

PROBLEMS OF GERMAN YOUTH SINCE WORLD WAR I

by

Theodor Naumann

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APPROVED:

Redacted for privacy

Major Professor, in charge of thesis

Redacted for privacy

Head of Department

Redacted for privacy

Chairman of School Graduate Committee

Redacted for privacy

Dean of Graduate School

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PREFACE

This is a time of a growing consciousness of human needs and human relations. If the present treatise helps to clarify but a few of the underlying causes of a part of the world's youth problem the writer will be happy, feeling that this is about the most which could be expected from a work like the present one.

It is impossible to account here for all the help which contributed to the content of the present treatise. College professors, teachers, ministers, and experiences with American and German young people were instrumental in the progress of this study.

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PROBLEMS OF GERMAN YOUTH SINCE WORLD WAR I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the causes of German youth problems since World War I and to consider some experiences of youth work in the United States, in order that some directions toward the solutions of the German youth problems may be discovered. Because of its complexity the general problem is studied in different aspects, which are: (1) the sociological, (2) the educational, (3) the political, and (4) the religious and ideological conditions.

The youth of the Germany after World War I had to live under circumstances which at any time could hardly have been called normal. The old sociological, political, and economical order had broken down, and for a number of years German youth experienced the impacts of the problems which developed on account of the disturbed conditions. For many people these problems became evident in such facts as, for example, great deficiency of adequate living quarters, extreme lack of means to provide for the desired education beyond the free public schooling, and greatest difficulties to find new

positions and to make adjustments where the former social-economic status was destroyed. In West Germany occupation forces, partly African troops, dominated the situation for a number of years. When finally some economical equilibrium seemed to have been achieved, then the great economic depression rendered futile the attempts of reconstruction. During this time of despair the national socialists rose to power, and youth again lost the opportunity to develop in democratic freedom and peace. World War II and its destructive results only aggravated the crying needs of youth. Despite discouraging conditions, many heads and hands have tried to meet at least some needs and problems of German youth since 1945.

Need for the Study

Much has been said and written concerning German youth problems, including much criticism of existing conditions. But no comprehensive study of the complex problem has been found. A number of agencies and organizations, German and foreign ones, made attempts to solve some specific German youth problems after World War II, but the lack of a comprehensive understanding of the full task seemed to appear in too many cases.

The general conditions since World War I have revealed the magnitude of the German youth problems apparently to an especially great extent. The overthrow of the conservative

monarchistic government should have given youth its most outstanding opportunity in German history. This is understandable when it is considered that after many years of struggle the democratic elements in Germany had replaced a rather absolute monarchy. Under a democracy and a democratic constitution youth could rightly expect that they would be given the opportunity to work at the solutions of their problems and to receive the greatest possible support. Instead, the problems seemed to grow and nobody appeared to be able to master them and to guide them toward truly democratic solutions.

After World War II German youth problems became a major concern of the authorities. John J. Cloy, then United States High Commissioner for Germany, mentioned in February 1950 the problems of unemployment, of the refugees, and of the youth as the three major problems in Western Germany (9, p.265). Although there were a number of reports on specific features of the German youth problem, no study has been found which deals thoroughly with the problem as a whole, similar to the attempt made in the present treatise.

Therefore, a comprehensive study of the problems of German youth since World War I appears to be desirable as a prerequisite for attempts to find solutions that will promise lasting results.

Definitions

The age group under consideration are the youth from about fourteen to twenty-five years. However, many times children under fourteen years of age are also directly involved.

Since it is not always possible to place specific problems clearly into one of the four areas mentioned above, a definition of these area designations appears necessary.

The term sociological is applied when the general environmental conditions are referred to. These conditions are largely determined by economic circumstances. Public and private social services are described in the sections about activities for the improvement of social conditions for youth.

The term educational is applied in regard to education in public schools. Sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between sociological and educational problems, since there is much overlapping, and since the public social services and the schools of Germany are closely interrelated.

By political conditions for German youth is meant the direct influence of political parties upon youth, chiefly by control or influence of young people organizations.

Where the youth of the United States is concerned in this study, the political influence and work of civic groups and schools are discussed.

By religious and ideological conditions is meant the

influence and work of religious groups and churches, and of such organizations which claim to aim at character education chiefly without being necessarily religious.

Sources of Data

Whenever possible official reports are used, such as have been prepared by the United States Military Government for Germany, by the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, and other governmental agencies. Valuable material was also found in such professional or semi-professional magazines as The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Social Casework, Social Service Review, School and Society, Begegnung, and Dokumente. Professional reports in conferences and accounts of various direct observers in different publications are also used as source materials. All these sources are listed in the bibliography at the end of this treatise.

The source materials come from English and German reports. When obtainable, an English version of a German report was used. Anglo-American writers seem apt to be more practical, clear, and straightforward in their observations than the Germans, who often appear to be too speculatively inclined. The latter ones, on the other hand, often furnish a depth and richness of thought missed elsewhere. The consideration from different sides should contribute to a more

valid and well-rounded picture.

Treatment of Source Material

The source material was selected over a period of more than a year. It was arranged according to the areas to be studied. Within these areas it was ordered in historical sequences. To assure as valid a report as possible, the material was weighted in different ways.

Firstly, the source and the reporter were examined. Such sources as official documents and magazines like The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences were considered as generally good sources. When possible, the writer's background was checked, and, if there were several reports by the same writer, the consistency of the writer's own accounts was observed.

Secondly, it was considered whether there was agreement among the data of different sources.

Thirdly, the validity and reliability of source material was evaluated through discussions and interviews. The writer's wife worked professionally in social services in Germany during some of the years with which this study is concerned. Her experiences helped to gain a clearer insight into the conditions of education of youth for social services, and of the youth health services provided in a rural district. In summer 1952 it was also possible to have some

interviews with the leading official for youth services of the Land Rheinland-Pfalz of the Federal Republic of Germany. The discussions helped much to verify information which had been gained from written sources. This was especially true in regard to governmental support for independent youth work.

Fourthly, the writer could draw from personal experiences. He spent most of the time which is considered in this study in the industrial Ruhr district which sociologically and politically has been regarded as one of the most critical areas in Germany.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to a concentrated presentation of four areas of youth problems and youth work, namely, the sociological, educational, political, and ideological and religious fields. It was not intended to present a lengthy description of specific phenomena such as, for example, the German youth movement or the political opposition of German youth during the years of World War II.

There was only very little objective material available for the years 1933 to 1945. German sources either were destroyed or confiscated, or they were otherwise largely inaccessible. American professional publications with reports by American and German specialists remained the most reliable sources for these years.

For the chapter on youth work in the United States only a limited number of aspects is presented, such as appear most relevant in regard to possible exchange of ideas and experiences, and in view of beneficial co-operation.

CHAPTER II

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF GERMAN YOUTH

For a better understanding of the following chapters a short description is given here of the general educational pursuits of German youth.

Most German young people finish public school at about fourteen years of age, although generally for three or four more years about eight hours per week of vocational school are required, during which years, normally, a trade is learned. While the young German is learning his trade he is under a legally controlled apprenticeship contract with rather strict educational and social requirements. But as soon as the time of apprenticeship is successfully finished, which is accomplished by passing the required final practical and theoretical tests, the young person is a recognized craftsman or journeyman and is free to govern his own life.

The youth thus educated is, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, economically better off than the youth who finishes high school at eighteen or nineteen years of age and has nothing but the graduation paper which declares him scholastically and socially mature for the university. While about ten per cent of the young enter high school, generally

at the age of ten, only about two-fifth of these are able (or willing) to see it through to the end. The scholastic and social requirements in high school and the numerous difficult home assignments limit the number of those who become eligible for university studies to an aristocracy of brains. The universities determine the scholastic standards of the high schools through a very thorough high school teacher training program. Three to four years of training on graduate level are normally necessary before someone can make the examinations by which he becomes eligible to apply for the one or two years of supervised teaching. After this time a permanent teaching diploma may be received. Not a few high school teachers earn their Ph.D. degrees before they begin teaching. Many of the young people who go only part way through high school enter the civil services or employment of similar order, usually with some kind of apprenticeship involved.

Still to be mentioned is the group not going to any high school nor learning any formal trade. These young people may be either fortunate enough to take over a farm or business in their family, or they may belong to the group which enters youth employment and remains normally in the low-earning population. However, all these young people also have to go to vocational school until they are seventeen where they take general vocational courses. Naturally, not

many people want to belong to the last-mentioned class, and competition among all learning groups usually is keen.

The German girl who does not go to any high school has, in some respect, a greater variety of opportunities, since for her many kinds of social services are open. Special schools or courses prepare her for child care services, training of nurses, home economics specialists, and similar work. There is an unusually good remuneration, including a high standard of social security, for some of the social service positions.

CHAPTER III

GERMAN YOUTH: SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND PROBLEMS

During the Weimar Republic

The first years after World War I seem to have been especially important for the formation of the general character of the new German youth. It was a different kind of youth, for the revolution of 1918 must be regarded as a turning point in the history of German youth. The ideals and imperial patriotism of many young persons who had served in the armed forces had been destroyed by fire and steel. Demoralizing influences, such as hunger and lack of proper parental guidance during the formative years of childhood and youth because of the absence of many fathers during the war years and the employment of many mothers, contributed their part to the problematic conditions of German youth at the end of World War I. The German young people saw their country divided into more than a score of political parties, each one trying to propagate its own program and several of them attempting to win the young persons for their party purposes. On the international scene the German youth saw the United States going into isolationism, while a growing strange power was forming a new Russia in the East, and while

Germany's former war enemies were busy to get the most out of the spoils. Many young people lost their homes because of the expulsion of Germans from those parts of the country which were taken away from Germany, such as Alsace-Lorraine and the eastern corridor which separated East Prussia and the adjoining districts completely from the rest of Germany. Not only the youth, but the nation as a whole was, of course, affected by these conditions. Bruno Lasker, an American writer, described the Germans shortly after World War I as little interested in politics, pondering over misplaced confidence because of unkept promises, and formerly respected classes, such as the small businessman, the independent craftsman, the ex-officer, and the doctor, first becoming bewildered, then cynical because of hunger and anguish (50, pp.487-488).

But in spite of all these disheartening conditions, there remained that element in youth which was determined to live, and youth revolted spiritually against the chains and odds which hindered a normal development. For a normal development they needed something which they could admire and which would give them a sense of satisfaction and security, and, since external features of admiration for their country had largely disappeared, many young persons turned to the spiritual realm as an outlet for their dreams and aspirations. Under such conditions the German youth movement

became a national phenomenon. An American observer who travelled for several months in Europe wrote in December 1921:

In such a soil the revolt of youth which has swept over many countries during the last few years has found nourishment for rapid growth. The youth movement of Germany today, or the different movements which, seen from afar, seem one, sweep the greater part of the educated young people under twenty-five years of age and a very large section of the young organized workers into a single spiritual stream. It is the largest element in what that country has retained of vigor and of promise for a happier future. It is the insurgence of a strong race against the hampering restrictions imposed upon its natural development by militarism, church, school and modern industry...It is, in short, an insurgence against age (50, p.488).

The same observer wrote that the youth movement of Germany "was practically the only nucleus around which the healthy instincts and ideals of the people could grow into the spirit of a great democracy" (50, p.487). The young people showed a hearty willingness to co-operate for the establishment of the eternal values of truth, love, purity, and labor (50, p.488), and they considered it an important task to combat impure literature, drama, and moving pictures (50, p.538).

