personal contact between German and allied educationists. In the summer of 1947 Bonn, Muenster, Hamburg and Kiel held courses attended by three hundred British and allied students and an equal number of Germans. Three courses for German secondary school-masters were arranged in Osnabruck, Muenster and Barsbuettel to discuss the teaching of History with British experts, whilst another was arranged in Dueseldorf for the teaching of Geography. In response to the appeal of the Educational Adviser several British Universities have decided to accept young German lecturers as senior research assistants, and others have granted free places to German students.¹ A party of eighteen secondary school pupils spent several weeks in the summer of 1947 in this country as guests of the Student Christian Movement, whilst over two hundred students from Hamburg came over to assist in harvest work. Other parties of youth leaders and educationists have also visited this country to study British institutions at first hand.²

A further invaluable benefit to German re-education would be the entry of the country into UNESCO. In the pro-

¹ "Monthly Report of Control Commission for Germany", August 1947, p.51.

² "Monthly Report of Control Commission for Germany", September 1947, p.53.

gramme for 1948 recently submitted at the General Conference of UNESCO in Mexico City it was stated that the organisation must be ready to extend the scope of its programme to countries newly admitted to membership, including ex-enemy nations; and also to Germany and Japan, subject to the concurrence of the allied control authorities. However recent political developments have made UNESCO operations in Germany practically impossible. No coherent comprehensive policy can be followed until there is a central government with which plans can be co-ordinated; and of an effective central government there would appear to be little prospect in the immediate future.

The collapse in December, 1947 of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in London served only to accentuate the ideological difference between the East and West. It is clear that no comprehensive educational policy can be applied to Germany as a whole. The challenge to the Western world is now unmistakable. Whether the British, American and French Zones of Germany can evoke spiritual forces strong enough to combat the totalitarian ideology of the East, and whether the authorities there will have the will and energy to carry out those social reforms which alone can prove that democracy is seriously meant, time alone will prove. The Russians clearly start with certain advantages.

The striking similarities between the Communist and the National Socialist creed can scarcely fail to militate in the course of time in the favour of the Russians. In each there was a "pyramiding system, culminating in the dictatorship of a one party government."¹ The leadership in both consists only of those ideologically sound, and both movements have the character of religions in which orthodoxy is essential, in which there is a supernatural belief in the powers of the Leader and the Proletariat respectively.² Many features of Soviet education have much in common with National Socialist theory and practice. "Soviet pupils" reported Epstein, Director of the Department of Social Education, Commissariat of Public Instruction, Moscow, "are being trained in the spirit of greatest Soviet patriotism, of love and loyalty towards the great leader Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party and towards the Soviet power, who have brought their mother country to a flourishing state."³ Thus like the National Socialists the Russians stress the national political aspects of education, and just as the aim of the former was to produce good Natio-

¹ MacGurdie, "Germany, Russia, and the Future", Cambridge University Press, 1944, p.3.

² MacGurdie, op.cit., pp.3-6.

³ Epstein, "Education in the U.S.S.R.", Year Book of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1937, p.788.

nal Socialists so do the Russians strive to produce "active, capable, honest, cultural and educated builders of the Communist society."¹ As in Germany the curriculum of all schools in Russia is centrally controlled and the content of education adapted to political necessity. Thus the "School History of the Soviet Union" glorifies the mind and will of the ruler in the decisive periods of Russian History" so as to present Stalin as the modern leader of the people. His political opponents are all vilified.² Throughout the curriculum knowledge is not treated from the standpoint of objective truth, but solely according to the exigencies of the Party, and so books written outside the Soviet Union have often to be revised and passages omitted before they can be presented to the public. In both systems ideology was inculcated through education and in Russia, as well as Germany, an all embracing propaganda exercised control over every aspect of life.

It is therefore not improbable that in the course of time, after the first bitterness created in the early days of the occupation has worn off, the Russian way of life may make more appeal to the Germans, accustomed already to so many of its aspects. The more dynamic approach of the Rus-

¹ Epstein, op.cit., p.787.

