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THE CHANGING SCHOOL IN EAST GERMANY

ERICH HOFMANN

The aim of this paper is to show how the school system in East Germany has been transformed, within fifteen years, from the Nazi school, via the "anti-Fascist democratic school," into the "socialist school."

The school system we find in East Germany today is quite different from what it was in 1945–46. At that time there was unanimous agreement among responsible educators on the necessity for massive and deep-reaching reforms. But initial hopes for reforms based on the ideas of progressive educators were soon dashed. Changes began increasingly to follow the Soviet pattern. Measures were taken to assure that only the officially sanctioned ideology permeated the content of education and became the guiding principle for teachers, youth leaders, and pupils.

With the intensification of the cold war and the increasing improbability of an early reunification of the two Germanies, East Germany underwent a gradual transformation from an anti-Fascist democratic state into a socialist state. Along with the changes in public administration, trade, industry, and agriculture, which called for the proper types of administrators, functionaries, and technicians, went the transformation of the schools in structure, personnel, content emphasis, administration, and control. This transformation was a gradual one. It culminated, for a time, in the establishment of the ten-year polytechnical high school and the legal inclusion of the youth and mass organizations in the educational system.

The Anti-Fascist Democratic School

Among the many urgent tasks facing Germany after the fall of the Nazi Reich was the reconstruction and democratization of the school system. While developments in West Germany followed traditional and less radical lines, those in the Soviet Zone

represented a sharp break with the immediate past. At first sight the trend seemed to be toward a democratic, progressive reform of the entire educational system, welcomed by progressive educators who had been close to the Social Democratic Party before 1933 and active, especially in Saxony, with Paul Oestreich, in the *Bund entschiedener Schulreformer*, and by those who had been influenced by Georg Kerschensteiner's advocacy of the *Arbeitsschule*.

The "Law for the Democratization of the German School," adopted in the five *Laender* of the Soviet Zone in the spring of 1946, seemed to fulfill many of the major demands of the old *Reformpaedagogen*, since it specified, among other things, that the form of the educational system was to be the democratic *Einheitsschule*, that parents were to have a voice in school matters, that there was to be no discrimination for reasons of the parents' social position or religion, and finally, that "youth must be educated in a humanistic spirit, in a spirit of genuine democracy and peaceful and amicable coexistence with other peoples."¹

It is understandable that such features were enthusiastically welcomed by responsible educators, since the "new school" eliminated the *Bildungsmonopol* (monopoly on higher education) of the upper and middle classes and transformed the *Standeschule* into a democratic school. The fact that the law eliminated all private and religious schools brought no significant opposition, since it followed the tradition of state-run schools.

Before 1945, all pupils attended the *Grundschule* for grades one through four. After the fourth grade a minority who had the intellectual ability and whose parents were able to pay the school fees attended one of the varieties of secondary school (*Gymnasium*, *Realgymnasium*, *Oberrealschule*, *Reformgymnasium*, *Oberschule*, etc.)

for eight years (nine years before 1936), graduating after passing the *Abitur*, which entitled them to university enrollment. Most of the ten-year-olds remained at the *Volksschule* until the age of fourteen, terminating their formal education at this point and starting their apprenticeships, coupled with attendance, once a week, at a *Gewerbeschule* (vocational school). Some parts of Germany also provided *Mittelschulen* and *Realschulen*, with six grades beyond primary level, preparing pupils for medium-level careers in business, civil service, and technical trades.

This pattern was fundamentally changed by the law of 1946. Most significant was the conversion of the *Volksschule* into a *Grundschule*, from a terminal to a preparatory school. All pupils were to attend classes one to eight. After completion of the eighth grade the pupil had a variety of choices: He could continue full-time education for four years at a high school (*Oberschule*, the only kind of high school left) with an academic curriculum preparing pupils for the university; he could attend a vocational school (*Berufsschule*) for three years, while an apprentice; he could enroll in a three-year elementary technical school (*Berufsvollschule* or *Fachschule*), which also could lead to university admission; or he could enroll in an institute for teacher training for the first four grades.

