

THE DEMOCRATIC RE-EDUCATION OF GERMAN YOUTH
IN THE UNITED STATES ZONE OF OCCUPATION

by

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INTRODUCTION: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The occupying forces of the United States in Germany have, for the past five years, been concerned with the re-education of the people of that nation. It would be an extremely difficult task, however, to deal with all of the ramifications of the total re-education program. The ultimate success of our occupation is intimately interwoven with the progress made in the re-education and reorientation of the youth of Germany, the products of the Hitlerian era. Therefore this investigation and evaluation will be confined to the problem of the political re-education of the youth in the United States sector of Germany, with major consideration given to the role played by the German schools.

In order to attempt an evaluation of the progress which has been made in the first five years of the occupation it will be necessary first to understand the situation in Germany which faced the occupation authorities at the close of World War II.

The struggle for basic economic survival occupied most of the time and energies of the German populace in the period immediately following the termination of hostilities. Families were separated, whole metropolitan areas had been reduced to rubble, status as members of a defeated and occupied nation had not been clarified, and general insecurity characterized the whole nation. On this basis the initial material and spiritual rebuilding process was begun. The difficulties confronting the

occupation authorities at that time are difficult to envisage and the evaluation of the success of their endeavors must take this into account.

However, the problems facing the administration in their program of re-education had roots which go further back than the chaos immediately following the war; indeed, they go back to the frame of reference in which the youth of Germany have been educated. Under the Hitlerian regime the whole of young German manhood and womanhood had been under the influence of a political ideology antithetical to democratic principles. This ideology was promulgated in a positive authoritarian manner which left little room for the free exercise of independent thought. Faith in that ideology was shaken for some of them when the military might of the Third Reich was broken under the weight of the final Allied drive. In spite of this, many considered the defeat to have been due only to the superior strength in material resources on the part of the Allies rather than because of any superiority in their ideologies. At best, the youth of Germany were left in an ideological vacuum wherein faith in one had been shaken and suspicion and distrust of any other form pervaded their thinking.

Nor only is it the Hitlerian influence which must be taken into account. In order to appreciate this fully, it will be necessary to describe briefly the development of the cultural heritage and the modern historical background of education and political thought in Germany. The imposition from without of the structure or framework of democratic institutions is

insufficient to insure an acceptance of and acculturation in a more permanent democratic way of life. In the United States, democracy did not emerge as a finished product at the outset. Rather, it has undergone a continuous series of modifications and refinements over the years, a process which is still operative today. An overnight change in the political philosophy as a phase of the German culture pattern is inconceivable. The permanent adoption of democratic principles must in time be founded upon a desire from within the people themselves.

The second phase of the undertaking will be to establish a set of criteria against which the policies and progress of the educational program in Germany may be checked. The aim will be to set up criteria which are educationally sound and conducive to the development of a democratic spirit in the German nation, but which are at the same time fair and realistic in the light of the problems facing the administrators of the program in post-war Germany. Consideration will be given to some of the problems peculiar to Germany arising out of the background of the traditional educational system of that nation.

The third phase of the inquiry will be concerned with a descriptive analysis and synthesis of the various reports which emanate from Germany regarding the re-education efforts in progress. This can be roughly subdivided in terms of the administrative organization of the political and educational institutions and the substance of the ideology promulgated. A democratic framework is an initial requisite, for it is evident that

democratic principles cannot develop adequately in an undemocratic system of administration. Similarly, the substance of the educational program will be reviewed to determine its influence on German youth.

Finally, an evaluation of the administrative structure and the content of the educational program will be made in terms of the criteria for democratic education outlined. An attempt will be made to present an objective analysis of the progress which has been made thus far.

In the current struggle for survival of the democratic way of life it is a matter of deep concern that we remain cognizant of the responsibility to promote an understanding of that philosophy among the peoples of other nations. With this in mind, my general objective is the clarification of some of the issues involved in the efforts being made in the political re-education of German youth and the implications for further efforts along those lines.

GERMAN EDUCATION PRIOR TO THE THIRD REICH

The historical course of development of the educational system in Germany has been closely related to the development of that nation as a political unit. Evidence of this may be traced through the various stages of Germany's history from the time of the Holy Roman Empire to the end of the Third Reich. The development of the educational system prior to the Third Reich, with reference to the political context in which it occurred, will be reviewed briefly in this section.

In its early stages of development, education in Germany was predominantly under the influence of religious forces, initially the Roman Catholic Church. The advent of the Lutheran Reformation and the subsequent ascendancy of Protestantism in Germany transferred the authority over education institutions to the latter in all states except Bavaria and a few other localized strongholds of Catholicism. The primary goal of education under both religious authorities was the development of the individual as a religious entity.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) was the culmination of the political and ecclesiastical complications of the sixteenth century in Germany. It was so cruel and relentless that the population of the nation was reduced from thirty millions to less than ten millions; the country was laid waste; cities were razed to the ground; want and poverty were prevalent; the common man became the prey of the aristocracy. The great

majority of the educational institutions, universities and secondary schools included, were eliminated or weakened in a great measure. During the long period of reconstruction which followed, religious authority in the schools gradually gave way to secular control so that by the end of the seventeenth century the majority were no longer under ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Although the authority had shifted, the influence of the religious forces continued in the educational philosophy of the schools. A type of sterile scholasticism prevailed which embodied the idea that truth was something already known and that academic teaching consisted mainly in handing it on to subsequent generations.

In the early eighteenth century this academic sterility became an object for criticism by the absolutist state governments, particularly in Prussia. An effort was made by them to make the schools work for the enhancement of national prestige. Education was treated as an affair of state and the citizens were viewed as instruments for attaining political and economic aims as prescribed by the king and the higher bureaucracy.¹ To their way of thinking, each class and occupation rendered the state distinct services, and accordingly a system of state education should be so organized as to maintain this social order and to increase the efficiency of its parts. This policy itself contributed to academic unproductivity because of its

¹Specific references are contained in Eduard Spranger, "Wilhelm von Humboldt und die Reform des Bildungswesens", (Berlin, 1910) Introduction.

narrowing influence on the schools.

A break with this absolutist concept of education occurred among a number of the intellectuals in Germany during the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A new humanism proclaiming the development of human individuality as the supreme aim of education began to make itself felt. Humboldt and Goethe were among the earliest exponents of this point of view. Kant, the philosopher, added his voice to the criticism of state-controlled and centered education. According to this humanistic theory, the development of moral and esthetic capacities and the free association of individuals, respecting freedom in themselves as they respect it in others, became the end of education.

This humanistic ideal was exemplified in classical German literature. Wilhelm von Humboldt made the first basic inquiry into the political conditions necessary for the realization of this ideal. His essay on "The Sphere and Duties of Government"¹ is one of the great liberal writings in the history of German political and educational literature. His criticism of absolute monarchy, as set forth in this essay, was that by treating its citizens as mere instruments with which to obtain national power, prosperity, and efficiency, it thwarted the development of human individuality in its full, and the free association of human beings among themselves. To stop education from being

¹Title of the English translation by Joseph Coulthart, London, 1854. German title: "Ideen zu einem Versuch die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen" (1792).

debased to a branch of bureaucracy, Humboldt wanted the powers of the state reduced so that education would be exempt from all state interference.

Johann Fichte, in his early writings, hoped for a Germany that would be inspired by "enthusiasm for liberty...based on the principle that all human beings are equal."¹ Later his rabid interest in national unity negated this earlier philosophy. In addition, men like Schiller, Lessing, Stein, and Wolf and others gave impetus to the philosophy of humanism and individual worth over state absolutism.

In 1809 Humboldt was appointed to the position of Secretary of the Department of Education and Religion in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior. He stayed in office less than a year, but during his term in office succeeded in establishing the University of Berlin. The broad aim which Humboldt pursued as Prussian Secretary of Education was to use state power to effect liberal policies. For a short time numerous concessions were made to the growing liberal element in Germany. Many of these concessions were made in order to enlist the greatest possible support for the government in its struggle against the Napoleonic invasion. However, these concessions to liberalism and popular patriotism were regarded as sources of danger by the absolutist governments, so that when the military campaigns against Napoleon were over, the trend toward a more liberal development in the educational system was suppressed.

¹Heiden, Konrad, Der Feuhrer, Boston, 1944, p. 216.

It was in this early period of the Reaction that the Prussian Ministry made a notable appointment at the University of Berlin - that of Hegel in philosophy in 1818. It was felt that his philosophy would act as a stabilizing influence on the university. His concept of the "Welt Geist" or world spirit as developed in his "Philosophy of History" held no sympathy for republicanism or the freedom and responsibility of the individual man. According to him, the highest form of the world spirit is manifested in the state.¹

This philosophy of the state found wide support among the growing forces favoring the unification of Germany. As the nineteenth century progressed, education in Germany continued in a role subservient to the state, particularly in Prussia where the main forces in favor of unification were centered. The rising nationalism culminated in the defeat of Napoleon III by Prussia under the leadership of Bismarck. "Unification on the field of battle" was completed in 1871 when the King of Prussia was crowned German Emperor. The complete integration of Germany as a national state followed with establishment of the German Empire in 1878.

During this latter part of the nineteenth century several other figures, notably Friedrich Nietzsche and an Englishman, Houston Chamberlain, began to make their influence felt.