² Nash, op.cit., p.151.

sians, their radical solution of social problems, the proneness of Germans to accept the big idea, to follow mass movements and so to avoid responsibility will probably find a ready response in Germany unless the British and the Americans are successful in finding a goal to lighten the present darkness in the Western Zones. "Russia is slowly but steadily overcoming the bitter hostility with which her armies were first greeted" reports Gordon Schaffer after his recent sojourn in the Soviet Zone.¹ Viewed in the light of this challenge the problem of German re-education is revealed in all its urgency. Time is not on the side of the Western Allies, who would do well to remember the words of Weber, "The German people can bear the excessive hardness of life that will be their lot for many years and decades....they can face the destruction of their homeland....they can face the poverty and distress....they can endure their not merely political but social and economic misery....only if in the vital physical and spiritual resources left to them they have a common spiritual goal, not just an external one. They must have a common impulse of will and that can only be in a great hope."²

¹ Schaffer, "Russian Zone", Allen and Unwin, London, 1947, p.190.

² Weber, op.cit., p.174.

APPENDIX 2.

THE "DEUTSCHE OBERSCHULE".
TIMETABLE.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Zusammen
<u>Leibeserziehung</u>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	40
<u>Deutschkunde</u>									
Deutsch	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	33
Geschichte	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	22
Erdkunde	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Kunsterziehung	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Musik	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	14
<u>Naturwissenschaft u. Mathematik</u>									
Biologie	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Chemie					2	2	2	2	8
Physik				2	2	2	2	2	10
Mathematik	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	29
<u>Fremde Sprachen</u>									
Englisch	6	6	4	4	4	3	3	3	33
Latein			4	4	4	3	3	3	21
<u>Arbeitsgemeinschaften</u>									
Naturwissenschaftlich oder sprachlich						3 (3)	3 (3)	3 (3)	9 (9)
Religion	2	2	2	1					7
Zusammen	31	32	34	34	35	36	36	36	274

NOTE: This is the time-table detailed by the reform of 1938 and modified by Ministerial Decree of 20 March 1940. By this decree the division of the 6th, 7th and 8th forms into Natural Science and Language groups was cancelled, but this alternative was still offered in the "Arbeitsgemeinschaften". The number of periods allotted to Religion was also reduced from twelve to seven.

SOURCE. Ministerial Decree 20 March, 1940.

APPENDIX 3.

THE "GYMNASIUM"
TIMETABLE.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Zusammen
<u>Leibeserziehung</u>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	40
<u>Deutschkunde.</u>									
Deutsch	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	33
Geschichte	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	22
Erdkunde	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Kunsterziehung	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	12
Musik	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	14
<u>Naturwissenschaft u. Mathematik.</u>									
Biologie	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Chemie					2	2	2	2	10
Physik				2	2	2	2	2	10
Mathematik	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	27
<u>Fremde Sprachen</u>									
Latein	6	6	4	4	4	4	4	3	35
Griechisch			5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Englisch					3	3	3	3	12
<u>Religion</u>	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	12
<u>Zusammen</u>	31	32	35	35	36	37	37	36	279

NOTE: This is the time-table detailed by the reform of 1938. It is virtually certain that the number of periods allotted to Religion were reduced to seven by the Ministerial Decree of 20 March, 1940 to bring it into line with the "Oberschule".

SOURCE: "Erziehung und Unterricht in der hoeheren Schule", 1938.

APPENDIX 4.

THE "AUFBAUSCHULE"
TIMETABLE.

	3	4	5	6	7	8	Zusammen
<u>Leibeserziehung</u>	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
<u>Deutschkunde.</u>							
Deutsch	5	5	4	4	4	4	26
Geschichte	4	3	3	3	3	3	19
Erdkunde	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Kunsterziehung	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Musik	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
<u>Naturwissenschaft</u> <u>u. Mathematik</u>							
Biologie	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Chemie			3	2	2	2	17
Physik		2		2	2	2	17
Mathematik	5	5	4	3	3	3	23
<u>Fremdsprachen</u>							
Englisch	6	6	4	4	4	4	28
Latein			4	4	4	4	16
<u>Religion</u>	2	2	1	1	1	1	8
 Zusammen	 35	 36	 36	 36	 36	 36	 215

NOTE: This time-table was detailed by the reform of 1938.

SOURCE: "Erziehung und Unterricht in der hoeheren Schule", 1938.

APPENDIX 5.

MUSISCHES GYMNASIUM
TIME-TABLE.

