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"EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN THE 'COUNTY' OF  
AACHEN AFTER THE WAR WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE  
TO TEACHERS."

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by

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Submitted for the degree of  
Master of Education  
in the  
University of Durham.

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March 1947.

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"As to the reconditioning of the Nazi  
generation, I can so far see no light."

Professor Cavanagh  
Journal of Education. July 1942.

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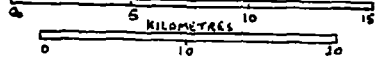
ADMINISTRATIVE MAP

REGIERUNGSBEZIRK

**AACHEN**

Scale 1:500,000

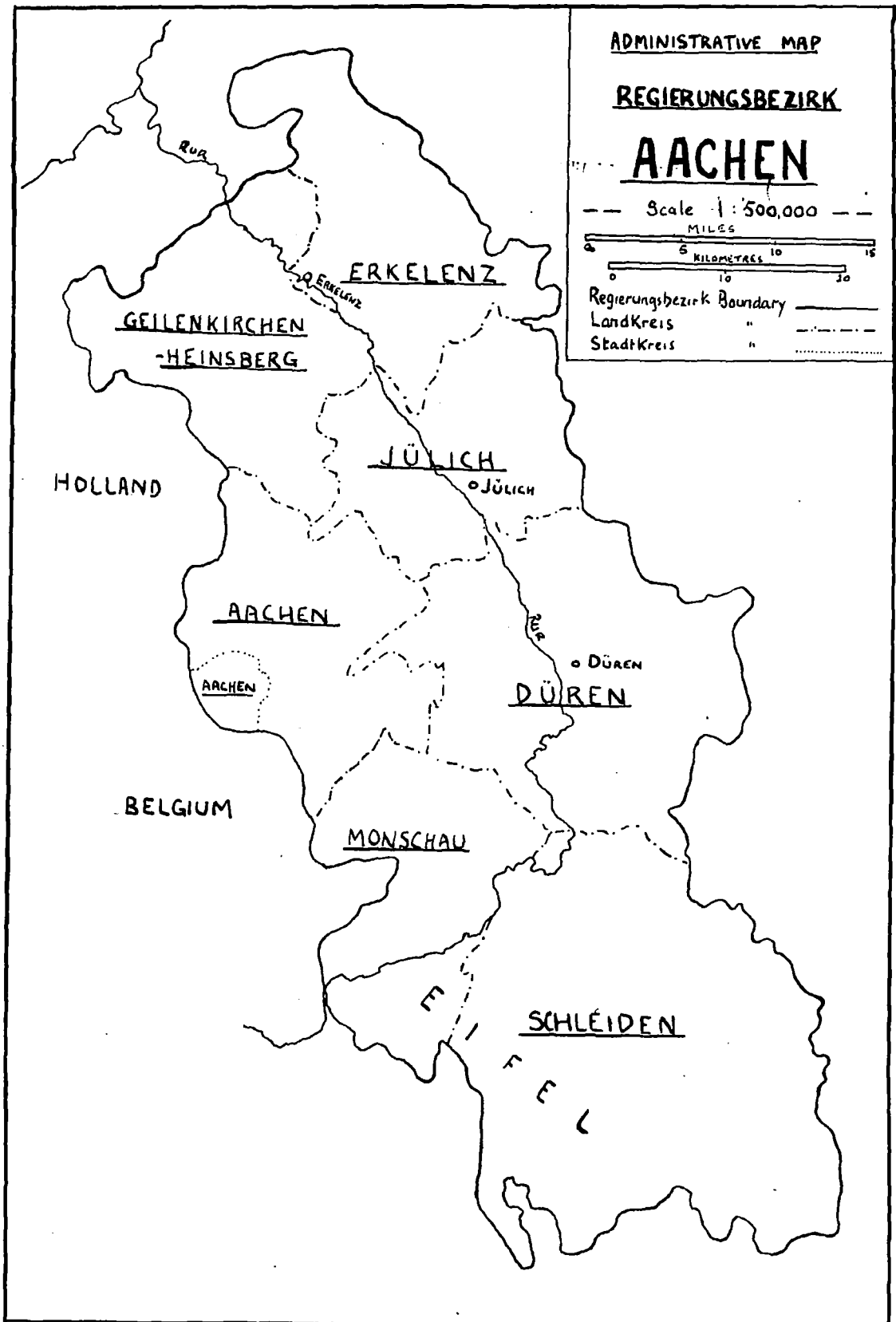
MILES



Regierungsbezirk Boundary

LandKreis

StadtKreis



PART ONEChapter OneINTRODUCTION

The facts and arguments presented in this thesis are based on work done by the writer as an Education Control Officer of British Military Government in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen from July 1945 to March 1946. Within that period German educational institutions ranging from Kindergarten to a Technical College of university status were re-opened. By taking the leading part in this re-establishment, it was possible to study closely the problems involved in the re-education of Germany, and it is intended to give some indication of the progress made in the months immediately following on the collapse of the Third Reich. Throughout, the main emphasis will be on elementary schools which provide for children from the age of six to fourteen.

The area of the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen is comparable to that of County Durham. Actually, it is a little larger, for, it covers 1,206 sq. miles, and Durham County covers 1,014 sq. miles. As an area for study it offers two main advantages: it possesses schools of all types and also a variety of economic activity.

It was the responsibility of the Education Control Officer to control all types of schools and centres of higher education. These included Kindergarten, elementary schools (Volksschule), secondary schools (Höhere Schule), Vocational

Schools( Berufsschule/ and Gewerbeschule). In addition, a Teacher Training College was established in the Regierungsbezirk in February 1946. There was also, a Technical College, (Technische Hochschule) which was re-opened in January 1946.

Dominating the area is the administrative capital of Aachen, which had a population of 160,000 inhabitants in 1939. In addition to its administrative importance, it was a manufacturing centre. The northern part of the Regierungsbezirk is flat and agricultural, interspersed with mining towns and villages. To the south of Aachen is the Eifel, which rises to a height of 1500 feet. The Eifel is predominantly devoted to agriculture, although there are small settlements which owe their origin to lead mining and quarrying. The region, therefore, offers opportunity for the study of educational activity in country villages, mining towns and a large town.

The whole area, however, was one of heavy fighting. The line of the River Roer, from the dams in the Eifel to Heinsburg in the north, was bitterly fought for. Here the Germans put up a strong resistance. Hence, one finds the educational problem greatly complicated by evacuation and the great devastation of school buildings and dwelling houses. Aachen itself was very much destroyed: Julich, Duren and Heinsburg were left but a pile of rubble and whole villages were literally wiped out.

This study, therefore, gives an appreciation of the re-birth of educational institutions in one of the most devastated areas in Germany. The measures taken differed very little from those in the rest of the British Zone of Germany,

(3)

and it is hoped that this detailed study of development in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen will indicate clearly, the foundations upon which German educational institutions were re-built.

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CHAPTER TWOTHE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM LEFT BY THE NAZIS

Much has been written already on the effect the theories propagated by the Third Reich had on the children of Germany. It is well known how the Nazis subjected the schools to their control and made them instruments for bringing about the attainment of aggressive aims. It is also acknowledged that they eliminated the sound element in the teaching profession, and entrusted the work in the schools to those who were loyal to the Nazi Party. It is intended that the work done by the Nazis in polluting the minds of the young must be undone, but even the briefest consideration of the problem is sufficient to convince one of the immensity of the problem. If it is felt that the re-education of Germany must be brought about by Germans themselves, one would be tempted to say outright that there is no solution. Any educational system relies for its strength on its teachers, and at first one would despair of any new constructive effort coming from a generation of teachers which failed in its time and gave in to the dictates of the Nazis. For thirteen years German teachers taught as they were ordered, and within that period each teacher fitted about six hundred children into the Nazi machine. How can these people now bring about the re-education of Germany? The immensity of the problem, however, demands that it be given greater consideration, and to this end, and acknowledging that much has already been written on Nazi Germany,

it is considered necessary to review briefly what happened in the German field of education in the years immediately preceding 1933 and subsequently in order that this study of the problem may be appreciated in relation to its background.

Before 1933, German teachers were making great educational progress, and, it is surprising therefore, that, as a profession, they did not offer greater resistance. Prior to 1933, the teachers of Aachen showed a great keenness in their professional work. In 1930, they established a branch of the "German Institute for Scientific Pedagogy", and there were amongst them leaders who visited other countries and learnt from their educationists. Moreover, teachers sought to foster, among the older children in the elementary schools, the idea of individual responsibility, and tried to bring the children up as civil members of the community with a sense of responsibility to the community and the home. However, when the Third Reich came into power all this good work was stopped, and all plans for further development were subdued by the mad craving to produce servile creatures strong in body and weak in mind to follow the dictates of the Fuehrer. International work by the teachers was no longer possible: no longer could they travel in other countries and study educational developments. Scientific study roused suspicion, and consequently, the meetings and lectures for the continued training of teachers were abolished. Ardent Nazis were placed in the highest administrative positions, and they ruthlessly carried out the Party policy. They rapidly eliminated the best teachers: by devious means the leaders in

the teaching profession were removed. The weapon used by the Nazis was a law of 1933, which made it possible to pension off good teachers, who were replaced by those obedient to the Party. By the same law, teachers were ordered to accept posts of lower grade if such a change was considered "necessary". As a result officials of high rank, who were said to be hostile to the Party, were downgraded. Another section of this law decreed that officials could be dismissed without claiming a pension if they were not considered "politically reliable". The general result was that those who were opposed to Nazism were threatened with losing their livelihood. Many were suspended or removed to outlying villages. Some were sent to concentration camps, but the majority stayed on rather than face penalties and inflict insecurity on their families. Figures are not available, but the records of some of the present Schulrats indicate what happened when the Nazi Party came into power. They are all taken from signed statements submitted by the Regierungsdirektor, at the request of the writer. One, who had been a Headmaster since 1930 says, "On account of my activity in politics as a member of the Centre Party, I was attacked by the Party, and in 1937 was transferred from my Headship to a teacher's post elsewhere. As a result, I lost much income. In August 1944, I was taken by the Gestapo and brought to Aachen" Another says, "In 1935, I was forbidden to teach". One was called before the Courts by the Ortsgruppen and Kreisleiter and persecuted for seven months by the Gestapo. Yet another says, "In May 1937, I was forced by brutal methods to become a member of the Party.

I was always looked upon as unreliable, and I was persecuted. I was attacked at meetings and in the press. In August 1944, I was dismissed from the Party, because I was not active. The day following my dismissal, I was arrested by the Gestapo and was kept in prison in Aachen for ten days. They accused me of acting against the aims of the Party in school and in public.

On September 5th. I was brought to Koln-Deutz, and there I was kept till October 21st. I was to have been taken to Buchenwald, but this was prevented by aerial attacks on the station, and later still by the outbreak of typhoid fever. I was returned home and deprived of all my possessions." Another Schulrat said, "On the inception of the Third Reich I was removed as Headmaster under Section Five of the Law of 1933, and downgraded to the rank of ordinary teacher."

The places of these men were taken by Nazis who could never have hoped for promotion in the field of education in the ordinary course of events. One man was promoted from being a very poor Studienrat in a small school to the office of administrative official for the whole Regierungsbezirk. As soon as the Nazis came into power, he joined with them, left the Church and became a leading official in the National Socialist Teachers Union. He then became Assistant Director of Education. Another man who became a Schulrat under the Nazis was considered by the local education authority to be of such poor quality that he had to be removed from his post as teacher because he was not capable of doing the job. Before he was due to be dismissed,

however, he joined the Party and left the Church. The Kreis-leiter of Aachen later used his influence to have him appointed as Schulrat. A third Nazi Schulrat was given a Headship in 1933, because he had joined the Party earlier than other teachers. He then became "Ortsgruppenleiter" and was amongst those who burned down the Jewish synagogue in Julich. On the strength of this 'brave' performance he was appointed "Schulrat".(1)

Thus, it is seen that the teaching profession was deprived of its good leaders who were replaced by those whose only qualification was unswerving allegiance to the Nazi Party and a determination to dragoon <sup>or</sup> frightened teachers into service for the Nazi state. Instead of being able to discuss their problems freely, the teachers had to accept blindly the propaganda which reached them from the Ministry of Education in Berlin. All teachers had to become members of National Socialist Teachers Union, but it was a union in which they were not allowed to speak their thoughts freely.

Despite their purges it would appear that the Nazi Party was not fully confident in the teachers, for great inroads were made into what was the generally-accepted province of the teacher. The Party took increasing control over the children through the Hitler Jugend and the Bund Deutscher Madel, which enrolled boys and girls into their ranks at the age of ten, keeping them till they were eighteen in the case of the boys and twenty one in the case of the girls. Schools

were closed on Saturdays so that the Hitler Jugend could receive military training. The Nazi Party took further control over the children when they were sent to the "Landjahr", which meant practical work in camps under the control of the Party. Teachers were forced to send a certain number of their pupils to these camps every year.

Teachers also saw the introduction of the "Einfachst-schule( simplest school system) which was very much in conflict with previous enlightened ideas. In this type of school there were to be six elementary school years, followed by work in metal, wood or factory schools. In effect, the children were nothing more than young labourers. How different from what the teachers had been working for before 1933. They had hoped to see the addition of a ninth class to the eight school years, and even try to send all pupils to the secondary school after they had finished at the elementary school

Furthermore, the Nazis did all they could to deaden the interest of the teacher in his calling. They presented him with the fact that the only qualification they required was sound adherence to the Party and earnest propagation of its theories. No longer could teachers become Professors of Philosophy and Pedagogy, and the State Examination for the Administration and Control of Schools was no longer considered necessary. Teaching and education generally, were not to be regarded as an interesting occupation with a universal purpose.

Having lopped off the leaders from the top of the educational tree, and left a controllable mass of non-resisters, the Nazis then ensured that the newcomers to the teaching profession would be people trained according to their requirements. They introduced special institutes for training teachers - the National Socialist Lehrerbildungs-Anstalten. This was a retrograde step from the Pädagogische Akademien which were attached to the Universities and set a very high standard. Prior to 1933, only students with a very good Abitur (Secondary school leaving examination) result were admitted to the Training Colleges. At the new institutes, standards were considerably reduced. Teaching, having sunk to a profession of low esteem, students were not keen to follow it, and as a result, it was almost necessary to conscript recruits. The following account is based on a visit to a Teacher Training Institute in the Aachen area, in 1944, by the present Regierungsdirektor (2)

"The teachers and scholars wore brown uniforms. Orders and questions were answered by the students clacking their heels together and shouting "Yes", thus seeking to give the impression of being "well trained" Their knowledge in all subjects was very poor. The pupils were actually encouraged to become soldiers as quickly as possible, and were told, that, in acknowledgement of this, they would be promoted to the next standard during their military service. In addition, they were promised the certificate of the first teachers examination, even though they were not teaching in schools, but were in fact on military service."

This teacher training institute was organised on the same lines as others set up by the Nazis. In addition, it might be noted that there was no place for religion.

When the students asked if they were allowed to go to the Parish Church, they were told that they were only allowed to attend in civilian clothes. As none of the students possessed civilian clothes they could not go.

Such is the teacher aspect of the problem. There would seem to be strong evidence for the man who thinks there is no hope. He would say that teachers who allowed themselves to be dictated to in 1933, and who meekly submitted throughout twelve years cannot be expected now to re-educate German youth. He would also see no hope in the new entrants to the teaching profession who were trained both in school and college by the Nazis. He would no doubt agree with Louis Nizer, the American lawyer who says, "One may as well trust the German High Command to disarm Germany as to trust the teachers of Germany to re-educate its youth." (3)

But, if the problem is so great on the side of the teachers, how much greater is it so far as the children are concerned. There can be no hiding the type of training received by German children during the years of the Third Reich. When the writer visited a German school in 1935, he found that the first word to which the children in the lowest class were introduced was "H-I-T-L-E-R". It was written in large letters on the blackboard, and the children pronounced it, letter by letter, culminating in a loud, "Heil Hitler". And so the child went on throughout its school years screaming "Heil Hitler", perhaps fifty



times a day. The picture of Hitler adorned every classroom. To the question, "Who is the most important and most noble human being in the world today?" the children would scream in unison, "Der Fuehrer" (4). Other questions would be, "What is the greatest dream of every German girl?", to which the answer was, "To see the Fuehrer", and they would say that an even greater dream was to touch the Fuehrer's hand. It is not unnatural that the children should be perplexed when they return to find the picture of Hitler replaced by the Cross, and being instructed to say, "Grüss Gott", instead of "Heil Hitler". Odd too, to begin the day with prayers. A little girl in Dusseldorf had obviously been thinking about these things when she said: "Do you have the Cross in the schools in Aachen where the picture of the Fuehrer used to be?". She was only ten years of age, and when the answer was given in the affirmative she said, "I wonder if the Fuehrer is still alive." The Fuehrer is dead, but how difficult it is going to be to eradicate all the ideas that were pumped into the minds of German children on his behalf.

German schools definitely inculcated into the minds of the children the desire for world conquest. They were taught that they were superior to all other peoples. They were told what German territories and possessions were lost at Versailles. They were told so often that they never forgot. Having seen geography books with pictures

of lost towns such as Eupen and Malmedy, in German schools before the War, and knowing how well the children were drilled in reciting the list of German losses, the writer put a question to intending teachers aged between 18 and 20 years, asking them to name Germany's lost territories. They all gave a correct answer.

The study of Geography was perverted in the service of ideas of world domination. When visiting a school before the War, the writer noticed a very large map of the Polish Corridor hanging on the wall. When the teacher was asked why this map was given such prominence she replied, "We must show our children the great wrong in dividing East Prussia from the rest of Germany...we must have it back!" Geography lessons gave background ~~gar~~ to the song which was sung both at the school and in the youth movement groups:-

"Today we hold the Fatherland,  
Tomorrow the world is ours."

All children over ten years of age were in some branch of the Hitler Youth Movement. It is to be noted that only a very small percentage of the teachers engaged in the activities of these ~~movements~~. This may have been due to the fact that the youth movement provided for children beyond the age of fourteen, that is when they have passed out of the care of the teacher. On the other hand it may be said to the credit of the teachers that even if they stayed in their teaching appointments in order to ensure their livelihood, they would not commit themselves

further and take an active part in youth movements of the Nazi Party. There were some teachers who were active leaders, but for the most part, strong Nazi sympathisers from outside the teaching profession, took hold of the children in the Hitler Youth and gave them the training the Nazi Party desired.

With the Nazi Party having such a great hold over the children, the influence of parents and the church were at a discount. Now that the Nazi foundation has collapsed beneath them, there is no control over them. As a result, one finds that the children over twelve years of age, have a certain wildness, boorishness and irresponsibility. In a personal interview with the writer, the Bishop of Aachen, stated that the youths over twelve years of age were the great problem.

There is no doubt whatsoever, that the Nazis had a considerable effect on the minds of young Germans, and they <sup>make</sup> the task of the re-educator especially difficult. Professor Howard Becker in his most recent study of German youth (5) emphasises this difficulty and shows that it covers the Germans in their twenties as well as in their 'teens.

" Today's German soldier of twenty-one was a boy of twelve <sup>when</sup> Hitler was deified in 1933. At a highly impressionable part of his life he passed through a revival experience which, for a time at least, closely joined him in the Nazi value-system....Always admitting the

possibility of surprising shifts in the near future, I should be inclined to say that not more than a dozen or two out of every hundred Germans in their middle or even early twenties are significantly lacking in zeal for the Nazi value-system and all its works."

This then is the problem! Teachers of doubtful worth on the one hand, and children in need of guidance on the other hand. But this is not a problem for the occupying administration alone: it is one which must be tackled by the Germans themselves. It is for the occupier to look for sound German educationists who never sided with the Nazi Party, who may have suffered for their views, and who realize what is required to make German education respected throughout the whole world. The next section of the thesis will give an account and an analysis of the steps taken in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen to lay the foundation for re-education.

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- (1) These statements were obtained from Schulrats whose anti-Nazi record had been proved, and who subsequently justified their appointment by conscientious work in the re-opening of the schools.
- (2) Statement provided by Dr. Deutzman, Director of Education for the County of Aachen. A strong anti-Nazi, who was sentenced to death by the Nazis in 1944.
- (3) Louis Nizer. "What to do with Germany" (Hamish Hamilton) 1945. P.126.
- (4) Ibid..p.129
- (5) Howard Becker. "German Youth: Bond or Free" Kegan Paul 1946. p.224.

PART TWOChapter 3THE SCHOOL COUNCIL

In the task of administration it was necessary for the Education Control Officer to choose officials of undoubted integrity, and then charge them with the responsibility of re-opening the schools. Before discussing the methods adopted, a description will be given of the German educational system within a Regierungsbezirk. The chief official for education is the Regierungsdirektor, equivalent to the Chief Education Officer in an English county. He is assisted by two or more Ober-Regierungs- and Ober-Schulrats. The Regierungsbezirk is divided into Kreise, which are roughly equivalent in size to English Divisional Executive areas. Each Kreis has its own Schulrat (inspector and education administrative official; in a Stadtkreis such as Aachen, he is known as a Direktor. Because of the collapse of central government in Germany, it followed that initial developments by Military Government were from the lowest administrative level. It followed, therefore, that planning for the re-opening of schools took place in the town of Aachen, which was the first big town in Germany to <sup>be</sup> captured, before the Regierungsbezirk organisation was developed. Actually, the first schools to be re-opened in Germany were those in Aachen, during the period of American administration. The

system of administration which was found to be successful within the Stadtkreis of Aachen, was later adopted in other Kreise within the Regierungsbezirk, and eventually the Regierungsbezirk organised all Kreis systems under its control.

The American Military Government gave much thought to the planning of educational developments in Aachen. <sup>(1)</sup> They realised that much depended on their work, as their experiments might later become the model for the rest of Germany. To help them in formulating their plans they were not without the assistance of interested Germans who submitted their ideas on the re-education of Germany in lengthy theses. Whilst these were fertile in ideas concerning the organisation of education they were singularly barren on the subject of the content of education. At the same time, there was a great desire on the part of parents to have the schools opened once more. It was early evident that the people feared the possibility of the school administration getting into the hands of a clique, political or otherwise. This rather strengthened the American intention to produce an educational system more democratic than anything Germany had ever known before. They wished to give some power to the parents: they wished to give them a voice in the education of the children, and divorce the educational system as much as possible from the city administration. As a result, the Oberbürgermeister of Aachen, was directed to propose a School Council of five

members, all to be parents, representing the citizens politically, socially and economically. The Oberbürgermeister himself, was to be Chairman of the Council, but without voting power. The Council was to be responsible for directing the policies of education within the directives laid down by Military Government.

The Americans did not establish a system as democratic as the educational advisors would have liked. The latter had intended to divorce the Council completely from the Oberbürgermeister, but it was early apparent that he would have to be represented, for under German law the physical aspects of the schools, as city property, come under the Oberbürgermeister. To allow the Oberbürgermeister to be the Chairman of the School Council was the best compromise that could be arranged under the restrictions imposed by this law, which had not been abrogated by the Supreme Commander. The opinion was actually expressed at the time that, under "military necessity" the schools could be taken from the Oberbürgermeister and given to the control of the School Council. This would have given the School Council complete authority on every aspect of the educational programme and it was what the American Military Government in the town of Aachen would have liked. However, it was thought unwise to take this step without higher authority and accordingly the plan indicated above was adopted.

The formation of the School Council takes an

important place in the history of the re-birth of educational institutions in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen, and for that reason a full account is given of it.

In a letter dated 12th. February 1945, the Oberbürgermeister received from the American Military Government his instructions for the setting up of a School Council. They were in the following terms:-

"You are hereby directed to recommend for appointment an Education Council consisting of five representative citizens. This board, on behalf of the people of Aachen shall designate the policy to be followed in the re-education of Aachen youth within the directions laid down by the Supreme Commander of the Occupying Forces. They should be parents, who are motivated with the desire to serve the children of Aachen and who have an abiding faith in youth. They should be of broad and tolerant thought and concerned with eradicating the evils of German education in the past. Under no conditions are you to appoint anybody who has ever been a member of the Nazi Party or who has received special privileges from the Party. They should represent the social, economic, political and religious life of the community. The employer and the employee should be given consideration. It is to be understood that appointment to this committee is an honorary office and members are to serve without pay. Educators or religious officials should not be chosen for obvious reasons."

In this same clear and concise directive, the duties of the School Council when elected were laid down. On, or before 24th February, they were told to present to Military Government for approval, the name of a Director of Education. He was to be responsible to the Council for the administration of the schools. Under no condition was he to have been a member of the Nazi Party



either directly or indirectly, nor was he to be a man with militaristic ideals or one who would foster glorification of war. He was to be a man professionally qualified "with a broad and tolerant view", of good character and high standing among educators and citizens. He was to have had experience and training necessary for this office and must have been engaged in teaching in the last five years.

