

German Educational Reconstruction No. 2

# Vocational Training in Germany

by

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# VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN GERMANY

## PREFACE

IT may be asked how it can be justified in wartime that a German teacher presumes to discuss German vocational training with British readers. A justification may be found in these two reasons:

The German vocational schools (*Berufsschulen*) cater for the large majority of those boys and girls who have just left school. This means that it will be possible after the war to establish educational contact through these part-time schools with approximately two million German boys and girls over the age of 14. As children they passed through the National Socialist schools and the Hitler Youth—but also through the dreadful school of war and the following collapse. These are young people who, by reason of their age, are innocent of the rise of the Nazi régime, of the outbreak of war, and of the way in which this war has been conducted. These are the oldest age groups that are obliged by a long-established law to attend a vocational school for four to ten hours per week. Here is an opportunity to educate German citizens of to-morrow. How this opportunity can be used might be of interest to the British public. For we are brought face to face with a practical example of the much-discussed problem—known as German re-education.

This practical example is, in my opinion, a promising one. Whether these young Germans will feel warmly towards the new State I do not know. Whether they will be prepared to take their cue from the older generation I do not know; where this older generation is nazified I certainly hope they will not. Whether a considerable number of these young people will be interested in church and religion is very doubtful. In their work, however, they will take an interest; probably they will do so spontaneously, in any case this interest could be awakened comparatively easily. The focal point of their life is their work in workshop, office, or farm. This, therefore, is the point where a genuine education of these miseducated young people can be started with some confidence. For that reason the following observations are submitted as a contribution to the re-education discussion in this country.

In addition, a second reason may justify this booklet. In this country preparations are being made to establish Young People's Colleges with compulsory part-time courses for the large majority of British youth, that is to say for such children as will leave school at the age of 15. On this subject many discussions have been held, many books written. It may be

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interesting to compare German experience—good and bad—made with the same age groups and under similar conditions, experience gathered before 1914 and during the period of the Weimar Republic. Experience gathered in the Third Reich is included: even a rotten system may use some good methods. Having fought Nazism for nearly fifteen years, I am hardly likely to have any prejudice in favour of Nazi measures. But I think that in the educational sphere, as well as in others, those measures of the Nazis which, from a technical point of view, are progressive should not be condemned merely because the Nazis used them for their own criminal purposes. With different aims and in different social surroundings many of the measures introduced and tested by the Nazis might have good consequences. In this country, also, the adoption of some of these measures might produce favourable results, but that is, of course, a matter for British educational experts to decide.

With this double end in view I do not intend to write a complete history of German vocational education. I shall only point out, against a rapidly sketched background, the most interesting methods and developments, such as:

the gradual introduction of compulsory vocational training for all, lessons being attended during working hours without any loss of pay;

the unsuccessful attempts of the Weimar Republic to use the vocational schools for producing "good citizens";

the simultaneous attempts, often successful, made by large industrial concerns, to train selected pupils for their own ends, attempts which were continued in the Third Reich on a considerably larger scale;

the development of organised vocational guidance together with practical assistance enabling young people to advance in their chosen vocation.

Especially in the first chapters of this booklet reference is made more frequently to the vocational schools as such than to vocational training in the factories or in the offices during the years of apprenticeship. In practice, however, the stress is upon the latter, as the uneven distribution of time between work and vocational school will readily show. The emphasis on the school in the present account may be justified by a weighty reason. To mobilise, for the purpose of educating German youth between 15 and 18 years, the hundreds of thousands of managers, technicians, foremen, etc., under whose supervision those juveniles will work is a task which can at best be accomplished by the next generation. To prepare for this task some tens of thousands of vocational school teachers seem much more promising, for it would require only a few years. This may justify the limited treatment of the industrial aspect of the subject.

Another limitation arises from the fact that I shall make little mention of universities, including technical colleges, and very little of full-time technical and commercial schools, but shall deal almost exclusively with that type of vocational school which is intended for the majority of adolescents. I see in this type of school the place where the re-orientation of boys and girls between 15 and 18 years can begin. But it must be

emphasised from the outset that the usefulness of this opportunity will depend largely on the social structure of the Germany to come. If that Germany were unable to provide its youth with sufficient opportunities for work, or if the places of work were chiefly places of exploitation, then, of course, all attempts at a genuine re-orientation within the scope of vocational training would be condemned to failure from the very first, since, after all, the best educational methods can never form a substitute for the lack of a suitable policy.