Nietzsche, violent critic of German culture and the

¹Lilge, Frederick, The Abuse of Learning, New York, 1948, p. 24.

nationalism which had come into being under Bismarck, was of importance for his development of the concept of the "Superman", a type of intellectually and physically superior being which he hoped would arise. He saw the possibility of the "Superman" leading the herd out of the decay of nineteenth century Europe, for "it has been made possible for international racial leagues to arise, which set themselves the task of cultivating a race of masters, the future masters of the earth; a new and mighty aristocracy, based upon the hardest self-legislation, in which the will of philosophical despots and artist-tyrants will endure for thousands of years; a higher type of men, who, thanks to their surplus of will, knowledge, wealth, influence, use democratic Europe as their most supple and mobile tool, to lay hands on the destinies of the earth."¹

It was this idea which was used by Chamberlain and later incorporated in modern National Socialism. Whereas Nietzsche had derided his own nation, the Englishman placed the Germans above the rest of the world. Chamberlain, who had married one of Wagner's daughters and become a German citizen, became famous for his chief work, "Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts" (The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century). He became the personal advisor of Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Chamberlain designated the highest type of man by the much-used term "Aryan". He considered the Prussian to be the finest

¹Nietzsche, Friedrich, "Beyond Good and Evil", The Philosophy of Nietzsche, Modern Library Edition, New York, 1927.

example of the Aryan race. "Physically and spiritually, the Aryans stand out among all men; hence they are by right the lords of the world."¹ Violently anti-semitic, Chamberlain's influence was to bear fruit during the reign of the Third Reich.

These figures in German history, though not directly involved in the educational system, were important for the influence they exerted upon it through the course of Germany's political development.

The political leadership of Prussia which grew out of the rising nationalism of the nineteenth century had also given her the leadership in the field of education. It was thus that individualism receded into the background and the state came to furnish both the goal and instrumentalities of public education.

There was no absolute uniformity in the school systems of the various states. However, certain elements existed which were common to most. The trend toward popular education which had been started by the humanists was carried forward, albeit for different purposes. One of the distinctive features of the educational system was the bifurcation which occurred at a very early age, while the children were about ten years old. All children attended a three, four, or five year "Volksschule" which the poorer followed up with instruction in a "Bürgerschule" to complete an eight year elementary course. For this the upper classes substituted one of three types of "Mittelschulen"

¹Heiden, op. cit. p. 241.

(secondary schools) called "Höhere Schulen" in the Third Reich - the eight-year "Gymnasium"¹ in which Latin and Greek were obligatory; the "Realgymnasium", which substituted modern languages and science for Greek; and the "Realschule", which eliminated both classical languages in favor of modern languages, science, and mathematics.²

The decision as to which course to take was based on financial and class status. Later the development of technical and vocational schools added a further possibility for those unable to attend the class-dominated secondary and higher schools. This bifurcation not only made for severe limitations as to who could enter university training and the professions, but, significantly, eligibility for the higher offices in the government civil service was contingent upon having completed the university training. The members of this civil service elite, the "Beamten", received their appointments for life and had enormous prestige, power and privileges. This made many of the higher civil offices the exclusive hunting ground of an elite group, a practice which has continued in effect since that time.

Another significant aspect of the German school systems was the regulation whereby all teachers in the "Gymnasium" and other

¹Originally, the "Gymnasium" was the only secondary school which led to entrance into the universities. The school conference of 1900 qualified the "Realgymnasium" and the "Realschule" for certificates of maturity.

²The organization of the school systems in Imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic are illustrated in charts 1 and 2.

higher schools were considered to be officers of the state. Appointments to positions were dependent upon the state directly or subject to the approval of the ruling authorities. Curriculums were officially designated by the state. This system continued in effect through the period of Imperialism which terminated with the defeat of Germany in World War I.

Following World War I, the new Republican Germany felt that education in Imperial Germany, especially in Prussia, had been too closely regulated, too responsive to distinctions of class and wealth, and that the secondary schools and universities were open to too few young people who had the ability but not the means or social rank entitling them to attendance. The chief moves toward making education more democratic and unified came in the Weimar Constitution, and a foundation school law (Grundschulgesetz) of April 28, 1920. The Constitution provided for general compulsory schooling at an elementary school (Volksschule) of at least eight years. According to the foundation school law, the first four years of the elementary school were to be a foundation school (Grundschule) - called so because it was intended to be the basis of all education - compulsory for all children. The three-year preparatory school (Vorschule), generally private, to which the more privileged groups sent their six-year old children to be made ready for admission to a secondary school that would eventually lead to a university, was prohibited.

The objective of instruction according to the Weimar

directive was formulated as follows:

The Foundation School has the task of awakening and developing all the intellectual and physical qualities of the child. Everything the child learns shall not be superficially pumped into him, but must be experienced and independently acquired. It is necessary for all instruction to be derived from the ties of the child with his immediate surroundings. Precocity and over burdening by homework is to be strictly avoided. In the senior division as in the Foundation School instruction must be built upon the independent activities of the child, intellectual as well as physical.

During the Republic two more types of secondary schools were created largely for the purpose of making education more democratic. They were the German upper school (Deutsche Oberschule) and the "aufbau"¹ school (Aufbauschule). The German upper school concentrated its efforts on German life and culture, though modern languages were included in the curriculum. The "aufbau" school was intended to open the way to the university for capable children who had completed the seventh year of the elementary school by giving them six years of training. Both the German upper school and the aufbau school could grant the certificate of maturity for entrance into university training.

An interesting innovation in the curricula of the schools required Civics as a new subject designed to aid in gaining a comprehension of the Republican constitution and to develop international understanding. The teaching of history was to pay little attention to wars. It was to stress the history of science, economics, and culture at the expense of purely political history.

¹The German word "Aufbau" used in this connection has no good equivalent in English.

The new hope for democracy dissipated into doubt, however, as post-war conditions in Germany led to disillusionment. How much the failure of the Weimar Republic was due to political circumstances is a matter of conjecture. On paper at least, Germany had been given a liberal democratic constitution and some laudable reforms in the educational system. That both were disregarded in practice in many instances is a matter of historical record. Part of this failure can be traced to the fact that although the structure had been changed, administrative and teaching personnel who had served in the Imperial period were retained. This was true of many of the government leaders, particularly the "Beamten", and of the great majority of teachers in the educational system. Whatever the cause, the democratic principles set forth in the Weimar Constitution were destined to disappear almost entirely during the rule of National Socialism which followed.

GERMAN EDUCATION UNDER NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The fall of the Weimar Republic in March, 1933, and the rise of National Socialism under Hitler are well known facts. The important consideration here is the manner in which the schools of Germany were taken over by the Nazi party and used as tools to further the cause of the totalitarian government. This will be dealt with principally in terms of the administrative control exercised over the schools and the Nazi ideology as it was promulgated through them.

Administratively, an important change occurred in 1934 when the Ministry of Science, Art, and Education of Prussia became the Reich Ministry of Science, Education, and Public Instruction (Reichs Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung). All of the ministries of education in the various states were brought under the direct control of a central head. In addition, a Reich youth leader (Reichjugendführer) was appointed who had equal standing with other chief national officials. By 1936, all German youth belonged to the Hitler Youth Organization made up of the Hitler-Jugend for boys 14 to 18 years of age; "Jungvolk", boys 10 to 14; "Bund Deutscher Mädel", girls 14 to 21; and "Jungmädel", girls 10 to 14. The Youth Organization, the school, and the home shared the responsibility for education.

By decree of the Minister of Education, a unification of the secondary schools took place. Secondary schools were limited

to three main types and the time of preparation for the certificate of maturity was shortened from 13 to 12 years.¹ The selection of pupils for the secondary schools, as stated in the decree of 1935, was based on character, physical fitness, mental ability, and national fitness. The latter term meant agreement with the ideas of the Nazi party.

All of the universities became national institutions with a chief administrative officer bearing the title of "Führer" at the head, appointed by the Reich Minister and responsible only to him. All professors in the universities were licensed by the State education office with the approval of the Reich Minister of Education. The granting of the license was contingent upon acceptance of the National Socialist ideology and conformity with the regulations of the Education Ministry.

Prior to the wholesale internment of Jews in the concentration camps, special provisions were made concerning their education. A distinction was made between Jews and part-Jews. At first, the latter were allowed to attend secondary and technical schools without restriction. Jews were limited to 1.5 percent of new admissions. Wherever possible, Jewish children had to attend separate schools. Neither Jews nor part-Jews could become teachers of German children.

Through the offices of the Minister of Education, Bernhard Rust, and the Reich youth leader, Baldur von Shirach, the Nazi

¹The reorganized system is illustrated in chart 3.

party exercised absolute control over the educational system. Acceptance and teaching of party doctrine was mandatory throughout. In the official teacher's manual by Minister Rust¹ the goal of education is stated as follows:

The German school in the Third Reich is an integral part of the National Socialistic order of living. It has the mission, in collaboration with other phases of the Party, to fashion and mold the National Socialist Being according to Party orders.

The Nazi party may be said to have been interested in the German child before its conception through a systematic effort to prevent undesirables from being born and to develop a super-race. Sterilization and euthanasia were widely practiced to rid the country of mental, physical, and even ideological misfits. Special privileges and rewards were offered for the production of children from biologically and mentally healthy couples, married or unmarried.