	Volks- schule		Oberschule								Zusammen
	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
<u>Musische Erziehung.</u>											
Musik	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	48
Kunsterziehung	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	28
<u>Leibeserziehung.</u>	3	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	35
<u>Deutschkunde</u>	*11*	*12									
Deutsch			5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	33
Geschichte			1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	22
Erdkunde			2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
<u>Naturwissen- schaft u. Mathematik.</u>											
Biologie			2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Chemie							2	2	2	2	8
Physik						2	2	2	2	2	10
Mathematik	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	28
<u>Fremdsprac- hen</u>											
Englisch			5	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	27
Latein					4	4	3	3	3	3	20
<u>Religion</u> (Zusaetz- lich nach Bedarf)	(2	2	2	2	2	2					8)
Zusammen+	25	27	33	34	37	37	38	38	37	37	291 [@]

* These figures include Heimatkunde.

+ Exclusive of Religion.

@ Exclusive of Volksschule periods.

SOURCE Benze, "Erziehung im Gross-Deutschem Reich",
Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1943.

APPENDIX 6.

COPY OF ALLIED CONTROL AUTHORITY, CONTROL COUNCIL DIRECTIVE
NO. 54.

1. There should be equal educational opportunity for all.
2. Tuition, text-books and other necessary scholastic material should be provided free of charge in all educational institutions fully supported by public funds which cater mainly for pupils of compulsory school age; in addition, maintenance grants should be made to those who need aid. In all other educational institutions, including universities, tuition, textbooks, and necessary material should be provided free of charge together with maintenance grants for those in need of assistance.
3. Compulsory full time school attendance should be required for all between the ages of six and at least fifteen - and thereafter, for those pupils not enrolled in full-time educational institutions, at least part-time compulsory attendance up to the completed age of eighteen years.
4. Schools for the compulsory periods should form a comprehensive educational system. The terms "elementary education" and "secondary education" should mean two consecutive levels of instruction, not two types or qualities of instruction which overlap.
5. All schools should lay emphasis upon education for civic responsibility and a democratic way of life, by means of the content of the curriculum, textbooks and materials of instruction, and by the organisation of the school itself.
6. School curricula should aim to promote understanding of and respect for other nations and to this end attention should be given to the study of modern languages without prejudice to any.
7. Educational and vocational guidance should be provided for all pupils and students.
8. Health supervision and health education should be provided for all pupils and students. Instruction will also be given in hygiene.
9. All teacher education should take place in a university or in a pedagogical institution of university rank.
10. Full provision should be made for effective participation of the people in the reform and organisation as well as in the administration of the educational system.

DONE AT BERLIN ON 25 JUNE 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. NATIONAL SOCIALIST EDUCATION.

(a) Sources in German.

- Banse, E. "Wehrwissenschaft", Armanen Verlag, Leipzig, 1933.
- Bauemler, A. "Politik und Erziehung", Junker und Duennhaupt, Berlin, 1937.
- Bauemler, A. "Rasse als Grundbegriff der Erziehungswissenschaft". Published in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", Vol.4, 1939.
- Benze, R. "Erziehung im Gross Deutschen Reich", Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1943.
- Benze-Pudelko "Rassische Erziehung als Unterrichtsgrundsatz der Fachgebiete", Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1937.
- "Deutsches Lesebuch fuer hoehere Lehranstalten", Teubner, Leipzig, 1941.
- "Deutsches Lesebuch", Ambelang und Schulz, Weidman, Berlin, 1942.
- "Erziehung und Unterricht in der hoeheren Schule", Amtliche Ausgabe des Reichs und Preussischen Ministeriums fuer Wissenschaft, Erziehung, und Volksbildung", 1938.
- Freudenthal, H. "Die Hochschule fuer Lehrerbildung im dritten Reich". Article in "Deutsche Volkserziehung", January, 1937.
- Goebbels, J. "Signale der neuen Zeit", Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., Eher, Munich, 1934.
- "Handbuch der N.S.D.A.P.", Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., Berlin, 1940, 1943.
- Hiller, F. "Deutsche Erziehung im neuen Staat", Belz, Langensalza, 1936.