H. R.

## I. BEFORE 1914

In medieval Germany the system of guilds, with its clearly defined constitutional laws, its division into master craftsmen, journeymen, and apprentices, and its traditional journeymen's travels, was of the greatest importance for the vocational training of contemporary youth. Trade-knowledge and abilities were passed on and perfected from one generation to another, not least by means of exchange of experience and the expansion of the intellectual horizon through the traditional journeymen's travels. We shall see in the course of this booklet to how great an extent this medieval tradition makes its influence felt to this day. The independent master artisan may lack the economic and still more the political influence exercised by the large industrial concern: for the training of industrial workmen, however, he is still of the greatest importance. Indeed, up to a few decades ago, the guilds and the traditions in trade and commerce were the chief forces which shaped the vocational education of youth. Schools played a part of only slowly increasing importance.

A special school system intended for vocational training did not exist in Germany to any appreciable extent until after the Thirty Years' War. During the years from 1618 until 1648 this war had played havoc with Germany's wealth and had decimated her population. The skilled craftsmen needed for reconstruction were non-existent. The rulers of the different German principalities, therefore, invited foreign master craftsmen and established some special schools in order to train in their own lands the skilled labour they required. In this way originated schools for builders, miners, other artisans, merchants, etc. Their curricula were confined entirely to vocational instruction. This concentration on the practical side of life affected the ancient church and academic schools too. Even the introduction of compulsory school attendance during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries aimed at the raising of the industrial efficiency of the people. Indeed, we may say that this mercantile policy of the German princes in education played an important part in overcoming the terrible consequences of the Thirty Years' War.

This development of German school life, aiming at suitable vocational training, was ended by the rise of the New Humanism. The educational ideal of the latter was not the technician, the merchant, or the official, but

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the man of all-round development, ready to serve all things true, good and beautiful. It was generally believed that the young people brought up in this way would find no difficulties in coping with all realities. During the years 1809 and 1810 Wilhelm von Humboldt organised the Prussian educational system in accordance with this new ideal. That was after the defeats suffered at Jena and Auerstedt. For the second time we are faced with a school reform as the answer to a lost war—a fact which is of particular interest to-day.

In contrast with the general school system which was conditioned by humanistic ideals, the requirements of the rapidly developing German industry in the nineteenth century led to the establishment of a number of technical schools. But the State took little notice of them. It did not regard them as educational institutions, but as training places which provided industry with the necessary skilled personnel. Consequently these schools were left, just as industry itself was left, to the initiative of individuals. This accounts for the immense variety of present-day German technical schools and also for the fact that most of them are privately run.

The states regulated the training of apprentices in the workshops (e.g. Prussia in 1845). In Germany the Industrial Code of 1869 provided for the establishment by the local authorities of compulsory complementary education for apprentices. Whether continuation schools were actually established or not was left to the local authorities. Up to 1900 the activities of the German federal states were confined to the regulation of existing educational establishments and of those to be created at the discretion of local authorities. Not until 1900 was an order issued making complementary training compulsory for girl apprentices in commercial activities; and only in 1911 was this obligation extended to apprentices in handicrafts. In 1907 Prussia adopted rules for the training of mistresses for vocational schools; rules for the training of masters were introduced as late as 1913.

Before 1914 nearly all skilled industrial workers had been trained by master craftsmen. As the apprentices usually lived with the master's family, they received their education—such as it was—from the master. This more intimate form of training was meant to be complemented by attendance at a continuation school—an institution which only gradually rose to a level worthy of the name of vocational school, in general not until after the Great War. But it must be remembered that all the measures taken to this end by the State were not intended to be educational so much as to increase the wealth of the nation. It is characteristic of this attitude that in 1885 Bismarck removed the Prussian continuation schools from supervision by the educational authorities and placed them under that of the Ministry of Commerce. This state of affairs continued until 1934.

The weakest points in the development before 1914 were:

(1) Vocational training was not organically connected with the general educational system. Most of the vocational schools were mere continuation schools which maintained, and possibly slightly increased, the knowledge gathered at the elementary schools. These continuation schools increased in numbers and were developed with the aim of creating genuine

vocational schools. The best vocational schools were in Munich, where Kerschesteiner organised them on the basis of training workshops. But the intention of leading educationists to provide an all-round education combined with vocational training was far from being realised even in the best of these schools.

(2) Vocational training failed to take the requirements of the large modern industrial concerns as its guide. For that reason, already before 1914, such well-known German concerns as Krupp, A.E.G., Zeiss, Borsig, Siemens established their own training workshops, in order to provide for a steady supply of well-trained skilled workers—an obvious step but, particularly in Germany, a dangerous encroachment of industrialists on the educational system.

The first World War interrupted this development. It interrupted vocational education and training in general, for the employment of apprentices was discontinued in 1914. Three years later the supply of skilled labour failed, a mistake of serious and lasting consequences—a mistake carefully avoided during the second World War!