As the School Council and the Director of Education were the foundations on which the new system was built, it is necessary to study closely the way in which they were chosen. On the 17th February, the Oberbürgermeister submitted his reply. He found it difficult to comply with all the requirements laid down by Military Government. And, despite the professed earnestness on the part of the population to re-educate its youth there were many parents, who were not willing to bind themselves to attend regular meetings. In his dilemma, the Oberbürgermeister suggested that every member of the council should have a substitute who would be able to vote in the event of the absence of the actual member! Obviously, this latter suggestion was turned down by Military Government. The Detachment Commander replied in the following words: "The importance and the work entailed must be made clear to each member chosen. He must serve entirely or not at all. The honour that goes with the appointment, the responsibility and

the privilege of contributing basically to the re-education of Aachen youth should count heavily. It is to be anticipated that some will not feel able to devote the time necessary. To these it should be stated that there is no work, personal or otherwise, that can be considered more important than that they will have as members of the School Council".

It was therefore early evident that Germans were not accustomed to ideas of democratic service on councils, and they expressed a reluctance to take part in government which is perhaps a feature of German mentality. In their defence, one might probably say that their attitude was a reflection of the uncertainty of the times in which they were living. The reluctance to serve and the difficulties involved is akin to the incident described by Professor Howard Becker to illustrate the passive resistance to change of the South German peasant. (2)

"In the latter part of the nineteenth century a Landrat conceived the rather startling notion of installing a water and sewage system in the village of which he was still, in a certain sense, the feudal lord. Having perhaps been infected by the liberal doctrines of the Paulskirche, he decided to allow the village to decide whether or not it should be installed, and accordingly called a town meeting so that the decision might be rendered in true democratic fashion. To his great surprise, however, the peasants and burghers refused, almost to a man, even so much as to attend a meeting; there had never been one before and they were suspicious of the innovation. By dint of much persuasion, however, the meeting was held, but the proposal to instal the improvements was unanimously rejected."

Eventually, the Oberbürgermeister proposed the following people for the School Council:-

Hermann Heusch	employer
Mathias Willms	employer
Mrs Werner Taute	wife of handicrafts man
Josef Wolff	employee
Mrs Franz Lahaye	housewife

Substitutes

Peter Karhausen	independent merchant
Arnold Vent	employee
Dr. Studte	physician
Peter Hennes	post official
Mrs Felix Baurmann	housewife.

Care was taken in the final selections. Special Branch of Military Government interviewed all nominees. Vent was ruled out because he had belonged to the VDA ( which was an organisation for Germans in foreign countries), <sup>(3)</sup> and had worked with them in the position of Assistant Cashier. It was discovered that Baurmann's brother-in-law, Dr. Carl Baurmann was a confidential agent of the Spionage Abwehr Nebenstelle. She also had two brothers-in-law with Party tendencies. Not all the nominees were of the type required, but they were all parents, they were proved anti-Nazis, and they represented both the Catholic and Protestant churches. However, rather than delay the re-opening of the schools, Military Government accepted the situation and, with the proviso that appointments should only be temporary, approved the following:-

Josef Wolff, Catholic, voted Catholic Centrum 1933  
 Frau Franz Lahaye, Catholic, voted Cath Centrum 1933  
 Dr. Studte, Protestant, voted Deutsch Nationale Partei  
 Peter Hennes, Catholic, voted Social Democrat 1933  
 Mathias Willms, Protestant, voted Social Democrat

The idea of the School Council was later extended to other Kreise within the Regierungsbezirk. Despite the uncertainty of the times, there were sufficient Germans forthcoming who were willing to serve on the Councils. Even so, careful selection was maintained. On the whole, despite the difficulties of transport and despite the immediate problems of housing and food which faced each individual, they carried out their work admirably, and showed that they were willing and able to take a part in Government. Actually, the School Council was not adopted throughout the rest of the British Zone. Early in 1946, nominated local councils were established in each Kreis, but in the British plan of local Government Councils, there were no education committees exactly comparable to the School Councils which were experimented with in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen.

There is a great deal to be said in favour of the School Council. It is in keeping with democratic ideas of government by committee and not by state officials. There is no doubt that it was an innovation to the German mind, and a great change after twelve years of Nazi dictation, but it was not long before the idea was accepted. It is agreed that the Council was nominated in the first instance, and eventually approved by Military Government, but this was necessitated by the situation prevailing at the time. The nominated council, however gave valuable experience in local government, and is undoubtedly the fore-runner of freely-elected councils.

It was a necessary step also in restoring the true relation between home and school. The Nazi state weakened the control and influence of the home. The Nazi youth movements took up most of the time of the children, in the evenings, at week-ends and during the holidays. A parent with strong views would resist the Nazi trend, but it is easy to see how with the natural gregariousness amongst young children, there was ground for friction between child and parent, where the parent wished to advise against the Nazi methods of the youth movements. The Nazi Party tended to take the child away from the home, and the new education system in Germany must make amends by forging a close bond between parent and school. All members of school councils were parents, and they showed considerable interest and activity in educational developments. More so, they were able to enroll the support and interest of other parents also: this was evident in the part taken by parents to rebuild the schools damaged by war, and also in their large attendance at school re-openings.

The first big task of the School Council was advising who should be employed as teachers. In the selection of teachers several methods are possible. In most places, Military Government arranged for teachers to fill in "fragebogen" (questionnaires for form of which see Appx II), which were later examined in the light of a directive, which defined which categories of people could

be employed. Those who passed this test were allowed by Military Government to resume their teaching duties. In many cases there was an interview before a final decision was reached, but it is obvious that, on the whole, this method is very impersonal and one which would require modification in individual cases. This, however, was the method which was practised mostly. The method at the other extreme, and which was not practiced in the British Zone, would have been to order the Chief Education Official to staff his schools with teachers he believed to be reliable. This would have placed the whole responsibility for selection on him. In general, it would be thought that, as a proved anti-Nazi he would not appoint Nazi-minded teachers. In defence of this method it might be said that the occupying administration would be spared much arduous work: occasional checks only would be necessary and if it were found that the chief education official was employing unsuitable teachers he could be dismissed. Perhaps however, this method would produce an over-centralisation of responsibility, and would have strengthened still more the German idea of domination by officials. Such a measure would be incompatible with the desire to introduce democratic machinery of government. Furthermore, one might make an unwise choice of chief education official and damage might be done which would be difficult to erase.

To have nominated Germans taking part in the selection of teachers would appear to offer an intermediate and wise course. This is the part carried out by the School Council. In practice, the Schulrat for the Kreis submitted names to the School Council of teachers who wished to be considered for re-appointment. A week later, the School Council met and gave its recommendations. Military Government did not necessarily act on their recommendations, because they were obliged to comply with the directive on denazification. It was found, however, that the recommendations of the School Council were very sound and reliable. Who better than a German knows who the Nazis were in their midst? A man might seem to be harmless according to his completed "fragebogen", but his conduct may have been such to indicate that he was a loyal Nazi at heart. The five members of the School Council either knew the teachers from personal knowledge or took the trouble to find out about them from a reliable source. It is not suggested that this was the ideal system, for the problem of selecting reliable teachers is probably one of the most difficult facing the administrator whose task is to rebuild German education. It did, however, enable five opinions from Germans to be considered and it possessed the human touch which was lacking entirely from the fragebogen system.

Only time will tell of the soundness of the work of the School Councils, but the following experience

in Kreis Erkelenz is quoted as evidence to show that they appear to have done their work well. One day, the writer interviewed teachers of the Kreis, who had been members of the Nazi Party, but were nevertheless recommended by the School Council. At the same time, former Party members, not recommended by the School Council, were presented. All in the latter category were turned down by the writer for reasons connected with their answers to verbal questions and their fragebogen. His opinion, was the same as that of the School Council, which had not seen the fragebogen of the applicants.

It is interesting to note that in early 1946, British Military Government in Germany acceded to the principle that the Germans themselves can best say who were the Nazis. To this end, they set up "Review Boards", composed of reliable Germans whose function was to advise on cases which had been rejected previously by Military Government. In effect, whereas the Review Board advised after a dismissal, the School Council advised before Military Government reached its decision.

Undoubtedly, the School Councils did their work with zeal and good motives. They showed that they were willing and able to do difficult local government work voluntarily. It is quite certain that as an early experiment in democracy, the School Council was a great



success. As they were not the common practice in the British Zone other than in Aachen, it is likely that not much will be heard of them in the future, but it should be recorded that experience proved the wisdom of this American design, and the School Councils played a most helpful part in selecting reliable teachers and thus helping to provide a sound foundation for the educational system within the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen.

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- (1) Much of the information concerning the establishment of a School Council in the Stadtkreis of Aachen, was obtained from papers left by the American Military Government, when they handed over to British Military Government, in June 1945.
- (2) Howard Becker. German Youth: Bond or Free. (Kegan Paul 1946). p. 24.
- (3) Glossary of Nazi organisations and official names is given in Appx I.

CHAPTER FOURTHE RE-OPENING OF THE SCHOOLS

Whilst the choice of the members of the School Councils was important, the selection of permanent education officials also required much attention and consideration, for they were the actual executives. None but those with the clearest political record could be considered. At the same time, it was essential to have people adequately qualified from an academic and administrative view point. At first it was difficult to obtain experienced administrators. Those who had held administrative positions prior to 1933 had either been removed by the Nazis or had retired. Those who climbed into office during the regime of the Third Reich fled. It was necessary, therefore, to give the appointments to approved teachers, many of whom had had no previous administrative experience. Somebody had to be chosen to do the pioneering work. The first task of the Schulrats was to make a survey of school buildings (Appx III), which in Regierungsbezirk Aachen was no mean task, as bridges were blown and roads in a chaotic state. They had to present to the School Councils names of teachers who wished to be considered for re-appointment, and prepare the plans for re-opening of schools in their Kreis. Teachers appointed to the post of Schulrat were not always up to the pre-1933 standard, but one could

not afford to wait till better material was available. It was found that, despite all the difficulties in the way of communications and despite the fact that, for the first time in their lives they were employed in an administrative post, the Schulrats did very worthy work, and due to their endeavours, some schools were open in every Kreis by the 1st, September 1945.

There were no cases in the educational administration of Aachen of Nazi officials being retained because of their administrative efficiency. This often happened in other functions such as Economics and Industry, but it is unlikely that Nazi education officials were retained anywhere in the British Zone. The greatest care was needed in selection. The man who appeared to be the most efficient Schulrat, and who had been appointed to the position of <sup>VA</sup>Bürgermeister in his village by the Americans shortly after the occupation, was subsequently dismissed from the office of Schulrat because it was discovered that he had written a school book based on Nazi theories. He pleaded that his manuscript had been altered by the publisher: proof of this was difficult and perhaps impossible to obtain. He was, therefore, kept out of office.

By choosing officials whose anti-Nazi record was without doubt, there was every hope that the Nazis would not raise their heads once more in the teaching profession. It is unlikely that a staunch anti-Nazi

would have any teacher tainted with Nazi ideas working under him. The following studies are given in order to indicate the character of the education officials who were appointed. The Director of Education for the County had a good academic and political record. He was aged 53, possessed the certificates of the First and Second Teachers examination, and also the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Cologne University. He had also passed the State examination in school government and supervision. Before 1933, he took an active part in training teachers within the Regierungsbezirk. He lost his Headship when the Nazis came into power in 1933, and was in obscurity till the American Army occupied the town of Stolberg where he lived, and made him Burgermeister. As a result of his acceptance of the latter post, the National Socialist Party announced on the radio on 3rd April, 1945, that he was condemned to death. His assistant was a man of 57 years. He too was a well qualified teacher: he had also been a representative of the Social Democrat Party in the Reichstag before 1933. Because of his opposition to the Nazi Party in the Reichstag, he subsequently received the attention of the SS and SA who looted his house. He managed to escape with his wife. It may be superfluous to add that he had been dismissed as a teacher in 1933, in accordance with the law referred to previously.

Not all officials, unfortunately; were of such high standard. The man who first set out to rebuild a town

educational system in Germany, was not so well qualified as the two just referred to. But, at the time, he was the best available in a town whose population had been much reduced by battle and evacuation. He was chosen by the School Council after they had considered eight candidates for the post. His name was Heinrich Beckers, and he was of half-Jewish parentage. He was born in Aachen on 14th. January 1878, the son of a cattle dealer. He was trained as an elementary school teacher and qualified in 1898. His college record was complimentary. Until 1910, he worked in various elementary schools and from 1910 till 1937, he worked in vocational schools in Aachen. From 1930 onwards he was a Deputy Headmaster. From 1904 to 1910 he trained teachers for elementary and vocational schools, and in 1927 he founded a welfare school for men which was suppressed by the Nazis in 1934. His interest in youth extended beyond the classroom; in 1912 he founded a welfare organisation, and, until 1933 was chairman of the committee for court assistance to juveniles and adults. He retired from effective office in 1937, but was recalled by the City Administration in November 1944, to help in preparing the plans for the re-opening of the schools in Aachen. His political record was blameless.

The problems facing him were similar to those to be faced at a later date by Schulrats in other Kreise. A detailed study of the complexities of his task will

help to give a clearer picture of the re-birth of schools in Germany. The case of Aachen is not unique because it was heavily damaged - so were many more towns especially in the Ruhr. The progress must be seen in relation to a background of bombing and shell fire and even street fighting. The following figures show the condition of the schools when the Americans captured Aachen. <sup>(1)</sup> None were left intact.

Elementary schools	9 totally destroyed 8 beyond repair 12 capable of being repaired
Intermediate schools	2 badly damaged
Secondary schools	4 totally destroyed 2 damaged
Vocational schools	4 destroyed 1 badly damaged.

The position regarding teachers was equally depressing. Many people had been evacuated from Aachen in the September of 1944, and only 2000 citizens remained. Quite obviously great care had to be taken in the choice of teachers, and, whilst the final choice rested with Military Government, the Director had to prepare the lists of people recommended and submit their fragebogen to Military Government. In 1939 Aachen town had 593 teachers. In March 1945, there were only 47 available. Of these, only 26 had never belonged to the Nazi Party. Of these 26, only 22 were approved by <sup>(2)</sup> Military Government.

The following figures show the situation more clearly. The figures refer to schools which it was proposed to open. They are for the lower part of the Elementary schools only i.e. 6 to 10 years.

BBB

Name of School	Number of Classrooms	Enrolment 1943-44	Estimated enrolment 1945	Number of Teachers 1943-44	Teachers needed 1945
Eilfschornsteinstrasse	12	248	130	8	5
Friedensstrasse	5	233	211	7	6
Hahnbrucherstr.	5	637	134	13	5
Kleverstrasse	14	672	101	14	3
Barbarastrasse	4	301	101	14	3
Forster Linde	4	306	59	7	2
Lintert	1	60	32	2	1
Lichtenbusch	1	40	45	1	1
Aachen Sief	1	48	40	1	1
Bildchen	1	136	21	3	1
TOTALS	48	2681	874	70	28

On the 31st March ,1945, there were about 1240 children in Aachen between the ages of six and fourteen, more than half of these being between six and ten. The Director of Education for the town was satisfied that he could provide for the education of this number. Obviously some children would return, but it was hoped that suitable

teachers would return also.

Full plans, including the syllabus, were submitted by the Director of Education to Military Government. They were approved and the first schools to re-open in Germany opened in Aachen on 4th June 1945. The speech made by Director Beckers gives some indication of the aims and purpose the Germans set themselves. At the same time a representative American Military Government officer addressed the assembly. Director Beckers spoke as follows:-

"Today is for us a very important day - the beginning of school life once more for our children. Besides the work of cleaning up, repairing roofs, finding and fixing of materials, which was all done by the teachers themselves, it was difficult to find amongst all the teachers available those who were able to educate the children in the right way, and who exclude from their teaching all Nazi thought and militarism. Quite a great part of the responsibility rests with the parents. The School Council is the liaison between the school and the parents. The school and the parents should pull together. As a third influence in re-educating the children we have, once more, the Church. Without religion, children cannot develop sound characters. By these three, school, parents and church working together, we hope to get the children back to a sound system of life."

The speech was simple and short, but it did stress three sound foundations for the future re-education of German youth, all three of which had been superseded by



the Nazi state. The American Military Government representative made a longer speech, and it is quoted in full because it expressed the prevailing attitude of Military Government on the subject of denazification, and it stressed that re-education was a task for the Germans themselves. He said,

"Remember, that long before Nazism there was an inbred militarism and a super-race fallacy which are all responsible for the debacle Germany has brought upon herself. You yourselves must find your way out, and you can do it by teaching your children to honour the true and honest things of life, by giving them a will and courage and purpose that will lead to a fellowship with other peoples instead of a false belief of superiority over them. The eyes of all Allied people are upon you, as this is the first city in all Germany to which authorisation has been given to open schools. You can be sure that higher authority of the Allied Forces has examined the preparation of the School Council, the Director of Schools and you teachers yourselves. You now have your chance to show the rest of the world what you can do for your own children. None of you in this meeting have ever joined the Nazi Party or had any close connection with it, otherwise you would not have been allowed to have anything to do with the re-education of German children. Even those who were "not Nazis at heart",

but "had to join" in order to keep their job or to protect their family have not been allowed to have any part in this new educational set up. There are, no doubt, some such sincere individuals, but, there are also many who died in concentration camps rather than join the Party. One of the factors of character that must be taught the German child is courage, the courage of his convictions, the courage to stand up for honest beliefs in the face of dangerous opposition. He must be taught the pride that comes from the integrity of the individual. There will be no teachers teaching the children of Aachen who must apologise or alibi themselves for joining the Party. Do not be misled by the thought that the people of the Allied countries are making any great distinction between those who were Nazis and the rest of the German people. The rest of the world has seen and suffered all too intimately from the great Fascist onslaught, which could only have lasted so long and created such utter horror because, behind its forces was the whole power of the German nation. They know, that to be faced by the Nazis alone would have been nothing if the strength and blind loyalty of the German people had not been fighting and dying for this purpose. Now you have a chance to prove to the rest of the world that you can despise Nazism and its kindred philosophies. You can, by your work, now help to establish the German people as a constructive force by yourselves

cleaning out Nazism and Militarism, and inculcating a spirit of democracy that will lead to brotherhood with the other people in the world. Do not leave it for the the occupying forces to do. Your complete salvation is only in the doing of it yourselves."

It is not intended to criticise this speech in detail at this stage. Its appreciation will vary in relation to ones ideas on how to deal with Germans. It is thought necessary, however, to point out how the Americans were emphatic in the non-employment of teachers who had been members of the Nazi Party. It will be seen in the next chapter how this principle was waived. As more children returned, it was appreciated that there would not be sufficient schools if teachers who had been members of the Nazi Party were not allowed to teach. At the same time it was realised that there were many teachers who had been nominal members of the Party only.

The above account deals in detail with the measures preliminary to the opening of schools in the town of Aachen. Similar steps were necessary in the remaining Kreis within the Regierungsbezirk. In order to fully understand the achievements of untrained administrators working with inadequate facilities, it is necessary to know what their tasks were. The following instructions were the first given to Schulrats on appointment:-

- (1) To impound all text books and other aids to teaching and place them in a safe convenient place.
- (2) To specify any particular textbooks and other teaching aids which are available and which they believe to be suitable for continued use in their present form.
- (3) To ascertain how many children of compulsory school age, in addition to any others who desire to continue their education, are resident in their area. To classify these children by age and by the type of school they were attending prior to closure of schools.
- (4) To state how many schools will be required to accomodate the children of elementary school age.

All this was in addition to dealing with teachers who wished to be re-employed, details of which were given in the last chapter.

The survey by the Schulrats showed the position in September 1945, as below:-

Schools	Number	Number of children they used to accomodate full-time
1. Number available for use after repairs	217	36,890
2. Number with minor repairs not yet repaired.	152	25,500
3. Number requiring major repairs, not yet being repaired	129	21,930
4. Totally demolished	28	4,760
5. Occupied by Military	11	1,870
6. Occupied by German authorities.	3	595
	<u>540</u>	<u>91,545</u>

With such a depressing outlook in the way of school buildings it is surprising that the Schulrats made the progress they did. They were only elected in July, 1945, but by the end of November of the same year, 230 Grundschulen (6-10 years) and 207 Oberstufen (10-14 years) had been re-opened. Teachers had been very carefully checked, and only the non-availability of suitable teachers and the bad state of the buildings prevented more schools from re-opening. Whilst the immediate purpose is to show the rapid progress within the first few months after the appointment of the , the following figures are given below to show how this progress was kept up.

(1) Schools(Elementary)

<u>Open November 1945</u>	<u>Open November 1946</u>
230	473

Note: 1939 total number of schools ..540

(2) Pupils attending school.

	<u>November 1945</u>	<u>November 1946</u>
(a) full-time	9,550	43,755
(b) part-time	36,014	46,062
(c) no provision	<u>41,314</u>	<u>728</u>
	86,878	90,545

Note: 1939 full-time attendance..91,545

(3) Teachers employed.

	<u>November 1945</u>	<u>November 1946</u>
Teachers	512	1175

(3) Teachers employed.

	<u>November 1945</u>	<u>November 1946</u>
(a) Teachers	512	1175
(b) Schoolhelpers (unqualified)	<u>99</u>	<u>242</u>
	611	1417

Note: Number of teachers 1939..2,450

These figures indicate the size of the problem of getting children back to school, and this is only the first step in re-education. The following facts are stressed:-

- (1) Within four months 58% of the school population was back at school, even if only for part time. Within 16 months, 99% were receiving schooling.
- (2) In November 1945 the ratio of teachers to school population was 1:126: the ratio of teachers to children attending school was 1:59. By November 1946, the ratio had been reduced to 1:63 in both cases.
- (3) It should be realised that approximately half the children were attending part-time only,
- (4) In general, half the number of pre-war teachers were trying to teach almost the same number of children in much less school accommodation.

Figures, however, do not give a complete picture of the conditions under which the schools were functioning. Most of the schools had no glass in the windows. Only in a few schools in the city of Aachen were books available. There were no teaching aids, no copy books, and in some schools children used pieces of slate salvaged from the roofs of destroyed buildings. Except in the country areas,

children did not attend school for more than three hours because it was considered by the British Military Government that they were not receiving sufficient food to enable them to concentrate for a longer period. Despite all the difficulties, school attendance was remarkably high and there was never an absenteeism amongst the children of more than 5%. Over 90% of the children had inferior footwear: there was no heating in the schools, and the children in devastated towns such as Aachen, Julich and Duren were undernourished. Even so the schools carried on. Children in a cold room with no glass in the windows, when asked if they would rather be at home than at school, loudly voiced their preference for the school. If the school was in a bad condition, most of the homes were much worse. In the winter of 1945, the schools received coal, but there was none available for the homes. The Germans determined that once the schools re-opened they would never close again. When it was suggested to the Schulrats that they should prepare lists of schools which might have to close during the winter months, because of the absence of glass or fuel, they came forward with the following suggestion, which would obviate the closing of schools. They said, that, despite all difficulties they would keep the schools open if only for the children to attend for one hour in which to receive homework.

The stages by which the schools in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen were re-opened, has been dealt with at length because it is felt that all ideas for the re-education of Germany are likely to fall short of the mark, if they fail to take into account the conditions left by the havoc of war. To the observer on the spot, it was revealed that the Germans were in no way deterred by their difficulties. There was no apathy in the ranks of the school officials: elderly men for the most part, they tackled their task with an amazing vigour. Nowhere was there the apathy which one noticed generally in France and Holland for some time after their liberation. Parents, children and school officials set to the task with a great determination to not only make up for lost time, but to seek for re-education and the undoing of the damage done by the Nazis. As all measures for re-education must emanate from the Germans themselves their first endeavours appeared to augur well for the future.

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- (1) Details of the re-opening of the first schools in the town of Aachen were obtained from documents handed
- (2) over the American Military Government when relieved by the British.

Note: all information in this chapter and all statistics were obtained by the writer himself in the execution of his duties as Education Control Officer.



CHAPTER FIVETHE PROBLEM OF TEACHER SELECTION

It has been stated in an earlier chapter that, all hope for the re-education of German youth depends on the suitability of teachers. A first opinion might be that it would be folly to employ any teacher who taught during the years of the Third Reich. As all schools were under Hitler's control, it would be a fair assumption that the teachers who were employed in them played a big part in the training of youth for the Fuehrer. It has been seen that the genuine leaders of the teaching profession were pensioned off, dismissed, sent to concentration camps, or downgraded, and prevented from receiving promotion which would have come to them had the Nazis not come into power. It is therefore, a reasonable first opinion that the teachers available are unsuited for the task of re-educating German children. Such an opinion, however, would be formed without taking into account the fact that some teachers remained who had been persecuted by the Nazi Party, and were available for the new task. The regret is that they are so few in number. There were, in addition, many who had quietly carried on with their job without becoming really involved in Party activities. Planning in 1945 for the future was based on the hope offered by this small nucleus.