The independent youth groups, which made up the youth movement, were probably the purest reflection of specific youth problems and ideals. But besides these groups, there were others which tried to gain the young people for their special interests. The Roman Catholic Church kept a strong

youth organization, so did political parties, such as the Social Democrats and the Communists. Cultural organizations likewise sought the interest of the young people. Although the present chapter is concerned with the sociological conditions, the religious, political, and cultural influences are mentioned to show how diverse the forces were which the youth had to confront. Considering the situation as a whole, Bruno Lasker stated that the youth movement was "Germany's Only Hope" (50, p.540).

The following is the essence of a statement which a leading German educator of social workers made in 1922: if asked, the average German young boy and girl want liberty and permission to live; the inclination of the new generation seems to draw back to a more natural life; the great majority of the active young generation belongs to some extreme political party; moderate views are not attracting; many young people are influenced by the religious revival which chiefly appeals to youth; and young Germany is filled with ideals of peace and justice (88, pp.153-154).

Some figures about the housing shortage in large cities may help better to understand one cause of social problems of youth. On July 1, 1922, there were 194,834 dwelling required in Berlin, 31,308 in Hamburg, and 24,388 in Munich (34, p.281). When considering these figures, one should keep in mind that usually low income, a larger number of children per

family, and lack of living space go together, and that these conditions existed in a country which was exhausted by a world war and was in the grip of a growing inflation. C. B. Dyar, who was attached to the United States embassy at Berlin from 1906 to 1917, reported in 1922 that juvenile delinquency had increased 600 per cent in Prussia as a result of the war (14, pp.739-740). In the same article the writer remarked that the state of the German post-war youth was one of bitter hostility between the two powerful extremes of nationalism and internationalism (14, p.749). This observation seems to agree with the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph, namely, that the great majority of youth belongs to some extreme political party. The most powerful political parties in Germany after World War I were the Social Democrats and the Communists, both of which held to specific views of internationalism. Opposed to these internationally-minded groups stood the parties with strong nationalistic creeds which also had many followers.

At the same time many German students at institutions of higher learning fought admirably for their existence, as they had to earn their living by manual labor in many cases if they wanted to finish their education. Among those coming leaders of the German nation was a fertile field to win at least part of the battle for democracy and peace. Sound judgment and co-operation in the field of economics, and

before cured, crippled children and mental defectives left to their fate. Young workers have been out of work for three or four years after completion of their apprenticeship. This is the generation that within a decade will produce the leaders in political life.

It is shocking to see small children literally pining away. The federal allowance supplementary to family relief for these children is 14 marks monthly. Pensions to necessitous persons who lost all during the inflation have been reduced to 36 marks monthly (25, p.148).

Such were the social conditions during the years when the national socialists with their specified program, which appealed to nationalism and a mind that was concerned with the welfare of the common man, were gaining an increasing number of people among which were many young persons.

1933-1945: Social Problems of a Different Kind

When then, after a number of other chancellors had resigned, the aging president called upon Hitler to check the conditions, many people in Germany were watching and hoping, especially the youth. It was clear that some drastic measures were necessary--and they were taken. While economic conditions improved, especially for the youth, the danger against a normal social development of young people approached the German youth from a different angle. While before, during the Weimar Republic, everyone could write freely, could speak what he thought, and could go where he wanted to go, it now became clear that this freedom would be quite restricted. First the political left wing opposition was

understanding democratic guidance at that time might have done much to prevent a second world war.

During the late twenties of this century the impact of the great economic depression began to be felt by a larger number of people. On July 16, 1927 the German government passed the employment exchange and unemployment insurance act (75, p.447). In 1929 the number of unemployed was 1,915,000, which increased to 5,580,000 in 1932 (13, p.94). Another source mentioned that in 1932 over six million people were unemployed, which number probably included the recipients of emergency unemployment allowances beside those who received the standard benefits of unemployment relief (2, p.644). For the German youth these conditions naturally meant less opportunities to learn, poorer homes, idleness and all the dangers connected with it, as, for example, receptiveness to radical propaganda. The conditions were especially difficult because an extreme inflation had taken all savings only a few years before. In March 1932 it was pointed out in the Social Service Review that what in the United States still was called "the emergency" had taken the proportions of a major disaster in many other countries (25, p.148). A quotation from a letter of a German social worker read:

The catastrophic conditions of the cities and the rural districts is necessitating systematic breakdown of social work of all sorts that has been slowly built up in the past ten years. Social workers are being laid off, kindergartens closed, sick children dismissed from convalescent homes

exterminated, then the center parties lost their existences, and after that the right wing groups were either incorporated into the National Socialist Workers' Party or were abolished. All these measures forced young people to give up cherished loyalties to organizations which had become dear to them and had made their lives more meaningful. There had been groups with political, or cultural, or religious emphasis. Step by step they were either forbidden or incorporated into national socialist organizations, especially into the Hitler Youth. If a young person wanted to progress in promising apprenticeship, or if he wanted to study for a certain profession, everywhere he was pressed to become a member of the Hitler Youth or of one of its branches. There were not many youth who resisted, indeed resistance seemed to have lost its meaning, when one only proved by it the opposition against apparent outward successes in the country, and when there was hardly anyone who presented to the youth a picture which would give a real insight into the danger. A person who tried to oppose national socialism was soon stigmatized as an opponent to the nation's welfare, and if he tried to spread his heretical ideas he could expect to be taken into custody and possibly would spend some time in a concentration camp. Martin Niemoeller is an example that not even a relatively powerful position in the state church could save a man from the concentration camp. Young people who disregarded the

restrictions placed upon old independent youth organizations, such as, for example, the Roman Catholic youth groups, were attacked by organized Hitler Youth bands and cruelly beaten while returning home from a hiking trip or a forbidden meeting. There was practically no way to escape punishment for those independent youth, except that they could try to avoid the Hitler Youth groups which waited for them or to meet force with force. Due to clever propaganda and to legal backing of the Hitler Youth with its superior numerical strength, the organized independent youth groups virtually disappeared from the public scene within a few years after Hitler rose to power.

The Hitler Youth dominated Germany's young people and worked out a rigorous program to educate a bodily healthy and politically active youth. These youth were taught to admire the achievements of the national socialist regime and were indoctrinated with the philosophy and the program of this regime day by day, in the school, at work, and in the "spare time" with the party organizations, through the radio, newspapers, magazines, and books. Since the unemployment disappeared, since homes were built for the workers, since education was made available to the greatest extent regardless of a person's financial status, if he only had the necessary intelligence level and agreed with the party line, and since the country became a world power again, it became

increasingly more difficult for a young person to see the wrong in the national socialist program and philosophy. It seemed that at last only strong religious convictions, possibly in connection with powerful family ties, could help a person to overcome the impact of national socialism.

When in 1939 the second world war started, the vast majority of the German youth was well-trained to admire and to obey its leadership, and to fight in order that the nation "without room" might secure its life and its living. For many young people in Germany the war meant poorer education, extra work, evacuation from the cities, air raids, loss of one parent or of both parents, and many other bitter experiences. And, when before they had only very limited opportunities to learn of outside points of view, with the beginning of the war they were subjected to almost complete one-sidedness. Most of the youth, however, were looking forward to a victorious end and a brighter future until they had to experience the bitter end of the war.

After World War II

The end of the second world war meant for millions of German youth hunger, loss of protection which strict leadership had provided, loss of home and family, and the object of their admiration, their nation, subjected to enemy powers. Of all these factors, hunger was apparent first. The Germans

had learned of the Morgenthau plan and this knowledge, together with the experiences of largely senseless dismantling activities in industrial plants, and other revenge measures, helped only to aggravate distrust and hate, and to make a workable relationship with the occupation powers more difficult to achieve. Chiefly on account of the food conditions, many Germans suffered from tuberculosis. A report in the Social Service Review gave the following numbers: about 759,000 Germans with tuberculosis in 1946, and about 1,000,000 in 1947 (100, p.527).

The cruel expulsion of millions of Germans from the eastern part of Germany and other areas of Europe uprooted hundreds of thousands of children and young people who were probably the ones who suffered most. Many of them lost their families by death or imprisonment or could not find any member of their family for some time. Since no one was able to provide shelter and a living for all of them, they became an entirely new and very serious problem for the Germans. Although experts differed greatly on the statistics for vagrant children in Germany (90, p.40), the following statement was found: "From lower Saxony comes the news that there are 10,000 juveniles between 14 and 18 years of age orphaned, without shelter or work, making a living through the black market, by begging, or by theft" (91, p.143). The report from which this quotation is taken was issued in November

1948, more than three years after the end of the war. Lower Saxony had been made a part of the British zone of occupation. Directly connected with the problem of the homeless and unsettled youth is, of course, the problem of juvenile delinquency. In the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences the statement was made that the "future outlook in criminality is very much threatened by the great number of neglected and delinquent juveniles" (91, p.143). No data on juvenile delinquency in Germany as a whole were available, but there were given comparable numbers for Hamburg. Aggravated thefts by juveniles were reported fifty-five times in 1938 and 806 times in 1947; simple thefts by juveniles were reported 393 times in 1938 and 7,920 times in 1947 (91, p.143). These numbers show an increase of juvenile thievery which is more than fourteenfold for aggravated thefts, and more than twentyfold for simple thefts.

In an official report it was stated in 1951: "The German economy, in all its branches, is at present unable to absorb as many young people each year as will enter the labor market. This is a very dangerous situation. Feelings of futility, enforced idleness under conditions of great poverty, and little or no family life, tend to strengthen anti-social attitudes and political radicalism" (15, 1:31). In the Information Bulletin of the United States Military Government for Germany the assertion was made, "German youth

between the ages of 14 and 25, numbering 2,761,000, constitute 15 percent of the population but 26 percent of the unemployed in the US Zone" (7, p.19). The same bulletin in August 1950 reported 550,000 youth unemployed in all Western Germany (7, p.19). Another official report says, Western Germany's dependent labor force (wage and salary earner) in September 1950 was 15.5 million of whom 1.37 million were unemployed (15, 1:9). No doubt, here is a ready soil for political agitators. These young people had seen cruelties which would frighten most any adult, they once had high ideals, they had seen all their hopes diminished or extinguished, and many of them do not see a future worthwhile to look forward to. Under the given conditions the task of the social welfare workers is extremely difficult, and "The weakest part of the welfare program is, perhaps, the facilities for assisting young people" (15, 1:31).

It has been proposed to give the refugee youth in Western Germany opportunities for physical and mental training, for vocational training to aid in securing jobs, and for training in citizenship and co-operation in a free Europe (15, 1:32). An educational program, homes (with or without workshop for apprentices), credit facilities to increase the number of apprenticeships and jobs in private enterprises, hostels with educational and recreational facilities for young workers, and training of girls for domestic careers (15, 1:32), these also are needed.

Practically every survey finds, beside the physical needs, the all-important problem of competent and active leadership. What an American social worker found concerning the problem of juvenile delinquency might well be applied for the present German youth problem as a whole, "We have seen the need for improved methods, better qualified personnel, and more plentiful physical resources; but the more fundamental need lies in the area of the understanding of human behavior and the methods employed for particular human needs and bringing about psychological and social recovery" (1, p.201).

CHAPTER IV

GERMAN YOUTH: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND PROBLEMS

During the Weimar Republic

The educational situation in Germany by the end of World War I was disheartening. During that war there had been a constant drain on the external and internal qualities. Of the Berlin public schools, for instance, two-thirds of the teachers were called into the armed forces, and of the higher schools one-half of the teachers had been drafted (44, p.3). The scholastic standards were lowered, nourishment of children and young people was inadequate, and family ties were loosened (44, p.3). The continuation of the blockade of food supply for Germany after the armistice had been signed on November 11, 1918 gave the Weimar Republic another weak point at the beginning.