Prior to the age of six, the German child was under the supervision of the NSV (National Socialist Welfare Organization). Regular checks were made by representatives of this organization to make sure that the child was being reared according to Party orders.

From the ages of six until 10, the boys belonged to the "Pimpf" organization which laid the groundwork for Party activities in the Jungvolk and the Hitler youth. Party activities in

¹"Erziehung und Unterricht - Amtlich Ausgabe des Reichs und Preussischen Ministeriums für Wissenschaft, Erziehung, und Volksbildung." Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin, 1938.

the Jungvolk and the Hitler Youth. Each boy received a number and an efficiency record book. In it, his physical development, advancement in military prowess, and ideological growth were recorded. His school, home and Party activities were closely supervised, controlled and registered.

Until the age of 14, the girls in Nazi Germany were classified as Jungmaedel (young girls). During that time they were to acquire the rudiments of education that the Party considered essential. Consciousness of their mission as bearers of children in the Third Reich was particularly stressed. The girls attended separate schools since their function in life and consequently their educational needs, were different from the boys. For them, education was held to a minimum, domestic economy being of primary importance.

The "Jungvolk" (boys 10-14) was the stage preceding the Hitler Youth and following the "Pimpf". They underwent a series of rigid physical tests, long marches and hunger periods. Upon initiation into the "Jungvolk", the boys had to swear to give up their lives for Hitler.

The girls from 14 to 21 years of age belonged to the BDM, the abbreviation for "Bund Deutscher Mädel" (League of German Girls). Their initiation included the clause of self-sacrifice and they had uniforms denoting their organization. Their status in the educational system is described in the teacher's manual.¹

¹op. cit. "Erziehung und Unterricht".

A co-educational system in schools is positively contrary to the educational ideals of the National Socialist State. Schools are to be rigidly divided. The new home-front domestic-economy curriculum of secondary schools and colleges for girls is intended primarily to prepare them for the kind of life that family and State have a right to demand of the German girl as the future mother and wife.

German boys from 14 to 18 belonged to the Hitler Youth. They constituted a secondary army. The ideological foundation built up during the "Pimpf" and "Jungvolk" periods was supplemented with study of Germanic culture, Party history, military geography, natural science, chemistry, mathematics, and a foreign language.

The influence of militarism extended into virtually all subjects in the schools. Problems in mathematics were figured in terms of shell trajectories, area of destruction by bombs, and similar military problems. The following is an example of how history was taught as related by Gregor Ziemer.¹

On that particular day they (the history class) were worshipping Albert Schlageter, who had been executed by the French during their occupation of the Ruhr shortly after World War I. The major part of the lesson was devoted to that phase of Schlageter's career which endeared him to present day Nazis: his bravery before the firing squad.

'Destiny,' said the teacher, 'always provides Germany with heroes. The noblest of these heroes, the noblest German ever born in any hour of need, is our beloved Fuehrer. He brought Germany back from the brink of destruction. He became its savior.'

Then he gave the boys a grisly account of Schlageter's execution...

¹Ziemer, Gregor, Education for Death, New York, 1941.

'But this hero of German history is not dead,' the teacher shouted dramatically. 'He lives today in the Nazi movement. All enemies of Germany will die some day even as he has died. But Germany will live. The Fuehrer has said that Germany will live to revenge itself on its enemies.'

I looked at his class as the teacher dismissed them. His words had gone deep. Concentrated fury was written on the faces of the youngsters.

They expressed the desire to hang all Frenchmen, to go to Paris and drop bombs.

Nature study was used to demonstrate the "Fuehrer Prinzip", the principle of leadership. Applied science was used to teach a lesson on the Holiness of German Soil. Music was taught with Party songs and Wagner's militant operas. The evil influence of Jews in music was taught, using Wagner's essay, "Jews in Music".

The course in "Deutschekunde" (Germanic culture) outlined by the Minister of Education, Rust, included the following:¹

First, the nation is a blood unit. (The idea of race can be studied best if the teacher emphasizes the study of Germanic races. The student should be made to feel the superiority of the Nordic Germanic race.)

Secondly, the nation is a fighting unit. (Sub-divisions: the fight of the German nation for living space; the life of the soldiers; military heroism; the soldier at the front as the personification of power; women in the World War; National Socialistic fighting units; the principle of leadership and comradeship; Germans fighting for their ideals abroad.)

Thirdly, the nation is a working unit. (The life of the laboring man, the peasant, the tradesman, the explorer, the artist, the German woman.)

¹ibid. p. 157.

Fourthly, the nation is an ideological unit. (Discussion of the German ideology, and the German interpretation of life, as seen by Nazis; the idea of the Nazi State and its unification; national leadership and political thinkers.)

Units in history which Rust outlined for emphasis were:¹

Rise of German industry through the efforts of Krupp, Borsig, Siemens, Halske; strong contrast offered by Jewish concerns working with borrowed capital; growth of the proletariat; failure of the pre-Hitler regime to cope with the problems; liberalism destroys the German laboring man; the German worker under Jewish influence; influence of Marx; class hatred; Bismarck's attempt to kill Marxism; course of the parliamentary system; division of the world by capitalist nations; lack of living space for the Germans; formation of Jewish concerns in Germany; influence of the Jews on the press; the theater, the book business; bravery of the German soldier during the First World War; refutation of the war-guilt theory; the Treaty of Versailles and its evils; its effect on Germany; arrival of more Jews; arrival of Hitler and his program; destruction of the Treaty of Versailles; Germany's freedom; Hitler working toward world peace.

The close coordination existed between the schools and the youth organizations. Party uniforms were worn to classes and absences were excused for participation in the various activities of the youth groups.

This, then, was the manner in which the education of German youth was conducted under National Socialism. Its effectiveness in creating the Nazi being out of the young German is a matter of record. The task of attempting to eradicate the effects of that education for totalitarianism has been under way for the past five years. The even greater task of replacing it with a positive acceptance of democratic principles has only

¹ibid. p. 153.

been started. Criteria for the democratic re-education of German youth and the manner in which this work has been undertaken by the United States occupation forces will be dealt with in the following sections.

CRITERIA FOR DEMOCRATIC RE-EDUCATION IN
POST-WAR GERMANY

The problem of setting up criteria by which to evaluate the policies and progress of the re-education program in the U. S. zone in Germany involves the resolution of a paradox. The victors, having had to resort to force to overcome force, must continue to use force after the conflict is ended, yet democracy necessarily involves the voluntary adherence to certain ideals. The occupying powers must place limitations on the free choice of the citizens of the defeated nation, yet their objective is to develop individuals capable of making free choices.

It must be remembered also that the long range objectives of the occupation involve the return of Germany to the peoples of that nation, since the United States has renounced any intentions of subjugating Germany. It is not a permanent occupation. Admittedly, one of the best methods of teaching is by precept and example. Therefore, the greater the degree of democracy in the administration of the occupation, the greater the expectation for the development of a peaceful and democratic Germany of the future. The decision which must constantly be made is to what degree the German people are ready to accept the responsibilities which will qualify them for acceptance into the circle of democratic nations.

Any permanent change from the extreme nationalism and militarism which has characterized modern Germany, to a

democratic nation, must in time be founded upon the desire of the German people themselves. For this reason, the re-education of the youth of Germany is important as one phase of the work which may facilitate the realization of this objective. Economic aid and CARE packages, important as they may be for rebuilding Germany physically, cannot bring about a spiritual and moral regeneration of that nation.

It should be kept in mind that the relationship between the schools and society as a whole is one of interdependence. It is difficult to ascertain the degree in which one is the reflection of the other. At any rate, the school must be recognized as performing a formative function in the total social structure. The present inquiry is predicated on this assumption that some measure of influence is exerted upon the social structure by the schools.

Since this is a report on the re-education program as well as an evaluation of what has been done, it is necessary to develop a set of criteria which embody democratic principles for the re-education of German youth to be used as the basis for the evaluation. These criteria, framed in general terms, represent ends for a program of education for democracy.

(1) Maximum opportunity should be given for the development and expression of individual personality consistent with regard for the rights of others. Subordination of the individual to the demands of nationalistic aggrandizement is incongruent with the idea of a democratic society. Therefore,

education must be seen as a freeing of individual capacity in progressive growth.

(2) Shared interests are essential to the understanding of and appreciation for a democratic way of life. Under a totalitarian government, the relationship between the governing and the governed is one in which there is not commonalty of experience or interest. A society which is divided into privileged and subject classes need be specially attentive only to the education of its ruling elements. Under a democratic government, recognition of the essential equality of man in the generic sense is essential. This recognition is basic to the development of a feeling for the essential unity of the interests of all members of society.

(3) This leads to the concept of shared respect among members of a society. Class differentiation based upon race, religion, or economic status is incompatible with the reality of democratic ideals. Shared respect admits of no artificial or arbitrary class distinction.

(4) Shared power is the necessary complement of shared interests and respect. Popular government without the participation of the people is a contradiction in terms. Therefore, the development of a feeling of individual responsibility for participation in, and an active interest in the preservation of, democratic government is necessary. A democratic society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control. Without

this feeling, the people of a nation may lose their popular sovereignty to the usurpations of authoritarian leadership in a time of crisis.