They themselves, however are insufficient in number to provide the big driving force needed for the inception of new ideals and methods into German schools. Meanwhile, one must face the problem of what to do with the numerous teachers who were members of the Nazi Party and its least acceptable organisations.

From an early investigation of fragebogen carried out by the writer in the fall of 1945, it was apparent that there were three categories of teachers:-

- (1) Those who were not members of the Nazi Party, and who only held minor offices in affiliated organisations or held no office at all.
- (2) Those who were in the Party, but never took an active part in its work.
- (3) Those who were in the Party, and did take an active part in Party affairs.

A later detailed survey of fragebogen justified the above classification. A survey was made of 100 fragebogen chosen at random for teachers from all parts of the county area. There were 50 from non-Party members (class 1) and 50 from Party members (Class 2). All of these teachers had been approved by Military Government in keeping with the directives which will be described later in this chapter.

Class Those in Class (1) were not members of the Nazi  
1 Party, and had very few memberships of affiliated organisations. Of the fifty chosen, 43 were members of the National Socialist Lehrer Bund. ( Teachers Union.)

It is not understood how seven of them evaded membership. Perhaps they had not taught during the Nazi years. 24 were members of the NSV (National Socialist Volkswohlfahrt) which was a welfare organisation, and which existed before 1933. It was taken over by the Nazis and re-named. In many cases, membership continued from before 1933, and, in villages especially, the teacher was the obvious choice for office.. After that the largest membership was that of thirteen in the NSF (National Socialist Frauenschaft) a women's organisation, and probably the most dangerous of those mentioned above.

Presented in another way , the facts are:-

Members of 1 organisation	16
Members of 2 organisations	16
Members of 3 " "	13
Members of 4 " "	4
Members of 5 " "	1

These figures are not unduly <sup>alarming</sup> when it is considered that practically every German was in some organisation. It should be understood that all organisations listed above are Party organisations.

### Class 2

The fifty teachers taken as representative of Class 2 present a different <sup>problem</sup>, and justify the classification. In addition to being members of the Nazi Party,

48 were members of the NSLB  
 48 were members of the NSV  
 24 were members of the VDA  
 19 were members of the RKB

The NSLB was the Teachers Union: the VDA was the Nazi organisation which kept in touch with all Germans living outside the Reich: the RKB was the German Legion of Last War Veterans, comparable to our British Legion. These fifty Party members were members also of several affiliated organisations. Their membership was made up as follows:-

Members of 1 organisation .....	1	(16)
Members of 2 organisations:....	12	(16)
Members of 3 organisations:....	9	(13)
Members of 4 organisations:....	16	(4)
Members of 5 organisations:....	1	(1)
Members of 6 organisations:....	1	(none)

Corresponding figures for Class 1 are shown in brackets. Difference of keenness in the Party can be judged from the fact that not only were those of Class 2, members of the Nazi Party, but more of them belonged to four or more organisations: only 4 were members of four organisations, and one a member of five organisations in Class 1.

As the employment of those in Class 3 was not even considered, a survey of their questionnaires was not made. They were teachers who were not recommended by the School Councils, and perusal of their fragebogen together with interrogation, were sufficient to warrant their dismissal from the teaching profession. Generally, they were people, who had held office in the Nazi Party, and were much to the forefront in local politics. Also, as a result of their adherence to the Party, they had obtained promotion as teachers for which they were not ordinarily fitted.

In order to appreciate better the character and suitability of teachers who had been members of the Nazi Party, the following questionnaire, prepared by the writer was put to them. Teachers being interviewed by the Education Control Officer were given this questionnaire to fill in, immediately before they were called in for interview. It was thought necessary to ask if teachers were married or not, as it was expected that apprehension for the security of their family would be given as a reason for joining the Party. The completed questionnaires justified this expectation.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS WHO WERE MEMBERS  
OF THE NSDAP

- (1) Name, in full.....
- (2) Date of birth.....(3) Kreis .....
- (3) Are you married? If so state year.....
- (5) In what year did you qualify as a teacher?.....
- (6) When did you start to teach? .....
- (7) What school were you employed at in 1939?.....
- (8) What school do you propose to teach in if approved?
- (9) When did you join the NSDAP?(month and year)
- (10) Did you get promotion after joining the NSDAP?....
- (11) Were you a "Karteigenosse" or "Parteigenosse"?....  
(nominal member) (active member)
- (12) Why did you join the NSDAP?
- (a) for hope of promotion (yes or no).....
- (b) because you firmly believed in the aims of NSDAP
- (c) as a matter of expediency

(d) any other reason (briefly).....

(13) What is your reply to the child who says to you:

"Why are conditions so terrible in Germany today"?

The following reasons were given for joining the Nazi Party.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| (1) <u>PRESSURE</u> - from Party Leaders, Schulrats and Headmasters.                      | 86  |
| (2) <u>DESIRE TO RETAIN JOBS FOR PECUNIARY AND FAMILY REASONS.</u>                        | 106 |
| (3) <u>FOR THE SAKE OF THE CHILDREN AND TO PREVENT MORE ARDENT NAZIS FROM TAKING OVER</u> | 34  |
| (4) <u>TO AVOID PUNISHMENT</u>  | 19  |
| (5) <u>TO AVOID BEING TRANSFERRED</u>   | 16  |
| (6) <u>TO GET OFFICIAL EMPLOYMENT AFTER MANY YEARS OF WAITING</u>                         | 14  |
| (7) <u>TO DO THE SAME AS THEIR COLLEAGUES</u>   | 8   |
| (8) <u>TO PREVENT COMMUNISM</u>   | 1   |
| (9) <u>IGNORANCE OF TRUE FACTS</u>  | 4   |
| (10) <u>WITHOUT CONSIDERATION</u>   | 1   |
| (11) <u>OBEDIENCE AS A STATE OFFICIAL</u>   | 2   |
| (12) <u>TO GET PROMOTION</u>  | 1   |
| (13) <u>FIRM BELIEF IN NAZISM</u>   | 1   |

These figures demand closer attention.

(1) PRESSURE.

It is difficult to believe that there was much resistance to pressure, when answers to question 9 showed

that of 138 teachers referred to in the questioning, 60 joined the Party on the 1st May 1933, and a further 62 joined in 1937. The two statements do not appear to be compatible. On the other hand there is no doubt that some Kreisleiters and Schulrats carried on their recruiting campaigns with greater intensity than others. One thus finds larger membership in some Kreise than in others. Some idea of the attitude of a Nazi Schulrat can be gathered from the following record of a conversation. (1)

Teacher: "Please, Herr Schulrat, let us know what we really have to do."

SCHULRAT: "You should only do as you are told. That is the voice of the new State, from which you receive your pay."

Another conversation was in the following terms.

SCHULRAT: (in the presence of children). "What have you done yet for the Third Reich. You work and educate the children in the same way as before. It is high time that you changed your way of educating them. Are you a member of the National Socialist Party, or at least of the Frauenschaft?"

Teacher: "No, Herr Schulrat."

SCHULRAT: "Then it is getting high time you were."

After that interview, the teacher joined the N.S. Frauenschaft, although she found that hard to do. She goes on to say, "from that time on, I never had any trouble

from the Ortsgruppe, nor from the Schulrat: I was looked upon rather favourably." Many joined the Nazi Party in similar circumstances. One might think that this was only a mild form of pressure, but there is no doubt that harsher methods were sometimes used. When the success of a Schulrat was judged by the number of Party members he obtained, it is easy to understand what conditions of service in the schools were like. On the other hand, there were many who did not need pressure to be exerted on them. There were those who were eager to join the Party. Most often they were teachers of poor quality, who could never have got very far on their qualifications. It is more regrettable that many who were qualified teachers joined the Party in the beginning to ensure for themselves the promotions they had looked forward to, and which they would not have attained had they not joined the Nazi Party.

## 2. DESIRE TO RETAIN JOBS FOR FAMILY REASONS

From the questionnaires, it was evident that all married men with families offered little resistance, and joined the Party, in order to carry on with their means of livelihood. Their cases can best be understood by putting the question, "What would teachers of other nationalities have done in similar circumstances?" It is of course, easy to say that a teacher with any principles would not have joined the Nazi Party, or associated himself with it in any way whatsoever. In Norway, a stronger profession of teachers faced imprisonment and torture



rather than submit. But, perhaps, the conditions were not exactly comparable. In Norway the pressure was from a conquering nation, whilst in Germany it was internal and exerted by the dominant political party. Who are we to judge who have not experienced a similar situation, whose reality cannot be adequately appreciated from books and verbal reports? Teachers, along with the majority of Germans in other professions, marched with the Nazi Party.

3. The most commendable are those who wished to stay at their posts and thus prevent more ardent Nazis from taking over. It is believed that in many cases, this was a genuine reason. In small ~~xxxxx~~ village schools this was often the case: in such cases the explanation was borne out by lack of activity in Party affairs. It may also be said, that, when one has seen some of the real Nazi types, one can better understand the case of those teachers who stuck to their posts.

4. It is rather an indication of the poor calibre of many teachers, that there were some who joined "without consideration", and some who blindly obeyed the orders of their superiors. In any case, one could hardly say that to join "without reason" was a reason for joining.

The personal interviews with the teachers confirmed the evidence of these figures. On the whole, the people who joined the Nazi Party were very weak characters. Of two hundred interviewed, there was only one whom one might call a strong character. He had openly

resisted the Nazis for years, and had been often questioned by the Gestapo. His own brother had been shot before his eyes. It was not till 1940, under very severe pressure that he joined the Party. He was subsequently removed from it for not being very "active". The Party gave him up as hopeless.

One expects a teacher to have strong principles, which he is prepared to stand by. The majority had not considered the implications of Nazi ideas. As a group of people their quality was very poor, and one must think very hard before deciding to entrust them with the education of German children. How can children be taught to think for themselves, and stand by their principles, when their teachers are not capable of so doing? What respect can a child have for a teacher who is so weak?. Even if one accepts the excuses they offered for joining the Nazi Party, there is no denying that, by joining the Party and carrying out its orders blindly, they helped to debase the standards of German education, and trained the children in accordance with the requirements of the Fuehrer. By their mere presence in the classroom during the twelve years of Nazidom they are condemned.

The above findings and conclusions are the result of private research by the writer. Obviously, the highest authorities of Military Government had investigated the question of Nazi political activities in relation to teachers when preparing their plans for the occupation of

Germany. It is of value, therefore, to study at this stage the directives issued by Military Government, which were the basis of teacher selection. For use in the initial stages of the occupation, three lists were prepared. The people included in each list are given below: only those categories are mentioned which were met with in Regierungsbezirk Aachen.

THE BLACK LIST (see Appx I for terms)

- (a) Present or past administrative officials of all grades in the NS Lehrerbund, the NS Dozentenbund, and the NSD Studentenbund, together with any persons who have at any time held the office of Dozentenfuhrer or Studentenfuhrer in a University.
- (b) Present or past administrative leaders of the NSDAP of the rank of Ortsgruppenleiter or higher.
- (c) Present or past members of the SS, other than conscripts to the Waffen SS.
- (d) Present or past officers of the SA, the NSKK, the NSFK of the rank of Sturmbannfuhrer or higher.
- (e) Present or past leaders of the HJ or BDM.

THE GREY LIST - persons against whom there are reasonable positive grounds of suspicion.

- (a) Schulrats of all grades and educational administrative officials of the rank of Regierungsrat or higher, who entered the educational administrative service under the National Socialist regime.

- (b) Teachers in all types of schools who held or have held the office of Jugendwarter, or, after, 1937, Vertrauenslehrer.
- (c) Headmasters and headmistresses of secondary schools, and heads of institutions for adult education, who were appointed to their present offices under the National Socialist regime.
- (d) Headmasters and headmistresses of schools of all other types who were appointed to their present offices under the National Socialist regime.
- (e) University professors, Directors of institutes and curators of universities, who were appointed to their present offices under the National Socialist regime.
- (f) Present or past administrative officials of all grades of the following National Socialist professional organisations:- NS Artzebund, NS Rechtswahrerbund, NS Reichsbund fur Leibesübungen, Reichsbund der deutschen Beamten.
- (g) Members of the NSDAP.
- (h) Present or past commissioned officers of the ~~NSDAP~~.
- (i) SA, the NSFK, and the NSKK below the rank of Sturmbannführer.
- (j) Persons who in their public speeches or writings have actively and voluntarily propagated National Socialism, militarism or racialism.
- (k) Other persons against whom there are positive grounds of suspicion.

THE WHITE LIST

This was composed of the names of persons inside Germany, whose character, professional standing, experience and political reliability rendered them suitable to be placed in positions of responsibility, and in particular, to act:-

- (a) as temporary educational administrators
- (b) as acting Rectors of Universities
- (c) as acting Heads of Teachers' Training Colleges.

This was the basic plan on which to work. As a result of the Potsdam agreement a more detailed directive was produced. It allowed that if a person had left the Party or its organisations for anti-Nazi reasons, that person could be employed. Persons were placed in four categories:-

- (a) Compulsory arrest
- (b) Mandatory dismissal
- (c) Discretionary removal
- (d) No objection to employment.

There were none in the first category met with among the teachers of Regierungsbezirk Aachen. The principal types met in (b) were those teachers who had been officials in the NS Lehrerbund. The majority proved on investigation, that they had only held nominal office: in some cases the office consisted in collecting union subscriptions from the members of the school staff. Where this was proved to

be the only activity, teachers were re-admitted to their appointments.

The other big group under (b) was composed of past leaders of the HJ and BDM. Military Government took the view that the Nazi youth movement played a big part in spreading Nazi ideas, and that anybody who was a leader therein could not be trusted in the field of education. Hence, there was no 'let out clause' for them at all, and no appeal. It early became evident that this was an unsatisfactory ruling. One found that in many villages, the teacher had taken on the leadership of the group at the request of the priest and the parents in order that a "real" Nazi should not be drafted to the village. As a result of this rule, several village schools were unable to re-open because the teacher had been previously been a leader, often of the lowest rank in the HJ or BDM. It was the girls' youth movement which was most affected in this way. Even if one says that even a person of the lowest rank can do a great deal of harm with the young people entrusted to their guidance, one must agree that these cases deserve closer personal investigation, and the fate of the teacher should not be left entirely to an arbitrary decision.

This ruling was also unjust in another way. It prevented boys and girls, who had been junior leaders in the HJ and BDM, when in their 'teens from becoming teachers. Thus, the teaching profession lost those who

were, in some cases, natural leaders. One cannot hold it for ever against a youth that he held junior rank in the Hitler Youth Movement when he was fourteen years of age. At least it seems a very unfair thing to do. In the summer of 1946, Dr. Grimme, former Reich Minister of Education before 1933, proposed that a general amnesty be given for youth who had been minor leaders in the HJ and BDM. No doubt a satisfactory solution will be arrived at.

The discretionary removal category was made up chiefly of those who were in the NSDAP before 1939. Before a decision was made in their case, the opinion of the School Council was considered.

By adhering to the last directive it was possible to obtain sufficient teachers to cater for all the children in Germany, provided the hours of schooling were less than they were in 1939. If former Party members had not been re-employed there would have been insufficient teachers to carry on. This was realised in July, 1945 and permission was given for former Party teachers who had not been active in Party affairs to resume their teaching duties. It would appear, therefore, that the problem of education in Germany resolved itself into the question, "Is it better to have all the children at school with unsuitable teachers, or is it better to employ only those who were not in the Nazi Party, and thus make thousands of children forego their schooling?"

High authority decided on the former, and thus teachers who had not been active members of the Nazi Party were allowed to teach once more.

There is an interesting factor in support of this conclusion. Of the fifty teachers referred to earlier, who were not members of the Nazi Party (Class 1), 84% were women. Of the fifty Party members (Class 2), only 22% were women. Further evidence of this was seen in the early days, when only non-Party members were allowed to teach: it was discovered that in Stadtkreis Aachen, 86% of the approved teachers were women, and in Landkreis Aachen 75%. It is obviously undesirable that women should form such a high percentage of the teachers. After admitting Party teachers, the proportion of males was increased considerably. Thus, by January 1946, there were 45% male and 55% female teachers employed in Regierungsbezirk Aachen. In November 1946, the proportion was 47% male and 53% female.

Not all the newly admitted teachers, however, were Party members. The following figures give the relative proportions of Party and non-Party teachers.

	<u>Oct 1945</u>	<u>Feb 1946</u>
(a) Number of non-Party teachers approved.	421 (64%)	839 (58%)
(b) Number of Party teachers approved.	76 (11%)	367 (25%)
(c) Number of teachers NOT approved.	164 (25%)	240 (17%)



Figures could not be found, giving the proportion of the 2400 Aachen teachers (1939) who had been members of the Nazi Party, and from the statistics available it is not possible to build up as complete a picture as one would like. Of the 2400 elementary school teachers in Regierung-sbezirk Aachen in 1939, only 1786 had been presented by February 1946. By that date, 1446 fragebogen had been dealt with, and 340 were still being investigated by Special Branch. The absence of fragebogen for the remainder of the pre-war staff, can only be accounted for by the following explanations:-

- (a) Some teachers were so unsuitable politically, that the German authorities had not forwarded their fragebogen. At the same time, such teachers had in some cases, thought it unwise to complete a fragebogen.
- (b) Many teachers were evacuated from the area during the war, and had not yet returned.
- (c) Many were prisoners of war and war casualties.

One can, however, draw an interesting conclusion from the 1786 fragebogen presented and investigated up to February 1946. 839 non-Party teachers had been admitted, representing a percentage of 58%. For Germany, as a whole, it was estimated at the time of occupation that 80% ~~was~~ of the teachers were members of the Nazi Party. For Regierungs-bezirk Aachen, the percentage could not possibly have been

more than 66%. Of the 1786 fragebogen received, approximately 800 were from ex-Party members i.e. 44%. This would indicate that there was not such a high percentage of Nazi Party members in Regierungsbezirk Aachen, as had been estimated for the teachers as a whole throughout Germany.

By February, 1946, 17% of the teachers whose fragebogen had been received, had been rejected. There were still 340 fragebogen being investigated. The figures for November, 1946, when all fragebogen had been investigated (other than for a few returning teachers) showed that 28% of the teachers were rejected.

This percentage would appear to be general throughout the British Zone, as the following figures circulated by Education Branch of the Control Commission for Germany, in January 1946, indicate. It should be noted that in other parts of the British Zone, all fragebogen were collected in the first instance, and there was no School Council procedure. Hence, the figures give almost a complete picture.

	<u>Accepted</u>	<u>Rejected</u>	<u>% Rejected</u>
RB COLOGNE	2409	802	24%
RB DÜSSELDORF	5864	2604	30%
RB AURICH	842	261	23%
RB HANNOVER	1386	531	27%
RB LUNEBURG	2370	640	22%
RB OSNABRUCK	1149	333	22%
RB STEDT	1132	370	24%
<u>RB AACHEN</u>	<u>1175</u>	<u>459</u>	<u>28%</u>

It is apparent, therefore, that there will be a great shortage of teachers, for some considerable time. Furthermore, many who have been admitted bear the Nazi Party taint, and many will take a long time to outlive their experiences during the Nazi years. It was obvious from teachers' meetings that the Nazis had succeeded in deadening the interest which many teachers once had in their profession. The problem becomes more serious when one considers the age of the teachers. In five representative Kreise, the following were the age groups of 164 teachers chosen at random.

Over 60 years of age.....	24
50-60 years of age.....	72
40-50 years of age.....	60
30-40 years of age.....	6
20-30 years of age.....	2

There is a serious shortage of teachers under 40 years of age. Are those that are available of the type which is needed to lead the youth of Germany? The survey, which has been made in this chapter would indicate that the prospects are not bright. It would appear that younger teachers are needed, but probably they would be much more nazified than the older ones: it is pertinent to quote once more from Professor Howard Becker who said.. "I should be inclined to say that not more than a dozen or two out of every hundred

Germans in their middle or even early twenties are significantly lacking in zeal for the Nazi value-system and all its works." (2). Realising the shortage of teachers, a system of pupil-teachers was introduced in Regierungsbezirk Aachen in June 1945. Parents, however, expressed the view very strongly that they would rather have the older teachers, even if Party members, than the younger learners. The problem is truly complex. It is perfectly clear, however, that there must be new, young teachers trained by the best educators, and at the same time there must be a re-training of the older teachers. What is more, the problem is urgent. The immediate years are the most vital, and the task of eliminating the pernicious ideas which were given to the youth of Germany throughout twelve years must be begun straight away.

Before giving a final judgement, however, it is intended to study what is being done in the schools. The conditions of the schools are known, and the qualities of the teachers. What progress are they making? This will be the subject of the next chapter.

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(1) Information obtained from statements signed on oath by German teachers.

(2) Howard Becker. "German Youth: Bond or Free" Kegan Paul 1946..p.224.

Note. All statistics, with the exception of those on p. 61 were obtained through the writer's own research.

THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

It is the purpose of this chapter to show what sort of curriculum the Germans introduced into the Elementary schools in Regierungsbezirk Aachen: it is also intended to show in what way, if any, it differed from previous curricula.

The preparation of the curriculum was left entirely to the Germans, although what they submitted had to be approved by Military Government. It is emphasised that no guidance was given, whatsoever, other than telling them that they could not teach History and Geography. Each education official had to sign a certificate presented to him by Military Government, which stated clearly what he was not allowed to do. Head teachers signed a similar certificate in which they said they would not use text-books not approved by Military Government, nor would they teach militarism. Full details of this certificate are given at Appx IV. One might think that such an attitude was purely negative, but it was in keeping with Military Government policy to allow the Germans to work things out for themselves. It was felt that the Germans appointed to the senior official positions were capable of producing curricula which would place German schools on a new basis. Before discussing the actual content of the curriculum it is intended to show

the allocation of subjects in elementary schools  
at the following times:-

- (a) 1904..(Frankfort)
- (b) 1937-44..Regierungsbezirk Aachen
- (c) 1945.     Regierungsbezirk Aachen.

(A) LEHRPLAN(Syllabus of Instruction) FRANKFORT PRIMARY  
BOYS SCHOOL (1)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
Religion	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	24
German	10	8	8	7	8	9	8	58
Object Lessons	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	4
Arithmetic	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	29
Mensuration	..	..	..	..	2.	2.	3	7
History			)	1	2	2	2	7
Geography			)2	2	2	2	2	8
Natural History			)	2	2	2	2	8
Science	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
Writing	..	2	2	2	2	..	..	8
Drawing	..	1	2	2	2	2	2	11
Singing	..	..	2	2	2	2	2	10
Physical Exercises	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Hours.	.22	22	26	28	32	32	32	170

(B) LEHRPLAN OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS-REGIERUNGSBEZIRK AACHEN1937-1944

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	T
Physical Training	..	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	30
(Reading	(								
German	7	11	12	13	7	7	6	7	74
(Writing	(								
Folklore	4								
History-Civics	..	..	..	..	2	2	3	3	10
Geography	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	2	8
Natural History	..	..	..	..	3	3	4	4	14
Music	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Crafts { Drawing	..	..	2	2	3	3	3	3	16
{ Handwork									
Arithmetic	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	30
Geometry	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	4
Religious Instruction	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	15
Total:	18	21	25	27	30	30	32	32	225

Note: Length of periods ...50 minutes.

(C) LEHRPLAN OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. REGIERUNGSBEZIRK AACHEN1945/6

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
German (including Folklore)	..	9	10	11	7	7	7	7	58
English	..	..	..	..	2	2	3	4	11
Arithmetic and Geometry	..	4	4	5	4	5	5	5	32
Geography	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	2	8
Natural Science	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	2	8
Music	..	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Drawing and Handwork	..	..	2	2	2	2	3	3	14
Physical Training	..	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	15
Religious Instruction..	..	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	21
Writing	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	6
Totals:		22	25	28	26	27	29	30	187

## Notes:-

- (a) Children of Form I receive a general instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic.
- (b) Periods are of one hour each.
- (c) Number of periods in each case is for one week.



Summarising, it is seen that the number of "school hours" per week is as follows:-

1904.....170

1937/44...179

1945/6....205

The 1904 figures, however, are only for 7 forms: to get a truer comparison it is essential <sup>to add</sup> the weekly number of hours in the then highest class of the school..viz 32 hours.

The figures then become:-

1904.....202

1937/44..179

1945/6...205

Two points are distinctly clear. First, that the Nazis cut the number of "school hours" considerably ; this was to allow more time for the Hitler Youth Movement. Second, that the officials of 1945 planned to use school time to the full.

It is also observed that the 1945 Lehrplan shows a complete swing over from the Nazi emphasis on physical training. The number of hours devoted to it are as under:-

1904.....14

1937/44.....30

1945/6.....15

Similarly, increased importance was given to religious instruction. Under the Nazis there were only 15 hours per week; this was increased to 21 hours.

It is perhaps significant that physical training occupied first place on the Nazi Lehrplan, and religious instruction the last place. It is perhaps equally significant, that the new plan reverses the order.