Changing the Social Structure

It was not only the organizational structure that was changed after 1946; "democratization" and later "socialization" became all-embracing. Within a few years any heretical, i.e., "objectivistic," "cosmopolitan," "reactionary," etc., tendencies in the schools were eliminated.

First of all, there was a thorough purge of teachers, replacing those dismissed with reliable elements, so that in 1949, two-thirds or 38,720 of the 59,767 East German grade school teachers, and one-third or 1,593 of the 4,794 high school teachers, were so-called *Neulehrer* (new teachers).² Most of these *Neulehrer* had received scanty training, and many were poorly educated to be-

gin with. But they were considered ideologically reliable. From this group the majority of school principals and a large number of district and county superintendents were recruited. In order to raise the *Neulehrer* to the required professional level, evening seminars and week-end training courses were instituted, and all teachers had to pledge to spend hours in "self-study" (*Selbststudium*), especially of Soviet pedagogy. During the early 1950's it seems that considerably more importance was attached to their political training than to their professional education.

Another feature of the "democratization," the official term for these changes, was the setting of quotas for high school enrollment, with social origin and "social participation" as the criteria. The law of 1946 had decreed that the social composition of the high school student body should mirror that of the population in the school district. But at least 50 per cent of the pupils were to be children of farmers and workers (two terms that were defined precisely), and 50 per cent of the high school students were to be girls. This was difficult to achieve. Strong pressure was exercised on working-class families and their children in and out of school. Even though free books and free tuition were guaranteed, high school attendance meant four more years of family support for the children.³

But pressure mounted. Whereas in August 1949, workers' and farmers' children represented only 26 per cent of the high school students,⁴ the percentage had risen to 42 per cent in 1951.⁵ Although the plan of a 50 per cent proletarian high school was not fulfilled, a decree in early 1952 raised the proportion of workers' and farmers' children to 60 per cent.⁶ Correspondingly, 60 per cent were to be exempt from tuition.⁷

The Ten-Year School

In spite of inducements, pressures, and persuasion, the percentage of proletarian high school students remained below the prescribed quotas. On the other hand, when the new "ten-year schools" were introduced in September 1951, proletarian children made up between 72 and 90 per cent of the student bodies.⁸

The ten-year school, not provided for in the 1946 school law, seemed to answer a need for a terminal school above the level of the elementary school, but below that of the high school. At the height of the Sovietization drive in East Germany, in May 1953, all ten-year schools were dissolved and merged with the high schools, which had been reduced by one year becoming eleven-class high schools. This was another imitation of the Soviet model. But in the temporary slow-down of the Sovietization process after the popular uprising of June 17, 1953, the decree was revoked and the previous pattern, with separate ten-year schools and four-year high schools, was restored in October 1953.⁹

Then, in August 1955, all ten-year schools were redesignated "middle schools," absorbing all "incomplete high schools." The Third Party Congress of the SED in March 1956, decided that by the end of 1960, 40 per cent of all pupils were to attend middle schools, and that after 1964 attendance at the middle schools would be compulsory for all children. The stated task of the middle schools was the training of teachers and "middle level cadres" for industry, agriculture, transportation, trade, and the "National People's Army."¹⁰ The middle school was thus to become the only elementary school, replacing the eight-year school.

Ideological Indoctrination

With the structural and social changes went corresponding changes in content and methods. A totalitarian state must devote considerably more attention and energy to the educational system and process than does a democratic state, because the indispensable molding of public opinion and manipulation of popular sentiment is impossible in the long run without some measure of support from the schools. Its aim is to implant in every man, woman, and child an officially sanctioned image of reality that will guide their every thought and action in accordance with the state's long-term and short-term goals. To this one must add the increased requirements and demands of the totally

planned economy and of an industrial and agricultural system from which greater and greater achievements are expected.