## II. VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

During the time of the Weimar Republic and under the present régime vocational schools were free, compulsory part-time schools, roughly speaking for young people between 15 and 18 years of age. They are mostly publicly run with the exception of the "works schools" (*Werk-schulen*) which cater for about 3% of the pupils liable for vocational training (as at 1937). These are schools established and financed by industrial firms, the Reich Railways or associations of firms. All these schools are intended to serve the great mass of pupils who have left elementary schools and are attended by young people for about four to ten hours a week.

Lessons take place during working hours and must be paid for by the employers as work. Under the Republican régime trade unions encountered very few difficulties with employers who did not allow young employees time to attend vocational school, nor allow pay at the rate of working hours for such time. At present it is possible to say that attendance at vocational schools during working hours paid by employers is a matter of course, except in agriculture.

The full-time technical and commercial schools (*Fachschulen*) must not be confused with these vocational schools. Technical and commercial schools are less numerous, catering for about 3% of all young people in vocational training. They charge fees, attendance is voluntary and releases from obligation to attend a vocational school. They have a full day course and are attended either before entering employment (as e.g. commercial schools) or after about two years of practical work (as e.g. textile schools). They cater for the training of specially qualified workers: foremen, masters, and supervising personnel. In their achievement they are about midway between vocational schools and universities.

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The Weimar Constitution provided in Art. 145 for compulsory attendance at vocational schools for all young people not attending a secondary, central, technical or commercial school. But this provision was never fully carried out. Only apprentices were obliged to attend vocational school in accordance with the Reich Bill of 1911. For all other young people regulations varied from one state to another, in Prussia even from one locality to another. In Bavaria, Saxony, Thuringia, Hessen and Hamburg three years' compulsory vocational schooling was introduced during the Weimar period. In Prussia matters were arranged locally, the extent of compulsion as well as the financing of vocational schools. The bad consequence of this state of affairs was that just where these schools were most needed for the raising of productivity—i.e. in the poorer districts and rural areas—the smallest percentage of attendance was attained, for here prosperity was least and financial difficulties greatest—a vicious circle which was not broken by demanding contributions from the employers. In the Weimar Republic supervision of vocational schools rested with the federal states (*Länder*), but mostly not with ministries responsible for education, but with those responsible for trade, commerce or agriculture.

The Nazis started unification by transferring all responsibility to the Reich Ministry of Education in 1934. But attendance at vocational schools was not made compulsory for all until 1938. The period of attendance last three years, for agricultural workers two years, while girls not entering any employment must attend a part-time domestic science school for one year. In 1942 the Reich took over all expenses for vocational schools.

In Prussia during the time of the Republic the *Schulvorstand* (similar to the "school managers" in this country) consisted of the principal of the school, at least one teacher elected by the teaching personnel, as well as a representative of the local authority and the employers' associations and trade unions concerned. In the Third Reich the leader principle was, of course, also applied to vocational schools. The old *Schulvorstand* was degraded in 1933—with some alterations—to a mere advisory body. The administration of the school was taken over by the Mayor or *Landrat* concerned who, on his part, delegated his executive powers to the principal. It goes without saying that to-day representatives of the Hitler Youth and the Labour Front are members of the advisory body, and the teacher members are appointed.

Statistics of vocational schools show a growing improvement in attendance since the first World War, furthermore they show a decrease in the number of general continuation schools (where mostly the elementary school syllabus was repeated) in favour of real vocational schools.

In 1932 there were only 340,000 pupils in general continuation schools (as against 660,000 in 1927), but 1,240,000 in the 13,900 vocational schools.

The Nazis tried hard to improve rural vocational schools, but even they have not yet succeeded in including all pupils leaving elementary schools, although there has been since 1935 a decrease in the annual number of pupils leaving schools.

In the interest of production many vocational pupils were excused attendance at the beginning of the war in 1939. At that time one still



reckoned with 70% attendance of registered pupils. Further figures have not been published, but school attendance must have further decreased, particularly in bombed towns and areas.

*Instruction*, apart from the less important general continuation schools, was grouped around the vocation. The aim was vocational training and the widening of general knowledge.

In many large towns there were special schools for individual trades or groups of trades, such as commerce, metal trade. Otherwise, pupils for one vocation were in one class. In small towns where even this proved impossible pupils were gathered in classes for groups of vocations, comprising e.g. all metal workers, all wood workers, etc.

Instruction in the special subject took up most of the time. (*Re civics* cf. following chapter.) In the schools for craftsmen, e.g., the respective raw materials, subsidiary materials, tools and machines were dealt with, technical drawing and calculation. Furthermore, there was instruction in bookkeeping, commercial correspondence, costing, etc., also for other than commercial pupils.