(5) However, shared power does not free the individual from an obligation to restrain himself in his actions if his opinions do not prevail. This requires that the members of a minority acquiesce in the decisions of the majority. At the same time, provision must be made to protect the rights of the minority from the possibility of oppression from a dictatorship of the majority.

(6) The logical extension of the foregoing characteristics would include their application to the relationship of a society or nation with the social groupings of other nations. Understanding of international problems and a willingness to extend the rights and obligations held within a group to the members of other groups are resultant considerations. The secondary and provisional character of national sovereignty in respect to the fuller, freer, and more fruitful association and intercourse of all human beings with one another must be instilled as a working disposition of mind.

(7) A democratic society must have a type of education which develops the habits of mind which achieve social adjustment without resorting to force. This is particularly important on the level of national deliberation. Solutions to the problems which confront a society must be found by the use of means other than military might.

(8) The development of skills in critical thinking is a functional part of education for democracy. Appeal to reason as opposed to emotion and prejudice must form the basis for the decisions which a democratic citizenry are called upon to make.

(9) Important on the level of group activities are skills in operating cooperatively. Opportunity should be provided for maximum contribution by as many as possible. This implies the utilization of varying individual talents to achieve common goals. Equally important is the consideration that the activity should be part of the process of individual and collective growth.

(10) A society which provides all of its members with the opportunity of participating in its benefits is in so far democratic. Economic and social gains should be mass gains enjoyed by as many as possible as soon as possible on the basis of merit or contributions to society, rather than on the basis of artificial class distinctions or special privileges.

(11) Value judgment derived from a consideration of the total implications of a problem represents the ideal in a democratic approach to decisions involving the good for society. Therefore, consideration for effect on collective welfare must take precedence over the claims of vested interests while at the same time, constant vigilance must be exercised for the protection of the rights and freedom of the individual.

Obviously, the ideals set forth in the foregoing set of criteria cannot be realized overnight. According to the

estimate of Dr. Alonzo Grace,¹ the redirection of the educational system and the re-education of German youth will take at least 20 years and require the talents of the best scholars and leaders in the United States and Europe. Therefore, it would be difficult, while recognizing the re-education program as but one of numerous influences operative in post-war Germany, to assess the developments of the past five years on the basis of the general criteria alone.

In 1946 the War Department and the Department of State invited a group of American educators to go to Germany for the purpose of determining the needs of the re-education program.² This mission observed the schools and colleges in the American Zone, and formulated a report containing recommendations in this regard. These recommendations are not explicit criteria for the

¹ Professor of education at the University of Chicago, Dr. Grace served, from 1946 to 1948, as director of study for the Armed Service Education and Training Program and, afterwards, as director of the Division of Education and Cultural Relations with the U. S. Military Government in Germany.

² The Education Mission included the following persons: George F. Zook, President, American Council on Education, Chairman; Bess Goodykoontz, Director, Division of Elementary Education, United States Office of Education; Henry H. Hill, President, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee; Paul M. Limbert, President YMCA College, Springfield, Mass.; Earl J. McGrath, Dean, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York; Reverend Felix Newton Pitt, Secretary, Catholic School Board, Louisville, Kentucky; Lawrence Rogin, Director of Education, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, New York; T. V. Smith, Professor, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Helen C. White, Professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

democratic re-education of German youth. In the estimation of this author, however, they would facilitate the realization of the criteria previously outlined and as such will be used as a means of checking the adequacy of the past five years' program.

The recommendations which refer to the re-education of German youth, briefed hereinafter, may be framed in terms of their application to the structure of the educational system; democratic experience in the schools in terms of materials, methods, and teacher-pupil relationships; and integration of school life with the larger social community. They include the following:¹

(1) Structure of the Educational System

a. The development of a comprehensive educational system to serve all children and youth is a matter of first importance. The terms "elementary" and "secondary" in education should not primarily be conceived of as meaning two different types or qualities of instruction, but two consecutive levels of it, the elementary on comprising the grades one to six, the secondary one those from seven to 12. In this sense the vocational schools should be considered a part of the secondary school system.

b. To begin with, all children should stay together for six years in the elementary school without being divided according to sex, social class, race, or vocational or professional intentions. They will thus participate in a common school life, working on common projects and developing a genuine feeling of unity.

c. The secondary schools, "höhere Schulen" and vocational schools, should be organized into unified systems as far as possible. All secondary schools should be made tuition-free so that attendance will no longer be limited to the privileged. Duplication and overlapping of schools and departments should be eliminated. The differentiation necessary with regard to the future vocational and professional intentions of the students should be provided not in separate school units, but by an elastic organization

¹U. S. Department of State. Report of the United States Education Mission to Germany. Publication 2564, Series 16, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1946.

of the curriculum in core subjects and elective courses.

The foregoing recommendations concerning the structure of the German educational system were designed to provide a more democratic framework within which democratic ideals might grow. As was illustrated in the preceding sections, the schools have traditionally operated under a dual system, one for the five or 10 percent of intellectually, socially, and economically favored who go on to secondary school, university and the professions; the other for the great group who have eight years of elementary school and three or more years of vocational training. At the age of 10, the child has found himself grouped or classified by factors over which he has no control, such grouping to determine almost inevitably his status throughout life. This system has 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) Democratic Experience in the Schools

a. From the extended elementary school unit of six years to the comprehensive secondary school, including the vocational schools, it is imperative that the whole school program make a significant contribution to democratic experience. The present curriculum of the secondary school seems crowded with subjects, heavy with academic tradition, and in most respects remote from life and ill-adapted to the present and future needs of the pupils.

b. The most important change needed in all German schools is a change in the whole concept of the social sciences, both with respect to content and form. The

pupils themselves must be the active agents in the learning process. Thus the social sciences (history, geography, civics, and "Heimatkunde") will contribute perhaps the major share to the development of democratic citizenship.

c. School life in all its phases must be so organized as to provide experience in democratic living. Co-operative class projects, classroom committees, discussion groups, school councils, student clubs, community service projects -- all the forms of democratic life possible in the school community -- should be developed.

d. As for vocational education, the curriculum must be drastically revised, if the schools are to assume their share in democratic re-education. While retaining the present objective of providing well trained workers in every field, the new objective of training for effective citizenship must receive equal attention. To aid in this the number of class hours for vocational students should be greatly increased so as to provide the additional time needed for social studies and cultural subjects. The discussion technique should be developed and student government given opportunity for expression. A similar shift in curriculum is needed for the full-time trade schools.

e. Just now the schools are faced with the fortunate chance of writing specifications for an almost entirely new set of textbooks. These should be prepared with the aim of facilitating a new and better curriculum, not of dictating what it should be.

f. Not the least of the possible influences for democratic living are the teachers in their dealings with pupils. The teacher-dominated class and the academician withdrawn from student activities and community concerns have no place in an educational system dedicated to the cultivation of the democratic attitude. Men and women of broad, human spirit, of sincere interest in the growth and development of boys and girls, as well as of intellectual interests and attainments are needed in the schools.

g. It is recommended that all universities and higher schools include within each curriculum the essential elements of general education for responsible citizenship and for an understanding of the contemporary world. It is further recommended that extra-class activities such as informal discussion groups and student government be inaugurated to provide practical experience with the processes of democracy... It is recommended that the German

universities and higher schools investigate the needs for new types of advanced instruction required by emerging vocational and professional groups and make provision for it on an equivalent status with the traditional courses of study.

(3) Integration of School Life with the Larger Social Community.

a. In a democracy, where the structure of society may change rapidly, educational institutions must be especially responsive to contemporary needs. It is recommended that advisory bodies representative of social groups other than educators be appointed by the various ministries of education to advise the faculty of each university and higher school concerning ways in which the curriculum should be modified to adapt it more closely and more immediately to changing social conditions.

b. In regard to cultural exchange, it is recommended that the American Government, private philanthropic agencies, learned societies, and educational institutions in the United States develop plans for providing scholarships, fellowships, exchange professorships, financial grants, and other forms of assistance for German teachers, research workers, men of affairs, and students to attend educational institutions and other scholarly agencies in the United States. It is also recommended that American students and teachers be granted financial aid and be encouraged to study in Germany.

c. Concerning youth groups and activities, if the activities of these groups are to make a significant contribution to the training of young people in democratic ways of thinking and living, special attention should be given at several points. There should be provision for experiences that will develop understanding and cooperation among the various groups. German young people tend to belong to only one type of group and to grow up in a social or religious tradition that is self-contained. Through contact with young people of other groups in cultural and recreational programs and in community-wide committees, the traditional lines of cleavage in German society can be somewhat softened.

d. Next, guidance is needed to enrich group programs and to encourage each group to a larger degree of self-direction. At present German youth programs tend to be limited in scope; leaders are not skilled in developing responsibility on the part of the group for planning and control. Consequently, it is important that in addition

to the youth committees now formed in most communities, youth councils be formed through which young people themselves can get experience in cooperative planning.

The following two sections will include an account of what has been done in the re-education program thus far and an evaluation of the progress made. The evaluation will be made with consideration for the degree in which the recommendations of the Education Mission have been carried out and an appraisal of the current situation in Germany. Finally, as part of the evaluation, recommendations will be made concerning future needs.

RE-EDUCATION PROGRAM IN THE UNITED STATES ZONE

Defeated Germany is now a nation of approximately 63 million people, governed in four zones by the United States, Great Britain, France, and the U. S. S. R., with joint control of Berlin and cooperative planning for all zones exercised through the Allied Control Council.¹ It is this body which has the responsibility for developing the common program which it is hoped will achieve the joint and unified administration of all Germany.