- Hitler, A. "Mein Kampf", Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., Eher, Munich, 1937.
- Hohlfeld, A. "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Lehrerbildung". Article in "Deutsche Volkserziehung", January, 1937.
- Homeyer, A. "Die Neuordnung des hoeheren Schulwesens im dritten Reich". Sammlung der wichtigsten diesbeueglichen Gesetze, Erlasse und Verfuegungen, seit Januar, 1933, Klokow, Berlin, 1940.
- Jantzen, W. "Die Geographie im Dienste der Nationalpolitischen Erziehung", Hirt, Breslau, 1936.
- Kloppe, F. "Die staatliche Fuehrerschule". Essay in "Deutsche Erziehung im neuen Staat", by Hiller, F. q.v.
- KriECK, E. "Menschenformung", Quelle und Mayer, Leipzig, 1944.
- KriECK, E. "Nationalpolitische Erziehung", Armanen Verlag, Leipzig, 1934.
- KriECK, E. "Voelkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden". Article in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehungswissenschaft", Verlag Bachem, Koeln. Vol.3, 1933-4.
- Kroh, O. "Das Ideal des Erziehers im neuen Staat". Essay in "Deutsche Erziehung im neuen Staat", Hiller, F. q.v.
- Kruper, A. "Die Nationalpolitische Bedeutung des englischen Unterrichts", Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1935.
- Leistner, M. "Die berufspraktische Ausbildung an den Hochschulen fuer Lehrerbildung". Article in "Deutsche Volkserziehung", January, 1937.
- Ley, R. "Der Weg zur Ordensburg", Eher, Munich, 1937.
- Maier-Schirmeyer. "Lehrbuch der Geschichte", Oberstufe, 3 Band, Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main, 1937.

- "Nationalpolitische Uebungsstoffe fuer den Mathematikunterricht", Ergaenzungsheft zu Loetzebeyers Mathematik fuer hoehere Schulen, Ehlermann, Dresden, 1936.
- Roediger, W. "Geschichte, Ziel, Stoff und Weg", Klinkhardt, Leipzig, 1934.
- Rosenberg, A. "Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts", Hoheneichen, Munich, 1930.
- Schemm, H. "Seine Reden und sein Werk", Hauptamtsleitung des nationalsozialistischen Lehrerbundes, Bayreuth, 1935.
- Schirach, B. "Die Hitler Jugend", Idee und Gestalt, Koehler und Amelang, Leipzig, 1934.
- Seidensticker, P. "Kunst und Musikerziehung". Article in "Deutsche Volkserziehung", January, 1937.
- Spreckelsen, O. "Musikerziehung in der neuen Lehrerbildung", Article in "Deutsche Volkserziehung", January, 1937.
- Stellrecht, H. "Neue Erziehung", Wilhelm Limpert, Berlin, 1943.
- Stellrecht, H. "Die Wehrerziehung der deutschen Jugend", Mittler und Sohn, Berlin, 1938.

(b) Sources in English.

- Banse, E. "Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg". Translated by A. Harris, Lovat Dickson, London, 1934.
- Borinski-Milch. "Jugendbewegung", German Educational Reconstruction pamphlet, Westminster Press, London, 1945.
- Brennecke, F. "Handbuch fuer die Schulungsarbeit der Hitler-Jugend". Translated by Harwood Childs, New York, 1938.
- Frick, W. "The Teaching of History and Pre-history". Translated in "Nature", Vol.133, 1933.
- Ebenstein, W. "The Nazi State", Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1942.
- Graefe, G. "The Conditions and Content of the New Order of German Education", The Year Book of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1939.
- Hartshorne, E.Y. "German Youth and the Nazi dream of Victory", Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Haupt, J. "The Educational Ideals of National Socialism", The Year Book of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1935.
- Huxley, J. "Argument of Blood", Macmillan, London, 1943.
- Kneller, G.F. "The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism", Yale University Press, 1941.
- Kolnai, A. "War against the West. The central meaning of the National Socialist attitude", Gollanz, London, 1938.
- Mann, E. "School for Barbarians", Lindsay Drummond, London, 1939.
- O'Butler, R.D. "The Roots of National Socialism", Faber and Faber, London, 1941.
- "Physical Education in Germany", His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937.

"Preparation of teachers", Educational Yearbook, International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1941.

Rauschnig, H. "Hitler Speaks", Thornton Butterworth, London, 1939.

Riess, C. "The Nazis go underground", Boardman, London, 1945.