A change worthy of note, and perhaps occasioned by circumstances, is the teaching of English in the higher forms of the elementary school. There was no foreign language at all in the Nazi plan. Presumably this was included to please the occupying power; no doubt French is taught in the French Zone and Russian in the Russian Zone of Occupation.

It needs to be added, however, that it was not always possible to comply with the Lehrplan given on P.67. Indeed full compliance was the exception rather than the rule. The shift system in the schools prevented the realisation of a full working week. The time-table for Hahnbrucher School in Aachen (see p.70) gives a more exact picture of what was actually achieved in the first year that schools were open. Teaching was limited by the absence of school text books and writing books: it was almost wholly confined, therefore, to Religious Instruction (by the priests), German language and Arithmetic. It will be noted that at Hahnbrucher School, there was no Physical Training at all. This was a common state of affairs and was due to the destruction of gymnasias, but more so to the absence of young men capable of teaching the subject.

LEHRPLAN OF HAHNBRUCHER SCHOOL, AACHEN 1945/6"SHIFT SYSTEM"

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Religious Instr.	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	23
German	5	5	5	7	8	8	8	8	54
Folklore	..	..	2	2	1	1	1	3	10
Natural History	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	4
Arithmetic	4	5	4	4	5	5	5	6	38
Music	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Drawing	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	5
Needlework	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Physical Training	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
-----									
Totals.	12	13	15	18	20	20	20	25	143

## Notes:-

- (a) periods are for a week and are of 50 minutes each.
- (b) note that of the small amount of time available, most is given to the older children, which is most desirable.

In the desire to know what is being taught in the schools it is also necessary to consider the syllabus of instruction . Full details of the Nazi and post-Nazi syllabus of work are given in Appx V. Close scrutiny reveals that there is very little difference between the two. The content of the German, Arithmetic and Music courses would appear to be the same, but how far can a syllabus be taken as an accurate guide to what was actually taught?. The Nazi syllabus gives no idea at all of what went on in the schools in their time. It is therefore, necessary to conclude that not much light can be shed on the problem by syllabi.

Probably, the only sound way of knowing what is taught in the schools is to spend some time in them. Even this method has its drawbacks in a foreign country. One is therefore compelled to consider the educational directives and the books used in the schools.

German directives for teaching subjects help one to understand what a curriculum does not reveal. As an example, the following passage is quoted from the official Nazi teachers' Manual and Guide, "Erziehung und Unterricht" (2)

"The main topic for the history teacher should be the German nation with its Germanic characteristics and its ~~splendid~~ grandeur, its fateful struggle for inner and outer self-expression.

"Out of the faith of the National Socialistic movement in the future of the German nation has arisen a

new understanding of the German past. History instruction must be based on this living faith, it must fill our youth with the realisation that it belongs to a nation which of all European nations has suffered longest and most severely, before it was unified, but which today can face the future with confidence. This kind of instruction will open to our youth the most noble aspect of our past, which, in turn, will deepen our feeling of our own worthiness and our greatness....The principles of race distinction teach us not only to recognise the fundamental characteristics of our nation, but offer the key to universal world history."

In other words, history is not a study of the past, but an artificial construction of events to justify the Nazi present.

The following literal report of a typical history lesson (3) , also shows what a curriculum and syllabus hide. The teacher begins by asking,

"Who is the most important and the most noble human being in the world today.?"

The class screams in unison, "Der Fuehrer"

"What must we do to our Fuehrer?"

"We must love and revere him," they all shout.

"Why must every German girl thank God on her knees every night?"

"Because he has given us the Fuehrer."

"Why has God given us the Fuehrer?"

"To save us"

"From what has the Fuehrer saved us?"

"From ruin."

"What else?"

"From the rest of the world"

"What is the Fuehrer?"

"He is the saviour of Germany."

"Yes, the Fuehrer is our saviour. He has made Germany again strong and respected. He has made Germany the most powerful nation, so that we can protect Germans everywhere. What has he given us?"

"The strongest army in the world"

"What else?"

"The strongest air force."

"We must thank God for the Fuehrer"

"What is the greatest dream of every German girl?"

"To see the Fuehrer", the girls shout.

"What is an even greater dream than that?"

"To touch the Fuehrer's hand", boys and girls shout."

A study of school books and school films also helps to build up the picture of the schools under the Nazis; it is important to study this, in order to be better able to compare what is being done now. School books were so tainted that very few could be used again in 1945. Even in arithmetic, problems had a military bias, and reading

books encouraged the military side of life. The quality and content of German school books under the Nazis are so well known that it is not intended to dwell on them here. They are of no use for the future, and, therefore, more space will be devoted to what type of school book is being produced now.

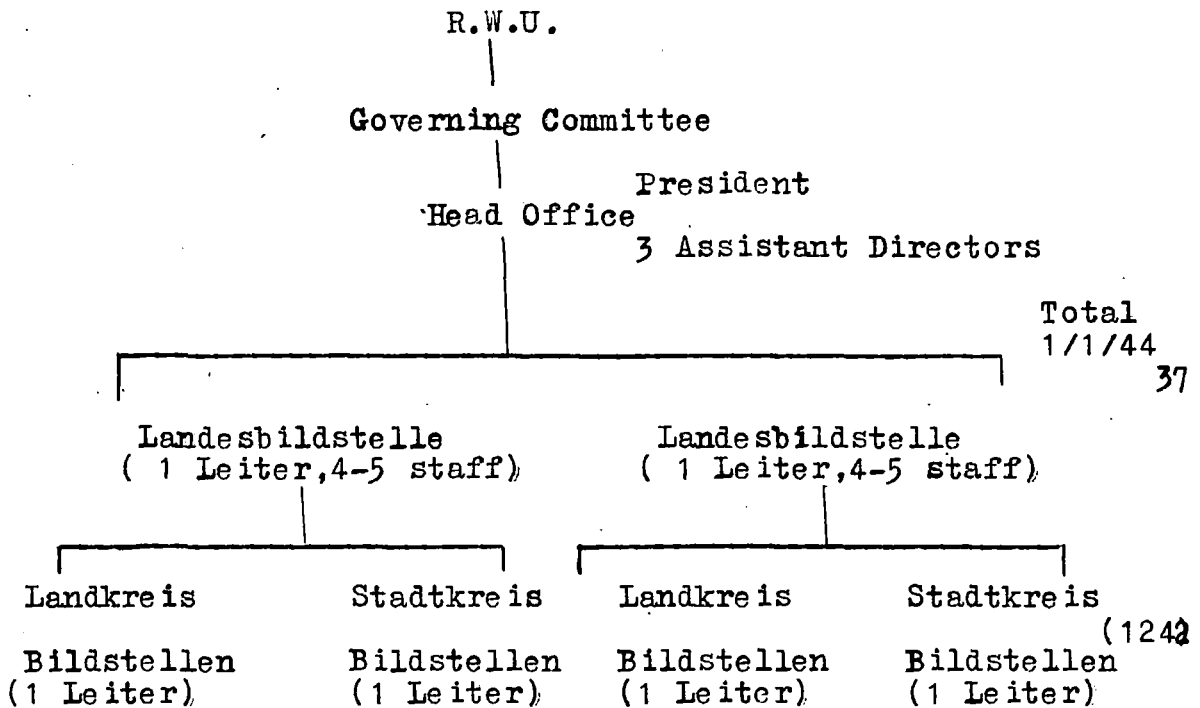
It is thought, however, that school films deserve more detailed attention, for, not till the British Film Institute produced its report on German Educational Films was much known about them. This report was produced at the request of the Audio-Visual Aids Commission of the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education. (4)

The writer had the opportunity of reviewing scores of the films mentioned in the report.

Films were greatly used in German schools before the war, and in 1939, 79% of the teachers in Germany were said to have received some form of training in the use of films. (4) It could not be said that so many English teachers are similarly trained. Even though films were much used there were surprisingly fewer propaganda films than might have been expected. The films were primarily instructional and not propagandist in approach; only 13% of the films viewed could be excluded on the grounds that they were tendentious (further 10% would need to have shots of Nazi flags etc cut before they might be acceptable). (5)

The reason for this is difficult to understand. The R.W.U.

The R.W.U. (Reichsanstalt für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft ~~und~~ Unterricht,) meaning National Institute for Films and Pictures in Learning and Teaching, was the central film producing body. It was a semi-private Limited Company, functioning <sup>r</sup> virtually as a Department of the German Ministry of Education. It was the head of the organisation shown below:



Over all this organisation there was a Governing Committee, made up of representatives of various Education authorities, under the chairmanship of a permanent official of the Ministry of Education. There was also a representative of the Ministry of Propaganda, appointed by Goebels, and of the NSDAP and the National Socialist Teachers Union.. The



Committee was only nominal and met very seldom. The President was a member of the Nazi Party. All letters at lower levels received their appointments through the Ministry of Education, and were thus controlled by the Nazi Party.

In view of these facts, it is surprising that not more propaganda films were produced. The British Film Institute reviewing panel saw 175 films( catalogue for Primary and Secondary Schools contained 275). There were 137 viewers, and hence the final judgement as to what was a propaganda film and what not can be taken as sound. It should be added, however, that the reviewers were not in possession of the teachers' notes which might have contained propaganda. Probably, the semi-private organisation of the R.W.U. enabled it to maintain some semblance of independence, and the fact that it produced silent films enabled it to escape the immediate control of the Ministry of Propaganda, which controlled all sound films.

The fact that so few contain propaganda does not indicate, however, that the remainder of the films will be suitable for use now. The organisation for film distribution is still intact, and no doubt many of the 45,346 film projectors which existed in 1944, still remain. (6)  
Even so, the conclusion reached by the Report of the British Film Institute suggests that there is little in

the films which is likely to be of much use. The report  
 (7)  
 says,

"In general, the selection of topics under the subject headings is rather limited, and in many cases does not include what are here generally considered essential subjects: the impression is created that expediency, and not a balanced selection, has been the controlling factor. For example, almost three quarters of the Geography films deal with some aspect of Germany: this is understandable (though not acceptable to the modern teacher of Geography), but they do not give a comprehensive, representative picture of modern German life and activity. The Science films are more comprehensive in scope, but here again there are many omissions. Over 40% of the films on Technical subjects and Craft deal with peasant crafts. Almost all the Physical Education films show Sports only, and none deal with the training of girls. The five History films are purely propagandist, and even so only deal with one frontier."

Summarising so far, it has been seen that:-

- (a) the Lehrplan and the syllabus of instruction are of little help in one's attempt to discover the content of German Elementary School education of the period after the end of the 1939-45 war.
- (b) educational directives issued by the Nazi Ministry of Education, verbatim reports of lessons, school books and films are a clearer guide to the content

of education under the Nazis, and from a consideration of these it is thought most likely that one will be able to obtain an idea of what is being done in the schools now. Attention will therefore be given to :

- (a) educational directives after 1945
- (b) school books after 1945
- (c) school films after 1945.

Since the occupation of the British Zone by ~~the~~ this country, there has been no directive issued to the German educational authorities which one could call 'positive'. There has been no firm direction comparable to that which the Nazis excelled in. The first directive given to the Education Control Officers (SHAEF Handbook for Control of Germany) was "to de-nazify and de-militarise the German education system." "To de-nazify" was purely a question of organisation, and "to de-militarise" was taken to mean the prevention of certain practices in schools. Probably, it was thought that in the early stages ~~that~~ it would be sufficient to purge the teaching profession and prepare the structure of the educational system. Directives as to the content and aims of education were singularly lacking. It was directed that History and Geography should not be taught, but that once more was purely 'negative'. Education Control Officers assumed that the aim was to establish schools which would fit into a democratic country: they conceived the content

of education as being similar to our own. The Germans too, thought in terms of education within a democratic country, even though they were not at the time enjoying a democratic system of government. They looked back to the pre-1933 days, and, in the absence of specific directives from the British administration, ~~seek~~ sought their guidance in the period of the Weimar Republic.

As the Germans are to do their own programme of re-education, it is necessary therefore, to study the ideas of the educationists responsible for it. This will be the best guide as to what is to be intended as the content and form of education. Before considering the views of educationists within Regierungsbezirk, however, two points must be emphasised.

(1) Conditions of 1945 differed considerably from those of 1918. In 1918, the country was not occupied to the same extent, and central government was retained. Educational directives flowed from the Central Government, and the need for change was not so readily appreciated.

(2) In 1945, direction came not from a Central Government, but from the educational officials within each Regierungsbezirk. It followed that direction would be more related to actual conditions, be full of desire for change and be more genuine.

This time there have been no bold pronouncements on education, such as were issued by the Weimar Republic but, probably this is a good thing. The constitution of the Weimar Republic (Section 148) stated:-

"In every school, the educational aims must be moral training, education in citizenship, personal and vocational efficiency and, above all, the cultivation of German national character and of the spirit of international reconciliation."

"In public school teaching care is to be taken not to wound the feelings and susceptibilities of those holding different opinions."

When he quotes this section, Louis Nizer (8) says

"The Prussian teachers, particularly, found the "cultivation of German national character" and "the spirit of international reconciliation" incompatible. When they were required to teach Section 148, they commented to their classes: "This is a very nice ideal and it may be that some day in the future we can educate our youth in such a spirit. As long, however, as French coloured troops are quartered on our German Rhine, we cannot even talk about international reconciliation." Is it not too much to presume that now, when the aims are being expressed by the people who have to fulfil them, there will be a more genuine effort?."

The views of the educational officials of Regierungsbezirk Aachen were heard by the writer in a series of conferences organised by him. Brief reports of the speeches of three of them are given as an indication of what is conceived as the aim and content of the new education.

At the first conference, the Schulrat of Duren spoke on, "The damage done by National Socialism to Teaching, and the Remedy." He said;-

"The Nazis had supported the theory that Might shall prevail over Right and Force over Reason. The Nazis encouraged the bully and the braggart: there was violation of moral law. People were turned from worshipping God to worshipping the Fuehrer. The Germans who are so apt to obey, were made to obey the Party. The Home, the Church and the School were held in disrespect, and only the Party was of any significance. The Party preached that other nations were inferior, and would deny them the right to exist as free countries. Life became corrupt and ethical standards were lowered. Violation of agreements, lies and domineering hollow phrases were the accepted thing"

Against this background, he attempted to suggest the approach of the teacher, under ten headings.

"(1) Children must get an insight into world affairs.

(2) Teachers must be beyond blame; by their example

are the Germans of tomorrow determined. Teachers must be honest and just in their treatment of pupils.

- (3) In sport and games, there should be a correct appreciation of bodily development, and from games children should learn fairness.
- (4) Children should find the right and proper things of life: they should learn the truth and stand by it
- (5) The soldier ideal, so long taught in German schools must go.
- (6) There must be a reversion to religion. Religious holidays should be given their real significance and not be regarded merely as interruptions of school lessons.
- (7) There should be respect for others, and a new training in good manners, which sunk so low under the Nazis.
- (8) There should be respect of the property of others. In the past thieving has been very prevalent.
- (9) The children should be encouraged to tell the truth, and learn humility, which does not mean being considered unworthy, but having the courage to serve and assist others.
- (10) There should be a greater knowledge of other peoples, and their achievements and qualities should be respected. At the same time, the teacher should treat the pupils as individuals, and note

and encourage their individual qualities."

For the implementation of these aims, the speaker stressed:-

- (a) the teacher should acknowledge the capabilities of each child."
- (b) the schoolroom should be a happy place, in which the children would have freedom and would find good companions.
- (c) the children should be given responsible duties, and they should be encouraged to express their views, which should be considered fairly by the teacher. One would thus hope to produce a child capable of thinking for himself and standing on his own feet."

Comment will be withheld till after the other two speeches have been mentioned. The educational officials realised the need to train the children so that they would be independent in their views and not easily swayed by others. This formed the basis of the second discussion. The Schulrat of Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg said:-

"The school was as guilty as any other department for the ruin which had overtaken Germany. The teachers, as state officials, merely did as they were told, but they had failed by not resisting the instructions. They were the products of a system. Future progress depended on the family and the teacher. The keystone is the family, which plays, perhaps, a more important part than the teacher



The second foundation stone of the new edifice was the teacher. In the past, the teacher had had no freedom. The Nazi state encroached into the school syllabus, and directed the ideas of the teacher. The teacher now, must show that he is capable, fit and willing to perform the new duties demanded of him, and also show by example, the qualities which it is desired to inculcate into the children. In conformity with the "Impressionists", he stressed the importance of the teacher's character and attitude, which would affect the pupil more than anything else - much more than his formal teaching.

"This will be difficult of achievement. The teacher in Germany considers himself first and foremost as an official of the state. He has the whole authority of the state behind him. One notices an authoritarian attitude in the classroom. The teacher of the future must be respected for what he is and not for what he represents.

There must be a new approach to child activities. There should be joy in play. There must be none of the games which have a militaristic basis. It is said that German children are born soldiers: this is not so - they are made to be and brought up as soldiers. This should not be any more.

There must be interest. Children will only enjoy things they have created themselves, or which they themselves think are valuable and practicable.

School subjects must be related to the things of life, familiar to the child. Interest, rather than cramming should be the aim.

The teacher must alter his approach. The child must be given small tasks in the school, and they should contribute more to the lessons, thus increasing their sense of responsibility and their integrity. We Germans are used to thinking that the weaker appreciates and respects the stronger; now we must learn that the stronger must assist the weaker. To this end, the teacher must help the children."

The third speaker, Oberregierungsrat and Ober-schulrat Kappertz (Deputy Director of Education) spoke on the "Practical Schools". He instanced them as a means of encouraging initiative and individuality. Because of those very qualities they had been suppressed by the Nazis in 1933, in the same way as Montessori methods had been suppressed by Mussolini, in Italy. He considered that they would have a big part to play in achieving the following three aims.

- (a) the striving for the highest ideas and ideals
- (b) wakening of bodily and mental ability.
- (c) social and moral betterment.

Summarising, it can be said that,

- (1) German education officials are fully alive to the

problem of re-education. They appreciate the lowering of ethical standards during the Nazi times, and realise that their restoration is one of their first tasks.

- (2) They appreciate that the home will be a major factor in re-education. It is of such importance that one would be inclined to say that re-education of parents is the most urgent problem in Germany.
- (3) They appreciate that re-education is impossible without a change of heart of the teacher. It is the opinion of the writer that this is the root of the matter, and will be given further attention in the following chapters. They accept guilt, and set a high standard for what is needed. This is a good sign for the future.
- (4) Emphasis on the child is stressed. They are aware of the importance of play, interest and practical activities. In fact, their ideas are in keeping with those expounded by the late Sir Percy Nunn, and which English educationists seek to implement. The attainment of individuality and the creation of a school environment which offers the child freedom to develop in accordance with his ability are uppermost in the minds of Germans now charged with the task of re-education.

Appreciation of the problem and general ideas as to method, are, however, only part of the matter. Ideas must be put into practice. Are the Germans capable of doing this? Probably, the leading educationists are,

but the assistant teacher is in the dark, and he must have guidance before there can be any change in the content of education in the schools. They do not know what is required of them. After twelve years of direction they hesitate. It is above all necessary for the Germans who have a realistic outlook of the new education, to write books and articles so that help can be given to the teacher. The Chief Education Official for Regierungsbezirk Aachen, spent several years before the collapse of Germany preparing a book for teachers, which he knew would be needed some day. It dealt with the teaching of subjects in the Elementary school. More along these lines is needed. One might suggest that probably the British administration should come forward with something comparable to our "Handbook of Suggestions" No doubt it would satisfy an urgent need, and policy is that the Germans should work out their own scheme of re-education. There are a few who are capable, but it will be a slow process.

Probably a quicker way to help the teacher and provide the right content of education is to produce sufficient quantities of suitable school-books. Here again, however, there are few practical results to report, and generally the schools are managing without guidance from new books. It is because they have an important part to play in the re-education of Germany, ~~but~~ that the following brief account is given of development so far.

It was decided before the fall of Germany, that only books produced in Germany by Germans could be used for the purpose of re-education. This is sound in so far ~~as it goes~~ that no nation welcomes books forced on it by another nation, especially a conquering one. That is generally true, but it is felt that in the case of Germany, which has been denied outside ideas for so long, there is a genuine desire for outside assistance. The adoption of the above policy meant that pre-1933 books had to be considered for re-printing in order to fill the gap till new books were available. Accordingly a search was made by the British and Americans for pre-Nazi textbooks. A collection of about 200 books was discovered in the library of Columbia University, and some 60 books in the library of the Ministry of Education. The books in America were micro-filmed and examined. The result was that six books<sup>1</sup> for the Unterstufe of the Volkshule were selected by the British and Americans. The rest of the books were found to be unsuitable.

After the capture of Aachen, measures were taken to get the selected books printed at Aachen, and some 40,000 books were printed and distributed in the Aachen area. Aachen, however, could not produce books for the whole British Zone, and other means had to be sought. This was no mean task; Allied bombing had put a large proportion of the printing presses out of action, and there was no central control of existing stocks of paper.

In these circumstances, it was hoped to use some existing books. Education authorities were asked which books they possessed in good numbers, and they were asked to forward them to Control Commission HQ for scrutiny. The work of 'vetting' these books was slow owing to the shortage of staff. But the scrutiny of these books has shown that a purge of Nazi textbooks alone is not sufficient. Even before 1933, German children were being brought up on distorted history books, on Arithmetic books which encouraged aggressive aims by including tables with population figures in the "German" provinces of Alsace and Lorraine (to give one example only), on Geography books which emphasised the "Versailler DIKTAT", and on readers containing stories full of blood, violence, morbidity and sadism. (9)

One will, therefore, realise that progress was slow. It was in face of this situation that Text Book Section of Education Branch, Control Commission for Germany, redefined its task as not merely a vetting of existing books, but of new books to be written by Germans. "The Germans must be encouraged to write new books, they must be given all possible guidance and advice since they are still in a daze and do not know how to start. They must write new history books, new geography books, new readers new arithmetics. They must be encouraged to think for themselves, in order to prepare the grounds for true democracy." (10)

The outcome of this policy was the setting up of German textbook committees in each Province. In addition, a Central Text book Committee for the British Zone was established, consisting of 15 members, three from each of the four Provincial Committees and three from the committee of Hansestadt Hamburg. The three representatives from each committee consisted of one representative for Elementary Schools, one for Secondary Schools and one for Technical Schools.

The duties of the Central Committee were:

- (a) to vet all new books
- (b) to submit books approved to Education Branch of the Control Commission
- (c) to initiate the writing of new books
- (d) to decide on the priorities of books with a view to making the best use of paper available.

Do the Germans know what is required? As in the case of the content and method of education discussed by the Schulrats, it is equally felt that there are some Germans capable of the task. Evidence is in support of the fact that some educationists are fully <sup>capable</sup> aware of meeting the need, and their zeal indicates that they will succeed. The following authentic views of German authorities are given in support of this view. (circulated by Control Commission Germany, early 1946)

"The new reader must differ greatly from those of the last 70 years. During this time, German education had as a whole a political purpose. The readers became more and more collections of materials with political tendencies. In contrast, the new school must above all form and educate human beings in and for the community, each according to his individuality and talents."

"The reading material should be chosen from the point of view of awaking a feeling of reverence for the other world which was lost through the teaching of the Hitler Jugend. It should help to bring back the young to the religion from which they were alienated, and to the true values of Germanism which have been trampled under foot by un-German elements. (This is difficult to reconcile with the first quotation..must one go back beyond 70 years to find the "true values of Germanism"?2, whatever they are?) Inner sincerity, a true evaluation of humanity and a reverent union with the will of God should be the subjects of the chosen texts rather than the will-to-power, national egotism, and an idolisation of man, freed from all ties with God and dependent upon himself alone."

"In our new reading books we don't like to see hints at weapons and soldiers' play, even when it is out of Hans Andersens works."

"take more good and valuable subjects out of the life of the time, of the sphere of the home, of the town



of the professions, and work of grown ups; also out of the daily life of the child. Above all pieces breathing the new ideas of education for peace, freedom and the new order of peoples."

The plan is , therefore, for the Germans to write suitable school books; it is hoped that concurrently with this Germans will be using their powers to write books which will be of value to the teachers.

There remains to consider what part the films are playing in the new education. From the review of Nazi films which was made earlier in this chapter, it is apparent that there is very little of value to be handed on. The creation of new films will take longer than the preparation

of new books and therefore films will not be available for some time. This however is not such an adverse factor. School films are only an "aid" to teaching, and it is necessary for the teachers to get a broad conception of the new education first.

More immediate aim is being given by school broadcasts. They were restarted in Hamburg on 12th. November, 1945, programmes being relayed by Nord West Deutscher Rundfunk. Broadcasts offer immediate advantages: careful selection of material is possible; lessons can be given by the best teachers, radio dramatisation can not only enable an appreciation of the beauty of language but can make up for the shortage of the written word in

school text books and readers. In Aachen, development was slow because of the devastation of the schools and the lack of electricity supply and the shortage of radio sets. Even so, the situation will improve with time, and it is to be expected that school broadcasts will play an important part in the re-education of Germany.