Pending such unity each nation has the responsibility for developing governmental policies, including educational policy, within the zone which has been assigned to it. The American Zone consists of the three states of Bavaria, Greater Hesse, and Württemberg-Baden, containing a total population of approximately 16,500,000 persons. Of these, Bavaria is the only area in which the "Land" boundaries of the former Reich have been substantially followed. Greater Hesse is for the greater part a combination of the former Prussian provinces of Hesse and Hesse-Nassau, while Württemberg-Baden was created as an administrative unit from the truncated sections of these two former "Länder", which are divided between the American and French Zones. In addition, the United States is responsible for

¹It should be noted that for all practical purposes, four-power cooperative planning does not exist. Eastern Germany under Russian occupation must be considered as a separate unit and will not be considered in this work.

administration in the Bremen Enclave, and with the other occupying powers participates in the four-power government of Berlin, the former German capital, which is located within the geographic area of the Russian Zone.¹

In April, 1945, a directive was issued to General Eisenhower, then Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces of Occupation in Germany, which broadly outlined the policies to be adopted for the occupation and administration of that country. This statement of initial objectives contained a subsection, No. 14, which dealt with the occupation administration of education in Germany. The statement of policy reads as follows:

a. All educational institutions within your zone except those previously re-established by Allied authority will be closed. The closure of Nazi educational institutions such as Adolf Hitler Schulen, Napoles and Ordensburg, and of Nazi organizations within other educational institutions will be permanent.

b. A coordinated system of control over German education and an affirmative program of reorientation will be established designed completely to eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines and to encourage the development of democratic ideas.

c. You will permit the reopening of elementary (Volksschulen) middle (Mittelschulen) and vocational (Berufsschulen) schools at the earliest possible date after Nazi personnel has been eliminated. Textbooks and curricula which are not free of Nazi and militaristic doctrine shall not be used. The Control Council should devise programs looking toward the reopening of secondary schools, universities and other institutions of higher learning. After Nazi features and personnel have been

¹ Occupation of Germany: Policy and Progress, Department of State Publication No. 2783, Series 23. Washington, 1947.

eliminated and pending the formulation of such programs by the Control Council, you may formulate and put into effect an interim program within your zone and in any case may permit the reopening of such institutions and departments which offer training which you consider immediately essential or useful in the administration of military government and the purposes of the occupation.

d. It is not intended that the military government will intervene in questions concerning denominational control of German schools, or in religious instruction in German schools, except insofar as may be necessary to insure that religious instruction and administration of such schools conform to such Allied regulations as are or may be established pertaining to purging of personnel and curricula.¹

These, then, were the basic objectives undertaken by the occupation authorities; closing of all Nazi schools, a program of denazification, demilitarization and reorientation along democratic lines, elimination of Nazi administrative and teaching personnel, elimination of Nazi features in the school curricula and textbooks, and minimum interference in religious instruction and administration in the schools. These basic objectives were subsequently enlarged upon in great detail but the fundamental features have remained the same. The methods for achieving these objectives have undergone modification, however, as will be illustrated subsequently.

After the German surrender in 1945, "re-education" in the U. S. zone was largely a matter of order and directive. Occupation authorities established by decree the principle of free textbooks and free tuition in the public schools.

¹ U. S. Department of State. Directive to Commander-in-Chief of U. S. Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany. (Press release reprint) October 17, 1945.

However the structure of the German school system remained the same as it traditionally had been.

The opportunity for imposed reform in the structure of the educational system ended in 1947 with the adoption of "Land" constitutions. Government was returned to the local "Land" or state level, and the occupying authorities stayed on in an observe-advise-assist basis. The Occupation Statute adopted in 1949 omitted all references to education. Thus for the past three years, the U. S. Education Mission has operated on the basis of suasion and advisement but with no machinery for enforcing changes in the educational institutions of Germany.¹

Until April, 1948, when Dr. Grace was placed in charge of the Division of Education and Cultural Relations, education had been at the bottom of the table of organization either as a branch or section of Military Government. This revision of status placed the director, Dr. Grace, in the position of direct advisor to General Lucius Clay and his staff.

Under his administration, educators from the three western zones met for regular conferences designed to formulate education policy and to coordinate education in Western Germany. It was during this same period that a comprehensive program for the exchange of students and teachers between the United States and Germany was initiated.

The present organization of OMGUS (Office of Military

¹The occupying authorities have retained the right of veto in cases where policies adopted by the German administration might clearly controvert principles of democratic government.

Government for Germany--U.S.) includes the Division of Education and Cultural Relations on an equal basis with the Political, Economic, Finance, Reparations and other divisions. The permanent staff of the Education and Cultural Relations Division includes 80 professional people. This permanent staff is supplemented by specialists brought to Germany for short periods of time (usually three months) under a "visiting expert" program. These visiting specialists rarely remain long enough to institute a program and see it carried out. However, they do provide a fresh point of view and contribute added insight into the problems connected with the re-education program.

During the period when the re-education program was handled by a branch of the Division of Internal Affairs and Communications less than one percent of the total occupation budget was allotted for education purposes. This allotment has subsequently been increased substantially, particularly during the latter part of 1949 and the early months of 1950 when \$1,000,000. and 50,000,000 marks were injected into the educational program.¹ However, in relation to total expenditures the percent available for education is still minor.

The actual administration of the German schools has been placed in the hands of the Germans. Although there is now no German Ministry of Education which has jurisdiction over the whole of Germany, the various states within the United States

¹"U. S. Report Holds Germans Balk at Democratizing School System." News dispatch. New York Times, January 27, 1950.

Zone have continued the principle on the "Land" level. Each "Land" has a "Kultus Minister"¹ who serves as head of the school system within that area.

Until 1947, school administrations in the various "Länder" were bound in their actions by Military Government directives. Since that time they have been relatively free to pursue their own courses with the aid of advisement from the Division of Education. As a result, opposition to proposals concerning revision of structure within the educational system has prevented any changes of consequence.²

Financial responsibility for the operation of German schools has been placed entirely in the hands of the Germans. Thus the rebuilding and replacement of educational facilities has remained secondary to the exigencies of other phases of economic reconstruction in many instances.

The National Socialist doctrines which colored virtually all of the printed texts used in the German schools made those textbooks unacceptable for post-war use. Books which had been in use during the Weimar Republic that expressed a democratic point of view had been destroyed in the public book burnings shortly after the Nazi regime came into being. Consequently, there was a pressing need for reliable books to replace those in use during the Third Reich.

As mentioned in the preceding section, the situation at

¹Minister of Education.

²New York Times, op. cit.

the present is still one of critical shortage. Today, hundreds of thousands of students still depend on notes taken from dictation because books are not available. In 1945 three titles were printed in 38,000 copies for the entire U. S. zone. In 1946 the number of volumes was less than a million. By the end of 1947, five million books had been added. In April, 1948, when Dr. Grace took over control of the Education Mission, 14 million textbooks were finished and approximately the same number were completed the following year. These books were, for the most part, reprints of texts used during the Weimar Republic. A small number of completely new titles were published which were written by Germans who were cleared by the denazification proceedings since World War II. Although the foregoing figures might indicate that the situation is rapidly improving, this is illusory since many of the books are not in the hands of students. Millions of copies are stacked in warehouses because parents cannot afford to buy them and the German authorities refuse to supply them free.¹

The most critical shortage exists in the social sciences area, particularly in history. No history textbooks are

¹Zausmer, O. "Losing the War in Germany; The Educational Front." *Atlantic*, 184, 6:45-49, December, 1949. (A member of the editorial staff of the *Boston Globe* for the past 10 years, Otto Zausmer served as head of the Intelligence Department of the Office of War Information in London. After the war, he covered the Nuremberg Trials for his paper, and made firsthand reports on the reconstruction going on in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Italy, and France. During the summer of 1949, he again returned to Europe, and observed the re-education program in the United States Zone.)

available which cover German and European history since the first World War. Outlines in table form are the best available at present. Teachers must spend their time dictating what the pupils should be able to read alone after class hours.

The situation at the university level is also poor. Political and ideological problems play an even more important part at this level. University libraries lost millions of volumes through bombing and shelling. Losses ranged from 200,000 at the University of Bonn to 600,000 at the University of Hamburg.

Although the religious affiliation of the vast majority of Germans is Protestant in Germany as a whole, the United States Zone presents a different picture. Ninety-six percent of the population in the United States Zone belong to two religious groups, 53 percent Catholic and 43 percent Evangelical. The great majority of these desire religious instruction in the schools. This, then, has presented a special problem for the U. S. educators. Such religious instruction has traditionally been imparted in both private and state schools, in confessional (Bekenntnisschulen) and in community (Simultanschulen) schools. They are the counterpart of the American parochial schools except that in Bavaria in particular, they have always been state supported. Protestant teachers do not instruct Catholic children and Catholic teachers do not instruct Protestant children in many of the schools. This duplication of staffs and facilities has created an added

burden in the U. S. Zone. This problem has been confined principally to the elementary schools.