Under these conditions the Weimar Republic had to take over the German youth and their education. It was a spark of light that many able and progressive educators were looking for the opportunity to advance better ideas in German education. They encountered, almost immediately, some major problems. One of these problems was the state and church struggle for school control. This struggle was an outgrowth

of the various attempts to put into effect some of the educational and religious articles of Germany's Federal Constitution (63, p.817). Before the Weimar Republic the clergy was a determining factor in German education. In Bavaria remained a very strong opposition against the state's domination of education and especially against the "simultan" school which should bring into one school the youth of the different denominations. Adolph E. Meyer, at that time a member of the faculty of New York University, wrote that church and state relationship in German education was "undoubtedly one of the most important problems before the German people" (63, p.819). This problem was further aggravated by the fact that "in accordance with the public education law private preparatory schools (private Vorschulen) are to be gradually abolished" (63, p.820). The writer stated that even in America this would cause serious consequences (63, p.820). When Minister Schiele of the Luther Cabinet prepared a bill, which sought to re-establish the denominational school in Germany, a loud and strong opposition arose especially from different teachers' associations and political parties. The freedom of education and the teachers was believed to be endangered (63, p.820). Due to this opposition and the resignation of Minister Schiele, as protest against the ratification of the Locarno Treaty, Germany adhered to the liberal and democratic provision laid down in the

educational clauses of the German Constitution (63, p.821). Extreme measures were soon abolished and a gradual change was tried.

Although the financial question had been a serious problem since the beginning of the German republic, it surmounted almost every other problem when the inflation grew. Naturally the repair and building of schools had to be delayed, the supply of educational material was extremely slow, and people in general were too much occupied with the provision of the most needed things for existence that education could not receive the necessary consideration.

Although the inflation was followed by an economic revival of about half a decade, chiefly made possible by money borrowed from the United States, too soon the great economic depression took hold of Germany. An American source reported in June 1931, "The per cent. of taxes devoted to education in Germany has dropped since before the war from 20 per cent. to 16 per cent." (16, p.18). Inflation had destroyed nearly all the scholarship funds (16, p.18). About 1930 the spending of a German laborer for the education of his family was estimated of \$1.38 a month, while the salaried man was able to push it up to about \$3 per month (16, p.18).

During the National Socialist Regime

When the national socialist regime took over, Germany's

outlook economically and politically was extremely dark. Millions of unemployed were looking for work. The communists with their radical program had become the third strongest political party. They had won also many young people into their youth organizations, Kommunistischer Jugendverband, Jungspartakus Bund, and Rote Jugendfront. These young radicals did not lay aside their convictions at the school door, as the writer of this treatise vividly recalls. However, within a few months the national socialist regime put an end to the open interference of any other political party and started to introduce its own concepts into the German schools. In The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences of November 1935 it is reported that authoritarian ideologies had almost entirely taken the place of religious convictions (45, p.154). The subject of religion, which was given regularly in most German normal schools, became, in the hands of national socialist teachers, an hour where Teutonic hero stories were studied. Physical training became officially defined as pre-military training (45, p.160). The Third Reich's Minister of Education, Mr. Rust, introduced a number of changes which gave German education an entirely new feature. Textbooks were exchanged to present nationalist ideas constantly to the youth. Saturday ceased to be school day. In the high school the ninth year was cut off. On Saturdays the young people were to go

to their Hitler Youth services. If it formerly had been the highest honor for a student or pupil to be an outstanding scholar, it now became most important to be a determined nationalist and to obey fully the party orders. Every economic success, and every political "gain" had to be dealt with extensively in the schools, so the young people learned to appreciate as highly as possible their political masters.

The beginning of World War II decidedly interrupted the educational program of the Third Reich. At the outset many children had to be protected against expected air raids (from Poland) (24, p.46). Children from the city schools were deported into the country and were brought back only after the danger had ceased. The armed forces' draft resulted in a teacher shortage which became a serious concern of the authorities (24, p.46). The curriculum was changed to meet the new situation. Such courses as religion, music, drawing, and gymnastics were dropped (24, p.46). The young people of larger city schools in Western Germany were sent to the country to continue their education. As the need for more young military leadership increased, the high school students were allowed to leave school before they could make their official final high school examination. An emergency certificate was given in such cases. Special schools had been established where young people could enroll several years before their draft age and receive education and

preparation for the armed services.

While young people in Germany were still under the influence of the educational situation just indicated, there were many young men, prisoners of war, who were subjected in the United States and other countries to a different kind of education. They should be brought to learn the Western and Eastern concepts of democracy and democratic education. While there were certainly many sincere attempts, the task seems to have been too great. The writer of this treatise never encountered a German man who had been convinced by the education he received in a prisoner of war camp. Dorothy Thompson pointed out in an appraisal what was probably a major mistake: it does not make sense to educate champions of liberty in prisoner of war camps, and then put the people thus educated as subjects under a military government: they must become rebels (98, p.42). But it should not be forgotten that there was, especially in the United States a very important unofficial education for democracy for the German prisoners of war, namely, the daily encounters with common people in a country which cherished democratic ideals.

After World War II

With the end of the war in 1945 and the military occupation there began a new phase of history for the German nation. The fourfold division of Germany explains the

different handling of the common educational problems. In the Russian zone a new authoritarian treatment was soon apparent. Each military government in the Western zones sought at first to introduce as many of its own ideals and ideas as possible. But after some time it became apparent that this approach was not the solution. Democratic principles cannot be introduced vitally by the simple transplanting of ideas and giving of orders. These principles must be gained by carefully guided experiences. A major task of the occupation forces was the denazification program, especially among former teachers. This resulted in a very serious shortage of teachers, in some areas up to 80 per cent of the teachers were dismissed (17, pp.36-37). In the American zone of Germany the ratio in primary grades was 79 pupils to the teacher by March 1, 1946 (17, p.37). Another major problem was the lack of acceptable textbooks (17, p.37). As could be expected, there was an extreme shortage of school buildings and facilities. In Hannover, for instance, of 91 school buildings only 16 were neither seized nor wrecked (105, p.201). A United States Education Mission Report pointed out that the curriculum needed to be changed to become more centered on the needs of the pupils, but that the most important was a change needed in the whole concept of the social sciences (27, pp.10-11). The urgency for new textbooks was amplified in the Monthly Report of the Military Governor No. 31, November 1947-January 1948,

where it was mentioned that at least 20,000,000 textbooks were needed (103, p.1). A German source indicates an important problem bearing greatly on the development of German education: the great number of refugees. In January 1952 the statement was made that there were 11.6 million refugees in the (Western) German Federal Republic and the (Eastern) German Democratic Republic, 2.5 million of whom were children under 14 years of age, and 964,000 were youths from 14 to 20 years of age (69, p.69). All these refugees have the right to a good education to make them informed citizens. How to provide this for the refugee is still an unsolved problem in Germany. The double track system of German education has become a concern of German authorities. In the (Western) German Federal republic there are 2,220 high schools, which prepare students for professional education at the universities, with 538,000 students, but only 550 middle schools with 173,000 students to prepare them for positions in the civil services, the natural outcome of this disproportion is a surplus of students with the maturity examination for the university (116, p.284). German educators, who had the opportunity to visit the United States found that the American curriculum starts with the child, while in Germany the curriculum begins with the university (110, p.359). They further realized, that for German reconstruction, it is necessary to build a program which helps to develop the

skills, knowledge, and attitudes for responsible citizenship in the community, the nation, and the world (110, p.359).

Will there be enough opportunity and time to assure the success of such a decisive program?

CHAPTER V

GERMAN YOUTH AND POLITICS

During the Weimar Republic

The political situation had concerned many German youths long before World War I was over. A socialist youth movement was launched in the early twentieth century which by 1914, being interested chiefly in internal politics, had attracted some one hundred thousand youth (60, p.254). At the end of World War I this organization split, and a rival organization Die Freie Sozialistische Jugend (the free socialist youth) was formed (60, p.254).

This indicates already a major characteristic of political influences on German youth: it was chiefly left to the political parties to "educate" youth politically (53, p.135). After World War I outstanding youth groups affiliated with political parties were (55, p.25):

- communist: Kommunistischer Jugendverband, Jungspartakus Bund, and Rote Jugendfront;
- social democrat: Sozialistische Arbeiterfreunde, Kinderfreunde, and Rote Falken;
- democratic party: Reichsbund der Deutschen Windhorstbunde;
- German people's party: Reichsjugend der Deutschen

Volkspartei, and in Austria, the Volksgemeinschaft Oesterreich;

German national people's party (conservatives): Jungstahlhelm, Scharnhorstbund, Königin Luise Bund, Bismarckjugend, Jungsturm Kolberg, Kyffhäuser Jugend;

NSDAP (national socialist workers party): Hitlerjugend.

As far as the Weimar Republic was concerned it was stated that the importance of the problem of youth was never properly understood (53, p.133). Only as a question of theoretical interest did she herself sometimes admit that no community can exist for very long without taking into consideration these most important impulses out of which a nation must continually renew herself; and it seemed hopeless to warn her that for her own sake she must take the matter also into practical account: anaemic resolutions and sentimental reflections were apparently all that she was able to accomplish (53, p.133). Missed opportunities are indicated by the statement that the Weimar republic neglected "everything that Youth, out of their association with the war generation, held sacred and heroic; it gave them no chance to transfer these feelings into deeds of peaceful reconstruction" (53, p.136). With the rise of national discontent, especially as the economic depression grew, more and more young people were attracted by the national socialist youth organization, the Hitlerjugend (HJ).

During the Nationalist Regime

Once the national socialists were in power they did everything they could to subject all German youth organizations to their program. Membership in some branch of the HJ became compulsory and was for most young people unavoidable. All political education of youth was dominated by the party, chiefly through the HJ. Youth was fed with passages from Mein Kampf and nazi slogans such as "Führer command, and we will follow" (60, p.271). By 1939 the HJ had a membership of some 7,000,000 boys and girls between the ages of ten and eighteen (60, p.272). Opposition was well-nigh impossible, at least in practice. However, some of it appeared, especially during World War II. The "Edelweiss" movement was anti-nazi and active several years before World War II ended, its members rebelling chiefly against suppression of freedom, especially by the HJ (5, pp.213-217).

After World War II

The conditions at the end of World War II have been described as such that in 1945 and somewhat later, "the everyday techniques of democratic organization, such as parliamentary procedure, committee organization, and group discussion with the group making its own decisions, were virtually unknown to the young in Germany" (102, p.18). Under

weary and often disheartening conditions, solutions were sought by many. After all the confusing experiences and shattered ideals, German youth acquired a cautious, reserved frame of mind. This often has been misinterpreted as being disinterest. A young German miner stated, after verbally attacking the "do-nothing" government, the corrupt parties, and the general chaos, "people claim...that youth is not interested in politics. It's a lie. We talk of politics every night right here, and you will find they all feel the way I do" (22, p.125). William F. Sollmann gave a description of how German youth felt concerning the much discussed subject of German democracy: "we still know little about democracy, and many of us have no particular interest in it beyond rejection of dictatorship. Perhaps our tremendous individual efforts to find a sound economic basis in life is our road toward building up a democratic Germany. After all, historians tell us that democracy never worked in countries of extreme poverty" (96, p.369). The search for political ideals is the concern of German youth. "Wenn wir ihr nicht Brot geben wird sie in der Verzweiflung nach den Steinen greifen" (if we do not give them bread, in their despair they will reach for the stones) (57, p.196). The conditions have become accentuated by the threat of unemployment which affects thousands of young people in West Germany. It has been said, "unless the youth...find jobs to keep them

employed no one can predict in what 'political direction' they may drift" and "A few years out of work and our youth might listen to any kind of 'ism' whatsoever" (74, p.5). There is the constant lure from the East where youth can work and receive the much desired professional education. After a propaganda challenge from the East it was stated, "The free world should reflect that it must give youth new ideals if it wants to lead them along the right path" (6, p.622). The restraint of German youth in political life gave rise to the expression that nobody can repel the co-operation of a younger one who has more phantasy, more elan, and the same amount of knowledge; but where are the young men and women who can offer this? (46, p.125). Political or civic education is a task for generations and cannot be fully evaluated on the ground of the more or less effective handling of democratic techniques and procedures alone. However, it is encouraging to read the following statement of the United States Department of State, released in 1951: "It is possible that the procedures of democratic group action are now as familiar to German young people as they are to the bulk of American boys and girls. Young Germans are at home in group discussions, employ the techniques of working through committees, young citizens' councils and forums, and they have a great deal of skill at organizing forums, public meetings, and conferences" (102, p.26).