It soon became obvious that the entire school system, from kindergarten to university, was mobilized for the support of the state, as well as the glorification of the Soviet Union and the "camp of peace." As important as it was to create new cadres for all branches of administration, trade, industry, and agriculture, ideological indoctrination seemed to be of primary importance. The school periodicals and youth publications, the school texts, and the official and obligatory teaching plans for the year 1951 reveal the pervasiveness of the Communist ideology. Taking the subject "German (Language and Literature)" in the elementary schools as one example, we find the goals of the German lessons stated in the teaching plan:

1. to lay the foundation for the development of a scientific world view
2. to pave the way for a democratic conscience and a militant democratic patriotism
3. to arouse and keep awake the children's sympathy for progressive working people, regardless of their race and nationality, and for all progressive peoples, especially for the great Soviet people
4. to make the child openminded and receptive for the morality of democratic society, to teach him the foundation of democratic ethics, and to induce him to corresponding ethical conduct.¹¹

When reading the last paragraph one should keep in mind that "democratic" ethics and morality means "Communist" ethics and morality, as defined by Lenin:

We repudiate all morality taken apart from human society and classes . . .

We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat . . .

. . . we say that for us there is no such thing as morality apart from human society; it is a fraud . . .

We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is building up a new, communist society.¹²

The second-grade reader, for example, is quite revealing; fifty of its 131 items (stories, poems, riddles, etc.) are translated from Russian sources and eight from the Czech. Even the adaptation of an Aesop fable comes from Tolstoy rather than from Lessing. Original German reading matter deals largely with the Young Pioneers and tends to glorify such men as Stalin, Wilhelm Pieck (then DDR President), Ernst Thaelmann (Communist leader murdered by the Nazis), and Lenin. Education for the production process is started in readings that deal with production and glorify the *Aktivist*.¹³

This line continues and its effectiveness is increased in the subsequent readers. In the third-grade reader vilification of the West begins to complement the glorification of the East, as, for example, in a "true story" on race discrimination in the United States, and in the words of an "Old Song of American Negroes."¹⁴ The reader for the fourth grade, as well as that for the fifth and sixth grades, differs only in intellectual level from the lower ones. In the seventh and eighth grades, "reading pamphlets" are used, carrying contributions by "progressive" writers and passages from German classics.

Similar surveys could be made of most other teaching subjects with similar results. This material, supplementing the classroom work, constitutes a powerful instrument of indoctrination. But that is not all. Education, both in and out of school, has been *gleichgeschaltet* (coordinated) with the Party line and the shifting emphases and themes of its political propaganda.

The whole process of indoctrination was strengthened, deepened, and supplemented by the integration of the youth organizations, Young Pioneers (JP) and Free German Youth (FDJ), into the school system. A detailed discussion of their role, working methods, and indoctrination program would be beyond the scope of this study. Some of this will be touched on later. Suffice it to say at this point that they became an integral part of the school system around 1950, playing the dual role of Party control organ and ideological training agency. By December

31, 1957, more than one-third or 3,516 of the 9,482 elementary and middle schools had full-time *Pionierleiter* (pioneer leaders) whose rights, in many respects, were superior to those of the teachers at their schools.¹⁵

The End of an Era

These developments were a far cry from what had been envisioned by many of the old educators who had welcomed the 1946 school law as a step in the right direction. If they remained in office, they were soon forced, not only to acquiesce in the practices and aims that ran counter to their ideals, but to support and further their development. It is not surprising, therefore, that between 1954 and 1959, a total of 14,040 teachers fled from the Soviet Zone to West Berlin and West Germany.¹⁶ A sizable number of "new teachers" who could no longer stand the pressure is included in this figure. The number of "unreliable elements" was thus diminished through purges and flight to the West. One complete school generation had been subjected to almost all-inclusive indoctrination. New technical and industrial requirements began to assume priority. Now the stage was set for the next step, the transformation of the "democratic school" into the "socialist school." After long and widespread discussion throughout the Zone, this transformation was given legal sanction in the Law on the Socialist Development of the School System in the German Democratic Republic of December 2, 1959,¹⁷ and the massive "Decree Concerning the Securing of a Firm Order at the General Schools—School Order"¹⁸ of November 1959, as well as in some lesser decrees and ordinances.