The policy of the American Military Government in this matter was stated in a directive issued January 26, 1946, to the effect that "at the request of parents, guardians, or such other persons as may have the legal right to determine the education of the child, schools of their creed or philosophy of life are to be established within the framework of the general system of elementary education, provided a suitable number of pupils are concerned."¹

Progress can be reported in what Dr. Grace has described as the "democratic islands of Germany."² An important development in 1949 was the International Conference on Education at Chiemsee in southern Bavaria. This conference was an effort to reopen the doors of Europe to German scholars and leaders. Eighty Germans from the three western zones and Berlin, 40 Americans, and 40 delegates and observers from 11 other western European countries, met to discuss and define common aims and principles for guidance in education.

A self-help program has been developed and is under way. Over a hundred projects have been developed consisting of the rebuilding of damaged buildings, new dormitories, and new homes.

¹Report of the United States Education Mission to Germany, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1946, p. 20-1.

²Grace, A. G. "Islands of Democratic ferment in Germany". The American Scholar, 19,2:341-352. Summer, 1950.

The "Studentenhaus at Aachen,"¹ with the financial aid of the Ministry of Education, has been completely restored by student help. The self-help program also includes the re-establishment of self-governing homes and extensive student-worker exchanges, involving self-help and scholarship programs. A Western German Association for youth reconstruction work has been formed to coordinate and advance the program.

Thirty international work camps will be in operation in the American Zone this summer. At these camps will be representatives from many European nations and the United States.

A work-study program has been devised involving international exchange of selected students, and results from a program developed between 1919 and 1932 in Germany. It provides for sending German students to the United States and other countries for a two-year period, during which these youth work on farms and in factories, studying, observing and participating in the way of life in the United States, or in any other country cooperating in the program. Of the 500 work students who participated in this work plan between 1925 and 1932, only one ever became a Nazi. Dozens died in concentration camps; many hold positions of importance in Germany today.

Several projects have been established in connection with the universities. One is the Frankfurt-University of Chicago

¹ British Zone.

Experiment. Its basis is the voluntary exchange of students, in each case for a period of one semester. Funds were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. Also by virtue of Foundation assistance, together with a grant of 250,000 marks from the Bavarian government, an American Institute has been established at Munich. It is an institute in which American civilization will be studied by German students and is the first such institute in any German university.

Over 500 persons were brought to the United States under an exchange program including representatives of labor unions, women's organizations, youth, educational church groups, and others. Fifteen hundred have been planned for the current year.

Other developments include the Esslingen Workshop for Teachers, which brought together outstanding specialists in education and psychology not only from the United States but also from Europe; and where for almost three months, teachers and experts planned together. Educational service centers have been started in various parts of the American Zone. These centers provide not only for cooperative curriculum planning, but also for many other services which can be rendered to communities. In addition, an International Youth Library was opened September 14, 1949 at Munich.

Deserving of special attention is the "Freie Universität"

of Berlin.¹ It was founded in November, 1949, by the Germans themselves in protest over infringements on academic freedom in the old University of Berlin which is in the Russian Sector. It came about entirely through the efforts of German teachers, scholars and other interested persons. It has been given legal status under German law and has the sanction of the American Military Government. Students admitted must have their "Abitur" (Certificate of Maturity) and a background free of Nazi activity as well as records of high scholarship. Over 2,000 were enrolled when the new university opened. The Rektor is Professor Friedrich Meinecke, famous historian and honorary member of the American Historical Society. Other faculty members came from Berlin University, Cologne, and other universities in Western Germany.

An interesting contrast may be drawn between the way in which the re-education program has been handled in the United States Zone and the manner in which the French have dealt with it in their zone. According to Dr. Grace, "The French ... are the one power which from the first has understood the purpose of an educational mission in Germany."²

The French planned German re-education carefully before the occupation began. They surveyed their own limited resources

¹ Grace, A. G. "Freie Universität". School and Society, Vol. 70, No. 1817, October 15, 1949.

² Grace, op. cit. p. 5. The British occupation authorities turned the re-education program over entirely to the German authorities after the adoption of the Occupation Statute in 1947.

and decided on a minimum program. There were few qualified, politically clean teachers. So the French set up two teacher-training colleges with free tuition, and today the enrollment is well over 3,000. Applicants are selected at the age of 14 and are sent to a preparatory school for five years, and later to a pedagogical school for another five years. These institutions are boarding schools located close to regular elementary schools where the students can get their practical training. Thus, the French hope to have sufficient trustworthy elementary school teachers for their zone by 1955.

All textbooks were banned in the French zone immediately in 1945 (as they were in the American and British zones), because there were no books without Nazi propaganda. The French insisted on altogether new books and -- with a little pressure -- had them long before any other power.

Today the average German child in the French zone has four or five times as many textbooks as a youngster in the U. S. zone. German scholars offered 450 manuscripts for all kind of textbooks, but not a single one in history, because the French Military Government had stipulated two conditions; first, German history must be treated as a part of European history; and second, the narrative must not consist of a series of battle descriptions. On the other hand the French authorities ruled that no Frenchman could write a textbook for the German schools. So the educational authorities turned to other European scholars. Social science books were handled by Scandinavians, a

Luxemburger wrote the story of World War I, and other gaps were filled by Swiss educators.

In contrast to the permanent staff of 80 in the U. S. education mission, the French have a permanent staff of over 400 although having only about a third as many German youth of school age to deal with in their zone.

In addition the French established an administrative school designed to train a new corps of civil servants. In conjunction with the establishment of this school the French Military Government revised the German civil service law by decree. This was done to break the traditional pattern of the elite "Beamten". The new law makes it possible for persons other than those who attend the universities to enter and advance to higher levels of the civil service.¹

To return to the description of the conditions in the American zone, we may refer, finally, to the youth organizations which have had a special significance for the re-education of German youth. Prior to 1933 work with young people between 14 and 21 was highly advanced in Germany. This youth movement developed largely through voluntary associations with specialized interests in sports, music, handicraft, hiking and camping, as well as through work with young people sponsored by churches and trade unions. The whole program was regarded as a responsibility of the community and was organized for a period

¹"Losing the War in Germany". op. cit.

of years under public welfare rather than as a phase of education.

When Hitler came to power, all youth activities were appropriated for the interests of the State. All existing groups were coordinated with the "Hitler Jugend" and after 1936 all young people were forced to become members and the age range was lowered to include the younger children.

The long standing tradition of the youth movements has been carried over into the post-war period. The military government has encouraged the formation of voluntary associations of young people through independent youth committees on both the "Kreis" (county) and "Land" level and through the ministries of education. By the end of March 1948 there were over 1,200,000¹ members of organized youth groups in contrast to 890,000 the previous year and less than 200,000 in April 1946. Youth groups also increased from approximately 2,000 in April 1946 to over 10,000 in April 1948.² These figures are no indication of the amount of inner reorientation which has taken place, but they are indicative of the importance of the role played by youth organizations in the post-war period.

The relationship between the youth organizations and the state has not been completely satisfactory. In spite of lip-service to the importance of youth, in spite of speeches about "Youth being the hope of the future", and in spite of many

¹Now over 1,500,000.

²"German Youth Between Yesterday and Tomorrow", OMGUS Education and Cultural Relations Division, Berlin, April, 1948.

"Ruf an die Jugend", young people have not had the full support of German state officials. This should not be construed to mean that a state-supported, state-controlled youth movement would be desirable, but rather that youth organizations should be able to receive assistance from the state on an impartial basis. This has not always been the case as state officials have sometimes been guilty of propagating and assisting only those youth organizations which are of the same political philosophy as themselves and have not remained impartial in helping every organization which has as its goal the education of young people.

However, some advance has been made in that regular government budgets for youth work have been approved in the "Länder". Although the total amount allocated has often been insufficient, the employment of full-time secretaries has been made possible in some "Kreise".

Five leadership training schools have been established in which over 4,000 youth leaders have received training in the fundamentals of youth work. An exchange program has been started under which over 50 selected German youth leaders have studied youth work in the United States. In addition, eight American and 23 European youth leaders have aided in advising German youth organizations.¹

The U. S. Army has been operating an assistance program for

¹Grace, A. G. op. cit.

German youth activities (GYA). Army GYA authorities have given assistance to youth groups by providing tents, transportation, and other material aid. They have provided program material for use in GYA centers such as pamphlets on "Parliamentary Procedure" and "How to Lead Group Discussions". A program of correspondence between German and American young people has also been initiated.

The main stimulus, however, has come from unofficial voluntary youth organizations. Of the approximately 1,200,000 members, approximately 90 percent belong to three major categories of youth organizations: religious, sports, and trade unions. Other organizations include Boy and Girl Scout Organizations, Falken, and the "Frei Deutsche Jugend" (FDJ). The latter two are the leading politically-minded youth groups which have appeared since the last war.

In every "Land" youth councils have been formed in which all youth organizations meet to exchange ideas. These councils are called "Jugenringe" (Youth Associations), although some groups have preferred "Jugendparlament". The function of these "Jugendringe" has varied from cooperation for a specific job, such as a "Youth Day", to the setting up of a permanent organization for maintaining constant exchange of information between the members. In addition, youth magazines numbering around 30 publications have been started in the American zone.

Most of the youth organizations have been formed around special interests such as religious associations, sports,

hiking, music and drama, etc. A few have been formed for political purposes. The largest single organization is the Catholic Youth Association.