Rowan-Robinson, G.A. "The German N.P.E.A. and the English Public School". Published in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", Vol.6, 1937.

Rust, B. "Education in the Third Reich". An essay in "Germany Speaks", Thornton Butterworth, London, 1938.

Siemens, H. "Hitler Youth", Lindsay Drummond, London, 1940.

Tate, J.W. "The German N.P.E.A. and the English Public School". Published in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", Vol.6, 1937.

"Teachers' Associations after the National Socialist Revolution", Educational Yearbook, International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1935.

Wilhelm, T. "German Education today", Teramare Office, Berlin, 1937.

Wilhelm, T. "Scholars or soldiers". Essay published in "Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung", Vol.2, 1939.

Wolf, A. "Higher Education in Nazi Germany", Methuen, London, 1944.

Ziemer, G. "Education for death", Constable, London, 1942.

2. THE RE-EDUCATION OF GERMANY.

(a) Sources in German.

- De^tlers, H. "Der deutsche Lehrer vor der Welt", Aufbau Verlag, Berlin, 1946.
- "Demokratische Schulreform", Verlag Einheit, Berlin, 1946.
- "Deutsche Gedichte", Paedagogischer Verlag, Berthold Schulz, Berlin, 1946.
- Grimme, A. "Selbstbesinnung. Reden und Aufsätze", Georg Westermann, Brunswick, 1947.
- Guerster, E. "Volk im Dunkel", Vita Nova Verlag, Lucerne, 1946.
- Hadermann. "Ueber Aufgabe und Methode des Geschichtsunterrichts in der demokratischen Schule". Article in "Paedagogik", September, 1946.
- Jaspers, K. "Die Schuldfrage", Artemis Verlag, Zurich, 1946.
- "Lesestoff fuer Schulen". Dritter Teil, 7,8,9 Schuljahr, Paedagogischer Verlag, Berthold Schulz, Berlin, 1946.
- Meinecke, F. "Die deutsche Katastrophe", Aero Verlag, Zurich, 1946.
- Roepke, W. "Die deutsche Frage", Eugen Rentsch, Verlag, Zurich, 1945.
- Schippenkoetter, J. "Zum Nordwestdeutschen Plan fuer hoehere Schulen", Ferd. Duemmlers Verlag, Bonn, 1947.
- Wiechert, E. "Rede an die deutsche Jugend", Rascher Verlag, Zurich, 1945.

(b) Sources in English.

- Becker, H. "German Youth. Bond or Free?", Kegan Paul, London, 1946.

- Birley, R. "The German Problem and the responsibility of Britain". Burge Memorial Lecture, delivered at Westminster School. Reported in "The Times Educational Supplement", 6 December, 1947.
- Brailsford, H.N. "The mind of Germany", article in "The New Statesman and Nation", 15 November, 1947.
- Dicks, H. "Why the Germans became Nazis", article in "The British Zone Review", 26 July, 1947.
- Ebeling, H. "The German Youth Movement", New Europe Publishing Co.Ltd., London, 1945.
- Engelmann, S.C. "German Education and Re-education", New York, 1945.
- Fraenkel, H. Articles on the "Einheitsschule" in "The New Statesman and Nation", on 11 and 25 May, 1946; and in "The Times Educational Supplement" on 27 September and 4 October, 1947.
- "Germany under Allied Occupation", (as mirrored in the German Press).
Vol. 1. 1 April - 1 October, 1945.
Vol. 2. 1 October - 31 December, 1945.
The Wiener Library, London, 1946.
- "Japan and Germany. Problems in Re-education". Official summaries of the reports of the U.S. Educational Missions. George F. Zook, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1947.
- Kellermann, H.J. "The Present Status of German Youth", U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946.
- Mitscherlich, A. "Moral Destitution", article in "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin", December, 1947.
- Pollock, J. and Meisel, J.H. "Germany under Occupation". Illustrative Materials and Documents, George Wahr Publishing Co., Michigan, 1947.
- Richter, W. "Re-directing Germany", University of Chicago Press, 1945.

- Siebert, J.G. "The remaking of German Youth", I.N.G. Publication, London, 1945.
- Specht, M. "Education in Postwar Germany", International Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1944.
- Weber, A. "Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte", translated by R.F.C. Hull, with the title "Farewell to European History", Kegan Paul, London, 1947.

3. PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS.

(a) Until May 1945.

"Der Angriff". Daily newspaper.

"Bodensee Rundschau". Daily newspaper.

"Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung". Daily newspaper.

"Deutsche Volkserziehung". Monthly periodical published by the "Deutsche Zentralinstitut fuer Erziehung und Unterricht", Berlin.

"Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung, und Volksbildung". Fortnightly official journal published by the Ministry of Education, Berlin.

"Hamburger Fremdenblatt". Daily newspaper.

"Inside Germany Reports". Published periodically by the American Association for a democratic Germany, New York.

"Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Erziehung". Editors Bauemler and Doughton. Monthly periodical published by Duncker und Humblott, Berlin.

"Nationalsozialistische Landpost". Daily newspaper.

"National Zeitung", Basel. Daily newspaper.

"Voelkischer Beobachter". Daily newspaper.

"Weltanschauung und Schule". Editor, Bauemler. Monthly periodical published by the Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P., Berlin.

(b) After May 1945.

- "British Zone Review". Monthly periodical published by Chief Public Relations and Information Services Group, Control Commission for Germany, (British Element).
- "Civil Affairs in Occupied and Liberated Territory". Weekly periodical published by the U.S. War Department, Public Information Division.
- "German Educational Reconstruction Bulletin". Monthly periodical, published by The Cornwall Press Ltd., London.
- "German Life and Letters". Published quarterly by Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- "Monthly Report of the Control Commission for Germany". Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.
- "Die Neue Schule", Volk und Wissen Verlag, Berlin.
- "Paedagogik", Volk und Wissen Verlag, Berlin.
- "Schola", Lehrmittelverlag, Offenburg - Mainz.

4. GENERAL READING.

- Atkins, H.G. "German Literature through Nazi eyes", Methuen, London, 1941.
- Bartlett, F.C. "Political Propaganda", Cambridge University Press, 1940.
- Bithell, J. "Modern German Literature", Methuen, London, 1939.
- Buller, E.A. "Darkness over Germany", Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1943.
- Carr, E.H. "The Conditions of Peace", Macmillan, London, 1942.

- Clarke, F. "Education and Social Change", The Sheldon Press, London, 1940.
- Epstein, M. "Education in the U.S.S.R.," Year Book of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1937.
- Fletcher, B. "Education and Crisis", University of London Press, 1946..
- Hermann, S.W. "Its your souls we want", Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1943.
- Hermann, S.W. "The Re-Birth of the German Church", S.C.M. Press, London, 1946.
- Jacks, M.L. "Total Education", Kegan Paul, London, 1946.
- Jeffries, M.V.C. "Education. Christian or Pagan?" University of London Press, 1946.
- Kandel, I.L. "The Re-organisation of Education in Prussia", Official Documents, New York, 1927.
- Livingstone, R. "The Future in Education", Cambridge University Press, 1941.
- Livingstone, R. "Education for a World adrift", Cambridge University Press, 1943.
- MacCurdie, J.T. "Germany, Russia, and the Future", Cambridge University Press, 1944.
- Mannheim, K. "Diagnosis of our Time", Kegan Paul, London, 1943.
- Mende, T. "Europe's suicide in Germany", St Botolph Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1946.
- Nash, A.S. "The University and the Modern World", Camelot Press, London, 1945.
- Reeves, M. "Growing up in a Modern Society", University of London Press, 1946.
- Roman, F.W. "The New Education in Europe", Routledge, London, 1930.

Schaffer, G. "Russian Zone", Allen and Unwin, London, 1947.

Sington, D. and Weidenfeld, A. "The Goebbels Experiment",
John Murray, London, 1942.

"The New Secondary Education", Ministry of Education Pamph-
let, No.9, His Majesty's Stationery Office,
London, 1947.

Thoene, P. "Modern German Art", Pelican Special, 1938.

Trevor-Roper, H.R. "The Last Days of Hitler", Macmillan,
London, 1947.

Von Moltke, H.J. "A German of the Resistance". The Last
Letters of Count Helmuth James von Moltke.
Oxford University Press, London, 1947.

SYBIL RANG & AP SIMON

43 ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
LONDON, W.C.2.

and at 21 Heath Street, N.W.3.

TEMple Bar 1733
HAMpstead 5329

**TYPEWRITING
& DUPLICATING**