The Structure of the "Socialist School"

With the creation in 1951 of the ten-year school, later called the "middle school," a development started that will reach its culmination in 1964, when this type of school will be the sole compulsory general school for all children, as stated in para. 1 of the School Law of December 1959. Its new name is the "ten-class general (*allgemein-*

bildende) polytechnic high school" (hereafter called high school). This high school has two levels: the *Unterstufe* consisting of grades one to four, and the *Oberstufe* consisting of grades five through ten. Compulsory school attendance starts at age six.

The interesting, and in a way highly revealing, feature of the law is the provision of para. 6 which states, "The way from the high school via vocational training is the principal way (*Hauptweg*) for the development of students for the institutions of higher learning and the universities." The same paragraph then specifies the following three alternative paths to the university:

1. A minimum of two years of vocational training after graduation from high school entitles the youth to matriculation at a specialized institution of higher learning (*Fachstudium*).
2. Attendance at a factory high school, or evening high school, or completion of a special uninterrupted course of vocational training.
3. Attendance at a workers' and farmers' faculty by young workers with completed vocational training.

Only in para. 7, does the law speak of what, until then, was secondary education: "Besides the high school exists the 12-class general polytechnic high school, hereafter called extended high school." The law at no point specifies whether attendance at this extended high school is to be for four years, as it has been so far, or only for two years following completion of the ten years of high school. It is conceivable that the law is deliberately vague on this point, allowing for the possibility of reducing attendance at the extended high school to two years, when the time seems appropriate, or even of abolishing this form of school altogether, since it deviates so much from the Soviet pattern.

The extended high school has three branches, one emphasizing science, one, modern languages, and one, classical languages. Each of these prepares its students for the maturity examination and for university attendance. But before the extended high school graduate is admitted to a university he must spend a so-called "practical vocational year," guided by the university.¹⁹

All pupils who do not attend the extended high school must attend a vocational school for two years. Thus, in effect, compulsory school attendance ends at eighteen, or after a total of twelve years of schooling, and not, as stated in para. 1 (1), after graduation from the ten-class high school.

Aims

The reasons for the transformation of the "democratic school" into the "socialist school" have been widely advertised and discussed since the Fifth SED Party Congress in 1958, one of whose resolutions demanded that pupils should be trained and educated in such a way that they would fulfill the multiple demands of tomorrow's life in a socialist society. These demands were amplified and particularized at the Fourth Conference of the SED Central Committee in January 1959.

The foremost aim of East German education is the formation, according to the Soviet model, of Socialist man, polytechnically trained, conscientiously and joyfully taking his place in socialist production, striving to fulfill and overfulfill the plan, in short, a "glowing patriot." Thus, we read in the law's preamble:

The creation of the foundations of socialist society also required the socialist education of the young generation. This can only be accomplished through a school that is most closely connected with socialist life, above all with socialist production. This in particular will bridge the gap between intellectual and physical work, between theory and practice.

This task could not be solved by the anti-Fascist democratic school in spite of all its progress, because its teaching was still divorced from life, and essentially it provided only a onesided intellectual education.

But socialism needs human beings whose intellectual and physical abilities are all-inclusively developed, to whom work becomes the major purpose in life, and who have high esteem for working people.