CHAPTER VI

GERMAN YOUTH: RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL SITUATION

Ideological Unrest During the Weimar Republic

"Jugend ist Übergang und das Einheitliche ihres Wesens ist nur in dieser Dynamik zu finden, die den Betrachter von Situation zu Situation zu Unterscheidungen zwingt und daher nur aus 'Momentaufnahmen' charakteristische Aussagen gewinnen lässt" (youth is transition, and the uniqueness of its nature can only be found in this dynamic which forces the observer to differentiate between situations and, therefore, permits him to gain characteristic statements out of but "snapshots") (57, p.197). This remark shows rather clearly the limitation in describing situations of youth, especially in the religious and ideological realms. Many a young person is so unsettled, regardless of how concerned he is about his ideological stability, that he himself would hardly dare to make a definite statement. However, for many thousands of German young people religious organizations and others with determined ideological programs have tried to offer the young stable bases to build on within the fellowship of shared problems and interests.

After World War I "In German youth the spirit was

clearly revolutionary. Since the dawn of the twentieth century German Youth movements had been anti-authoritarian. 'Frei' (free) was a common term to describe their groups. Their literature abounds with words like 'Aufbruch,' 'Anfang,' 'Aktion,' 'Sturm,' 'Zeitwende,' and 'Erhebung,' all suggesting the emergence of a new and revolutionary change," and they read Nietzsche, Strindberg, Werfel, and Dostoevski (108, p.37). The new leftwing groups which arose after the Revolution were called "Neuer Anfang" (New Beginning) and "Entschiedene Jugend" (youth who had made their decision) (108, p.37). The same writer reminds, "It is sometimes forgotten that pacifist and international sentiment was as influential in the German youth of 1920 as in any other national group" (108, p.41). The slogan of the "Grossdeutsche Jugend" was "'Unsere Rache muss Liebe sein!' (Our revenge must be love!)" (108, p.41).

The various churches in Germany each set up their own "youth movement" after World War I, "but by 1930 it was clear that the strength of youth was not in any of the traditional religious groups, but in the socialist youth who were materialists or in the Nazis who were neo-pagans" (108, p.29). The main protestant youth organizations were the Evangelisches Jungmännerwerk Deutschlands (evangelical young men's work of Germany) and Evangelischer Verband für weibliche Jugend (evangelical league of feminine youth), while the

chief catholic organizations were the Verband Katholischer Jugend und Jungmännervereine (league of catholic youth and young men's associations), the Katholische Jungfrauenvereine (catholic young women associations), and Quickborn (55, p.25).

The trade unions also had a rather important influence upon the ideology of their young people. Their main youth organizations during the Weimar Republic were the Deutsch-nationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband (German national league of clerks) which was strongly nationalistic and anti-Semitic, the Zentralstelle für die Arbeitende Jugend Deutschlands (central office for the working youth of Germany) which was connected with the free trade unions, and the agricultural Reichsjunglandbund (young land league of the Reich) (55, p.25).

The Impact of National Socialism

As soon as the national socialists came to power they went out for elimination of all competition ideologically. Only one national youth organization should mold the mind of German youth: the Hitler Jugend. "National Socialism was nihilistic in itself but...it set itself the task of molding the nihilistic spirit of the uprooted masses and making it historically productive" (97, p.145). It formed a substitute called "Weltanschauung" at whose birth stood--not revelation

or personal religious experience--but the problem "of how to stimulate and mobilize the stable elements of the mind, the feeling for things holy, the metaphysical, and the deeper experiences of life" (97, p.145).

After World War II

As in previous decades the lower middle class had been the chief supporter of the church, today (since World War II) "the emphasis in church work has changed its center of gravity to the young intelligentsia. This is not the result of any conscious planning, but simply because an extremely strong religious problem has developed among this group" (97, p.147). Professor Thielecke states there has been no religious revival wave, but that it is a movement of "questioning" (97, p.147). It should be remembered that, at least in Western Germany, "95 per cent of the whole German population still belongs to the various Christian communions" (32, p.79). The league of protestant youth groups totals about 920,000 members in Western Germany, while no organized religious youth organizations are permitted in the soviet zone (which is predominantly Lutheran) (64, pp.208-209). About 700,000 members are numbered among the catholic youth groups in Western Germany (111, p.207).

Despite their large memberships, the traditional youth organizations account for only about 28 per cent of the youth

of Western Germany, the rest either belonging to smaller groups, often of local nature, or not being organized at all (102, p.28).

William F. Sollmann, a former German newspaper man who found refuge in the United States, visited Germany after World War II. He pictures the state of mind of German youth with the following statements supposed to summarize the prevailing attitude:

We are Westerners, not Asiates. Even the German Communists know that Germany will not become an appendage of Soviet Russia. We are the only country with millions of experts on the Soviet regime. As prisoners of war working in factories, mines and farms side by side with Russians we saw inefficiency and poverty everywhere. Most of us demand radical social reforms, even if we have no political affiliations. However, we don't want a new dictatorship--no more dictatorship for us! We are very critical of all political parties, and most of us are also critical of the churches, but we believe that Christianity can still be a living force in Germany (96, p.368).

Youth in the Soviet Zone of Germany

In the soviet zone of Germany youth is organized in the Freie Deutsche Jugend (free German youth) and the Junge Pioniere (young pioneers) which numbered in 1951 about 3.5 million members 14 to 25 years old (20, p.267). The Christian churches are at this time the last bulwarks of the free spirit in the soviet zone of Germany, and the last stable social powers which can contend with Stalinism for the souls of the youth (20, p.275). But it is only a solid

nucleus which is vitally influenced and is taking an active stand (20, p.275). A completely new attitude toward the Marxists is developing among the sincere young Christians. Marxism is met as a harsh reality which the Christian has to face. By this sober openness the Christian churches are gaining ground again (20, p.275). Is there a real opposition to Marxism? That question has been answered positively. The opposition expresses itself by listening to the United States radio RIAS from West-Berlin (about 80 per cent of the people in East Germany are supposed to listen to it), by seeking contact with West-Berlin, by regular discussions of actual problems, and by applying, for purposes of opposition, the communist youth organization's slogan "learning, learning, learning" (20, p.276).

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL WORK FOR GERMAN YOUTH

The German National Child Welfare Law

The German National Child Welfare Law of July 9, 1922 became a guide post in social welfare for German youth. More than eight years later it was called "unique in the world" and translated because of the "possibility of suggestion for a national program for child welfare in the United States" (65, p.608).

Before that law each German state had its own standards and laws; the different branches of the work were regulated by manifold decrees; there was little co-operation between the different departments; and claims for needy children depended on four different government departments (86, p.603). The new law became a decisive factor to do away with those difficulties.

The law has been fully translated by Earl Dewey Meyers (see bibliography number 65). It shall be given here in outline form. Some sections have later been canceled and are omitted in this outline. To the first two chapters some remarks and quotations are added in the outline, because these chapters are believed to give an especially good

understanding of the character of the law and its intentions.

Quotations are taken from the English translation by E. D.

Meyers, mentioned above.

German National Child Welfare Law of July 9, 1922

Chapter I. General

Sec. 1. "Every German child has the right of training for physical, mental-spiritual, and social competence." The parents' rights and duties will not be affected by this law, but there shall be intervention if the family does not fulfill the right of education for the child.

Sec. 2. "The agencies of public child welfare are the child welfare bureaus (Jugendämter, Landesjugendämter, Reichsjugendamt) in so far as competence is not legally given by some other corporate body, in particular the school."

"Public child welfare work includes all official measures for furthering the welfare of children (Jugendpflege, Jugendfürsorge) and shall be regulated, without interference with existing laws, according to provisions which follow." The terms "Jugendamt," Landesjugendamt," and "Reichsjugendamt" refer to the local, state, and national youth offices.

Chapter II. Child Welfare Officials

1. Jugendamt

a. Competence

Sec. 3. The duties of the Jugendamt are:

- (1) care of foster children;
- (2) co-operation in matters pertaining to guardianship, especially for orphans;
- (3) provisions for needy young children;
- (4) co-operation and participation in probation and correctional education;
- (5) assistance in juvenile court as provided in Juvenile Court Law;
- (6) co-operation in supervision of work of children and juvenile workers;

- (7) co-operation in care of orphans and children of persons damaged by the war;
- (8) co-operation with police officials in the assistance of juveniles, especially through supervision to prevent custody of children.

Sec. 4. Further duties of assistance:

- (1) counsel in matters affecting juveniles;
- (2) care of mothers before and after the delivery of a child;
- (3) welfare of infants;
- (4) welfare of pre-school children;
- (5) welfare of children of school age outside the school;
- (6) welfare of youths who have left the school.

b. Composition and procedure

Sec. 8. Jugendämter are to be established as agencies of communities or community associations.

Members of the Jugendamt shall be: leading child welfare officials and experienced and discrete men and women from all walks of life, especially from interested agencies like the Youth Movement, and others.

Normally at least one year of practical child welfare work shall be required before anyone becomes officially elected to the Jugendamt.

2. Landesjugendamt

Sec. 12-14 The chief tasks of the Landesjugendamt shall be:

- (1) to assist the Jugendämter in setting standards;
- (2) to advise and to inform;
- (3) to provide institutions;
- (4) to help in co-operation;
- (5) to co-ordinate.

3. Reichsjugendamt

Sec. 15-18 The task of the Reichsjugendamt shall be to insure systematic fulfillment of the law, possibly by executive orders.

Chapter III. Care of foster children

1. Permission to receive care

Sec. 19-23 Only children under fourteen years of age shall be considered for foster care.

2. Supervision

Sec. 24-26

3. Emergency placement

Sec. 27-29

4. Provisions concerning penalties

Sec. 30-31

Chapter IV. Guardianship

Sec. 32-48

Chapter V. Public assistance of dependent minors

Sec. 55

Chapter VI. Probation and correctional education

Sec. 56-76

Sec. 77 Final Provision.

The "Jugendämter", as provided for in the law, have become a major blessing for the German youth and nation. They became a clearing house of all efforts for the betterment and protection of German youth, and provided free professional counseling in all problems concerning children and youths (36, column 741).