The principal value of the youth organizations when considered from the standpoint of democratic re-education lies in their providing an opportunity for the expression of individual personality in voluntary association and cooperation with other youth. The youth councils which stress cooperative effort between the various youth groups in working on joint projects are particularly valuable in this respect.

EVALUATION OF PROGRESS

In order to arrive at a positive evaluation, the reports concerning the re-education program may be checked briefly in terms of the recommendations outlined in section four. The evaluation will continue with an analysis of some of the conditions which have worked against the successful prosecution of the program. It will conclude with some recommendations concerning the future needs of the program for the re-education of German youth.

The recommendations of the U. S. Education Mission and the reports of the past five years' program may be recapitulated as follows:

(1) Structure of the Educational System

Development of a comprehensive educational system with elementary and secondary education conceived of as consecutive levels rather than two different types or qualities of instruction.

Reform of the traditional dualistic educational system was not imposed prior to the establishment of "Land" governments. Consequently, with the authority back in the hands of the Germans, strong opposition from numerous quarters has killed hope for any reform in the foreseeable future.

All children in the elementary school together for the first six years without being divided according to sex, social class, race, or vocational or professional intentions.

Children in the German elementary schools still have to make the choice at the end of the first four years as to which of the two basic educational paths to follow. The choice is based in part upon vocational preference but more fundamentally on the ability to pay.

Unification of the secondary schools to eliminate duplication and overlapping plus free tuition.

In spite of the pressing need for more facilities, duplication in the secondary schools has continued. No effort has been made to establish a single elastic secondary system which would provide for the needs of all students. An example of the post-war situation in this regard was recorded by Bess Goodykoontz, member of the United States Education Mission.¹

A boys' high school was on our visiting list too. This was a large and imposing structure which now housed 3 separate high-school organizations. The bombing had destroyed 2 of the buildings and so all 3 high schools now lived in the one remaining building--a mathematics high school, a science high school, and a language high school. There seemed to be the utmost friendliness between the 3 principals, but no intermingling of students. Each school organization remained intact.

(2) Democratic Experience in the Schools

Revision of the traditional academic curriculum to adapt to the present and future needs of the pupils.

Perhaps the most important development in this area has been the establishment of educational service centers, of which there were originally nine, in various parts of the American

¹Goodykoontz, B. "Teachers and Children in German Schools". School Life, 29, 10:3-6, July 1947.

zone. These centers, which provide for cooperative curriculum planning, may be considered as a helpful innovation.

Change in the Concept of the Social Sciences.

It is in this area, particularly in history, that little progress has been noted. According to the observations of Otto Zausmer, "In the high schools,...social studies are virtually non-existent,"¹

Development of cooperative class projects, discussion groups, school councils, community service projects, etc.

The student self-help program, with over a hundred projects in the American zone, has provided opportunity for constructive cooperative effort on the part of a number of Germany's young people. It has been one of the less publicised developments in the re-education program.

The use of discussion groups in the schools, which does not coincide with the traditional educative pattern has not been given sufficient attention by many of the German teachers.

Revision of the vocational education curriculum to include citizenship training.

No attempt has been made to integrate vocational education into the rest of the school system. At the present, vocational education is conducted largely in part time trade schools with no time available for general education or citizenship training. Consequently, the great number of students

¹Zausmer, O. op. cit. p. 46.

who follow this course have no opportunity for a liberal education beyond the initial eight years of elementary school.

Development of new textbooks.

The development of a new set of textbooks has been making relatively slow progress. Since a substantial number of the textbooks being used in the United States zone are reprints of texts used during the Weimar Republic, and since an insufficient number of books are in the hands of the students, much remains to be done. The extent of the need can perhaps best be illustrated by the following example which was related to the author in June, 1950, by Johanna Ott, a German elementary teacher from Bavaria who has been visiting in the United States under the auspices of the cultural exchange program.

In this instance 180 students in all eight grades attended school in two rooms. Three teachers conducted classes in two shifts. Until last year this school had had only 12 books for all of the students. During the past year this was increased so that each pupil had one reading book and one mathematics book for each of the first two and last two grades. The pupils in grades three and four each had one reading book and one mathematics book to be used for both years. The same held true for grades five and six.

Approximately half of the students in this school were members of refugee families and many of them could not afford

to buy their own books.¹ The school had an annual budget of 50 marks to pay for all instructional material including books for the neediest of the children. There was no library with which to supplement the readings in the few textbooks available.

A further illustration of the inadequacy of the present program in this area as related by Bess Goodykoontz follows:²

Through the bombed-out city of Darmstadt and on out into the peaceful country we drove to visit a one-room country school. We almost passed it, for it looked like a typical German farmhouse. We entered and found that the school teacher's family lived on the first floor, while the school was in session on the second floor. Herr Schmidt met us courteously, though obviously a little ill at ease with so many strangers.

Two rows of seats, each one holding four children, took all of the window side of the large upstairs room. Another row of seats stretched across the other side of the room at the back. Sixty-seven children in all eight grades were busily at work.....Only a few books were in evidence.

Books being almost impossible to get, Herr Schmidt had brought in a few copies of the local newspaper for work that morning. The second, third, and fourth grades had read together a story from the paper, a legend about their local castle. Now they were all working by themselves--the second grade copying words and phrases, the third grade writing sentences to tell the story, and the fourth grade writing the story in their own words.

¹The regulation providing for free textbooks in the elementary schools was not adopted in some areas when the administration of the schools was turned over entirely to the Germans.

²Goodykoontz, B. op. cit. p. 3-6.

Improvement of teacher-pupil relationships to eliminate the teacher-dominated class.

Little progress has been reported with regard to teacher-pupil relationships. The following example is indicative of the attitude of at least one influential German official in this regard.¹ Dr. Hundhammer, the Bavarian Minister of Education--an ultrareactionary old-time politician--approved physical punishment in the schools. Some of the teachers were against it and Military Government backed them up. Dr. Hundhammer called a referendum among parents; they approved of spanking and so it was dragged in again through the back door by a "democratic" procedure. The principal obstacle in the way of improved relations is the fact that the teachers, for the most part, have never known anything but the authoritarian pattern and were out of contact with the educational methods of other countries for several decades.

Inclusion of general education for responsible citizenship in the curricula of universities and higher schools.

This recommendation has been supported by the occupying authorities but no broad changes to include a general education for citizenship have been reported. The founding of the American Institute in Munich may be considered as a step in the right direction, however. The establishment of the new "Freie Universität" in Berlin is, in the estimation of the author,

¹Zausmer, O. op. cit. p. 48.

the most noteworthy development among the German universities which has taken place since the end of the war. Especially so because the motivation came from the Germans themselves as a protest against infringement upon academic freedom.

(3) Integration of School Life with the Larger Social Community.

Responsiveness to contemporary needs; the adaptation of curricula to changing social conditions.

Resistance to change in the traditional faculties¹ has not been overcome. The previously mentioned establishment of educational service centers has been the most notable move to counteract this resistance which has been developed in the re-education program.

Cultural exchange involving teachers, students, research workers and men of affairs.

This recommendation has been met by an expanding program including a work-study project and the exchange of representatives of labor unions, women's organizations, youth, educational church groups, and others. The Esslinger Workshop for Teachers provided an opportunity for specialists in education and psychology from the United States and Europe to work and plan together.

Development of understanding and cooperation in youth organizations.

Military Government has given encouragement to the

¹Departments or areas of learning in the universities and higher schools.

development of youth organizations. The GYA program has furnished aid in the way of equipment for various organizations. The establishment of youth councils for cooperative intergroup activities and the appropriation of a regular German government budget for youth work have indicated progress in this field.

Guidance for youth organizations.

This recommendation has been met with the establishment of five leadership training schools and an exchange program in which selected German youth leaders have been brought to the United States for the study of youth work. In addition, the aid of American and European youth leaders has been enlisted for the advisement of German youth organizations.

Although the foregoing comparison indicates that progress is being made in some phases of the re-education program, it must be remembered that the democratic elements are still in a minority in Germany today. According to Dr. Grace:

It would be unrealistic to expect to find any extensive understanding of democracy among German students today. They are the very youth who, since childhood, have been deliberately prevented from independent thinking, educated to absolute obedience, and told that they owned the world. This was followed by years of hideous war experiences, prison camps, and finally a return to a society in dissolution which did not seem to care about them or their existence. This is not the proper background for independent judgment based on realistic and objective inquiry. The over-all attitude of German students is one of general disillusion, cynicism and apathy. If they have a positive attitude, it is one of sitting back and waiting to be shown.¹

¹"Islands of Democratic Ferment in Germany". op. cit.

This suspicion and distrust of all political ideology on the part of German youth has accentuated the difficulty of teaching modern history and political theory. An example of this was recorded by Bess Goodykoontz of the Education Mission --

There (in a boys' high school) we found Herr Doktor Garz lecturing to a group of more than 70 young men ranging in age from 19 to 26. All but 12 had been in war service, but now they were back at school to complete their last year before graduation. They were hearing this morning lecture on Charlemagne, delivered with much enthusiasm and energy by Herr Garz.