The extent to which the law was motivated by economic considerations can be deduced from Prime Minister Otto Grote- whol's statement in the *Volkskammer* on

December 2, 1959: "Socialist education of our children, those are our production victories of tomorrow, that is the socialist life of the future!"²⁰ The "Decree About Securing a Firm Order at the General Schools—School Order" states this even more explicitly in its introduction: "The socialist school has the task to provide youth with all-round, life-centered, and practical knowledge. That is the significant contribution of the school to the realization of the Seven-Year Plan."²¹

Polytechnical Education

Like the Soviet schools, those in East Germany have increasingly stressed the values of polytechnical education, which includes:

1. introduction to the mathematical-scientific bases of production
2. the teaching of a system of basic technological knowledge, especially a knowledge of electro-technical principles, and of the construction and mechanics of some important machines, familiarity with the characteristics of technology and the most important branches or sectors of production
3. the acquisition of skills and abilities needed in handling and working with tools, machines, and instruments
4. a survey of the economic structure of the production process and an understanding of man's role in this process.

The focal point of polytechnical education in grades one to six is the *Werkunterricht* (shop). In subsequent grades it is the "school day in and introduction to socialist production" with its courses in metal working, electro-technics, agricultural production, and mechanics (*Maschinenkunde*).²²

The purpose of these basic courses is to familiarize the pupils with:

- methods to increase work productivity
- plan fulfillment in all parts
- quality of raw materials
- avoidance of defective goods
- orderliness at the place of work
- new methods
- mutual socialist help
- thrifty use of materials

careful treatment of tools, instruments and machinery
education for international solidarity.²³

Starting at the age of fourteen, all pupils have to spend one day per week in industrial or agricultural enterprises, so-called *Pantebetriebe* (enterprises acting as sponsors), in order to learn and to produce. Furthermore, pupils as of the tenth grade have to participate in a two-week practicum.

To facilitate and control the proper execution of the polytechnical education, so-called "polytechnical councils" have been formed in factories and in agricultural enterprises. Their members include, among others, representatives of the factory administration, the union local, and the FDJ; experienced workers, master craftsmen and engineers, the plant doctor, masters and teachers of the plant vocational school; teachers who are responsible for the basic courses in the plants; as well as parents' council representatives.²⁴

Despite all the stress on practical polytechnical education, the concern with proper ideological indoctrination remains large. Thus, for example, the above-quoted Resolution of January 7, 1959, demands:

Such workers and master craftsmen are to be selected for the care and guidance of the pupils during the day in production who educate the children in a class-conscious manner, influence them in the spirit of socialist morality, and give them good knowledge of production. . . . During their work in the factory the children must also become familiar with the leading role of the working class and the tasks of the unions in the workers' and farmers' state.²⁵

It is quite interesting that ideological demands are listed before the "knowledge of production."

The Role of the Youth Organizations

The East German authorities realize that a formidable obstacle to undisturbed fulfillment of socialist education must be overcome, namely the influence of the non-socialist home, which is still predominant in the DDR. First of all, more than a dozen

years ago, the youth organizations were brought in as an important factor in shaping the pupil's mind and filling his free time. Whereas the 1946 school law made no mention of either the FDJ or the JP, these two youth organizations have now received official recognition as educational agencies in the new school law and various decrees. Para. 11 (1) of the 1959 School Law states, "The local people's representatives organize and guide the cooperation of the entire population in the construction of the socialist school system. Herein they seek support from . . . the Free German Youth and the Pioneer Organization 'Ernst Thaelmann,'" and para. 12 reads even more explicitly, "Schools and government agencies have to work together in the fulfillment of their tasks with . . . the Free German Youth and the Pioneer Organization 'Ernst Thaelmann'."

By mid-1959, the JP had a membership of 1.5 million, and the FDJ could boast a total membership of 1.74 million.²⁶ The JP recruits members from among the six- to fourteen-year-old pupils and organizes them into two age groups: the *Jungpioniere* from six to ten, and the *Thaelmann Pioniere* from ten to fourteen. The FDJ organizes the young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-six. These are the only officially sanctioned youth organizations in the East Zone, and both are SED-controlled.