One reaches the conclusion, therefore, that very little new constructive work is being done in the schools. There are sound ideas in the minds of German education officials, and it is likely that Germans will produce suitable school books, but so far difficulties of paper supply and communications have prevented much headway from being made. Progress will be slow. Probably most good can be done in the training of the new teachers and the re-training of the old. The next chapter will be devoted to a consideration of teacher training as the most profitable answer to the problem.

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- (1) "Notes on German Schools" William H. Winch M.A.  
Longman, Green and Co. 1904. p.48
  - (2) "What to do with Germany" Louis Nizer. Hamish Hamilton  
p. 127
  - (3) Ibid .p.129
  - (4) "Report on German Educational Films." The British  
Film Institute, 4 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1  
June 1946 .p.9

- (5) Ibid. p. 15
- (6) Ibid p.7 and based on information received in Germany.
- (7) Ibid .@.15
- (8) "What to do with Germany" Louis Nizer Hamish Hamilton  
1945. P. 124
- (9) Circular on the "Textbook Position", prepared by  
Education Branch, Control Commission for Germany.  
January 1946. Writting by the British officer  
responsible for reading and vetting German text  
books.
- (10) Ibid.

Note: All details of Lehrplan and syllabus of instruction,  
of the Nazi and post-war periods were obtained from  
the office of Stadt Aachen and Regierungsbezirk Aachen

Schulrat of Duren whose speech was qupted was Herr  
Hilgers, and for Geilenkirchen-Heimsberg, Herr Forster.

PART THREETHE TRAINING OF TEACHERSCHAPTER SEVENNEW TEACHERS

It has already been stressed that the German school system suffers from a paucity of suitable teachers, and those who are available are too old. One is therefore faced with the problem of recruiting new blood to the profession, and one immediately wonders whether newcomers will be forthcoming to a profession which offered poor prospects before the war, and which was allowed to sink to such a low academic level during the years of the Third Reich.

The fact that so many of the present day teachers are old, and that there are so few young ones, has its roots in the years immediately following the First World War. After the war of 1914-18, many young people whose studies had been interrupted by the war, decided to take up teaching and the Teacher Training Colleges provided for increased numbers. In addition, employment had to be found for teachers returning from lost German territories. These factors led to a surplus, and many young teachers had to wait eight, nine and even more years before being officially employed. During their years of waiting,

these prospective teachers worked in other employment, e.g in industry or administrative posts, with the result, that, when at last they started to teach they were well into their thirties. They were all registered on a waiting list, and were gradually called forward for employment as teachers. This situation obviously discouraged young recruits. Therefore, when the Third Reich came into being, the ranks of the teachers were already too full. When the Nazis degraded the teaching profession to a very low standing, it is obvious that there were few recruits. One has today, therefore, a profession with a lot of elderly people and very few young ones.

While it is agreed, that one must have new, young teachers, several grave problems at once become evident. A student of eighteen years of age would just have been of school age when the Nazis came into power in 1933. He would have imbibed all the Nazi theories of race, he would have received only one narrow and perverted interpretation of history, and his geography lessons would have been biased by German ideas of world domination. He would also have been a member of the Hitler Jugend, or, in the case of girls, the Bund Deutscher Madel. He would have known only one order, that created by the Nazis. Unless he had <sup>discerning</sup> ~~wise~~ parents, he would know no other way.

It was early realised in Regierungsbezirk Aachen that, there would not be sufficient teachers to carry on in the schools, if the strict standards laid down by Military Government were maintained. It was appreciated that the problem would have to be tackled immediately. To this end, courses for student teachers were organised throughout the area, with the following aims:-

(a) As a temporary measure, to make up in some degree for the lack of teachers.

(b) To provide some initial training for young persons who intended to take up the teaching profession.

As an experiment, it proved most successful. By the end of 1945, 186 'schoolhelpers', as they were called, had received training and were employed in schools. In November 1946, 242 schoolhelpers were employed. The small increase is accounted for by the fact that many who were trained subsequently went on to the Training College.

Its great value as an experiment is that it enabled intending teachers to find out for sure whether they really liked teaching. A teacher must have his heart in his work, and it is regrettable that many students elsewhere commence their academic training before having had any practical experience of their future job. Most of the 'schoolhelpers' were still keen to teach after some months experience under the most arduous of conditions. There were however, a few who realised that

teaching was not their 'métier'. As the Schulrat for Julich reported, "One young man has seen that his faculties are not sufficient for teaching and educating children. He has asked for his dismissal."

Of course, the advantages and disadvantages of the pupil teacher system with its preliminary practical work, have been long debated. It must be said, however, that in Aachen it proved its value. It eased a difficult problem of shortage of teachers, and helped considerably the students. Even for those who decided eventually not to become teachers, the time was not wasted; there were some in the Regierungsbezirk, who decided to go into law and medicine. They had, however, had an insight into school affairs which they would retain and would be invaluable to them as members of a democratic community.

The methods employed in the training and employment of 'schoolhelpers' varied from Kreis to Kreis. In most of the Kreise, helpers were attached to experienced teachers for practical work, but, in addition, on two or three days in each week, 'schoolhelpers' assembled in a school for instruction under the Schulrat or other experienced teacher. On these days, there were practical demonstration lessons, test lessons by the 'schoolhelpers' lecturettes by the schoolhelpers, and lectures by the instructors on teaching methods, general educational subjects, and cultural subjects. In one Kreis, where communications were more than usually difficult, no

actual course was run; students possessing a school leaving certificate were attached to trained teachers to observe, learn and help. In addition, schoolhelpers in all Kreise attended the discussions organised for the teachers in the Kreis. At these discussions attention was given to teaching method, and sometimes there were demonstration lessons.

It must be clearly understood that it was never intended that these courses should be more than an emergency measure. Side by side with their development, plans were made for the setting up of a Teachers' Training College capable of taking 200 students ; most of the schoolhelpers took the first course at the college.

What type of persons came forward to train as teachers.? Of course, all intending teachers had to complete a fragebogen and be approved from the political point of view. All who had been leaders in the HJ or BDM were rejected.

Like the students in our own emergency scheme, those in Germany were above the usual age. Of the 800 applicants for places, 200 were accepted and they were divided into two courses;-a short and a long, and the average ages are shown below:-

	Men	Women	<u>Average Age</u>
Short course	<u>37</u>	<u>18</u>	30yrs 5 months
Normal course	88	57	26 years



The short course was for the older students who had had schoolhelper experience. The average age is almost the same as that for the first group of emergency students who attended the experimental course at Goldsmith's College in this country. There, the average age was 27.(1) Similarly, many of the students were married. Like our own too, students had seen service in the Forces - all but one of the male students had been in the Forces.

Great care was taken in the selection which was carried out by a small committee headed by the Principal of the college: academic and political factors were taken into consideration. All had to have a school leaving certificate. Politically, analysis of the short course revealed that:-

- (a) only one man and one woman had been in the NSDAP
- (b) only 5 men had been in the HJ, and one woman in the BDM.(the small number here is due to the fact that they were older students)

All students were interviewed prior to selection, so that on the whole selection was comparable to our own. The Principal, who had formerly served in the Ministry of Education on the teacher training side, was satisfied that suitable students had been selected. It is regretted that it was not possible to experiment with some other method of teacher-selection, for it is felt that many

students are admitted to training colleges who should not be. As yet there is no valid 'objective' method of assessing fitness for the teaching profession. It is felt, however, that methods similar to those used by the War Office Selection Boards in selecting officers during the war, and the Civil Service in the Reconstruction Examinations after the war, should be tried. Three days spent in trying to assess the personal qualities of an intending teacher are likely to be more valuable than an interview lasting for a few minutes.

Efforts were made, however, by the writer to find out more about the 'schoolhelpers' who later went on to the Training College. The writer prepared a questionnaire and submitted it to two groups of 'schoolhelpers'. It will be appreciated that in an occupied country questionnaires have the distinct weakness, that those answering the questions will seek to give the answer which will please. In spite of this, it is thought worthwhile to present the questionnaire below and the answers to it. It did reveal the state of knowledge of the 'schoolhelpers', and indicated very well their background.

These are the questions which were put to the students:-

1. Name in full

2. Date of birth. .... 3. Kreis.....
3. Married or single.....
4. Standard of education (Abitur etc)
5. Why do you want to become a teacher?
6. Are you still so keen to become a teacher after having experienced to some extent, the job of a teacher?
7. Were you a member of the HJ or BDM?(state rank if any)
8. What is your reply to the child who says, "Why are conditions so terrible in Germany today?"
9. Name the places lost by Germany at the Treaty of Versailles.
10. What date did Hitler come into power?
11. What was the population of Germany in 1939?
12. Name in order of priority, who you consider the three greatest Germans who have ever lived.
13. The capital of the U.S.A. is .....
14. Hamburg has a population of.....and is on the R....
15. The population of Australia is only.....why is this so small?
16. What do you consider the most important event in German history?
17. What do you consider as the best means of ensuring peace in the world?

To the question, "Are you still so keen to become a teacher after having experienced to some extent the job of a teacher" there was a general

answer in the affirmative. In the group of 33 students, 5 boys and 3 girls stated that their interest was even increased, after having had some experience, whilst one boy and 5 girls added that they were looking forward to teaching in spite of the difficulties of the task and the great responsibilities placed upon them

To the question, "Why do you want to become a teacher", various answers were given all of which were plausible, but none stated specifically that they considered the job of the teacher as one of the most important in the rebuilding of Germany. One even said that he wished to train as a teacher because he wanted to go to Africa as a missionary! One would have thought that German youth would have wanted to set about the task of remaking Germany first.

The majority had the big disadvantage of having been brought up in the HJ or BDM. It was obligatory for children to join these movements, but one or two had managed to escape them. For instance, of 17 boys, 12 had been in the HJ and 5 not. Of 24 girls, 21 had been in the BDM and 3 not. It is evident that the Nazi youth movements did not inspire all German children. There were not many high ranks for the age among those questioned; most of them, in fact, only held the lowest rank of all.

Question No 9 - "What is your answer to the child who says," Why are conditions so terrible in

Germany today" - produced the following answers:-

	<u>Male(9)</u>	<u>Female(11)</u>
Because of Hitler's policy	6	8
Because Germany lost the war	2	-
War caused the ruin	2	2
Under-estimation of other nations -		1
Government without God.	-	2

The most popular answer expressed the general tendency in Germany, to put the blame on Hitler. There was no association, whatever, of themselves with this policy. The second answer was one expressed not only by schoolhelpers, but by many teachers. They all placed the emphasis on the 'lost'; they felt that they had 'just lost' it - they considered too the great forces brought in against them (vide the fourth answer). - Next time they must make sure of winning. But, how can one rally discover what millions of Germans think on this question? How can one be sure that this will not rankle in the minds of future generations of teachers, and that some day they will lend their support to a militarist movement which says, "We must win this time." But teachers are just one part of the community, and pursuit of this problem is likely to be unproductive: only time can tell.

The answers to the question on the three greatest Germans who ever lived, were probably those

thought to be the most acceptable. The following is a summary of the answers:-

	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
Goethe	7	10
Schiller	5	4
Beethoven	4	5
Kant	4	1
Mozart	.	3
Charles the Great	.	2
Dürer	.	2
Liszt	1	.
Bismarck	1	.
Bach	2	.
Gauss	1	.
Liebig	1	-
Bonifatius	.	1 <i>Ra Englishman</i>
Walter v.d.Vogelweide.	.	1
Schopenhauer	,	1

The writer got the impression that this group of students was definitely trying to give the answer that would please; one girl who had given Schiller first place could not tell the writer anything about him. This, however, may have been unfounded. The results in another group confirmed the popular choice of Goethe, but gave more preference to leaders like Bismarck and Frederick the Great.

The complete answers were:-

	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
Goethe	6	7
Bismarck	3	7
Beethoven	4	4
Charles the Great	2	5
Frederick the Great	3	3
Schiller	4	1
Luther, Mozart(each)	1	

The question on the most important event in German history provided the following interesting answers:-

	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
Defeat of Nazism	5	8
Christianising of Germany	1	1
Union of the Reich under Charles the Great	-	1
Luther's Reformation	-	1

The second group gave the following answers to the same question.

Luther's Reformation	6	8
Destruction of Hitler's despotism	2	1
Union of Reich under Charles the Great	-	1
Foundation of Reich 1871	-	1

It is interesting to note that one student in the first group and eight in the second group did not produce

an answer.

The question, "What do you consider is the best means of ensuring peace in the world" produced these answers:-

	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
Brotherhood of all nations	6	8
League of Nations	1	-
Acting on Christian principles	1	2
Economic co-operation	3	2
Disarmament	6	2
No militarism	2	-
International Court of Law	2	-
Education in democracy	1	2
Eradication of Nazism	2	-
Control of Germany by Allies	1	-

None of the students indicated that Germany had a part to play in ensuring world peace; none stated that Germany must change her ideas - ideas which have produced three major wars in seventy years. The tendency was to leave it to an international organisation; the statement by two students that Germany must see the eradication of Nazism was the nearest approach to any consideration of what part they might play.

On purely factual questions, it was apparent which facts had been clearly taught. For instance, all students knew the exact date when Hitler came into



power. It is doubtful if a similar group of English students could have given the date of the formation of our war-time coalition government. At the same time, they could all produce the names of the places lost at Versailles with complete accuracy. This was expected in view of the intensive attention given to this subject in Nazi schools. They had also kept pace with the growth of the Third Reich, and gave more or less accurate figures for the population of Germany in 1939.

However, when it came to questions of more general knowledge there were many who failed. For instance, in one group only 13 named the capital of the U.S.A. correctly, 7 giving the wrong answer. Surprisingly enough on the question of Hamburg 11 gave the correct answer and 9 the wrong one. When the test of knowledge went further afield, only five gave the correct answer on Australia, and 15 failed to give an answer anywhere near correct.

It is realised that the above questionnaire was not broad enough to find facts about the intending teachers which could be taken as completely reliable. It does, however, emphasise the immensity of the problem, and illustrates the general statements made at the beginning of this chapter on p.96. The recruits to the teaching profession may possess enthusiasm but they have an outlook and background of knowledge produced by the Nazis. It is obvious that they themselves must be

re-educated before they can embark on re-educating the children entrusted to their charge.

Before discussing their re-education, it is pertinent to consider the qualities of the people who are to train them. It will be no easy task to instil new ideals into youths who have only known one system, especially as their course is so short. The important question is, "Can one find educators capable of fulfilling this great task?" The training college in Aachen started with a staff of ten :

The success or otherwise of teacher training in Germany, indeed of the whole plan of re-education, depends on the suitability of the staffs of training colleges. All of those selected for Aachen were sound politically. In addition, they had all had considerable and varied experience in teaching. The Principal was a man of 66 years. He was born in Strasbourg in Alsace. He studied Philosophy, Romance languages, German, Philology and History at the Universities of Wuerzburg, Munchen, Nancy and Strasbourg from 1899 to 1904. He took his Doctor's degree at Strasbourg. From 1904 to 1910 he taught in Secondary schools. From 1910-19 he was a supervisor of schools, and for the following six years was an Oberstudiendirektor. In 1925, he was appointed Ministerialrat in the Ministry of Science, Art and Education in Berlin.

He was there engaged in establishing the new type of teacher training in Prussia. (more of which will be said in the next chapter). Six years later he was given a professorship for educational science in the Pedagogical Academy at Bonn. In 1937 he was pensioned off at his own wish, and returned in 1945 to help re-build German education out of its chaos.

No one would deny his academic suitability. It may be said that he is too old, but against that, there are few younger men so well qualified. He was the oldest member of the staff. The following brief records give an indication of the qualifications and background of the other members of the staff.

Hans Berkoven

Elementary school teacher, qualified in music at University of Bonn, and music academy, Berlin. Music teacher in secondary school and wide range of outside musical activities.

Dr. Ewald Fettweis

Studied at Münster and Bonn. Teacher of mathematics in a secondary school and lecturer in a Pedagogical Academy in 1927.

Dr. Elisabeth Fischell

Qualified at an elementary school teachers Training College. Doctorate in Pedagogy. Taught in all types of elementary schools. Headmistress of an elementary school

Johanna Gulpen

Studied at Freiburg, Innsbruck, Aachen and Munster. Qualified as secondary school teacher and taught in several secondary schools.

Luise Odenbreit

Qualified secondary school teacher. Taught in Secondary schools since 1918.

Heinrich Oellers

After leaving elementary school, worked as a labourer for six years. Later qualified as elementary school master; taught in elementary schools for seven years and headmaster for seventeen years. Removed from headship in 1936 for being "politically/<sup>un</sup>reliable"

Dr. Heinrich Selhorst

Priest, headmaster of a school and teacher of religion for 13 years in a secondary school.

Johannes Ramackers

Studied history at Freiburg, Köln, Munchen and Bonn. Travelled considerably and done a great deal of research. Not a qualified teacher.

Dr Gustav Siewerth

Studied philosophy at Frankfurt/Main and Freiburg.

one.  
No/would dispute the wide range of ability indicated by these records. They are people of wide outlook, and in them one sees a ray of hope for the re-education of Germany. Even this faint gleam, however, must be more closely investigated; the following chapter will be devoted to a consideration of the work,

proposed to be done.

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- (1) "Teachers from the Forces" Edited by M.M.Lewis.  
(Harrap 1946) p. 18.

Note: all facts in this chapter are the result of  
the writer's own investigations.

CHAPTER EIGHTTHE OLD TRAINING COLLEGES AND THE NEW

The re-education of the German generation in the schools depends to a very large extent on the success or otherwise of the teacher training in the new colleges. It was not possible to see the work of the training colleges in Aachen over a period of time; indeed a few years would be needed in which to judge their work adequately. In default of this, study of the staff, the syllabus of training and the environment are likely to offer the best indication. Qualifications of the staff have already been reviewed. It is the intention of this chapter to analyse the scope of the instruction and the conditions under which students were trained. Before doing this, it is thought that it would be most helpful to review the developments in teacher training in Germany in this century. From a study of the background it will be easier to understand the new developments; one may find that the methods of today are a mere repetition of those in a former period; on the other hand, they may be something completely new. It is the purpose of this chapter to find out exactly what is happening, and also to suggest what would be the most profitable line of development.

The characteristics of teacher training colleges will be reviewed in the following periods:-

(a) pre-1914

(b) 1919-33

(c) 1933-45

PRE 1914

The characteristics of teacher training in this period are well summarised in the following quotation, from "The New Education of the German Republic" (1)

"The teacher had been the chief instrument of the ruling powers for training submissive, efficient citizens. Teachers were selected for their orthodoxy, which was the result of the stereotyped training given in the pre-war normal schools. These institutions had turned out teachers drilled in detail on the same subjects they were to teach their pupils. There was no place for initiative, spontaneity or incidental digressions in such a system. The teachers were to instruct the youth of a land where freedom of thought and belief for the lower classes was discouraged. Therefore, students in the normal schools had to be trained rather than given a liberal education. They were prepared to meet standardised situations in a standardised way."

The course of training before 1914 lasted six years, and took place in two institutions. Students were drawn

invariably from the elementary school at 14 years of age, going first to a preparatory school (Präparandenanstalt) for three years and then to a normal school (Lehrer-seminar). Not more than ninety pupils were received in any one of these institutions, that is, thirty for each year of the course. The time table was as follows:- (2)

	Hours per week		
	Class iii	Class ii	Class i
Religion	4	4	3
German	5	5	5
History	2	2	3
Mathematics	5	5	5
Nature study	2	4	4
Geography	2	2	2
Writing	2	2	1
Drawing	2	2	2
Physical Training	3	3	3
Music	3	4	5
French or English	3	3	3
Total ...	33	36	36

Commenting on the above, Dr. Kandel says, (3)

"It will be noticed that the subjects of this curriculum are practically the same as those of the elementary schools. Indeed, the instruction in the preparatory institutions, and this is true also of the normal schools, differs from that in the elementary schools not in quality but in quantity. Little, if



any, attention is given to the more mature intellectual needs of the pupils. Taught by instructors whose only experience has been in elementary schools, the pupils continue to be under the same type of discipline."

Students then went on the normal school, where the first two years were devoted to academic training and the theory of education, and the last year was almost entirely professional. The curriculum and hours per week of each subject are as follows:-

	Hours per week		
	Class iii	Class ii	Class i
Pedagogy	3	3 <sup>a</sup>	3
Methods and model lessons	-	4	4
Practice teaching	-	-	4-6
German	5	5	2 b
French or English	2	2	2
History	2	2	2 b
Mathematics	5	5	1 c
Natural Science	4	4	1 c
Geography	3	2	1 c
Drawing	2	2	1
Physical Training	3	3	3 b
Music	4	4	4
Agriculture	1	1	-
Religion	3	4	3
Totals	37	37	32-34

- a. contained in the lessons on the various subjects  
 b. one hour for methods  
 c. methods only

(4)

Of this Dr. Kandell says,

" The curriculum is organised under the regulations of 1901, which were received with approval because it was thought that they extended the scope of the academic training and kept it distinct from the professional work. Up to the period of the change the emphasis had been wholly on the elementary school subjects, even to the extent of following the methods of the elementary schools. But, however salutary the changes contemplated by the regulations may have been, they could not change the spirit of the institutions which had grown up under the old procedure. Although the students are between the ages of seventeen and twenty, they are treated in the same way as children in the elementary schools. The methods of instruction and discipline are not unlike. The vision of the future teacher seems to be constantly limited to the sphere of his future career. Always associating with students of similar training, tastes, and habits, brought up under a system whose aim is to suppress individuality, he comes to the normal school only to be taught again by men of whom the larger majority have never had any interests that were not bound up in some way or other with the elementary school field, and who are themselves products of the normal schools, while the remainder may have been educated in secondary schools and universities, but have no sympathy

for students drawn from a lower social class."

Two sentences have been underlined because they will be referred to later in this chapter. They state two cardinal points which must be kept in mind - will the old procedure still continue once more, and will the future teacher have the same limited vision as his predecessors?

One cannot deny that the pre-1914 system of training succeeded in producing the type of teacher required at the time. In the words of Dr. Kandel, <sup>(5)</sup>

" They were drilled thoroughly; they were not left to meet and overcome their own problems, but they were ready on leaving ~~schools~~ the normal schools to take their positions in the regular system and conduct the schools with the uniformity required by the regulations." From the normal school, the student went to be a king in a classroom, where he expected little advice except on minor matters of administrative detail.

After completion of the course at the normal school, the student had to do a year of military service, and after two years he had to pass the second teachers examination for permanent appointment. Only after passing this examination and performing his military service could a teacher receive permanent appointment.

Before 1914, school matters were dealt with

differently in the various states, but the system described above applied to Prussia, and most of the other states.

### 1919-1933

The Weimar Constitution of 1919 made revolutionary changes in teacher training. One clause said. "The training of teachers shall be uniformly regulated within the Reich, according to principles which apply generally to higher education." To appreciate the significance of this, it is necessary to know that, before 1914 there was a great distinction in the social scale between the elementary school teacher and the secondary school teacher. The teacher in the elementary school was looked down upon by the secondary school teacher, and relations between the two were very restricted. The idea underlying the Weimar pronouncement was that in a democracy there must be no caste system; democracy regarded the services of the secondary and elementary school teachers as equal. So long as there was a caste system among the teachers, there would be no democratic feeling within the profession, without which it would be difficult to plant democratic ideas in the schools.

It is interesting to note that it was not till 1944 that elementary and secondary school teachers were given equality of status in this country; at least

a uniform scale of salaries was introduced.

An immediate result of the Weimar Constitution was the abolition of the old normal school. The normal school had served to emphasise the dividing line between teachers in the elementary school and teachers in the secondary school. In the future, the elementary school teacher was to be trained in an institution of university rank and according to methods of instruction and study usually found in universities.

It often happens that great reforms stay in the statute book and never attain actuality. This did not happen, however, in the case of teacher training. The raising of the standard of training of elementary school teachers was attained in two ways. Prussia developed Pedagogische Akademien (Teachers' Colleges) and *Some* other states transferred teacher training to the universities, forming university institutes of education. (6)

By 1927, there were in Prussia 8 Pedagogische Akademien, and in 1930 there were 15. The Pedagogische Akademie was primarily a professional school, and not an institution for general education, although the curriculum was comprehensive. Every course was related to the problems of the elementary school teacher. Dr Kandel says of them, (7)

"The method of instruction in the Prussian teachers' college is that of the university. The recitation of the

old normal school and the drill upon the content and method of elementary school subjects have given way to the lecture, discussion, practice and seminar of the university. The new teacher is not expected to be a standardised product, but an individual soundly educated and well trained to meet new situations skilfully and solve them. The moral effect of this change of method in training the young teacher is sure to react in like manner upon his pupils. His right to learn and to teach the truth as he sees it is not to be violated. Before the war the elementary teachers were not trained to these ends for they were regarded as the mouth pieces of the government." He also noted that there was a big change in the attitude of the German teacher towards children, and at the same time, that the relation between faculty members and students was much more friendly.