After half an hour of Charlemagne, one of us asked whether this was a class in modern history and if so, might we discuss current events with the class. Herr Garz replied that he did not think that would be wise, and continued with Charlemagne. We left then but were followed immediately by Herr Garz, who apologized and showed much concern that he had not granted the request of the visitors to discuss current events. He explained, 'I am myself a student of modern history. I was in England at the outbreak of the war, completing my graduate work in current history. When I returned, I was not entirely welcome. How could I have been away when my country needed me so sorely! Now, after some years of war service, I am back at my teaching post. I want to teach recent history and its implication. The young men whom I teach need to have information and a philosophy about recent events. I started with modern history but met only blank stares, or possibly unfriendliness. The students had been told too many things that were not true. They were suspicious of any stranger, as I was, trying to explain what had happened. I found that it was necessary to get back to common basis for discussion, and so I went back and back until we came to Charlemagne, which we could discuss together.'¹

Various factors have negatively influenced the re-education program worked against the realization of democratic ideals. The over-all duplication of staffs and facilities under the traditional educational system and, particularly

¹ Goodykoontz, B. op. cit. p. 4.

in the United States zone, the duplication due to the maintenance of separate schools for religious groups have only served to accentuate the shortages which resulted from physical destruction due to the war.

The influx of refugees into the United States zone since the end of the war has been instrumental in increasing the magnitude of the problems inherent in the re-education program. A substantial number of the refugee families have inadequate means of support and consequently their children have placed a special strain on the limited funds available for aid in buying textbooks and other necessary equipment. Sixty-six percent of the post-war increase in enrollment in the "Volksschulen" in the United States zone has been due to the refugee family increase.¹

The teacher situation in post-war Germany has been somewhat paradoxical. By and large there are enough teachers. In some places there are too many because thousands of teachers from Communist countries, such as Czechoslovakia and Poland, have settled in Western Germany. This abundance has been of little help, however, because most have been classified as politically unreliable. At the present, many of the teachers active in the schools are over-age and the need for competent educators who are politically reliable is still great. Many of the teachers employed at present, while cleared by the

¹OMGUS. Handbook of Education Statistics. July, 1949.

denazification proceedings, have no other background than the traditional authoritarian school systems and consequently their methods leave much to be desired.

Educators directly concerned with the re-education program have been under a handicap because of a limited budget and their relationship as a subsidiary agency of Military Government. The men in charge at the top levels often have been soldiers, technicians, businessmen, and economists who have had little experience in education and consequently have not always been sympathetic in their responses to the pleas of the educators. A report prepared in 1948 by a committee of American publishers (including George P. Brett Jr., president of the Macmillan Company, and several leading textbook publishers) relates:¹

The success of the re-education mission of OMGUS seems to this committee absolutely essential to a peaceful future. It is not useful or necessary at this time to belabor the question why the textbook program and, behind it, the entire educational program appear to have made so little progress. The personnel of the Branch to whom we talked...struck us as devoted, sincere and able men...We could not feel, after talking to them, that they felt they had either the deep interest or the solid backing of the top echelons of OMGUS.

Germany's position in the "cold war" has added to the complexity of the situation. German youth is sensitive to the currents of political and social struggle and reflect in their moods and activities the uncertainties and discouragements of the contemporary scene. Until there is more assurance of a

¹Taylor, T. "Struggle for the German Mind." The New Republic, January 30, 1950. p. 17.

relatively stable future, German youth will remain with no sound "today", vacillating between his "yesterday" and "tomorrow".

The most fundamental shortcoming within the area of post-war education in Germany has been the lack of reform in the structure of the educational system. The reluctance to impose a reform, which has resulted in nothing being done, is in some measure understandable. Democratic ideals are not to be instilled by fiat. Still, in the Occupation's early phase, when the state constitutions which govern Germany's education system were being rewritten, they might have insisted on the skeleton of a democratic school system---based on local control and responsibility---with hopes that a reasonable residue of reform would be left on our departure.

Since this was not done, and in light of the fact that the United States Military Government has committed itself to the "observe-advise-assist" formula, the importance of other phases of the re-education program has been increased. The following recommendations are offered as conditions for the successful prosecution of the re-education program:

- (1) The budget and staff of the Education and Cultural Relations Division of Military Government should be increased to bring the re-education program more nearly in line with the magnitude of the undertaking.

- (2) The critical shortage of adequate textbooks should be met. If necessary, funds should be allocated to provide for

the free distribution of textbooks, the important consideration being that the books somehow be placed in the hands of the students.

(3) Since the regeneration of German youth must, in the final analysis, come from within, it is recommended that a greater degree of attention be given to those elements in the cultural heritage of the Germans themselves which have been liberal and democratic. To this end, the writings of men like Goethe, Schiller, Kant and Herder, and the educational philosophies of Humboldt and Stein should become an integral part of the social studies.¹ This should not be construed to mean a harking back to the past for its own sake, but rather an opportunity for German youth to assimilate a democratic philosophy from within the well-springs of its own cultural past.

(4) Our American universities, colleges, schools must recognize the validity of a leave of absence for the cause of peace as they did during the war. It should be made possible for competent educators to devote several years at a time to the cause of German re-education.

(5) The cultural exchange program should be developed and expanded on an even greater scale than it has been in the past two years.

¹ A book of the nature of the following anthology might be used as a school reference: A. E. Zucker, Deutschlands Vergessene Freiheit: Eine Anthologie deutscher freiheitlicher Schriften von Luther bis zur Gegenwart. Berlin Germany: Pontic Verlag, 1946. (An anthology of German liberal thought including extracts from such writers as Luther, Lessing, Kant, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, von Humboldt, and others.)

(6) A unified program in Western Germany on the part of the three allied occupying powers is essential to the long range understanding.

(7) The aid of voluntary non-governmental organizations in this country should be enlisted. It is through the non-governmental agency in the long-term picture that substantial progress can be visualized.

Judging from past experience, there is every indication that the re-education process will have to be worked out on a long range basis although no good can come from indefinitely prolonging occupation and tutelage of the German people. It is desirable to make the Germans self-governing as well as self-supporting. The sooner the country can be put on its feet, and off the back of the United States, the better. But if given free rein while her social conscience still works like an authoritarian robot, Germany would inevitably be ready to goose-step behind the next person who offers himself as a "Fuehrer". To buy back freedom and the rights of man at the cost of another war would be much more expensive than to keep educators there for another generation.

In recent months there has been some resurgence of the nationalism which characterized the Nazi regime. This can be attributed in part to the fact that only a relatively small number of convicted Nazi leaders remain in prison after five years. This unrest on the political scene should only serve to emphasize the critical need for a long range all-out program

for the re-education of Germany's youth. The liberal survivors of the Weimar Republic are old and cannot be expected to play a vital role in the permanent democratization of Germany.

Therefore, if the United States prefers to continue its "observe-advise-assist" policy as opposed to an absolute military rule, every possible effort must be made to bring about the regeneration of the German youth, the only real hope for a permanent democratic Germany.

ILLUSTRATIVE CHARTS

Chart No. 1

Organization of the School System in Imperial Germany

School year --1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9--10--11--12
Pupil's age --6--7--8--9--10--11--12--13--14--15--16--17
Class* --1--2--3--VI--V--IV--III--OIII--OII--OI--OI

E**:	V	Gymnasium	C	M
l :	o		r	a
e :	r	Reformgymnasium	t	t
m :	s		i	o
e :	c		f	r
n :	h	Realgymnasium	i	i
t :	u		e	t
a :	l		a	y
r :	e	Reform Realgymnasium	t	
y :			e	
S :				
o :		Realschule		
h :				
o :		Burgerschule		
o :		(Upper Division)		
l :				
:				
Class-----	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-----			

* The classes are numbered consecutively in the elementary classes and in reverse order in the secondary classes. The designations O and U preceding the Roman numerals indicate "ober" and "unter" (upper and lower).

** The first three years of elementary school were the same for all pupils.

The "certificate of maturity" indicates successful completion of the secondary school courses and eligibility for entrance to the universities.

Source: Lindgren, A. M. Education in Germany. U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1938, No. 15. Washington, 1938.

Chart No. 3

Organization of Schools for Boys
in National Socialist Germany

School year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Pupil's age	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
Class	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
E:	F												
l:	o												
e:	u	3											
m:	n	o											
e:	d	h											
n:	a	o											
t:	t	o											
a:	i	l											
r:	o												
y:	n												
G:													
o:													
h:													
o:													
o:													
l:													
Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8					

*The first four years of elementary school were the same for all pupils.

Secondary school years were shortened to eight to make a total of twelve years prior to university certification.

Source: Lindegren, A. M. Education in Germany. U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 1938, No. 15. Washington, 1938.

Chart No. 4

School Buildings

Number and Condition of School Buildings U. S.-Occupied Area
March 1947

						U. S.
						Occupied
Total schools	:Bavaria:	Wuerttem-berg:	Hesse:	Bremen:	Sector:	area
Total No. Schools	6,645	2,101	2,916	154	197	12,013
Destroyed	94	95	72	44	17	322
Percent	1.4	4.5	2.5	28.6	8.7	2.7
Heavily damaged	142	85	75	18	42	362
Percent	2.2	4.1	2.6	11.7	21.3	3.0
Lightly damaged	446	282	216	43	108	1,195
Percent	6.7	13.4	7.4	27.9	54.8	9.1
Undamaged	5,963	1,639	2,553	49	30	10,234
Percent	89.7	78.0	87.5	31.8	15.2	85.2

Source: CMGUS. Handbook of Education Statistics. July, 1949.

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