Whereas the former Hitler Youth existed alongside of, and often in opposition to, the schools, the JP and those sections of the FDJ whose members are of school age, are an integral part of the school system. At any school attended by at least six Young Pioneers (and which school has not at least six?) there exists by decree a "Pioneer Friendship"; each class with more than three JP members among its pupils must form a "Pioneer Group." Within a group, five to seven members form a "Circle."

As mentioned before, Pioneer Leaders were attached to the primary schools. A Pioneer Leader is a full-fledged member of the faculty (*Paedagogischer Rat*), and among his duties are not only the organization of youth activities, but also visiting, i.e., controlling (*hospitieren*) the classes during lessons.

The Central Leadership of the JP stated explicitly that "the glorious organization of the Soviet Pioneers which bears V. I. Lenin's name, is the great model of the Pioneer Organization 'Ernst Thaelmann'."²⁷ But its role as a control organ in the schools goes farther than that of its Soviet model. It claims to be "an instrument of the working class for the socialist education of growing youth. It supports school and family in the realization of the common socialist goal of education by providing *all* children . . . with the political, ideological, and moral ideas of the working class, and by developing in them, from a young age on, socialist consciousness."²⁸ It stated further: "The educational work of our schools usually does not encompass the children's entire lives; the Pioneer Organization does permeate the entire lives of the children, above all outside the school."²⁹

But the Central Leadership also recognized the "retarding influence" of many parents and makes great efforts to woo them to join so-called "parents' councils" (*Elternbeiräte*) at the schools. It also tries to use the children in an effort to convert, or at least neutralize the influence of, the parents. It is clear that in many instances this creates family conflicts. On this point the JP Central Leadership stated:

The Pioneer Organization contributes to carrying socialist ideas and habits into all families.

In the Pioneer Organization the children are being formed into conscious, active socialist personalities. It is understandable that these children behave more firmly and independently in their families, thus inducing many parents to put aside old, petty-bourgeois pedagogical habits which can still frequently be found in family education. Certainly, there will be conflicts in some cases. The Pioneer Leader must demonstrate pedagogical tactfulness and great skill, so that conflicts, which in many cases are unavoidable, will not be unnecessarily sharpened, but will not be concealed and hushed-up either.³⁰

What could reveal more clearly the conflict that exists between the JP and many parents? The family is the last bastion standing in the way of total socialist, or for

that matter, Soviet, conquest, since the churches' influence, never having been too strong a factor in largely Protestant East Germany, has already been reduced to insignificance.

Besides open agitation against "reactionary" or "petty-bourgeois" parents, steps are being taken to reduce, and if possible to eliminate, their influence over their children. Among these are the efforts to increase the number of boarding schools and all-day schools (*Schulhorte*). Admittedly, the *Schulhorte's* primary purpose is to take care of the many children whose mothers and fathers are both working, a practice favored in the DDR. But at the same time the parental influence is substantially reduced by keeping the children under school and FDJ or JP control for the major part of the day.

The Parent's Role

Nothing is left of the once-cherished *Elternrecht*, the right of parents to make collective protests or give advice via parent-teacher associations. Instead, the *Elternrecht* was perverted into a politically controlled body, the so-called "Parents' (Advisory) Councils" (*Elternbeiräte*) by a decree of January 1960.³¹ These councils are to foster "close and comradely cooperation between teachers, educators, and parents, and to promote the collaboration of socialist factories, the National Front, and the democratic mass organizations, especially the JP and FDJ, in the process of *Bildung* and education of children and young people." But they are primarily intended as instruments to educate and control the parents themselves, as becomes clear from para. 4:

1. The *Elternbeirat* supports the school by familiarizing . . . all parents with the goal and content of socialist *Bildung* and education. It helps the parents to educate the children at home according to the educational principles of the school. . . .