The university training centres such as existed at Hamburg, Jena, Dresden and Leipzig were very similar to the Prussian colleges. Dr. Kandel noted that the students had more freedom than in the Prussian colleges and that the relationship of faculty and student body was more normal.

In both types of training institute, the practical aspect was stressed. Each had a school, often staffed by practicing teachers. Observation visits were also made to schools where the students watched teachers at work. In addition, they visited welfare centres,

kindergartens, garden centres, forest schools, vocational institutions, hostels, clinics and experimental schools in order to extend their knowledge of the many agencies concerned with childhood and youth.

The great advance is obvious. There was a broader training and a wider view of education. Not only was there a new start in teacher training, but teacher activity groups were set up for re-training of the old teachers. This period of activity, however, was cut short when Hitler came into power.

### 1933-1945

It is a matter for regret that the Pädagogische Akademien and the University Training Institutes did not have longer to work out their aims. There is little doubt that they would have left a strong mark on the German educational system. When the Nazis came into power they turned the clock back completely and inflicted yet another set of ideas on German education. Briefly, the key to their policy is that they objected to "instruction", and to "scholars" in the teaching profession. To understand their approach to teacher training, it is necessary to understand the basis for these two views.

The Nazi ideas on education are well presented in a pro-Nazi publication, "German Education Today", by Theodore Wilhelm and Gerhard Graese. They express the

point of view that the Nazis sought an escape from the intellectualism that dominated Germany. They say that, whereas Lord Haldane could say of the British that they are "a race peculiarly adapted to identify life with sport", so for the Germans one might say that they were "a nation peculiarly qualified to identify life with knowledge."

The Nazis placed most of the blame on Herbart, who preached that education could be restricted to the development of the intellect, and that it could only be developed through the medium of instruction. Herbart had said, "The matter taught is the vital thing. The teacher is but the instrument of this matter."<sup>(8)</sup> The Nazis objected to this; they contended that youth wanted to be led, not instructed. What the Nazis actually produced was a broader concept of education. Education, to them, included much more than the school: "In the Hitler Youth Groups, in the columns of the Labour Service Corps, in the ranks of the Storm Troops, young people are receiving an education such as perhaps a school can never give, and which the school of the nineteenth century certainly did not provide."<sup>(9)</sup> Wilhelm and Graese also say, "The school must realise then, that even though its methods of teaching were fundamentally altered, as a place of instruction it can only make a small contribution to education as a whole!"

This is the language of the totalitarian state.



It is strangely in line with the theme of Professor Jack's "Total Education." There we find these words:-

"the school has been too much with us - late and soon, teaching and learning disconnected items of knowledge we have laid waste our powers: and though the school will always have its part to play, and a more exacting part than it has hitherto played, many other agencies will be pressed into the teaching service - industry, agriculture, and commerce, the club, the concert hall, the art gallery, the museum, the library, the radio, the cinema, the theatre, the countryside, the sea....The whole scope of education will be widened, and lessons will be found not only in books and lectures, but in situations and localities, and in all the experiences and environments which men and women share together." (10)

In further support of his thesis, Professor Jack quotes from F.C. Happold's, "Towards a New Aristocracy." ; he says, "Education comes not primarily through instruction, but through a pattern of living, not primarily through courses of study, but through an intangible spiritual atmosphere, created by the community."

There is in both cases this wider view of education. At the expense of labouring the point, it is instructive to see what the Nazis had to say about their institution, the Land Year. This was instituted in 1934 for children leaving the Elementary School. Rust,

the Reich Minister of Education said at the time that the idea was "to imbue the town children with a feeling of oneness with their native country and people and to make them realise the value to the nation of a healthy peasantry." (11). Wilhelm and Graese say that by moving the child from the cramped atmosphere of the classroom, "education extends beyond the limited sphere of the school, and young people of the right racial strain and of healthy stock are brought by way of agricultural work and true community life, back to the purity of an existence rooted in the land."

The same part in education is claimed for the Labour Service. It has its economic value in reclaiming land for the Reich, but German educationists stress its educational value. Reich Labour Leader Hierl is quoted as saying, "The Labour Service leaders must know how to obtain unquestioning obedience from their subordinates and to maintain the strictest discipline and order. But, they must combine this quality with a fine sense of justice and a fatherly concern for the welfare of their men, and in character they must ~~not~~ be, not instructors but educators."

With this changed conception of education, it followed naturally that the Nazis made changed demands on the teacher. We have seen how the training of teachers in Germany, in the past, has been related to the prevailing

political philosophy. Under Prussianism, there were teachers of a narrow training, seeking to make their pupils obedient members of the State. With the wave of democratic thought which was visible in the Constitution of the Weimar Republic, there was the desire to concentrate on the individual and make him a responsible, thinking member of the community. This attitude, too, was reflected in the training of the teachers. Then came the Nazis with the idea of total education in which the schools were only one part. There is a great difference, however, between their "total education" and that propounded by Professor Jacks. The aims of education in each case are completely different. One needs only to analyse further statements from the mouths of Nazis to realise that behind all the glorious talk of the broader concept of education, there was a deliberate design to fit all Germans into the totalitarian machine and produce followers for the Fuehrer. In a system built up on the "Fuehrerprincip", the teacher became a small leader in the general plan. Wilhelm and Graese express this view when they say, "No essential change can take place in the German school until either school masters become leaders of youth, or leaders of youth become schoolmasters." It is very interesting to note that only a very small proportion of the schoolmasters

accepted the Nazi idea of the role of the schoolmaster. Is not this an indication that the old Normal school idea died hard, and that the new spirit of Weimar did not completely break down the barrier between teacher and pupil.? The writer was amazed that so few of the teachers interviewed on account of their membership in the Nazi Party, had had anything to do with the Hitler Youth Movement. This was a movement led by firebrand Nazis, who were much more enthusiastic than the teachers trained in the old school, and who had not yet grasped the new pupil-teacher relationship.

The idea of teachers being youth leaders is a very laudable one, but one is prompted to ask, "Leadership for what.?" Do we not find the answer in a statement of Hitler.- "In our eyes, the German youth of the future must be slim and strong, as fast as a greyhound, as tough as leather and as hard as Krupp steel." All reference is to physical qualities. Is it to be wondered at that the Nazis condemned knowledge and instruction ?.

Actually, when the Nazis said what qualities they required in a teacher, it was found that they did not differ from what was aimed at in 1919 in Germany, and what Professor Jacks is seeking now.. The Nazis required broad experience based on comradeship, & social harmony... "For whilst these must be as highly specialised as possible

in their own subjects, the teacher must be, above all, a really good fellow, possessing enough character and personality to lead wholeheartedly and unswervingly the boys and girls entrusted to him." (12)

Alexander and Parker note that in the post First World War period, the feeling developed that "the ~~teacher~~ teacher must be a real person with a capacity for comradeship as well as leadership. He must be a human being filled with joie de vivre, with delight in nature and art, with sympathy for childhood and youth, with some practical skill and with understanding of social problems...He must be something of a sportsman, an explorer, an artist, a craftsman, a story teller and a good fellow" (13)

Here there is not only a similarity in idea but a similarity in words. Were the Nazis, therefore, so revolutionary in their idea of what a teacher should be? Had not the way been prepared by educationists in the previous decade.? Furthermore, to quote Professor Jacks once more, this accords with his idea of a teacher. He says, "The teacher must, above all things, be a whole human being, with every part of his human personality well exercised by a varied experience among men, and in good working order: not the narrow specialist with a one-track mind, emotions frustrated and sympathies limited by the unnatural segregation of his lot, and with no knowledge of his fellow men outside the walls of his school." (14)

Both the Germans and ourselves have advanced a long way in our idea of what a teacher should be. German thought of the Nazi and pre-Nazi period corresponds with our own in considering that the teacher must be a fully integrated person.

Where then did the Nazis go wrong? Broadly speaking their whole education failed because it was supporting a false ideal of German domination and Master Race. Even had this not been the case, they still would have failed. First of all, they relegated scholarship to a secondary position. In their search for the leader type of teacher, they decided that the scholarly type were not leaders. They considered that the educator must be trained differently from the scholar, and they therefore decided that the University and the Pedagogische Akademie would not make an educator of youth in the proper sense of the word. The Nazis, therefore, set up "Hochschule<sup>n</sup> für Lehrerbildung". The first was at Lauenburg in Pomerania, and was to be the model for all others. The aim was to,

- (a) produce teachers who would not merely impart knowledge, but who would influence the boys and girls characters, and
- (b) to produce leaders of youth - not just schoolmasters. As true educators, their responsibility would extend far beyond the walls of the classroom.

In practice, however, their Training Colleges were much

poorer institutions than the Pädagogische Akademien and the University Training Centre. The standard of scholarship declined considerably. During the war years, courses were reduced to one year, and the account of one of these institutions as described by the Director of Education for the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen (p.10) is damning evidence of their lowered standards. In concentrating on producing leaders, the Nazis killed scholarship and free thinking. They produced people capable of taking their place as small leaders in the Nazi machine to lead wholeheartedly and unswervingly the boys and girls entrusted to them.

In the general lowering of standards, the Nazis probably succeeded in pulling down the barriers between the Secondary and Elementary schoolmaster. It will be remembered that the Constitution of the Weimar Republic tried to bridge the gulf between the two types of teacher. This aim had obviously not been achieved, for the Nazis found it necessary to deal with the problem. By a decree of 12th October, 1935, the distinction between the Secondary and Elementary school teacher was wiped away. Every teacher had to (a) attend secondary school, (b) after school do a half year Labour Service and (c) after that do one year at the Training College.

All teachers had to spend their first year of training at the same type of training institution. There,

they studied pedagogics, character, child psychology, ethnology and practical teaching. On completion of this year's training, those destined for the elementary school did an extra year, and those who intended to go into secondary schools went on to the University for three years. It is not clear, how, when there was such a difference in the length of training, a mere decree could wipe out the differences between secondary and elementary school teacher status. It should be noted, however, that the new system had the advantage of introducing the teacher to the practical side of his work as soon as possible in his training. Previously, it had been five or six years before the secondary school teacher got to grips with a class .

AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF GERMANY 1945.

The training college set up in Aachen towards the end of 1945, and opened in early 1946, was called significantly enough, a Pädagogische Akademie. This would appear to indicate a reversion to the type of training college set up in Prussia in the 1918-33 period. This view is also strengthened by the fact that the first Principal was Professor von den Driesch, who as a Ministerialrat had been responsible for the development of Pädagogische Akademien in Prussia.

Owing to the difficulties of accommodation, it was not possible to house the college in the type of

Becker

m/ 2/



building one would have wished. An intermediate school which had been partly destroyed by shell fire, was converted for the purpose. This, undoubtedly, was a bad start, for the building was and looked like an ordinary day school. There were no resident students, and students attended much the same as they would a day school. Many of them lived outside Aachen, and travelled daily. In the beginning concentration was on studies, and there were no clubs or societies connected with the college. This was partly due to the lack of lighting and fuel, but chiefly due to the old idea that such activities did not rightly belong to the training college. It is felt that if the students themselves are to be re-educated there must be as much opportunity as possible for students and staff to meet either in societies or in studies after the normal hours of work. Talking of the pre-1914 period Dr. Kandel has said, - "Trained under what is practically a barrack like system, the students are not encouraged to pursue their own special interests through societies or clubs, which form an important part in the development of English and American teachers."

It would be wrong to say that the students in the new college in Aachen are being trained under a "barrack like system." On the other hand, they are starting under adverse circumstances in surroundings in which it will be difficult to build up a new spirit.

The curriculum contained a wide range of subjects.

They were; Pedagogy, German with Speech Training, History, Mathematics, Natural Science, Geography, Art, Physical Education, Art, Music, Religion, Hygiene, Gardening.

A study of the different syllabi indicates what the staff understands to be the basis of teacher training. There is a wide range of subject, but what is the content? There is no doubt that, on the whole, the standard of knowledge aimed at is much higher than that of the old normal school, but in several subjects there does not seem to be wide enough scope.

The geography syllabus is quoted as illustrating this point.

" Lecture: one lesson per week.

(1) The Landscape of the "Nordrheinprovinz"

- (a) natural foundations
- (b) types of landscape
- (c) people and landscape
- (d) development from a natural to a cultural landscape.

(2) Training course: two lessons a week, optional.

- (a) the Aachen landscape in greater detail (the town and its surroundings)
  - i. instructional excursions for the purpose of interpreting the features of the urban landscape and its surroundings.
  - ii. the natural foundations of the landscape.
  - iii. development of the town from a natural to a cultural landscape.

Geography may be an unfair example, for real geography has been so long submerged by Geopolitics in Germany, that it is unlikely that many Germans have the

right approach to the subject. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the study of local geography is the best foundation for the study of world geography; to introduce the child first to the small world around him, is sound teaching. One bears in mind too the work of French geographers which specialises in the detailed human study of the region.

One gets the impression that just so much is done in the training college as the student will need as a teacher. All of the students when trained will teach in the Aachen area, and their geography training has introduced them to that, and that only. In an English training college the aim is to introduce the students to the principles of physical geography, human geography and regional study of the world. In addition there is local study of the British Isles. Even an emergency course sets a broad programme. The course at Goldsmith's College  
(15)  
for emergency students was as follows:-

- (1) The principles of human geography, as applied in general to the world as a unit, and in particular to North America.
- (2) The geographical treatment of different types of regions selected in the British Isles, and also of different types of urban centres, including a detailed treatment of a local example.
- (3) The study of certain communities where the relief factors provided a setting of particular interest

within the major world region; this included the reading and interpretation of maps of various scales and functions - e.g atlas maps and those of the Ordnance, Land Utilisation and Geological Surveys.

(4) The methods of teaching geography."

It would appear that this is one case where the Germans require guidance from an outside source. Unless there is the right approach in the training colleges, there is little hope for the schools.

The Mathematics course had similar limitations; parts of the syllabus will be quoted and they would appear to prove that the training college only aimed to cover the ground which the student would be required to teach when he qualified. The Geometry syllabus was:-

" straight lines and crooked lines; measurement of straight lines; origin of the angle by turning; measurement of angles; the most important solid bodies (square, prism, cylinder); rectangle and parallel lines; the area of the rectangle; the volume of the most important solid bodies, and the drawing of them; the area and the sum of the angles in a triangle; empirical proof of the theorems of Thales and Pythagoras; demonstration of the truth of the theorem of Pythagoras by numerical examples."

In addition, there was a course on the history of arithmetic and geometry. How different from the emergency course at Goldsmiths (16) which included differential

and integral calculus, curve-tracing and co-ordinate geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, and some solid geometry, involving the making of models.

It is not intended to review each subject -

It does appear, however, that the old idea of the normal school seems to have died hard.

In Pedagogy, the emphasis was on its history. The Principal was to lecture on, "The history of Education and human culture in Early times and the Middle Ages. Plato, Aristotle and Socrates, Hellenism and the Roman Empire. Christian education - Augustin, Benedict. Advance of culture in the Carlovingian and Ottonian period. Cloister and ecclesiastical schools. Education in castles and cities; scholasticism and mysticism - humanism."

Their nearest approach to our "principles of education" was a course on "Theory of method in elementary instruction". It combined with it, organisation and psychology in a limited way. The outline of the course was as follows:-

"1. Conception of the Grundsichule.

2. The importance of the Grundsichule.

(a) as a transitional stage from the world of child's play to serious learning work.

(b) as foundation for the further progress in the upper classes of the elementary school.

3. The educational value of the Grundschule.

(a) taken from the subjects; religion, German, home science (acquaintance with one's native land), arithmetic, singing and playing.

4. What does working in the elementary school require of the teacher.?

5. Sources of elementary instruction in the writings of old and modern pedagogues."

Main criticism is that the training seeks to cram the student so that he will fit into the system. This is indicated in the aim of the study circle which was linked with the last course..."to work out and to show which mental abilities of the child are roused and developed by the subject matter of the Grundschule." The subject matter of the training college is chiefly that which is required in the Grundschule, and the aim appears to fit ~~ix~~ the child into that. The emphasis is not on the child and his abilities. In essence, it is not a "child-centred education." The old idea of solid instruction is kept alive. There is no development of the initiative of the student, and likewise there is not likely to be any of the child's. Notable omissions are projects, the use and importance of visual aids, and handwork and crafts.

Two passages from Dr Kandel, which were quoted  
(17)  
earlier are as apposite now, as when he wrote them in  
1918.....

"They could not change the spirit of the institutions which had grown up under the old procedure" and, "The vision of the future teacher seems to be constantly limited to the sphere of his future career."

The latter is still definitely true, and it would also appear that the Pedagogische Akademien of the 20's did not have the time to depart a great deal from former practice. Indeed could one expect such a great change in such a short time.? Writing of the 1918-33 reform period, Alexander and Parker say (18) .."the full development of the German school reform must wait for a new generation of teachers. Perhaps, the delay will be even longer, for the spirit demanded of the new teacher in Germany's reformed schools cannot be acquired through professional training alone. It must be nurtured from infancy in an atmosphere of freedom and trained throughout youth according to the social ideals of democracy."

The aim in teacher training quite obviously seems to be <sup>to</sup> forget the Nazi period entirely, and go back to the days of the Pedagogische Akademie. In practice, the Nazi period is forgotten, but there is a mixture of the Normal School and the Pedagogische Akademie. It must always, be remembered that the times are difficult, and many facilities are lacking, but even so there is no evidence that the training colleges will lay the true foundation of the re-education of Germany.

Along what lines should the training colleges develop? This is difficult to answer when the type of government in the country is not certain. Let us presume that under control the Germans will be initiated into the workings of a democracy, and that ultimately Germany will have a democratic form of government. In that case, painful though it might be to many German educationists, it would be helpful to see what can be salvaged from the Nazi idea of education.

The broader concept of Education held by the Nazis is a step in the right direction. Education should be a continuous process from birth to death; the home, the church, youth movements and adult movements all have their part to play and not only the schools. German educationists should grasp this point.

The Nazis also stressed 'education' at the expense of 'instruction.' The present trend seems to be to go back to the days of 'instruction', but it is essential that the emphasis be on "Erziehung"(education) and not "Unterricht"(instruction) The Prussian General Code of 1794 and all codes till the 20th. century used the word "unterricht". Now there must be "Erziehung" in the spirit as well as in the letter.

The idea of the teacher as a leader is also a step forward. The old school was "a battlefield with



most of the odds in the teacher's favour" The aim should be for a friendlier relationship between pupil and teacher.

This much from the Nazis should be retained. The Nazis scheme of education is condemned because,

(a) it did not place sufficient emphasis on the individual -child or teacher. It dealt only with the mass and was only concerned with the machine. The child was not taught to think for himself.

(b) it fitted the child to take his place in a totalitarian state but not in a democracy.

One is forced to ask, "if the Nazis with their educational system succeeded in producing a whole generation converted to their ideas, is it not possible to produce a system which will lead the children to a finer goal?" They did it in the short period of twelve years too. Sir Percy Nunn says that the use of propaganda in the field of education in Germany "created within a few years a new type of citizens fanatically imbued with the ideas of the regime which had bred them. To find a remedy for this fearful disaster is one of the gravest problems facing civilisation."  
(20)

In the face of this statement from so great an educationist, one hesitates to proffer a remedy.

was

Professor Cavanagh ~~is~~ equally dubious. He wrote in  
the Journal of Education of July, 1942, (21)

"As to the reconditioning of the Nazi generation, I can so far see no light. It is certain that after defeat there will follow a period of appalling misery and despair: having given all to Hitler, they will have nothing left of their flamboyant dreams but a rankling hatred and spirit of revenge. If we could then show them so plainly that even they would be forced to see, that Democracy was producing a better life than the Nazi Reich, then they might be convinced. Wandering and lost as sheep without a shepherd, enough of them might see the evil of this upbringing to form a nucleus of better things for Germany. It is a slender hope, but the alternative is the death of western and perhaps of world civilisation."

His prophecy has proved true. Conditions are terrible in Germany, and the Germans are wondering whether democracy can produce the better life. Some are already blaming the Allies for their conditions of life and not the Nazis who were responsible for them. But there is a small nucleus who believe in democracy. First the Germans must see democracy in action: they must see democratic institutions developed under just control.

The important point for our immediate purpose, is that in hand with introducing a democratic form of government which will bring hope and reasonable prosperity

to the country, we must give guidance to their educational system. And it would be well to start in the training colleges. The survey in this chapter has revealed how very much they need advice and guidance. They should be encouraged to practice democracy in their training colleges, in their college clubs and societies, and the importance of the child rather than the subject should be stressed and stressed again. Then, when Germany is self governing along democratic lines, there will be teachers who can apply the new principals. With more time to work out their plans in 1918-33 period, the Germans might have succeeded. Re-education will take a long time. Unless there is stability and peaceful development without the rise of any more dictators, all educational schemes will fail, and the enthusiasm of the few, and the work in the training colleges and schools will be in vain.

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Notes:

1. "The New Education of the German republic." Alexander and Parker..(Williams and Norgate Ltd), 1930. p.327
2. Comparative Education. Edited by Peter Sandiford. (J.M.Dent and Sons..1918) p. 133
3. Ibid
4. Ibid p.135
5. Ibid p. 136

6. The New Education of the German Republic. Alexander and Parker. p. 328
7. Ibid. p. 329
8. "German Education Today." Theodore Wilhelm and Gerhard Graese
9. Ibid
10. "Total Education" M.L.Jacks (Kegan Paul p. 24)
11. "German Education Today". Wilhelm and Graese.
12. Ibid
13. "The New Education in the German Republic" Alexander and Parker. p. 324
14. "Total Education." M.L. Jacks. p.26
15. "Teachers from the Forces" Edited by M.M.Lewis p.50
16. Ibid. p.53
17. "Comparative Education" p. 135
18. "The New Education of the German Republic" Alexander and Parker. Introdt. p. xxviii
19. Ibid p. 325
20. "Education. Its Date and First Principles"(Edward Arnold & Co. Sir Percy Nunn p. 165
21. Journal Of Education. July 1942. F.A. Cavanagh.

PART FOURCHAPTER NINEYOUTH MOVEMENTS

The main emphasis throughout this thesis is on elementary schools and the training of teachers for them; even so, it is thought desirable to give as complete a picture as possible of other educational developments within the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen. It all reveals the enthusiasm which the Germans applied, and still further emphasises the difficulties in the way of the re-education of Germany. Therefore, reference will be made to youth movements, adult education and university education, but not in the same detail as the study of the elementary schools and the teacher training colleges.

It has been made clear, that the progress in the schools will be slow. But, a great problem remains outside the schools which must be dealt with with haste. Probably, the greatest cause for anxiety is the child in his' teens . No one would deny that it is of the utmost importance to take hold of German youth and destroy the fanatical ideas on which they were brought up. Professor Howard Becker illustrates admirably, the problem of youth. He gives an imaginary conversation with a youth of seventeen, in which he says....."You can't shake me, even

if I am only seventeen, I'm hard as steel and tough as leather. That is what the Fuehrer demanded of us. I have been a leader from the days when I was in the Junior Boys, for I had faith and the will to action. I still have it. You'll see.....Germany will win this war-in-peace, you may be sure....A Master Race born to govern cannot be held down eternally...One man and the spirit he evoked will always be the guide of of our youth: our Fuehrer."<sup>(1)</sup>

The Secondary and Vocational schools have been re-opened, but they can only play a limited part. By November 1946, 21 secondary schools were re-opened in Regierungsbezirk Aachen, but they were only sufficient provision for 4,100 pupils full time, and 2,478 part time. In addition, there were 8,440 attending Berufsschulen and 1,026 attending Berufsfachschulen. Their influence, however, on the large mass of youth can only be small. Their re-education can best come through Youth Movements, Adult Education and Trades Unions.

A brief account will be given of what has been done so far. After the collapse of the Third Reich, the Roman Catholic Church (95% population in RB Aachen) was ready to step in and take over once more the care of the youth which had been taken from them by the Nazis. Before 1933, the Catholic youth of Germany was united in a great number of organisations and associations. In 1933, there were 1,400,000 young Catholics in these organisations.

In addition, there were Catholic Young Men's associations numbering 4,500, which had a membership of 400,000. There were also 4,000 associations of Catholic girls over 18 years of age, with a membership of 550,000.

When the National Socialist Party came into power in 1933, they set out to destroy these Catholic Youth organisations. Hitler, from the very beginning was determined to eliminate all clerical influence on the youth of the country. To this end he set out to abolish the Catholic Youth organisation. The Hitler Jugend was first created as a free movement, but later it became apparent that the object of the Hitler Jugend was to bind the youth of Germany to the State, and make them obedient enough to obey the dictates of the Fuehrer without question. However, despite the oppression of the Catholic clubs and, in spite of the superior facilities offered by the state youth movement, the Hitler Jugend and the BDM, did not at first capture many of the youth of the Catholic organisations. In the period 1933-38, the Catholic Youth Organisations were oppressed and restricted in every way. There was prohibition of all big meetings, games and sports of every kind. Even hiking and singing were prohibited. The book of songs which was used by the young mens' organisations, was forbidden and confiscated. One by one the periodicals of the organisation were banned.