Social Work During the Weimar Republic

In German social work the term "Jugendfürsorge" had become a rather standardized idea and rested upon a certain

philosophical basis (38, columns 743-744). The term includes all efforts by which society or officials undertake to educate youth, who grow up under spiritually and physically dangerous and unfavourable circumstances, to become useful members of society. The "Jugendfürsorge" was considered the best means by which society protects itself against such social burdens as paupers, insane, cripples, workers disabled by sickness, morally neglected persons, and criminals. The "Jugendfürsorge" includes also protection of youth against moral and physical dangers in the trades, protection against dirty literature, welfare for becoming mothers and mothers with babies, kindergarden care, recreational homes, school health care, juvenile court actions, and other functions. The first years after World War I saw German social workers for youth intensely active with their many tasks. The family was always considered the most important unit of society, and the family tie remains very important for the average German throughout his life. German family welfare was a heritage of World War I and had become a method (107, p.608). For the German such task could best be done by women, and accordingly the Sozialen Frauenschulen (women schools for social work) became the heart of the training system for social workers (89, p.557). The family welfare work integrated the social work for all people, infants, youths and adults. It considered the client not as an isolated case, but

investigated the whole social background and co-operated with doctors, teachers, churches, juvenile courts, community officials, and others (107, p.608). The basic work was calling in homes, and the principle of giving hygienic, educational, and economic relief was established, and doing follow up and preventive work (107, p.608). The "Wohlfahrtsamt" (general welfare bureau) became the ideal center. It was very closely connected with the "Jugendamt" and the "Pflegeamt", the latter doing protective work for criminal cases of minors. Official and unofficial welfare organizations worked in close co-operation. The three chief private welfare organizations were the "Verband Evangelischer Socialbeamtinnen" (association of protestant women social workers) (since 1903), the "Deutscher Verband der Sozialbeamtinnen" (German association of women social workers) (since 1916), and the "Verband Katholischer Wohlfahrtspflegerinnen" (association of catholic women social workers) (since 1922) (107, p.607). The first two joined in 1918 to become the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Berufsverbände der Wohlfahrtspflegerinnen" (joint society of professional associations of women social workers) the catholic organization also joined at a later time (107, p.607).

Two legislative measures concerning youth which fall into the time between World War I and the economic depression shall also be considered. The first was the "Jugendgerichtsgesetz" (juvenile court law) of February 16, 1923 which

enforced a unified system for all parts of Germany (39, columns 744-745). The three chapters of the law were material legislative regulations, constitution and proceedings of juvenile courts, and regulations for the time until final establishment of the new law and changing of (older) laws. According to the new law a youth is a person between fourteen and eighteen years of age. An offender is not punishable (parents' responsibility). The juvenile court can order educational regulations instead of punishment. No capital punishment of juveniles is permitted. Sentences had to remain in general between the minimum and the half of the maximum assigned in the normal criminal code. No youth could be sentenced to more than ten years in prison. Parole was provided for. It had to be between two and five years. The other legislative measure to be mentioned here was the Law for the Protection of Youth Before Trashy and Dirty Literature of December 18, 1926 (40, columns 747-748). It provided for test bureaus of literature, and a higher testing place in Leipzig. For each bureau there had to be an official chairman and two professionals from art and literature, book and art trades, youth welfare, youth organizations, teachers' organizations, and public education organizations. Six voices were necessary for a decision. There was emphasis on the positive work, for example frequent exhibitions of good youth literature, extension of

libraries and reading rooms.

The needy time of the great economic depression called upon all agencies in Germany for action if even the greatest dangers for the youth should be avoided. Among the groups working for the protection of the young people in that time the youth movement (Jugendbewegung) as a whole might be mentioned first. The term Jugendbewegung was the general expression for all social and cultural efforts coming from the youths themselves (37, column 741). The aim was to work for sufficient spiritual living space for youth in society. The work of the different groups of the youth movement consisted chiefly in wandering, youth rallies, youth festivals, and athletics, all in opposition or contrast to city life. Having been a cultural movement it fought materialism, "intellectualism," and mammonism (37, columns 741-742). One of their speakers, Eugen Duhring, stated, "The youthful age is not merely a means to reach a more mature age, but it is a reason in itself" (37, column 741). About the middle of the twenties of this century the German youth movement included about two and one-half per cent of the young people. It might have appeared a small number, but the fact that this number included the most vital part of the German young people should be considered.

In official German social work there were reported in 1928 the number of 66,884 persons of whom 54,582, that is

81.7 per cent, were women (79, p.121). Systematic and efficient work for the youth of the nation was done (1) through the public health offices, where every baby was registered and his growth regularly tested, (2) through health controls in the public schools, and (3) through close co-operation of the official youth office (Jugendamt) with other welfare and health agencies. As the economic depression "progressed" much help for the children and youth had to be delayed. But leaders in the education of social workers still kept emphasizing improved preparation and pointed out that social workers needed a call for their important profession (85, pp.325-329).

The government became concerned with the growing army of youthful unemployed and therefore came forth with a decree, on July 16, 1932, which extended the existing efforts and facilities for voluntary labor by juveniles (freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst), "designed to maintain morale and working capacity" (2, p.646). "Each juvenile was to be limited to twenty weeks of work within two years, or forty in case of especially useful work" with a maximum recompense of two marks weekly (2, p.646). The German federal government appropriated about 12 million dollars to assist municipalities in developing voluntary work corps of young unemployed men and women (10, p.37). These measures were at least limited opportunities for the youth to undertake something that held

hope of a better future.

1933-1945: The Years of Uniformity

The national socialist regime reversed the downward trend of the economic and social conditions. Through rigid measures and concentrated efforts the number of unemployed fell from 4,733,000 in 1933 to 2,117,000 in 1935, and to 875,000 in 1937 (13, p.94). The needs of the youth were emphasized and received special attention. Along with "unifying" political measures there were strong efforts to secure the health and the education of the young people. The youth health control was simplified and extended to a regular service to all young people from 6 to 18 years of age (43, p.101).

With the beginning of World War II many children were sent from the cities to the country. This evacuation was extended until whole school communities had moved with their equipments. In many cases no parent could accompany the children and they were to live in supervised homes or with other families in rural homes away from their own parents. Under constant influence of the national socialist propaganda many young people joined the armed forces prematurely. The formerly free working camps had been made compulsory for every young man and woman who could be eligible for the armed forces. The half year to be served in the Arbeitsdienst

(working service) was intended to knit the youth of every class together by common labor for public good, under good discipline, and under national socialist education.

Social Work After World War II

All these measures ended of course when the occupation armies took over the government of Germany. The end of the hostilities did not mean the end of suffering for German youth, but its aggravating problems challenged every effort to do something immediately for the hungry and homeless youth which so suddenly had to learn to distrust and to doubt all the cherished ideas. Private welfare agencies were the first major organizations to attack the most crying needs. These agencies were mainly religious organizations and provided emergency aid, institutional care, vocational training centers, and a variety of other services (15, 1:31). The support of outside groups, for instance, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), CARE, and others, were a great help. As some order was created again, the official German welfare organization began to work effectively. To meet the problem of juvenile delinquency, there were 1,100 especially trained social welfare officers in Germany (in 1947) with normally two years of training, but two or three times that number were needed (42, p.525). Under American professional guidance in the welfare field "local welfare

councils, composed of representatives of public and private denominational and nonsectarian agencies, are being formed to deal with long-term plans for the many neglected and wandering youth of the communities" (113, p.297). A New York social worker, who studied the conditions in Germany after the second world war, wrote that it was his conviction "that the basic public welfare structure is sound. It is well conceived and soundly related to the total organization of local and state governments" (7, p.202).

It might be well to conclude with the recognition of efforts to help the needy youth to help themselves. The Jugendaufbauwerke (youth "works of rebuilding") attack the most immediate and urgent youth problem of homeless and wandering youth. In August 1950 it was reported that 359 youth homes and 269 workshops had been established (7, p.19). American and German brains and hands had joined to demonstrate before (adults and) young people the power of friendly relation.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATIONAL WORK FOR GERMAN YOUTH

Progressive Measures During the Weimar Republic

Concerning German educational attempts after World War I it has been said, "In Germany the Weimar Republic fostered some of the best experimental schools the 'progressive' movement in education has ever known. Some were child-centered, free, romantic, and very much in the spirit of Rousseau's Emile" (108, p.31). German schools developed new approaches to education. "Hikes and excursions were very common and some of the values of the outdoor summer camp were incorporated in the new schools" (108, p.31). After the revolution in 1918 Konrad Haenisch, German minister of education, proposed the highest type of educational idealism: to organize a Schulgemeinde (school congregation) for every secondary school, and development of parent advisory councils to promote better relationship between school and home (61, pp.447-448). Major points in the program of education were (1) separation of church and state, (2) self-government for teachers and scholars, (3) banishing chauvinism, (4) abolition of class schools for the Einheits-schule (uniform school), (5) depriving the office of the rector of its autocratic character, and (6) reversal of the

rule that teachers must give religious education (44, p.19). In 1923 the journal of the national education association observed that the most far-reaching change in German education was its (national) centralization (77, p.12). Dr. C. H. Becker, at one time during the Weimar Republic Prussian minister of education, stated, "Above all the attempt is being made...to train harmonious and well-balanced personalities" (4, p.584). He also wrote, "The aim of German education nowadays is not the drumming of the subject-matter prescribed by the curriculum, but the unfolding of all the valuable special gifts with which nature has endowed the individual child" (4, pp.584-585). To develop socially well-adjusted and responsible personalities Dr. Becker mentioned as the guiding principle: "From self-respect to self-administration", while the "last and most exalted educational ideal which stands before the future citizen of the German republic is that of Humanity" (4, p.585). Various ways were sought to realize that ideal. Pupils', teachers', and parents' committees were tried (104, p.379). Efforts were made to establish a vital relationship of democratic citizens through meetings, festivals, and especially school papers (8, p.485). Experimental schools without any set curriculum were established on the elementary (Gemeinschaftsschulen and Landheime) and high school level (for example, the Lichtwarkschule at Hamburg) from

whose progressive pioneering work other public schools tried to profit (114, pp.361-362).

To check the under-nourished condition and low morale of German youth after World War I, the general mania for outdoor life was utilized as an inexpensive means to restore the nation physically and mentally (70, p.258). By law, ten full days were reserved each year for school journeys (70, p.258). Youth hostels, very well kept and established in choice places, provided extremely inexpensive and healthful opportunities to stay for a night or longer (70, p.258).

In October 1926 Adolph E. Meyer reported regarding German attitudes and attempts concerning intelligence measurements and their application (62, pp.410-415). In Kiel, at that time, the public school authorities were "intransigent opponents of any psychological participation in any attempt to group pupils according to intelligence and ability", while in Berlin it was attempted "to make the intelligence test the very acme of simplicity in order to apply it on as large a scale as possible" (62, p.410). In Hamburg, in co-operation with the local university, a very earnest attempt was made to apply the intelligence test in as ramified a way as possible, consistent, however, not with mere simplicity, but with scientific thoroughness (62, pp.410-411). Adolph E. Meyer continued, "probably no other country in the world is today making a more serious effort than Germany to

select its gifted children for the purpose of offering them a special kind of education definitely suited to their relatively high mental ability" (62, p.411). For pupil selection six fundamental factors were listed which applied in Germany since 1918: (1) the influence of the social group, to provide correct distribution of the children in the schools, (2) the influence of the schools from which the selected children come, (3) the schools which the selected children should enter, (4) the parents' influence, (5) the pupils themselves as individual subjects, and (6) the influence of psychology (62, p.413). Selective tests at Hamburg (in the 1920's), under the guidance of Dr. William Stern, yielded such excellent quantitative results (and some qualitative ideas) in testing children's personalities, that they were recommended for use in the United States (62, p.415).

After World War I Germany tried to regain an improved standard in the educational system; Lester C. Newton observed that the chief test for education in German schools (during the Weimar Republic) was whether a pupil had developed responsibility and the essential power of achievement (71, p.228). In the high schools the demands were high and difficult in order to meet the high standards of universities where absence of formal control requires an unusually high degree of self-discipline (71, p.228). The joyous, carefree life of the German university student had

become a matter of bygone days (12, p.521). Co-operative student organizations enabled many to live very inexpensively, offering two meals daily for about six cents each. In 1923 of about 84,700 university students nearly 70,000 were toiling in factories, mines and farms during the summer (12, p.522). These conditions were unquestionably hard, but a great gain for the democratic understanding among the people (12, p.523).