2. The *Elternbeirat* helps the school with its pedagogical propaganda among parents and in public, especially in the socialist enterprises in industry and agriculture. It supports the

work of the Pioneer Organization "Ernst Thaelmann," of the Free German Youth, and of the Committees for the Youth Dedication Service.³²

Generally, an *Elternbeirat* consists of as many parents as there are classes at a school, but may have up to ten additional parent members. The chairman of the *Elternbeirat* is also a member of the school's "Pedagogical Council" (the faculty or teachers' conference). Though the *Elternbeirat* is supposed to be a "democratically elected body," elected by the parents for the duration of one year, care has been taken to assure that "reliable" elements always have a majority. Thus, in "special cases especially proven parent members" can still be elected after their children have left school. In addition to elected parents the following members are appointed to the *Elternbeirat* with full voting rights:

- a member of the *Patenbetrieb*
- a member of the Democratic German Women's Federation
- the chairman of the JP Friendship Leadership, or the full-time secretary of the FDJ Basic Unit, or a representative of the FDJ District Leadership
- a teacher or educator as a representative of the teachers' union
- a representative of the National Front, and "in the bi-lingual area a representative of the Domowina"³³

Given the inclusion of the appointed members listed above and the prevailing election procedures, "reliable" elements are always in the majority. To avoid any possible hitch, the "Decree on the Election Procedure" states in para. 6 that the list of candidates is elected openly and as a whole by a simple majority.³⁴

The *Elternbeiräte* form commissions to support the school in the organization and execution of the educational process. These commissions concern themselves with the kind of instruction provided, with the all-day education of the pupils, with pedagogical propaganda, with the pupils' sports activities, as well as with material, economical, and hygienic problems.³⁵

All this is still not enough. The parents are to be organized, controlled, and propagandized. The instrument to accomplish this is the *Klassenelternaktiv* (organization of parents of students in one class). Its task is "to organize the parents' cooperation for the realization of a uniform education at school and at home."³⁶ It also sees to it that the parents attend school functions regularly, help develop the pupils' *Kollektiv*, support the *Schulhorte*, and even do physical work in helping construct and furnish school rooms. And again, it is understood that all support is given to the JP, FDJ, and the committee for the Youth Dedication Service.

Conclusion

It would be a mistake to assume that East Germany has come to the end of the line in changing its schools. The present state of the schools probably represents a temporary stabilization. Given the frequently changing political line, the undeniable economic progress in the Eastern Bloc, the recent hermetical sealing of the DDR and Berlin borders, and the emergence of a new generation in a totalitarian, communist society, we may expect further changes.

This has become truly totalitarian education. Every conceivable measure has been taken to assure that the pupil is exposed only to sanctioned influences in order to cut him off as much as possible from any "unhealthy" impressions. To this must be added the constant pressure to conform, together with a wide range of social and legal punishments for nonconformity and opposition. On the other hand, conformity, active participation, and enthusiasm are rewarded through social recognition, medals, honorific titles (to teachers and collective groups of pupils), symbolic gifts, and stipends, all having certain material and prestige value. Given these incentives and—in spite of all experimentation and shortcomings—some sound teaching of facts, knowledge, and skills, and the formation of prescribed attitudes, as well as continually improving material conditions, it may well be that the DDR authorities will eventually reach their goal: the education of Socialist Man.

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² Werner Dorst, "Die Entwicklung der Oberschule," *ibid.*, p. 19.

³ It would be wrong, though, to conclude from these attitudes or from the former traditional exclusion of working-class children from high school that the working class had no educational ambitions and aspirations. The mass intellectualism of the German labor and trade union movement, from Lassalle's days to 1933, was one of the peculiar traits of the German labor movement which built up a massive labor press and educational milieu of its own.

⁴ Werner Dorst, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁵ Horst Loebner, "Von Lernkollektiven, die Fluktuation der Oberschueler foerdern," *Die Neue Schule*, No. 48, November 30, 1951, p. 15.

⁶ Walter Vollmering, "Was bei der Aufnahme in die Oberschule beruecksichtigt werden muss," *Die Neue Schule*, No. 7, February 15, 1952, p. 16.