Even so, despite all these measures, the Third Reich failed to destroy completely the spirit of the Catholic youth organisations. In 1939, however, the Party took stronger measures; they defamed and arrested the leaders. Young people, as well as the clerical leaders, were arrested and fined for the most frivolous reasons eg singing songs or hiking. Some were imprisoned or sent to concentration camps, and parents were often punished and dismissed from their positions because their children were members of the Catholic Youth organisations. Pupils of secondary schools, who were members were banished from their schools and prevented from studying. The final stroke was the dissolution of the Catholic Youth and the confiscation of their property. Even so, the spirit of the organisation remained, and in 1945, the church was ready to take on the task of providing for youth once more. The leader of the movement said that, "the Catholic Youth Ministerial Office and Youth organisation will do their best, to clear the country of Nazis and create a youth, healthy in body and mind, religiously and morally reliable, and bring up a German youth willing to cooperate with the youth of other countries in the furtherance of peace. Within this broad policy, the Catholic Youth Organisation set itself the following task:-

1. The giving of lessons in religion.
2. Divine services and sacraments for the youth.



3. To lead the Catholic youth in a free and happy life, encourage games, sports, hiking and cultural work.
4. To prepare the youth to serve their own people and to work for a future peace.

The leaders of the movement were to be priests, who were to receive special training for their task.

The history of the Evangelical Youth Groups is similar although, in Aachen, they were not so ready in 1945 to take up the work again.

The progress made is indicated in the following figures for November, 1946

R.C. Clubs	370.....	18,728 children
Protestant...	8 .....	152 "

These figures show the predominance of the Roman Catholic church. There was a danger at first, that the Roman Catholic church wished to establish a complete monopoly over the youth of the country; that desire still predominates in church circles. This, however, has to be countered. The religious influence is important in character formation, but it is only one factor. The activities of the Roman Catholic clubs throughout the winter of 1945/6 were confined to hymn singing and religious meetings at the home of the priest or in a church hall. This, however, is not sufficient. German youth needs more: many of the youths have no interest in the church and they must be approached through secular

organisations. If these are not forthcoming, the position will not be very much altered. If German youth is not given a lead and if there is nothing to replace the Hitler Youth Movement, there will be a hankering after the previous conditions which produced it.

But, as with the schools, there is the great problem of finding suitable leaders. Jugendamts (Youth Offices) were set up in each Kreis, and they were under the control of the Regierungsbezirk Education Office. The Schulrats were instructed to take an interest in them and it was hoped to invoke the assistance of teachers. Youth movements were publicised in the press, and leaders were asked to volunteer their services. Very few leaders were forthcoming. The political parties wished to form their own youth groups, but this was undesirable and out of keeping with the policy which was to keep them divorced from political parties.

It is a problem which the Germans must solve themselves, but, obviously it is a very difficult one. Here again, however, as in the training colleges, guidance is desirable. A scheme was started, whereby British officers and other ranks with youth club experience were invited to help German youth clubs, but the response was small. Most Army personnel are faced with the difficulty of language, and, at the same time, the Roman Catholics did not welcome the idea with enthusiasm. Perhaps, the main hope lies in training chosen German

leaders, by British persons experienced in Youth work. This has been done, and should yield the best results. Something on the lines of our County Colleges would help, but as we have not yet developed them ourselves, there is little likelihood that the Germans will be able to do so.

In conclusion, therefore, on the constructive side there is only the work of the church youth organisations so far. This is not enough, but difficulty in finding suitable leaders handicaps progress.

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Notes:

- (1) Howard Becker. "German Youth: Bond or Free (Kegan Paul 1946). p. 232

Most of the information contained in this chapter was obtained by the writer when dealing with youth movements in Aachen. Facts concerning the Catholic Youth organisations were obtained from the Bishop of Aachen.

CHAPTER TENADULT AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

It remains to mention the progress made in adult and university education in the general educational development in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen. As the re-education of Germany will come chiefly from the Germans themselves, it is pertinent to consider what the adults are doing to re-orientate their ideas and equip themselves for the task. Adults will be needed on local government educational councils, and it is important that they should have a clear conception of what should be aimed at. From the universities too will come teachers and leaders in public life.

The first attempt at adult education in Germany after the occupation was made in Aachen. A group of non-Nazis organised an Academic Course to be attended by adults among whom teachers were to form a large proportion. At the first lecture, in August 1945, over two hundred people had to be turned away because there was not sufficient accommodation: three hundred people attended each lecture. The head of the course was Professor von Wiese of Bonn University. The lectures were, however, of no appeal to the mass of the population for they were chiefly concerned with philosophical subjects. Even so, they indicated very clearly that there were a number of

Germans who were anxiously desirous of improving their knowledge and finding new ideas through lectures and discussions.

As at other levels of education in Germany, there was great difficulty in finding suitable people to conduct adult courses. In the city of Aachen, progress was possible because adult courses could draw on the lecturing staff of the Technische Hochschule, Teacher Training College and the teachers of the Secondary schools. Elsewhere it was not so easy. Progress in adult education depended on the efforts of the few reliable teachers and officials who were already overburdened with tasks of reconstruction. Nevertheless, by the end of 1946, there were open, 2 Volkshochschulen (Peoples High Schools) and in addition there were nine adult courses organised within the Regierungsbezirk. About 3,500 males and about 3,000 females attended, constituting about 20% of the total young men and women between the ages of 18 and 25 in the districts concerned.

The following subjects which were studied at the Aachen Volkshochschule indicate the wide range of study. The syllabus included, Philosophy, Sociology, Law, Political Economy, Art, Medicine, Technical subjects (Architecture and Building), Languages, Natural Science and Gardening.

It is impossible as yet to evaluate the work of

these adult courses. There is a certain amount of vocational training, but at the same time much attention is given to questions of philosophy and government. It is to be hoped that from the adult schools will come men and women who, as responsible citizens of the community and as parents, will help in building a sound educational system for young Germans.

### Universities

In the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen is the Technische Hochschule of Aachen, which confers its own degrees. Because it is wholly a technical university it cannot be taken as typical of others in Germany. The study of its development is included in this thesis because it completes the pattern of re-building, and because, from the university will come the future leaders of Germany. Many of the graduates will probably enter the teaching profession, and those who don't will nevertheless be expected to take part in the re-education of Germany. The question is, "To what extent will the university fit them for this task.?"

As with the schools it is necessary first of all to take account of the spiritual damage and the deterioration of academic standards caused by the Nazis. When this is considered in relation to the physical damage caused by war, one is better able to judge what

the contribution of the universities is likely to be.

In 1932, the Technische Hochschule had a staff of 127. (1). The Nazis began a purge as soon as they came into power; very few of the Hochschule staff, however, were dismissed - five in 1933 and two in 1937. Of these, six were Jewish professors, and one was dismissed because of his political views. This number is very small compared with the 108 dismissed at Frankfurt and the 45 dismissed at Göttingen. (2)

The success of the Party's policy to reduce the number of students at universities is indicated in the decreasing number of students at the Hochschule. The figures are as follows:-

1932.....	911
1933.....	853
1934.....	782
1935.....	706
1936.....	657
1937.....	611
1938.....	777
1939.....	957
1940.....	229
1941.....	227
1942.....	398
1943.....	328
1944.....	410

A very big reduction in numbers is evident in the years following 1933, with a bigger decrease after the beginning of the war, although there is a rise after 1942, when Germany was beginning to feel the need for trained technicians. There are several reasons for this great decline. First, the Party did not want to have large numbers of highly trained people unemployed. After the 1914-

1914-18 war, thousands of young men entered the universities, and later found that there was no employment available for which they were qualified. The Nazi Party did not want to have large numbers of university trained men for whom they could not find employment, and so accordingly they only allowed the universities to admit a reduced quota of students. Secondly, the Nazi Party decreed that those who entered the universities should be proved Nazis or Nazi sympathisers; as a result many young men decided against a university training. They knew that each student must become a member of the S.A. (Storm Troops), and that every student had to prove the soundness of his political views to the final examiner. All these factors account for the reduced number of students during the Nazi period. In the special case of the Technische Hochschule of Aachen, there is no doubt that the reduction of the number of students was partly due to the poor prospects for engineers after the depression years of 1930.

Since the Nazis removed all members of university staffs who held opposite political views, one would not expect to find any anti-Nazis available for the task of reconstruction. Indeed, in Aachen only about 50% of those who submitted fragebogen were accepted: this was after very careful interrogation. Figures show that of the 68 members of the teaching staff who presented



themselves for re-employment,

22% were in the NSDAP before April 1937

59% had been members at one time or another.

27% were members of the SA.

It is apparent, therefore, that the Hochschule could only be staffed to a half of its pre-war scale. Most of the Heads of Departments were removed for their political tendencies, and suitable successors were difficult to find ~~ix~~ because the Nazis had previously carefully scrutinized university staffs. Those lecturers who were allowed to remain were generally of poor calibre, who, while they might have been able to impart technical knowledge, were quite unsuited for the greater task of re-educating the young men under them.

The young men they had to educate were almost completely Nazi in outlook. This was evident when the Social Democrat Party, the Christian Democrat Union and the Communist Party demanded the closing of the Hochschule shortly after its opening because they thought the students were all Nazis, and in support of this quoted them as having strongly opposed the justice of the Nuremburg Trials.

Choice of students was left to the Hochschule who were guided both by academic qualities and political reliability. Of the first 218 male students admitted,

204 were ex-members of the Wehrmacht (103 officers and 101 other ranks)

38 male students were ex-Party members.

14 male students were ex SA members.

61 male students were ex leaders or officials in the Hitler Jugend.

Of 25 female students, 1 was a Party member and 4 were leaders in the BDM.

The ages of the students ranged from 21 to 36, the majority being in the 25-29 age group. It is ~~not~~ only to be expected that, in a country which has conscription, there should be so many former members of the Wehrmacht amongst the students. It is natural also, that half of them should be of officer status. No doubt, the universities in Germany attracted the cream of her young men after the capitulation. It will be noted, however, that many had been members of the Nazi Party, and it was because of the outcry from certain German sources against this, that Military Government refused admission to former Party members.

These facts are presented merely to indicate further how difficult the task of re-education will be. Young men deprived of a university education because of their previous political allegiance: lecturers incapable of training the students to take their responsible place in a democracy. Indeed, one felt that young engineers and

architects would be trained, and as such they would be efficient, but that their political ideas would remain the same as when they entered the university. But to close universities as German political parties suggested would not solve the problem: nor would ruthless discrimination as to who shall receive university education. It is veritably a great problem, and merely indicates afresh the great difficulty of re-educating Germany. It is probable that visiting professors would help to solve the problem, but re-education must come from themselves. Unfortunately, the Nazis so completely controlled the staffs of the universities, that there are few capable of assuming the responsibility.

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Notes:

- (1) These, and other figures in this chapter relating to pre-1945 conditions, were given by the Rector of the Technische Hochschule. Others were obtained by the writer's own investigation.

PART FIVECHAPTER ELEVENCONCLUSION

The educational developments which took place in the Regierungsbezirk of Aachen in the eighteen months following the collapse of Germany in May, 1945, are for the most part comparable to those of the rest of the British Zone. But for the institution of the School Council which was peculiar to Aachen, they were the same. No doubt, such a study as this will be of value to the historian of the future, when the factors involved in the building of the New Germany are being investigated. Only time will tell of the success or otherwise of the educational work that has been accomplished. It is possible, however, at this stage to tabulate certain definite conclusions. They are these:-

1. By combined <sup>effort</sup> on the part of the British and Germans great progress has been made in re-starting German educational institutions. Within a very short period after the end of the war, all types of schools, teacher training colleges and universities were re-opened, catering - if not full time - for the majority of German children and youths.

2. The re-building period showed definitely that there are Germans of integrity who revealed tremendous energy and enthusiasm in the task of restoring German education from the sorry plight in which the Nazis had left it. It also showed that, there were Germans willing to give constructive service on School Councils, and generally to take an active interest in education. These Germans are, however, few in number, and are for the most part over fifty years of age. One wonders whence their successors will come.
3. Against this ability and enthusiasm shown by education officials, there is the lethargy and bewilderment of the teachers. Many are guilty of having fulfilled their duties in accordance with the wishes of the Nazis. They are for the most part over fifty years of age, and only anxious to finish their time as teachers. They are incapable of producing a re-education of Germany.
4. In the young recruits to the profession there is marked enthusiasm, but they suffer from having been completely educated by the Nazis. There is also the drawback that it is so difficult to find training college staffs capable of making the revolutionary changes which are necessary in the method and content of education.
5. What is often referred to as "the re-education of Germany" has not yet been started. Schools and educational institutions are open: they carry on under great

difficulties being without books and equipment.

This thesis is prefaced with a statement made by the late Professor Cavanagh, as follows:- "As to the reconditioning of the Nazi generation, I can so far see no light." Is it indeed, possible to re-educate Germany and, if so, what might be the contribution of the schools? It is readily acknowledged that the re-education of Germany must come from the Germans themselves, but one hastens to add that this will not be possible if they have no hope of the future. Great material progress has been made because of the enthusiasm of Germans who were always democratic in outlook, but this in itself will be an insufficient source of inspiration. Re-education will only come when Germany has a sound economic order and children and teachers alike can thus see the future more clearly. A country's system of education is closely in keeping with its system of government. This was very evident in the Nazi period in Germany: similarly our own system with "equality of opportunity" and education according to "age, ability and aptitude" is in keeping with the political views held by the majority of the democratic community. But what is the system to be now in Germany? Can one train people in democracy when they have no visible signs of it? Can one educate <sup>or</sup> starved children in the virtues of democracy, when they see little hope in the future? These are the most pertinent questions and, till

Germany has a democratic form of government and a certain amount of economic stability and prosperity there is no hope of them re-educating themselves along lines comparable to our own. It would be wholly wrong to superimpose our educational system: a country's system of education must always be related to its political and economic system. Germany has always done this, and will continue to do so.

Obviously, each occupying power fully appreciates the lines along which it would like educational development to proceed. But here again there is a problem, for will not the Russian system be different from our own? Each power wishes to prevent the resurgence of Nazi ideas and methods. This can best be done by building up a body of Germans who have learnt to appreciate the merits of democratic government. It is in this direction that constructive work can be done. The question of "educational system" can be left to the future, but here and now, individual Germans can be re-educated, and it is felt that the individuals on whom the occupying powers should concentrate are the teachers.

Preparation can be made now for the day when Germany will have a democratic form of government and the schools will take their rightful place in it. Whilst not wishing to superimpose our system we can guide. Furthermore, the teacher is the most important part of any educational system. If he is not imbued with the right

spirit, the system fails. It is hoped that the study of the school curriculum and the work in the training colleges have shown the great need for guidance from outside. Furthermore, this guidance is being asked for. It is thought, therefore, that emphasis should be on the new teachers and their training. It is not possible to provide British teachers for work in the schools, but it should be possible to provide one suitably qualified person from Gt. Britain to supervise and guide the work of each training college. The Germans in charge of training colleges seek their inspiration from the pre-1933 or even pre-1914 period. This is totally inadequate. New teachers should realise the importance of the child both as an individual and as a member of the community, and if educational psychology in the training colleges was studied with the object ~~with the object~~ of emphasising the qualities of children much good would be done. The Nazis killed all idea of a child-centred education. There is no doubt that it is possible to remedy this damage.

There must also be a leading away from the "instruction" which has dominated German schools. At the moment training colleges are places of cramming.. this spirit must not spread over into the schools. If students in training could be introduced to the project method, there is a likelihood that they will take it into the schools. The writer has found that doing



projects with students has been most profitable to them.

The development of student activities outside of lectures must also be encouraged. This is lacking at the moment: indeed the feeling is that such things have no place in the training. It is submitted, however, that this is a most valuable means of learning to assume responsibility, and learn to "give and take".

These are just three things which are considered vital in the training college course. Meanwhile, Germans do their best to train teachers according to the pre-1933 or pre-1914 pattern. From the teachers from the colleges will come the new ideas and methods so much needed in the schools. It is doubted if there is any other means available. So important is the training of good young teachers, that if British personnel cannot be spared for this important task, facilities should be made available for German training college staffs to visit training colleges in this country. Guidance is so much needed. The result would be that the teachers would form a solid core of people wedded to the democratic idea: they would be a stronger body than their predecessors who were trained as Civil Servants and submitted to Hitler. Furthermore they would spread the democratic idea in the schools: they would seek to establish the proper balance between the child and the community.

One concludes, therefore, with the thought that there are Germans competent enough to re-establish the

schools of Germany. It is for us to ensure that there are reliable, young teachers ready to take on from them. By building up the core of sound Germans, it will also be possible to introduce a democratic form of government, and having been suitably guided by ourselves, these young teachers, should play a big part in the re-education of Germany, which while being a great problem, is not wholly beyond solution.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ABITUR	Secondary School leaving examination
BUND DEUTSCHER MADEL (BDM)	Nazi Youth Organisation for girls between ages of 14 and 21.
DRK (Deutsches Rotes Kreuz)	German Red Cross
GRUNDSCHULE	Foundation School comprising first four years of compulsory education in the elementary school (Volksschule)
HITLER JUGEND (HJ)	all German Youth between 10 and 18. Hitlerjugend is the Nazi Youth Organisation for boys between 10 and 14 years of age.
JUNGMADDEL	Girls between 10 and 14. Part of Hitlerjugend.
KREIS	Subdivision of Regierungsbezirk
LEHRERBILDUNGSANSTALT	Institution for training of elementary school teachers. Thoroughly Nazified.
NATIONAL SOZIALISTISCHE DEUTSCHE ARBEITER PARTEI (NSDAP) -	Nazi Party
NSDB (Dozentenbund)	Nazi Lecturers Union
NSDStB	League of National Socialist Students
NSF (National Sozialistische Frauenschaft)	responsible for work of women within the various units of the Party
NSLB (National Sozialistischer Lehrerbund)	Nazi Teachers' Organisation
NS REICHSKRIEGERBUND	Ex-Serviceman's organisation taken over by Nazis
NSV (National Sozialistische Volkswohlfahrt)	Welfare organisation
OBERREGIERUNGS- und OBERSCHULRAT	- Assistant to Regierungsdirector and 'county' education inspector
OBERSTUFE	Senior division of the elementary school

PROREKTOR Deputy of the Rektor

REGIERUNGSBERZIRK administrative area comparable to our county

REGIERUNGSDIREKTOR comparable to our Chief Education Officer of a county

REKTOR Rector or President of a University - Previously elected for one year by all the professors of the University amongst themselves. Nazis made the office one to be filled by the Reichsminister of Education

SCHULRAT Official for education matters and inspector for education within the Kreis

SA(Sturmabteilung) Storm Troops (brownshirts)

SS(Schutzstaffel) Body Guard (black guards)

TECHNISCHE HOCHSCHULE Technical College

VDA (Verein der Deutschen im Ausland) League for Germans abroad taken over by Nazis in 1933.

RE-OPENING OF GRUNDSCHULEN

Certificate to be completed in respect of all schools to  
be re-opened.

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WE CERTIFY as follows:

1. This certificate applies to all those schools in Stadtkreis AACHEN/ Landkreis....., and no schools other than those listed will be opened for teaching, without prior notice to Military Government.
2. All text-books and teaching aids other than those approved by the Commander in Chief have been collected and locked up. No text-book or teaching aids which have not been officially approved will be used in the class-rooms.
3. No teacher will be employed other than those listed in Annexure A, or such others as may be from time to time authorised by Military Government in writing.
4. No teacher will be dismissed or transferred without the permission of Military Government.
5. No child will be refused admission to a school on grounds of race or religion.
6. No child will be compelled to attend religious instruction against the wishes of its parents.
7. The attention of all teachers has been drawn to the policy of the Commander-in-Chief, namely that Military Government will not interfere in matters affecting the curricula of German schools except that,
  - (a) No teacher shall be allowed to introduce into his teaching, no matter with what subject he may be purporting to deal, anything which -
    - (i) glorifies militarism.
    - (ii) seeks to propagate, revive or justify the doctrines of National Socialism, or to exalt the achievements of National Socialist leaders.
    - (iii) favours a policy of discrimination on grounds of race or religion.

(iv) is hostile to, or seeks to disturb the relations between any of the United Nations, and

(v) expounds the practice of war or of mobilisation or preparation for war, whether in the scientific, economic or industrial fields, or promotes the study of military geography.

(b) Physical training will not be expanded to, or retained at, a point where it becomes equivalent to para-military training.

.....  
Signed:.....  
(Education Director/Schulrat)

.....  
Date.....

.....  
(Oberbürgermeister/Landrat)

SCHOOL SYLLABUS FOR FIRST FOUR GRADES

- (a) During Nazi Period
- (b) Since 1945

I Grade (Nazi Period)RELIGION

The first stories about the Old Testament and the life of Jesus Christ. From certain passages the children will learn the most important prayers.

GENERAL

At the end of the first grade the children should be able to read without hesitating, to form small sentences, and spell correctly. Count from 1-100. Sing simple songs, and play in the classroom or outside in their childish way. Painting and drawing in connection with object lessons.

I Grade ( New Scheme )

The children should be able to read small sentences and write them down exactly. They should be able to calculate between 1 and 100. Simplest songs should be known. Drawing and painting makes the object lessons more interesting. In an easy way, they should play in the school ground.

-----

II Grade (Nazi Period)RELIGION

The subjects taught from the Bible to be extended. The story of the history of the Bible, with help of small Bible is told in a simple manner, easy to understand. Important instructions are given for the religious-moral life.

GERMAN

Reading in a fluent manner is practised from tales and childish stories. The most important verbal terms, substantives, time words, adjectives are learnt in their simplest forms. The aim is to learn to talk fluently and distinctly.

COUNTING

The subject of this grade covers the figures between 1 and 100, with addition and subtraction, and easy multiplication problems and division.

MUSIC

Music al instruction in voice, melody and rhythm within the scale. Introduction to writing in keys. Childrens songs for one voice.

DRAWING AND PRACTICAL WORK

Drawing based on ideas the children receive from their surroundings.

SPORT. Simplest exercises and games.

II Grade (New Scheme)

Wording of syllabus entirely same as Nazi one.

--SS-----

III Grade (Nazi Period)

RELIGION

The Bible and Catechism. The whole teaching in Roman Catholic schools should be to prepare children for receiving of sacraments. Prayers and the understanding of religious services and rites are taught.

GERMAN

Distinct, exact and fluent reading encouraged. Spelling with and without capital letters. Attainment of certain accomplishment in speech.

COUNTING

Counting from 1 to 1000. Multiplication, addition and subtraction.

MUSIC

Tune and sound exercises. Different keys: play, children's and national songs are practised.

DRAWING

The first exercises are made with coal: drawing ellipse, circle and square. Exercises in cutting out drawings based on impressions child gets from nature, and from memory.

SPORT

Gymnastic exercises, marching, games with balls, running, body exercises.

LESSONS ABOUT THE NATIVE COUNTRY

The lessons about the native country in tje first two grades were merely about the children's surroundings, and their own experiences. In the Third Grade, they are



are given actual teaching on the subject -the home town Aachen, its geography, natural history, history, and traditions.

-----  
III Grade (New Scheme)

GERMAN

Exact pronunciation of letters practised and fluent reading. Different forms of verbs and adjectives: writing with capital or small letters. Capable of writing short reports.

ARITHMETIC

Numbers 1-1000. Multiplication, addition and subtraction.

MUSIC

Tune and Sound exercises. Different kinds of keys. Play, children's , folk and church songs.

DRAWING AND PRACTICAL WORK

Drawing with coal: ellipse, circle and square. Exercises in cutting out drawings based on impressions child gets from nature and from memory.

SPORT

Exercises, ball games and racing games as bodily training.

LESSONS ABOUT THE NATIVE COUNTRY

Now real instruction in folklore. Our native town Aachen - its geography, natural history, history, tales, legends and tradition.

-----  
IV Grade (Nazi Period)

RELIGION

Teaching of New Testament. In RC Schools they distribute pictures of the lives of the saints.

GERMAN

In addition to clear sounds and fluent reading, -there are exercises on reading with expression. The material is taken from tales and legends. Analysis of simple sentences. There should be at least 12 essays in a special copy book. Practice of spelling. Learning of stories, reports and poems by heart.

ARITHMETIC

Counting above 1000. Addition, subtraction, multiplication with three figures. Dividing with two figures. Coins, length, weights.

MUSIC

Exercises in forming sound and tone. Simple two voiced songs - national songs and hymns.