1933-1945: Nationalism and Uniformity

When national socialism came into power all education became geared to serve the ideas of the new rulers. From Easter 1934 on, German children who left the elementary school at fourteen had to spend one year in a Landjahrheim before they entered vocational training (26, p.173). The official plans were to give all these children the experience of living in a part of Germany remote from their homes under well-planned but informal instruction, chiefly out-of-doors, and to create a stronger feeling of unity among the different parts of the nation (26, p.173).

Subject matters were re-molded and interpreted according to nazi ideology. Dominant was the doctrine of the superiority of the Aryan race. Rassenkunde (race science) received a place of first order in the school curriculum (60, p.265). Physical training received great attention, especially with a view of making young Germans tough and

wehrhaft (able to fight) (60, p.268). The nazi party, especially through the HJ (Hitler youth) thoroughly controlled the education of youth. Party and HJ service was more important than school (60, pp.272-273). In secondary and higher education enrollment became restricted by the law of April 25, 1933 to check overcrowding of professions (60, pp.269-270).

Roscoe L. West wrote in April 1936, "In German schools the key words are responsibility, thoroughness, fitness, efficiency. American schools stand for democracy, initiative, opportunity, freedom" (112, p.117). The same report said, "One leaves Germany with an admiration for the efficient work done in their schools, for their well-trained teachers, for the seriousness of purpose evidenced everywhere. One returns to America with a pride in the democratic ideals of its school system and the wide opportunities offered" (112, p.117).

During World War II educational goals were subjugated to requirements imposed by the military developments. Pupils from threatened and bombed cities were evacuated into the country. Materials became more and more scarce. Vocational and high school training was condensed and shortened. Education had to take a secondary role in the fierce struggle for survival.

After World War II in Western Germany

After the fire had ceased, military governments took over absolute control, trying in their four zones to pursue their individual goals. The lack of appropriate textbooks and other materials was a common problem. For the first quarter of 1948 the American military government had secured enough paper for the production of 5,000,000 textbooks and to sustain various educational periodicals (103, p.1). The de-nazification program did little to solve problems but augmented the shortage of teachers and other personnel.

With the establishment of the Western (and Eastern) German government(s) chances for a more appropriate development seemed to be given. Present-day ideals of public schools are exemplified in Josef Laumen's article Schule fuer das Leben (school for the life) in the Rheinischer Merkur of July 18, 1952 (51, p.3). It is stated that the eight years of Volksschule (six days each week, about ten months each year) have the aim to prepare the children for life and to enable them to enter the three to four years of vocational education (51, p.3). Attempts have been made to remove tuition and material costs for all high school students (92, p.394). (It should be observed that Central European high schools include in their curriculum the essential undergraduate studies, including, for example,

several foreign languages and advanced mathematics and that the universities in that region are graduate schools).

While organized adult education in Germany dates back to 1871 (60, p.537), its chief influence began after World War I (30, p.518). The state of adult education in Berlin after World War II was described in an article by Hans Hartmann (30, pp.518-521). For the last term of 1947, when Berlin had about three million people, there were twenty district schools and one central adult school in that city (30, p.519). 1,077 teachers taught 1,806 courses (30, p.519). The general philosophy was based on humanity, reconciliation of peoples, formation of personality by art, literature, philosophy, and religion (30, p.519). There was almost no dogmatic education for either religious or social standards (30, p.519). The courses had usually about ten students (30, p.520). Of the teachers, 809 were men and 268 women (30, p.521).

Education in the Soviet Zone of Germany

In the Russian controlled zone of Germany education has been communist "reformed" since 1946 (20, p.273). The Einheitsschule (uniform school) was introduced where all children are together until they are fourteen and all learn one foreign language (normally Russian) (20, p.273). After that a selection for the Oberschule (secondary school) of four years duration takes place under a communist point of

view which also demands that a large percentage have to be children of workers and farmers (20, p.273). The rights of parents are completely disregarded (20, p.273). The curriculum of the advanced classes is dominated by the dogmas of Stalinism (20, p.273). Much has been done to make Stalinist "trade schools" out of institutions of higher education. In the fall 1951 the ten months academic year was officially introduced and alienated Eastern and Western university systems still more (20, p.274). Much money is spent to give sufficient scholarships (including living expenses) to "reliable" students (20, p.274). Any open opposition to the communist dictatorship in all phases of education has become suicidal (20, p.274).

The future will have to show that a free development, as exemplified in the West, is superior to systematic and intensive drilling under authoritarian rule. A major point will be whether the West can offer all its youth assurance of educational and vocational training with following employment as it is found in the Eastern zone.

CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR GERMAN YOUTH

Advent and Impact of Authoritarianism

It would be probably more appropriate to consider a question as "what was not done to assure for the German youth a sound development toward political maturity?" In the previous chapter the description of the situation pointed out the already woefully inadequate concern for the nurture of true democratic ideas in the German youth. General neglect and partisan politics marked the political picture during the Weimar Republic as far as youth was concerned. The advent and rise of the authoritarian regime left hardly any possibility for a youth to avoid the strait jacket uniformity of "political" drill. Conformity (Gleichschaltung) to a set framework was the enforced procedure. There could be no such thing as "sound development toward political maturity" of youth. For many the efficiency of authoritarian rule seemed to disprove any other political system.

After World War II: Trying Democracy

It was then a small wonder that after World War II the political education of German youth had to be started

practically anew. Millions of mistrusting and bewildered youth had to be taught that there is something like a true democratic system where the individual counts and is valued. The battle for youth is still in progress, but signs point to the fact that the problem of political responsibility is making its impact felt. In 1951 it could be stated that youth work in Germany had a strongly political characteristic; political not in the sense of "party politics", but in the sense of interest of shouldering responsibility in public life (59, p.193). In Western Germany the Federal Government proved its vital interest by issuing the Bundesjugendplan 1950/1951 which also provided several million Deutsche Mark to secure healthy conditions for the growth of needy youth (84, pp.198-199). The German efforts, although they are limited under post-war conditions, were acknowledged by the officials of the United States. A publication of the Department of State says, "Neither the German people nor the German authorities have been sitting back and saying: 'Let the Occupation authorities use their funds and wits to solve our children's problems.' Germany is giving time, energy, and funds to the youth program, and in steadily increasing amounts" (102, p.7). The Western German "Federal Government announced the Federal Youth Plan, effective December 18, 1950, for financing and promoting an extensive program of youth assistance, and allocated 53 million DM (about \$12,190,000) to carry the program through

the remaining three months of the German fiscal year, which ends March 31" (102, p.8). Most of the money, about 43 million DM, was designed for the building, repairing, and support of homes for living, workshops, and training centers of youth (102, pp.8-10).

Political implications can easily be seen: youth experiences the vital interest of a democratic government. Reasonable opportunities to practice sound political programs are provided in the (small) communities of youth homes, and groups exercising democratic principles (boy scouts, YMCA, and others) receive the necessary support.

Necessarily, the development of sound political characters takes time and only the future can tell whether the efforts of today built sufficient walls to stand a storm of tomorrow.

CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS AND IDEOLOGICAL GUIDANCE FOR GERMAN YOUTH

After World War I: Drifting Away from Religion

The preceding considerations, especially those of the religious and ideological situation in the first chapter, make it clear that religious institutions were not able to turn the tide effectively. Youth was drifting toward materialism and non-religious ideologies. Formally, most Germans were state church members, protestant and Roman catholic. The impact of the age of science and of religious liberalism could very well be felt after World War I. Men, like the leaders of the neo-orthodox movement (Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and others), did not reach common youth. Church youth work had an air of backwardness and generally was ineffective in challenging youth.

Another factor was that during the Weimar Republic the social democrats were the largest party, and they had a materialist creed, as did of course also the communists which for years constituted the third strongest party.

Impact of National Socialism

Religious groups were largely ineffective before Hitler;

they were rendered almost impotent after January 30, 1933. National socialist doctrine was pounded into youth to become the ideology, creed, and for many also religion. It was determined to lead youth away from a "Christian" heritage or humanist ideology.

Religious and Ideological Youth Work after World War II

World War II ended (?) with the downfall of the "gods" and, for many youth, with no confidence in religion to fill the place. As soon as they were able, protestant and Roman catholic organizations began to make plans and provided activities for young people.

The expressed aim of the protestant youth work is to proclaim Christ (64, pp.207-208), recognizing the dangerous spiritual emptiness of hundreds of thousands of young people. The social activities shall enable the youth to form individual judgments and expressions. Dramatics, music, sports and play, discussions about social, economical, and political questions are on the programs besides much hiking and camping (64, p.208). Considering that, for Western Germany, 920,000 members of the associated protestant youth groups were reported, the activities just mentioned may well have a healthy and lasting impact if effective leadership and enough material opportunities are supplied (64, p.209).

The aim of the associated Roman catholic youth groups

is to train catholic men to recognize and carry out their tasks in family, vocation, church and nation (111, p.206). In courses, group meetings, and magazine articles the program becomes interpreted (111, p.206). The social work of catholic youth helped to erect 150 youth homes for homeless youth in North-Rhine-Westphalia alone (111, p.206). Religious pedagogic and education through music, play, and sports are some of the means to make youth an active and healthy factor in national life (111, p.207). Much again will depend upon the effectiveness of the leadership and appeal of the program to make the association with its 700,000 members a force strong enough to withstand any future authoritarian aggressions (111, p.207).

The non-religious youth organizations like socialist orientated Falken (falcons), the boy and girl scout organizations, and the youth groups of the workers' unions replace religious thoughts by their own appropriate ideologies, while their social activities are similar to those of the religious youth groups (47, pp.210-211).

A main agency for sound ideological development of youth will be the public school. But it will be a long time before the teaching personnel and the material necessities for appropriate citizenship training can be secured. It may well be that (once more) the family must again prove to be the stronghold where youth can develop a healthy spiritual and ideological life.

CHAPTER XI

AMERICAN YOUTH WORK

Experience in the Sociological Field

Youth--a world problem was the title of a work by W. T. Winslow which appeared in 1937 and is suggestive in that it points out the general (and constant) need to find suitable solutions (see bibliography number 115). P. O. Johnson and L. H. Oswald wrote in 1938,

Only during recent years has the status of youth emerged in the United States as a major problem. While the population was growing and spreading over the continent, there was plenty of room for young people in the search of experience and a place in economic society. The vast majority of the people were engaged in comparatively simple rural enterprises, and educational needs were few and rudimentary. Not until the latter part of the last century were public educational facilities made available on an extensive scale. Occupational specialization and high-pressure production are of relatively recent development. The census of 1920 was the first to reveal an excess of urban over rural population (35, p.1).

The great economic depression caused the American public to become conscious of the youth problem. Kimball Young stated that "between 1933 and 1940 the United States acquired a backlog of unused resource of nearly 4 million young people ages 15-24 years, who were out of regular school and out of work. Nearly 60 per cent of them were in our cities, 30 per cent were on farms, and the balance came from

rural-nonfarm families" (117, p.471).

The lack of education and the lack of work were inter-related. While many were economically unable to continue their education (35, pp.4-5), there were also many who discovered that "In searching for a job youth's lack of work experience and vocational training have weighted heavily against it" (115, p.84).

Unemployed youth out of school are caught between the upper and lower millstones of necessity. On the one hand, without training or experience they are of little or no value to an employer; current laws relating to accident liability and insurance influence employers to give preference, if any, to the older youth; and the demand for higher educational qualifications has grown more and more insistent. On the other hand, without resources to prolong their schooling, or without confidence in the programs offered by the schools, these unemployed youth cannot prosecute that period of further preparation conducive to adequate participation in gainful employment. As a result, unless they are given direct encouragement and considerable rehabilitation, they almost inevitably constitute a focus of social maladjustment (35, p.6).