⁷ Horst Loebner, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁸ Paul Wandel, "Ueber die Maengel der Arbeit in der allgemeinbildenden Schule," *Neues Deutschland*, January 27, 1952. (Paul Wandel was then Minister of People's Education.)

⁹ Bundesministerium fuer gesamtdeutsche Fragen, *Das Schulwesen in der Sowjetzone*, 6th revised and supplemented edition, Bonn, March 1960, p. 5.

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¹² V. I. Lenin, *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951, pp. 18, 19, 20.

¹³ *Unser Lesebuch fuer das zweite Schuljahr*, Berlin & Leipzig, Volk und Wissen Verlag, 1951.

¹⁴ *Unser Lesebuch fuer das dritte Schuljahr*, Berlin & Leipzig, Volk und Wissen Verlag, 1951, pp 145-148.

¹⁵ Bundesministerium fuer gesamtdeutsche Fragen, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33; cf. also Paul S. Bodemann, *Education in the Soviet Zone of Germany*, Bulletin 1959, No. 26, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, 1959, especially chapter IX, "Educational Relations Between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Zone," pp. 129-134.

¹⁷ "Gesetz ueber die sozialistische Entwicklung des Schulwesens in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," in R. Frenzel, *Die Sozialistische Schule*, Berlin, VEB Deutscher Zentralverlag, 1960, pp. 111-130.

¹⁸ "Verordnung ueber die Sicherung einer festen Ordnung an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik—Schulordnung," *Gesetzblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Teil I*, No. 63, November 19, 1959, pp. 823–830.

¹⁹ "Gesetz . . . ," para. 7 (3), in R. Frenzel, *op. cit.*

²⁰ "Neue Zeiten—Neue Schulen . . . ," in R. Frenzel, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

²¹ "Verordnung . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 823.

²² "Wo stehen wir in der polytechnischen Bildung?," *Deutsche Lehrerzeitung*, No. 7, February 12, 1960.

²³ "Beschluss der staatlichen Plankommission zur Unterstuetzung und Foerderung der polytechnischen Erziehung und Bildung an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik vom 7. Januar 1959," in R. Frenzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–238.

²⁴ "Verordnung . . . ," para. 6, *op. cit.*

²⁵ "Beschluss . . . vom 7. Januar 1959," *op. cit.*, p. 228.

²⁶ "Junge Pioniere," in *SBZ von A bis Z*, 6th revised and extended edition, Bonn, Deutscher Bundes-Verlag, 1960, p. 190.

²⁷ "Grundsätze und Aufgaben der sozialis-

tischen Erziehung in der Pionierorganisation," *Der Pionierleiter*, No. 9, 1958, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³¹ "Verordnung ueber die Elternbeiraete an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen (Elternbeiratsverordnung) vom 7. Januar 1960," in R. Frenzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–197.

³² *Jugendweihe*, a socialistic *rite de passage* at fourteen, designed to replace the religious confirmation. This has been one of the major issues of conflict between the regime and the Protestant Church since the mid-fifties.

³³ This refers to the Slavic-language Sorbic minority in the area of the Spreewald and around Bautzen. Though hardly 5 per cent of the area's population consider themselves Sorbic, the SED fosters their cultural autonomy assiduously.

³⁴ "Anordnung ueber die Wahl der Elternbeiraete an den allgemeinbildenden Schulen (Wahlordnung) vom 11. 12. 1959," *Deutsche Lehrerzeitung*, No. 5, January 29, 1960.

³⁵ "Elternbeiratsverordnung . . . vom 7. Januar 1960," *op. cit.*, p. 192.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 12, p. 193.

By this time we know pretty well that to trust to the principle of supply and demand to do for us all that we want in providing education is to lean upon a broken reed.

—MATTHEW ARNOLD, *A French Eton: or Middle Class Education and the State (1864)*, page 42.