DRAWING

Feathers, butterflies, leaves with coloured pencil and water colour.

SPORT

Exercises of body..gymnastic exercises: games and exercises with ball and simple apparatus.

LESSONS ABOUT THE NATIVE COUNTRY

Regierungsbezirk Aachen and the Rhine Province.

IV Grade( New Scheme)

Wording of syllabus exactly same as under Nazis

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HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF LATER GRADES  
DURING NAZI PERIOD

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HISTORY

V Grade

Famous men and important incidents from the history of our country. In the girl school classes, famous women as well. At the end of the term there should be chosen with some care some pictures of the old Germanic culture, and the great German migration. All this is intended to lead to the actual history of our country and nation. After the year 1933 from the present back to the Great War)

THE PERSON OF THE FUEHRER SHOULD BE GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION

VI Grade

The union of the whole German race in the Franconian reign: foundation and enlargement of the kingdom of Heinrich I until the year 1648. Struggle between King and Popes: crusades. Regaining of the Eastern part of Germany. After 1648, history and of Brandenburg and Prussia is to the forefront.

VII and VIII Grades

Friedrich I, Friedrich Wilhelm I, Friedrich II. The Prussian collapse: Napoleon 1813-14. The struggle for freedom until 1870: the First Reich..the Great War, the Republic. Since 1933 the establishment of the III Reich. "Staatsbürgerkunde"..citizenship. Lessons on Race.

GEOGRAPHY

V. Grade

The natural landscape of Germany.

VI. Grade

The same continued.

VII and VIII Grades

Europe, the other parts of the world and those countries which border Germany.

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## D. SCHRIFTWERKE UND REDEN

Verzeichnen Sie auf einem besonderen Bogen alle Veröffentlichungen von 1933 bis zum heutigen Tage, die ganz oder teilweise von Ihnen geschrieben, gesammelt oder herausgegeben wurden, und alle Ansprachen und Vorlesungen, die Sie gehalten haben; der Titel, das Datum und die Verbreitung oder Zuhörerschaft sind anzugeben. Ausgenommen sind diejenigen, die ausschließlich technische, künstlerische oder unpolitische Themen zum Inhalte hatten. Wenn Sie dies in Zusammenarbeit mit einer Organisation unternommen haben, so ist deren Name anzugeben. Falls keine, schreiben Sie: „Keine Reden oder Veröffentlichungen“.

## E. DIENSTVERHÄLTNIS

Alle Ihre Dienstverhältnisse seit 1. Januar 1930 bis zum heutigen Tage sind anzugeben. Alle Ihre Stellungen, die Art Ihrer Tätigkeit, der Name und die Anschrift Ihrer öffentlichen und privaten Arbeitgeber sind zu verzeichnen. Ferner sind anzuführen: Dauer der Dienstverhältnisse, Grund deren Beendigung, Dauer etwaiger Arbeitslosigkeit einschließlich der durch Schulausbildung oder Militärdienst verursachten Postenlosigkeit.

Von From	Bis To	Anstellung Position	Art der Tätigkeit Duties	Arbeitgeber Employer	Grund für die Beendigung des Dienstverhältnisses Reasons for cessations of service

## D. WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

List on a separate sheet all publications from 1933 to the present which were written in whole or in part, or compiled, or edited by you, and all addresses or lectures made by you, except those of a strictly technical or artistic and non-political character, giving title, date and circulation or audience. If they were sponsored by any organization, give its name. If none, write "No speeches or publications".

## E. EMPLOYMENT

Give a history of your employment beginning with January 1, 1930 and continuing to date, listing all positions held by you, your duties and the name and address of your employer or the governmental department or agency in which you were employed, the period of service, and the reasons for cessation of service, accounting for all periods of unemployment, including attendance at educational institutions and military service.

## F. EINKOMMEN

Verzeichnen Sie hier die Quellen und die Höhe Ihres Einkommens seit dem 1. Januar 1933.

## F. INCOME

Show the sources and amount of your annual income since January 1, 1933.

Jahr Year	Einkommensquellen Sources of income	Betrag Amount
1933		
1934		
1935		
1936		
1937		
1938		
1939		
1940		
1941		
1942		
1943		
1944		

## G. MILITÄRDIENST

Haben Sie seit 1919  
Militärdienst geleistet? Ja - Nein  
In welcher  
Waffengattung? ..... Datum .....  
Wo haben  
Sie gedient? ..... Dienststrang .....  
Haben Sie in militärähnlichen  
Organisationen Dienst geleistet? Ja - Nein  
In welcher? ..... Wo? ..... Daten .....  
Sind Sie vom Militärdienste  
zurückgestellt worden? Ja - Nein  
Wann? ..... Warum? .....

## G. MILITARY SERVICE

Have you rendered military service since 1919? Yes - No. In which arm? Dates. Where did you serve? Grade or rank. Have you rendered service in para-military organizations? Yes - No. In which ones? Where? Dates. Were you deferred from military service? Yes - No. When? Why?

Haben Sie an der Militärregierung in irgendeinem von Deutschland besetzten Lande einschließlich Österreich und Sudetenland teilgenommen? Ja - Nein. Wenn ja, geben Sie Einzelheiten über bekleidete Ämter, Art Ihrer Tätigkeit, Gebiet und Dauer des Dienstes an. ....

Did you serve as a part of the Military Government in any country occupied by Germany including Austria and the Sudetenland? Yes - No. If so, give particulars of offices held, duties performed, territory and period of service.

## MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY

## FRAGEBOGEN

## PERSONNEL QUESTIONNAIRE

No. ....  
 MG PS/G/9  
 Function .....

WARNUNG. Im Interesse von Klarheit ist dieser Fragebogen in deutsch und englisch verfaßt. In Zweifelsfällen ist der englische Text maßgeblich. Jede Frage muß so beantwortet werden, wie sie gestellt ist. Unterlassung der Beantwortung, unrichtige oder unvollständige Angaben werden wegen Zuwiderhandlung gegen militärische Verordnungen gerichtlich verfolgt. Falls mehr Raum benötigt ist, sind weitere Bogen anzuheften.

WARNING. In the Interests of clarity this questionnaire has been written in both German and English. If discrepancies exist, the English will prevail. Every question must be answered as indicated. Omissions or false or incomplete statements will result in prosecution as violations of military ordinances. Add supplementary sheets if there is not enough space in the questionnaire.

A. PERSONAL  
PERSONNEL

Name.....	Ausweiskarte Nr.....
Name    Zuname Surname                      Middle Name    Vornamen    Christian Name	Identity Card No.
Geburtsdatum .....	Geburtsort .....
Date of birth .....	Place of birth .....
Staatsangehörigkeit.....	Gegenwärtige Anschrift .....
Citizenship .....	Present address .....
Ständiger Wohnsitz.....	Beruf .....
Permanent residence .....	Occupation .....
Gegenwärtige Stellung .....	Stellung, für die Bewerbung eingereicht .....
Present position .....	Position applied for .....
Stellung vor dem Jahre 1933 .....	
Position before 1933 .....	

## B. MITGLIEDSCHAFT IN DER NSDAP

1. Waren Sie jemals ein Mitglied der NSDAP?  
Ja - Nein
2. Daten .....
3. Haben Sie jemals eine der folgenden Stellungen in der NSDAP bekleidet?  
(a) REICHSLEITER oder Beamter in einer Stelle, die einem Reichsleiter unterstand? Ja - Nein  
Titel der Stellung..... Daten .....
- (b) GAULEITER oder Parteibeamter innerhalb eines Gaues? Ja - Nein  
Daten .....
- (c) KREISLEITER oder Parteibeamter innerhalb eines Kreises? Ja - Nein  
Titel der Stellung..... Daten..... Amtsort.....
- (d) ORTSGRUPPENLEITER oder Parteibeamter innerhalb einer Ortsgruppe?  
Titel der Stellung..... Daten .....
- (e) Ein Beamter in der Parteikanzlei? Ja - Nein  
Daten .....
- (f) Ein Beamter in der REICHSLEITUNG DER NSDAP? Ja - Nein  
Daten .....
- (g) Ein Beamter im Hauptamte für Erzieher? Im Amte des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP? Ein Direktor oder Lehrer in irgendeiner Parteiausbildungsschule? Ja - Nein  
Daten .....
- (h) Waren Sie Mitglied des KORPS DER POLITISCHEN LEITER?  
Ja - Nein — Daten der Mitgliedschaft .....
- (i) Waren Sie ein Leiter oder Funktionär in irgendeinem anderen Amte, Einheit oder Stelle (ausgenommen sind die unter C unten angeführten Gliederungen, angeschlossenen Verbände und betreuten Organisationen der NSDAP)? Ja - Nein  
Daten .....
- (j) Haben Sie irgendwelche nahe Verwandte, die irgendeine der oben angeführten Stellungen bekleidet haben? Ja - Nein  
Wenn ja, geben Sie deren Namen und Anschriften und eine Bezeichnung von deren Stellung.....

## B. NAZI PARTY AFFILIATIONS

Have you ever been a member of the NSDAP? Yes - No. Dates.

Have you ever held any of the following positions in the NSDAP?

REICHSLEITER or an official in an office headed by any Reichsleiter? Yes - No. Title of position; dates.

GAULEITER or a Party official within the jurisdiction of any Gau? Yes - No. Dates; location of office.

KREISLEITER or a Party official within the jurisdiction of any Kreis? Yes - No. Title of position; dates; location of office.

ORTSGRUPPENLEITER or a Party official within the jurisdiction of an Ortsgruppe? Yes - No. Title of position; dates; location of office.

An official in the Party Chancellery? Yes - No. Dates; title of position.

An official within the Central NSDAP headquarters? Yes - No. Dates; title of position.

An official within the NSDAP's Chief Education Office? In the office of the Führer's Representative for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Politico-philosophical Education of the NSDAP? Or a director or instructor in any Party training school? Yes - No. Dates; title of position; name of unit or school.

Were you a member of the CORPS OF POLITISCHE LEITER? Yes - No. Dates of membership.

Were you a leader or functionary of any other NSDAP offices or units or agencies (except Formations, Affiliated Organizations and Supervised Organizations which are covered by questions under C below)? Yes - No. Dates; title of position.

Have you any close relatives who have occupied any of the positions named above? Yes - No. If yes, give the name and address and a description of the position.

C. TÄTIGKEITEN IN NSDAP-  
HILFSORGANISATIONEN

Geben Sie hier an, ob Sie ein Mitglied waren und in welchem Ausmaße Sie an den Tätigkeiten der folgenden Gliederungen, angeschlossenen Verbände und betreuten Organisationen teilgenommen haben:

C. NAZI "AUXILIARY" ORGANIZATION  
ACTIVITIES

Indicate whether you were a member and the extent to which you participated in the activities of the following Formations, Affiliated Organizations or Supervised Organizations:

	Mitglied Member		Dauer der Mitgliedschaft Period of Membership	Ämter bekleidet Offices held	Dauer Period
	Ja Yes	Nein No			
1. Gliederungen <i>Formations</i>					
(a) SS . . . . .					
(b) SA . . . . .					
(c) HJ . . . . .					
(d) NSDStB . . . . .					
(e) NSD . . . . .					
(f) NSF . . . . .					
(g) NSKK . . . . .					
(h) NSFK . . . . .					
2. Angeschlossene Verbände <i>Affiliated Organizations</i>					
(a) Reichsbund der deutschen Beamten . . . . .					
(b) DAF einschl. . . . . KdF . . . . .					
(c) NSV . . . . .					
(d) NSKOV . . . . .					
(e) NS Bund deutscher Technik . . . . .					
(f) NSD Ärztebund . . . . .					
(g) NS Lehrerbund . . . . .					
(h) NS Rechtswahrerbund . . . . .					
3. Betreute Organisationen <i>Supervised Organizations</i>					
(g) VDA . . . . .					
(b) Deutsches Frauenwerk . . . . .					
(c) Reichskolonialbund . . . . .					
(d) Reichsbund deutsche Familie . . . . .					
(e) NS Reichsbund für Leibesübungen . . . . .					
(f) NS Reichsbund deutscher Schwestern . . . . .					
(g) NS Altherrenbund . . . . .					
4. Andere Organisationen <i>Other Organizations</i>					
(a) RAD . . . . .					
(b) Deutscher Gemeindetag . . . . .					
(c) NS Reichskriegerbund . . . . .					
(d) Deutsche Studentenschaft . . . . .					
(e) Reichsdozentenschaft . . . . .					
(f) DRK . . . . .					
(g) „Deutsche-Christen“-Bewegung . . . . .					
(h) „Deutsche Glaubensbewegung“ . . . . .					

5. Waren Sie jemals Mitglied irgendeiner nationalsozialistischen Organisation, die vorstehend nicht angeführt ist?  
Ja - Nein  
Name der Organisation ..... Daten .....  
Titel der Stellung ..... Ort .....

6. Haben Sie jemals das Amt eines Jugendwalters in einer Schule bekleidet? Ja - Nein

7. Wurden Ihnen jemals irgendwelche Titel, Rang, Auszeichnungen oder Urkunden von einer der obengenannten Organisationen ehrenhalber verliehen oder seitens dieser andere Ehren zuteil? Ja - Nein  
Falls ja, geben Sie an, was Ihnen verliehen wurde (Titel usw.), das Datum, den Grund und Anlaß für die Verleihung .....

*Were you ever a member of any NS organization not listed above? Yes - No. Name of organization; dates; title of position; location.*

*Did you ever hold the position of Jugendwaller in a school? Yes - No.*

*Have you ever been the recipient of any titles, ranks, medals, testimonials or other honors from any of the above organizations? Yes - No. If so, state the nature of the honor, the date conferred, and the reason and occasion for its bestowal.*

Lehrerliste für Gemeinde nach dem Stand vom 1945  
Stadtkreis

(1) Art der Pflichten	(2) Zahl der vorhandenen Lehrer			(3) Zahl der verfügbaren Lehrer								Zahl der AMTS-ENTHOBENEN Lehrer (Gruppe I)			(4) Besondere Bemerkungen	(5) NUR VON DER ALLIIERTEN MILITÄR-REGIERUNG AUSZUFÜLLEN! No of teachers under (3) whose "FRAGEBOGEN" have NOT yet been processed
	männl.	weibl.	Gesamtzahl (a)	(b) Gruppe II		Gruppe III		Gruppe IV		Gruppe V		männl.	weibl.	Gesamtzahl		
				männl.	weibl.	männl.	weibl.	männl.	weibl.	männl.	weibl.					
Kindergarten																
Volksschule																
Hauptschule																
Mittelschule																
Berufs- und Fachschulen																
Oberschule																
Gesamtzahlen																

(a) Hier ist die Gesamtzahl der Gruppen II - V (siehe Spalte 3) einzusetzen

(b) Gruppe I: Amtsenthobene Lehrer (vorläufig oder endgültig von der Militärregierung amtsenthoben)

Gruppe II: Zur Zeit amtsausübende und für das Lehramt verfügbare Lehrer

Gruppe III: Von den nationalsozialistischen Behörden vorläufig oder endgültig amtsenthobene Lehrer, die jedoch für die Amtsausübung verfügbar sind

Gruppe IV: Lehrer, die während der letzten 5 Jahre in den Warte- oder Ruhestand versetzt sind, jedoch für die Amtsausübung verfügbar sind

Gruppe V: Sonstige verfügbare Personen, die zur Ausübung des Lehramts als geeignet erachtet werden



APPENDIX TO FORM EDN/1

EDN/1/App

List of teachers in Gemeinde \_\_\_\_\_ as at \_\_\_\_\_ 1945  
or Stadtkreis \_\_\_\_\_

(1) Type of Duties	(2) No of teachers available			(3) Particulars of teachers available								(4) No of teachers dismissed under Cat I			Remarks	(5) No of teachers available for whom completed Fragebogen have been returned to Mil Gov officers	(6) (THIS COLUMN IS FOR USE OF MIL GOV OFFICIALS ONLY). No of teachers under (5) whose 'Fragebogen' have NOT yet been processed
	Male	Female	Total ⊕	* Cat II		Cat III		Cat IV		Cat V		m	f	Total			
				m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f						
<b>Kindergarten</b>																	
<b>Elementary</b>																	
<b>Hauptschule</b>																	
<b>Mittelschule</b>																	
<b>Technical and Vocational</b>																	
<b>Secondary</b>																	
<b>TOTALS</b>																	

⊕ This total should be the sum of Categories II - V incl at panel 3

- \* Category I Teachers suspended or dismissed by order of the military government
- II Teachers still in office and available for duty
- III Teachers suspended or dismissed by the national socialist authorities but available for duty
- IV Teachers retired within the last 5 years but available for duty
- V Other available persons considered suitable for teaching duties.

SURVEY OF EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS AND FACILITIES in

GEMEINDE  
or  
STADTKREIS  
(Delete where inapplicable)

Situation  
as at 1945

LANDKREIS (where applicable)

REGIERUNGSBEZIRK (where applicable)

LAND/PROVINZ

1. PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN FOR WHOM SCHOOL PROVISION IS REQUIRED	Officially evacuated under KLV arrangements to camps or private houses in this area		Children normally resident in and now residing in the Gemeinde or Stadtkreis		TOTAL	Names and Addresses of KLVs
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
(a) Number of Elementary School pupils						
(i) Unterstufe (6—10)						
(ii) Oberstufe (10—14)						
(b) Number requiring provision for higher education						
(i) Secondary						
(ii) Technical and vocational						
(c) Number under (b) above who will attend Elementary schools until separate provision can be made						

2. PARTICULARS OF TEACHERS OR PERSONS CONSIDERED SUITABLE FOR TEACHING DUTIES (Further details to be submitted on the attached Appendix)	Officially evacuated under KLV arrangements		Others residing in the Gemeinde or Stadtkreis		TOTAL	Remarks
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
(a) CATEGORY I: Suspended or dismissed by order of the military governments						
(b) CATEGORY II: Still in office and available for duty						
(c) CATEGORY III: Suspended or dismissed by the national socialist authorities, but available for duty						
(d) CATEGORY IV: Retired within the last 5 years but available for duty						
(e) CATEGORY V: Other available persons considered suitable for teaching duties						
<b>TOTAL</b>						
(f) No of above 2b—2e inclusive for whom completed "Fragebogen" have been handed to Mil Gov Officer						
(g) (For Mil Gov USE ONLY). No of above 2b—2e inclusive whose "Fragebogen" have NOT yet been processed						

3. PARTICULARS OF SCHOOLS AND OTHER PREMISES SUITABLE FOR SCHOOL USE INCLUDING those used by KLVs. NOTE 1. A list of these schools and premises with names and addresses should be given as an appendix. 2. "FURNISHED" = provided with school desks and seats or equivalent. 3. "MINOR REPAIRS" are such as can be done with materials and labour available locally.	No of Schools	No of class rooms	How many pupils can be accommodated?	Authority for assessment of accommodation **	Equipped for		Remarks
					radio reception *	cinematographic projection? 16 mm   35 mm	
(a) Undamaged schools, furnished							
(b) Undamaged schools, unfurnished							
(c) Schools usable after minor repairs, furnished							
(d) " " " " " , unfurnished							
(e) " " only after major repairs, furnished							
(f) " " " " " , unfurnished							
(g) Other premises available, furnished							
(h) " " " , unfurnished							
(i) Schools requisitioned for other uses							Details showing by whom now used should be given on a separate sheet
(j) Premises suitable for school use but otherwise occupied							
(k) Halls, suitable and equipped for instruction by							
(i) radio only *							
(ii) film only							
(iii) film and radio							

certify that the particulars given in this return are correct and complete

Signature) .....

(Official Stamp)

Official position) .....

Place and date) .....

\* If radio reception is restricted to certain wave bands, state which wave bands.

\*\* ie. refer to appropriate RMWEV Erlass (e) on Raumprogramm on basis of which assessment is made.

ÜBERSICHT ÜBER NOTWENDIGE UND VORHANDENE SCHULUNGSMASSNAHMEN in Gemeinde \* .....  
 oder Stand vom ..... 1945  
 Stadtkreis .....

Landkreis ..... Regierungsbezirk ..... Land/Provinz .....

1. Kinder für die Schulungsgelegenheiten	Amtlich von KLV an Lager oder Privathaushalte in diesem Gebiet verschickt		Kinder, deren gewöhnlicher und gegenwärtiger Aufenthaltsort die Gemeinde oder der Stadtkreis ist		Gesamtzahl	Namen und Anschriften der KLV
	Knaben	Mädchen	Knaben	Mädchen		
(a) Zahl der Schüler, die Volksschulen besuchen						
(i) Unterstufe (6—10) . . . . .						
(ii) Oberstufe (10—14) . . . . .						
(b) Zahl der Schüler, die Höhere Lehranstalten besuchen						
(i) Oberschulen . . . . .						
(ii) Berufs- und Fachschulen . . . . .						
(c) Zahl der oben unter (b) aufgeführten Schüler, die Volksschulen besuchen wollen, bis weitere Schulungsmöglichkeiten zur Verfügung stehen						

2. Personen, die zur Ausübung des Lehramts als geeignet erachtet werden	Amtlich von KLV verschickt		in der Gemeinde oder dem Stadtkreis ortsansässig		Gesamtzahl	Besondere Bemerkungen
	männlich	weiblich	männlich	weiblich		
(a) GRUPPE I: Amtsenthobene Lehrer (vorläufig oder endgültig von der Militärregierung amtsenthoben) . . . . .						
(b) GRUPPE II: zur Zeit amtsausübende und für das Lehramt verfügbare Lehrer . . . . .						
(c) GRUPPE III: von den nationalsozialistischen Behörden vorläufig oder endgültig amtsenthobene Lehrer, die jedoch für die Amtsausübung verfügbar sind . . . . .						
(d) GRUPPE IV: Lehrer, die während der letzten 5 Jahre in den Warte- oder Ruhestand versetzt sind, jedoch für die Amtsausübung verfügbar sind . . . . .						
(e) GRUPPE V: sonstige verfügbare Personen, die zur Ausübung des Lehramts als geeignet erachtet werden . . . . .						
Gesamtzahl						
(f) Zahl der unter Gruppen II—V fallenden Lehrer, deren Namen bereits in Fragebogen angegeben sind, die an einen Offizier der Militärregierung gesandt sind . . . . .						
(g) nur von der Alliierten Militärregierung auszufüllen (No of above 2b—2c inclusive whose "Fragebogen" have NOT yet been processed) . . . . .						

\* Nichtzutreffendes durchzustreichen.

3. Schulen und sonstige für Schulzwecke brauchbare Grundstücke (einschl. Grundstücke, die von KLV gebraucht sind)	Zahl der Schulen	Zahl der Klassenzimmer	Wieviele Schüler können untergebracht werden	Ermächtigung für Raumfestsetzung **	Ausgerüstet mit		Besondere Bemerkungen
					Rundfunkempfänger *	Kinovorführapparat 16 mm   35 mm	
Bemerkung 1. Eine Aufstellung der Schulen und Gebäude mit Namen und Anschriften ist in der Anlage beizufügen 2. "Eingerichtet" wenn Schulpulte und Sitzgelegenheiten oder ähnliche Einrichtungen vorhanden sind 3. "Kleinere Reparaturen" sind Reparaturen, die mit Material und Arbeitskräften, die am Orte vorhanden sind, ausgeführt werden können							
(a) Unbeschädigte Schulen, eingerichtet . . . . .							
(b) Unbeschädigte Schulen, uneingerichtet . . . . .							
(c) Schulen, die nach kleineren Reparaturen benutzbar sind, eingerichtet							
(d) Schulen, die nach kleineren Reparaturen benutzbar sind, uneingerichtet . . . . .							
(e) Schulen, die nur nach größeren Reparaturen benutzbar sind, eingerichtet . . . . .							
(f) Schulen, die nur nach größeren Reparaturen benutzbar sind, uneingerichtet . . . . .							
(g) Andere verfügbare Grundstücke, eingerichtet . . . . .							
(h) Andere verfügbare Grundstücke, uneingerichtet . . . . .							
(i) Schulen, die für andere Zwecke beschlagnahmt sind							} Einzelheiten über die gegenwärtige Benutzung sind auf besonderem Bogen zu geben.
(j) Gebäude, die für Schulzwecke geeignet sind, aber sonstwie benutzt sind . . . . .							
(k) Hallen, die für (i) Rundfunkunterricht (ii) Film (iii) Rundfunk und Film geeignet und ausgerüstet sind.							

Ich bestätige hiermit, daß alle Angaben auf diesem Fragebogen der Wahrheit entsprechen und vollständig gemacht sind.

(Unterschrift) .....  
 (Amtliche Stellung) .....  
 (Ort und Datum) .....

(Amtlicher Stempel)

\* Wenn Rundfunkempfang nur auf bestimmten Wellenlängen möglich ist, sind diese Wellenlängen anzugeben.

\*\* d. h. die RMWEV Erlasse über Raumprogramm auf Grund deren die Festsetzung erfolgt ist, sind anzugeben.