The economic depression was overcome when World War II made its impact felt upon the United States, first by increasing orders for the support of friends and then when the war was entered actively. But new problems arose. Disturbed family life and major shifts in community living were chiefly responsible for an increase of about 70 per cent in juvenile delinquency by 1945 as compared with 1938 (66, chart 53). The divorce rate which had been climbing since about 1880, had reached about 264,000 divorces in 1940, had

an all-time high with about 610,000 in 1946, and stood at about 386,000 in 1949 (66, chart 15). Nearly one out of eight children under 18 years was not living with both parents because of divorce, death of father or mother, or both, or some other reason for separation (66, chart 13). Population movement continued also after World War II. The homes of eight million children, aged 1-17, had been changed between 1948 and 1949 (66, chart 4). Although overcrowding of families had decreased considerably in the preceding years, there were still 6 per cent of the population living in severely overcrowded conditions (66, chart 31).

These selected problems make it clear that there are enormous tasks facing social service agencies. The American public in general, and social workers especially, have responded to the challenge. They have developed in social work four basic methods: (1) social action, (2) community organization, (3) social casework, and (4) social group work (33, pp.455-456). Already in their names these methods reflect democratic principles.

Social action is described as "organized group effort to solve mass social problems or to further socially desirable objectives by attempting to influence basic social and economic conditions or practices" (33, p.455). It always involves public pressure in one form or another, short of physical coercion or violence, which usually is achieved

by influencing public opinion through educational publicity aimed at winning the active support of large, and if possible, influential number of persons (33, p.455). "Although individual leadership is necessary to initiate and guide social action, participation by groups of people is usually regarded as essential to its fulfillment" (33, p.455).

Community organization for social welfare has been defined as "the process of bringing about and maintaining a progressively more effective adjustment between social welfare resources and social welfare needs within a geographic area or functional field" (33, p.123).

Social casework is concerned with "the interconnection of personal adaption of the individual and society's betterment" (29, p.22). "Disability or illness of parents...discord between parents and between parents and children, and physical or emotional neglect often create situations in which the help of a caseworker is needed" (66, chart 50).

Social group work's "distinguishing characteristic lies in the fact that the group worker uses the social relationships within group experience as a means to individual growth and development" (33, p.466). "Under skilled adult leadership, young people up to 18 enjoy and benefit from organized recreational activities including games, sports music, handicrafts, and dramatics. Through social group work children and youth are helped to use group experiences

to further their personal and social development" (66, chart 55). An eminent example of social group work was demonstrated by the Los Angeles youth project which brought "the services of many youth-serving agencies to several thousand of the underprivileged youth of this city" (82, p.168).

A major agency in American youth work has been the national youth administration, which was established on June 26, 1935 (35, p.7). Its main objectives were described as follows:

"1. To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy school, college, and graduate students 16 to 24 years of age so as to enable them to continue their education; and

2. To provide funds for the part-time employment of youth from relief families on work projects designed not only to give the young people valuable work experience, but also to benefit the communities in which they live" (35, p.7). According to the November census of 1937 the national youth administration provided relief work for at least one-twentieth, that is, about 122,000 of all youth aged 18 to 24 who were totally unemployed or on emergency work (35, pp.86-87). By its program and support the national youth administration caused an increase of school and college enrollments by 300,000 to 400,000 without sacrificing quality

or quantity (35, p.88). Morals and health of participating youth improved and the co-ordination of interested public and private agencies helped to make the youth program a part of the national life (35, pp.89-90). The most effective plans were developed around three aims: (1) more adequate provision for vocational guidance; (2) adequate vocational training and preparation; and (3) some placement system to be developed (117, p.472). The national vocational guidance association (incorporated 1913) has become a major agency in this professional field and seeks "to encourage experimentation in and the establishment of vocational guidance service in communities of the United States" (33, p.643).

Child guidance clinics have become a great asset to the people of the United States. An effort "to supply therapeutic assistance which would endeavor to minimize the seriously incapacitating illnesses of later years" was the incentive for the establishment of child guidance clinics (33, p.323). "The clinic had a role in preventing adult disorders by treatment of children, but perhaps of more importance was the treatment of parents to prevent recurrence of illness in the child and to prevent the onset of emotional disorders in other children in the family" (33, p.323). 485 mental hygiene clinic staffs operated in 1,142 locations in 1947, and mental hygiene clinics were initiated in over 100 locations in the following two years (33, p.323).

Much has been done and many experiments have been undertaken in the interest of the youth of the United States. While undoubtedly important and effective results were achieved, the future must bear out whether the race with increasing problems in a time of unrest and insecurity can be won by the developing social services for youth.

Experiences in Education

American education in the twentieth century was greatly influenced by John Dewey's philosophy and the impact of pragmatism. Dewey's educational philosophy may be summarized: (1) education is life, not merely a preparation for life; (2) education is growth, therefore both have to continue together; (3) education is a continuous reconstruction of accumulated experience; (4) education is a social process, requiring the school to be a democratic community (60, p.45). American pragmatism, founded by Charles Peirce and William James, holds, like the Sophists of ancient Athens, that all truth is relative, its test being: "Does it work?" (60, pp.43-44). It is easy to see in these philosophies opposition to traditional and authoritarian forms of education.

The "progressive education" movement also grew up in opposition to traditional education. The new emphasis was child-centeredness (60, p.71). In winter 1918-1919 the

Progressive Education Association was formed (60, p.71) which changed its name to American Education Fellowship in 1944 (60, p.93). With progressivism came also William H. Kilpatrick with his much discussed project-method based, psychologically, on Thorndike's well-known laws of learning (60, pp.72-78).

Of special interest, from the European's point of view, are also the measurement, guidance, and adult education movements in the United States.

Edward L. Thorndike's publication of his scale for the measurement of handwriting in 1910, generally has been recognized as the beginning of the movement for measuring educational products scientifically (60, p.426). Tests have been developed and widely applied to measure intelligence, attitudes, aptitudes, and even to investigate personality. Lewis Terman did extensive work in the development of the Binet-Simon scale for the measurement of intelligence and provided instructions to estimate the "Intelligence Quotient," an idea previously suggested by William Stern of Hamburg, Germany (60, p.424). After considerable research Terman published the revised edition of the Stanford-Binet tests in 1937. Objective testing was also applied to normal classroom subjects in form of true-false, completion, matching, multiple-choice, identification, and vocabulary tests (60, p.429). In addition, the "workbook" came into

widely accepted use, and in 1940 there were more than 500 different work-books used in American schools which number has increased since that time (60, p.429).

Guidance and counseling activities have become a well-known feature of American school life. "The guidance process in schools and colleges begins with application of the student for admission and continues until after graduation" (33, p.221). Dr. B. Novak, a guidance expert, states,

Guidance is not anything new. Good teachers have been guiding their students since the dawn of educational history. Guidance must permeate the whole educational structure...It is not a disciplinary device, neither does it serve as an excuse for discipline. It never is a substitute for good teaching or for a sound, realistic educational program. It does not imply that teaching of subject matter is to be abandoned. The work of the guidance specialist, though he is needed, can never replace the efforts of every member of the staff for guidance (72, pp.52-53).

According to Dr. Novak the faculty orientation should include the following points: (1) survey of students in order to learn their problems concerning school, vocational and post-school plans, boy-girl relationships, health, finances, understanding themselves, their families, getting along with others, religion and ideals; (2) case studies by analyzing problem cases as examples for guidance needs; (3) examination of cumulative records for their intelligent use; (4) follow-up of graduates and drop-outs; (5) talks by guidance experts for suggestions and broader information; (6) study of guidance publications; (7) visits to other

schools; (8) group study in teaching, testing, homeroom, and similar fields; and (9) encouragement of experimentation (72, pp.53-54). An extensive literature concerning guidance and counseling has been developed which may be looked upon as an indication of the extent the pupil is considered the important center in American education.

Furthermore, studies have been made and techniques developed in "group guidance." This is a means for leaders to exploit "the opportunities inherent in the group-work situation to help individuals achieve better personal and social adjustment as well as to know what to do or how" (3, p.724). Group guidance and work is profiting greatly from psychiatric concepts and findings and from the expanding volume of research into the group process (33, p.471). Illustrative are the developments in sociometrics, and the studies of the research center for group dynamics at the university of Michigan (33, p.471). Sociodrama and psychodrama have gained importance for therapeutic purposes in group work, although usually the leader needs special qualifications. The fact that group guidance is an economic and indirect way of providing help to individuals has made it an especially important tool (19, p.182).

Education in human relations is another special feature of American education. Various organizations worked in the field years before, but the bureau for intercultural

education became the real pioneering institution (60, p.558). Through seminars, workshops, research, and other means the bureau tries to train leaders (60, p.561). In co-operation with the New York university a center for human relation studies was established in the fall of 1947 (60, p.562). The Springfield (Massachusetts) plan for democratic citizenship has become nationally famous. It began in 1940 and successfully has helped youth to become good citizens, not through books, but by being good citizens in the school (60, p.566). Besides involving elementary and high schools of Springfield, the plan reaches further through evening schools for adults (60, pp.567-568). There are many other cities in the United States where schoolmen and laymen try to improve human relations in schools and communities (60, p.565).

Adult education is one more outstanding American accomplishment to be considered here. Normally those taking training after high school age, but not formally enrolled in college or university for normal day classes, are considered as taking part in adult education. Of these millions, many are of the age group with which this study is concerned. American adult education today is seen as part of the strategy and method of community growth and improvement (33, p.30). There is a trend to develop a balance between the group-centered and the individual-centered aspects of adult education with an increasing flexibility and use of the discussion

method (33, p.31). The establishment of community colleges may be looked upon as part of American adult education. In good democratic fashion these institutes have close relationship to the region they serve and thus are better able to emphasize successfully the education for social, civic, and family life (81, pp.330-332).

From the great number of essential features of American education a few have been selected for short consideration. These seem to be of greatest interest for European students and may prove valuable for international co-operation. May this become increasingly true for the benefit of the people and especially the youth.

Experiences in Political Education

Unlike European systems, the political aspects of American youth are largely identified with the education for citizenship. A deep concern for the preservation of democratic principles and the development of democratic practices can be observed almost everywhere. In Europe, on the other hand, political influences upon youth are largely determined by the ideologies and organizations of the political parties. In the United States the attempts to lead youth toward political maturity are chiefly undertaken by the schools and such voluntary organizations as the boy scouts, camp fire girls, and others. What Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his famous treatise Democracy in America more than a century ago

still holds true as an expression of the American attitude: "Nothing is so irresistible as a tyrannical power commanding in the name of the people, because, while wielding the moral power which belongs to the will of the greater number, it acts at the same time with the quickness and persistence of a single man" (99, p.227). As much as Americans are interested in government by and for the people, politics have to take a secondary place after the concern for production (99, p.239). "The real creative efforts of the people, therefore, are to be found neither in the state nor in the political parties, but in the community, which expresses itself in its own particular way" (94, p.239). In contrast to specific pressure groups, the "political parties...are mere machines without life or initiative, intent solely on getting into office. They are essentially passive and lack both the aptitude and the desire to create. They are little more than a mechanism for registering votes and except in name have nothing in common with the political parties of Europe" (94, p.246). The French scholar André Siegfried, who wrote the previous statements, concluded that the United States is too large a country and too different in its regions to have homogenous political parties (94, p.246).

In view of the above it is not difficult to understand that political education of youth in the United States is largely a matter for the schools and for citizen's organizations. The policies and plans of many of these diversified

organizations for the civic training of American youth have been studied and presented by Bettie L. Pierce (76, p.317). There is a large variety of patriotic and peace organizations, of military, fraternal, religious, racial, labor, prohibition and anti-prohibition groups, and of specific youth movements. Of the last the boy and girl scouts, the campfire girls, and the young men's and young women's Christian associations are the most outstanding. They reach many thousands of young people. The girl scouts have to make a pledge (76, p.185), and the boy scouts must take an oath (76, p.192) which emphasize patriotism and citizenship. The expressed aims of YMCA and YWCA organizations is to develop youth with Christian character as basis for good citizenship and intercultural and international understanding (76, pp.213-217).

The need for democratic civic education has been ably defined by Charles E. Merriam. He writes, "Civic education is the basis of a democratic system, and must find adequate economic support if democracy is to be realized" (58, p.xi). Important for civic education is the inclusion of some understanding of the new techniques of political power in the modern world such as propaganda, mass organization and manipulation, symbolism, political psychology, and civic education itself (58, p.xiv).

Thomas and Doris Reed have made a study of political science courses in American colleges and universities and

have published their results and recommendations. Their commendable book deals with "the vital matter of determining the type of college course and other procedures which the Citizenship Clearing House should recommend for adoption" (78, p.vi). The suggested syllabi for two introductory political science courses and for one practical course (78, pp.127-160), and the condensed outlines of six political science courses and one field work course from seven universities and colleges (78, pp.161-180) make the volume especially valuable for practical purposes.

American youth, then, is not so much organized for sectarian indoctrination by political parties, as in Europe, but instead receives political guidance (on a free will basis) from many different civic organizations and institutions. In a world of turmoil it can be dangerous, if too loosely manipulated, but it can be a decisively democratic form of educating youth for political maturity if adequately pursued.

Some Aspects of Religious Youth Work

There exists probably no one single publication which describes the many different religious youth groups of the United States. Naturally the most influential organizations are connected with larger churches, such as the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Roman Catholic churches. The Midcentury White House Conference on Children

and Youth, in its report, points out the important contributions which religion and religious fellowship can make to the healthy development of personalities of children and youth. Religion gives a faith with a realistic view of life, and satisfies the young person's "sense of belonging" at a place where he finds "some 'ground' to stand upon" (67, pp.87-88). Religion offers the youth responsible participation so important for wholesome personality development; he finds in it the "benevolent other" in genuine religious fellowship and in pastoral counseling which is so well developed in the United States and has become an essential service to the mental health of children and youth (67, pp.90-91). Religion offers fellowship support in highest aspirations and noblest endeavors without which many a struggling youth would fail (67, pp.93-94). Being keenly aware of the primary role of the family, religious institutions have actively concerned themselves with the support for the development of wholesome family life (67, p.95). Practically every point mentioned here is of highest value for proper growth of human personalities. It can only be hoped that more and more American youth may turn to this great fountain to find solutions for pressing problems and an internal foundation for security and peace.

CHAPTER XII

POSSIBLE CO-OPERATION

In the Sociological Field

A foreign social worker, who visited the United States, said: "Social work alone knows no frontiers; is it not in the future of things that more social workers must be enlisted in this exchange program to bring about this closeness with understanding?" (68, p.288). American social workers have attained a high level of professional service. Their rich experiences in casework, group work, social action, and community organization, as their four basic methods, offer great opportunities for international exchange and co-operation. In casework the American social worker goes along with the client to the point where he can help himself, while at the same time the client's individuality and privacy is highly respected (68, p.290). An American stated, "we have a professional commodity worthy of export--a commodity, moreover, that social workers in other countries stand ready to put to immediate use" (48, p.281). Perhaps the most outstanding example of international co-operation is given by the American Friends Service Committee. Its workers have established "neighborhood

centers" which proved to be one of the most efficient efforts to help needy people to help themselves (95, p.243). It is well-known that children and youth have always been their special concern. Herschel Alt proposed the establishment of a child welfare institute, to be affiliated with a German university and closely connected with the faculties of law, medicine, education, and social science, where Germans and Americans can work together under long term planning (1, p.201). He noticed a considerable degree of eagerness on the part of the German professional social workers to share experience and to experiment with new methods (1, p.202). There could probably be hardly any greater benefit than the opportunity for Germans to study social work at American schools and in American practice. It should be kept in mind that "Soundly conceived and effectively executed social service programs can be a vital instrument in the democratization of German cultural values and social organization" (1, p.201).

In the Field of Education

In education, as in other fields, the best foundation for effective co-operation is to bring the interested people together on an equal and democratic basis. The problems then can be clarified in a permissive atmosphere and experiences and suggestions can be exchanged. It was for this

reason that just criticism developed against the idea to take over Germany's schools and to "democratize" them; such an (undemocratic) measure would hardly have worked, as it worked nowhere else (11, p.321). The American reason for some (different) action was, "We failed badly once when we at least did no more than stand idly by while the Weimar Republicans struggled under almost unbelievable psychological and economic handicaps to make democracy go" (11, p.322). Although there had been some discussion and preparation concerning German re-education, Dorothy Thompson found it had begun without clarity of aim and therefore negative, or off the point (98, p.42). From an American point of view the chief needs of German education were: (1) reorganization of schools, (2) preparation of new textbooks, and (3) the training of teachers (56, p.1). The Education and Cultural Affairs Division, set up in the American zone of Germany in 1948, was doomed to failure because of the continued exclusion of the (experienced) Information Service Division, and also because the old personnel of the (unsuccessful) Education Branch was moved into the new positions instead of bringing in new blood (56, p.1). Americans seemed almost entirely to plan on the assumption that everything had to be initiated by themselves and, at least for some time, had to be kept running by them. This only too easily gives the impression that they work from a superiority standpoint. Such an attitude has done much to damage possibilities for

successful co-operation and it is only to be hoped that both parties learn the lesson well enough before it is too late.

For practical purposes the proposal was made to send American teachers to all German high schools, and let democratic personalities with their American uncomplicated straightforwardness and frankness appeal to Germans (73, p.315). Probably the best has come out of the rather numerous student exchanges, and it will bear future fruit. Thousands of young Germans have experienced a year or more of education in the United States and undoubtedly many learned to understand that democracy and democratic education are not fixed, perfect creations, but living organisms with successes and faults and an unquenchable desire to strive for improvement in honesty, freedom, and the highest respect for the individual. It is not scholarship that counts first in co-operation, but the development of helpful attitudes as foundation for the development of democratic personalities necessary to make education democratic. Putting the individual first is the great lesson for German education where the emphasis on scholarship too often has pushed the individual into a second place. Some progress apparently has been made since an American educational paper could report, "In addition to academic education for democracy, wholesome youth activities outside the school are being fostered by a system of county youth committees composed of trustworthy

leading citizens" (17, p.37).

The development of Germany's new generation will largely be determined by the schools they have. If teachers and administrators can be convinced that democratic methods work and assure, in the long run, the best results, the battle is half-won. But will it be possible for a decisive number of leaders to experience the value of democratic principles in education by unbiased and friendly co-operation?

Appealing to adult education may help to find an answer. Americans feel that adult education must be provided for people of post-high school age and deal with family, job, and political problems (93, pp.51-54). The Germans also feel these needs. A high rate of broken homes, unsatisfactory vocational conditions, and lack of confidence and clarity in political matters should be alarming for anyone interested in the welfare of people and especially youth and in the preservation of democratic ideas. Little seems to be known about any planned co-operation between American and German adult educators. Could it not be a wholesome and enlightening experience for Americans to observe adult education as it strives in Berlin? Would it not be a direct gain to have Germans studying adult education principles, methods, and research in America? Adult educators serve democracy at the grass roots. Many youth under twenty-five belong to their groups, and also school teachers who in turn carry their

experiences into the classrooms. No hopeful means should remain untried when people are in danger. But who reaches a brotherly hand to those surrounded by danger and confusion?

Guiding Political Development

In the political field German youth was used to seeing political parties doing the larger part of "guidance." If German young people can learn sufficiently well that guidance of political thinking is not identical with indoctrination and repetition of party creeds, a great step forward will have been made. They are highly interested in political issues and are well aware that the consequences will decisively influence their personal lives. Here again, it is largely a matter of developing attitudes and bringing people together for unbiased co-operation. One point will influence the other, and having become very realistic and cautious, the German young people are very sensitive to propaganda or to means which look similar to propaganda. For the millions of young people in the Eastern zone of Germany there is hardly any choice but to submit to endless propaganda drumming and indoctrination. This makes it more important than ever to give youth in Western Germany a real chance, to let them visit democratic countries, to let them be hosts to foreign democratic groups, to give them guidance in active democratic work in communities. If they can learn to take responsibilities and respect the individuals, much future

trouble can be avoided when democracy may be put to test. Nationalism and dictatorship then may look in vain for a sufficient following to determine the lives of future German youth. In a co-operative effort the United States troops could probably be turned into an asset rather than being a political liability, if the members of the armed forces realize their important position in a democracy in the making.

Tasks for Religious Groups

The churches in America have done a giant job in bringing about opportunities for co-operation. They have fed the hungry, clothed the needy, and exercised a wonderful spirit of brotherhood which was and is greatly appreciated by very many Germans. Children and youth have been a major concern in the great program. American religious leaders went to Germany to establish new connections, German young people were brought to America for study and experiencing American life, including the fine church life. They saw that American churches have built up intensive religious education programs largely for the benefit of youth. American religious youth went to Germany and presented lessons in co-operation by helping to establish homes out of ruins. American Sunday school groups have taken up projects in Germany and helped actively German Sunday schools (which have only children). Altogether American churches have established a most excellent record which probably cannot be

matched by the attainments of any other field mentioned in this treatise. It can only be hoped that many more Germans can study the well developed field of religious education in the United States and also the fine programs in pastoral counseling. Young people in America are very fortunate because they have these opportunities. Many German youths are willing to learn and to do their part that enemies of religion shall not again come into command. No youthful life can be well-rounded and healthy without a truly religious basis.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION: LOOKING TOWARD RESULTS

"Im Volke der grösste und für den Staat der entscheidende Verlierer eines Krieges ist die Jugend" (in a nation the greatest and for the state the most decisive loser of a war is the youth) (57, p.196). With this terrible truth in mind one may ask again, "what is the great goal for German youth?" Knowing what has happened to them, and understanding, at least in some measure, their present condition should help to find the direction for the guidance of Germany's youth. If the goal is a youth that develops freely under conditions free from dire want, that receives an education which teaches them to respect others as individuals, to take responsibility, gladly to open heart and mind for a world of brothers and sisters, and unto whose souls is ministered that they may secure inward peace and find strength in hours of need, such a goal calls for the utmost efforts of all those responsible for youth. If the young can see that its leaders can live as brothers and do not emphasize segregation as to nationality, color, creed, and so forth, but can observe honest co-operation in action, this will be already a basic lesson for the development of the attitudes of the young. Superiority and inferiority

complexes are spiritual poisons, and young people are very sensitive to them.

The downfall of their gods has caused many a German youth to become extremely cautious and judicious. Prescriptions handed down from above, especially from "foreigners", are bound to cause negative effects. But they respond if guidance is given in side by side relationships and problems and possibilities are explored in fruitful co-operative efforts. A young union leader in Western Germany said, "why don't more Americans come over and study and live with us", with some emphasis upon "living together" for better understanding (102, pp.64-65). The task of educating youth is extremely difficult and often disconcerting. There is no short-cut to the attainment of ideals. Many a cross and shattered hopes will mark the way, but also many a youth will have grown strong and become able to take up the responsibility of service. Whoever guides youth today must not forget that "If we do not 'come up' with the right answers, we shall 'go down' with the wrong ones" (93, p.51). The alternative to service and sacrifice is decay and destruction. Will German youth be a symbol of hope, or a victim of selfishness? Let the world behold the example.

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