So long as this instruction was more or less in keeping with their practical work, the young people—at least the apprentices—usually liked to attend. When they were working on copper they liked to learn more about this material than the foreman could tell them during working hours; when they constructed cog-wheels they liked to learn how to calculate their circumference, etc.; when they worked in an office they wanted to learn bookkeeping and typing. But in general the opinion was held that the schools were not sufficiently linked to work, a lack which was, of course, not apparent in the works schools dealt with in Chapter V.

Usually there were forty weeks' instruction during the year. In 1937 there were of every 100 pupils registered:

51	vocational schools pupils with maximum	6	hours per week
29	„ „ „ „ „	8	„ „ „
11	„ „ „ „ „	more than 8	„ „ „
3	attended a works school		
3	„ „ technical or commercial school		
3	were unaccounted for.		

As the collection of pupils for one vocation only in one class meets with considerable difficulties in rare vocations or in thinly populated areas, a comparatively new experiment has been made by substituting instruction concurrent with work, by temporary instruction in boarding schools. In Duben, Kreis Bitterfeld, a Reich school was opened in 1943 for the retail trade. Apprentices of the retail trade were "called up" to this school from all over Germany for three periods of eight weeks each within three years. In this case there was no vocational schooling for them at their place of work. Particularly apprentices of small places are intended to benefit through this arrangement by obtaining a specialised training which they could hardly get at a local or even a district vocational school. A similar arrangement was made for inland navigation apprentices in 1938 who, for professional reasons, cannot regularly attend a vocational school. For lithographers and stonemasons full-time schooling for a

limited period once a year is planned; during the rest of the year the apprentices are supposed to work without interruption but should follow a correspondence course under the supervision of the school.

An extension of this system would have great advantages for thinly populated areas and rarely followed vocations. To carry it through is, of course, a matter of expenditure.

### III. EDUCATION IN CITIZENSHIP

It is only possible to set aside about one to two hours per week for civics. The efficacy of this instruction finds a natural limitation in the age of the pupils. But nevertheless it can influence pupils who are working at the same time and gaining their first experience in earning their living, more than pupils of the same age-groups who are attending a secondary school. This is the chance for civic instruction in vocational schools.

To make use of this chance in the future Germany is a particularly interesting and responsible task. Naturally every German Government has exploited it ever since vocational schools were introduced. In the German Empire the teachers were expected to foster love of the fatherland, the Kaiser and the ruling Princes. After 1918 these attempts were redirected towards the institutions of the German Republic. Not with any greater results!

During the Weimar Republic civics were usually called the "sleeping hour". Apprentices of the metal trade found it useful to learn in the vocational school—supplementing their apprenticeship—how to draw blue-prints, how to calculate the weight of a metal roller or the size of cog-wheels; office girls found the instruction in bookkeeping and typing useful, mostly even instruction in cooking and housework. "Here we are learning something for our job, or for our future home," they said. But pupils found nothing of any interest in the instruction regarding the Reich President's constitutional rights, the functions of the Reichstag, etc. They were not interested. They slept.

It must be left to the future to see how lasting the effect of the Nazis' "national political instruction" will be, including the race doctrine, geopolitics and the learning by heart of dates out of Hitler's life and the Nazi movement. As vocational school teachers and the Hitler Youth are working along the same lines, it is possible that the influence goes deeper. But the influence of this instruction would be negligible if it had not been joined by practical political experience: the cessation of unemployment, vocational competitions of young workers with advancement for the most efficient (cf. Chapter VIII), the gathering of all social classes in the Hitler Youth and the Labour Service, the foreign policy successes of the régime up to 1939, and the military successes of the first years of the war. Now, when in view of the altered political and military situation all these facts can no longer play any part or be over-shadowed by other facts, even the most adroit of civic instructors will hardly be able to do much in favour of the Nazis. A report smuggled out of Germany in 1943 made

by a young worker of fifteen years, who attended a vocational school in a north German big town, may be revealing:

"We [in the vocational school] crack many jokes about the Nazi stuff. For we have after all heard from our parents that things were better formerly and we are fed up with the constant ordering about. When the teachers put it on too thick there are ironical interruptions. Some teachers pretend not to hear anything, some try to find out but never do, for there is no squealing amongst us. I do not know what the teachers think. Outwardly no one does anything against the [Nazi] Party. But they are not very eager Nazis either and let many things pass. It is clear that they are careful. For if they object, they are sent to concentration camps. The boys who come on leave from the Labour Service do not think better of the Nazi stuff than we do."

The lasting moral of the Kaiserreich, Weimar Republic and Third Reich is that civic instruction is only a secondary factor in the education in citizenship. This education is acquired better through economic conditions and through the attitude of teachers, foremen, older workers, camp leaders, etc., towards young workers and through the collaboration with comrades of the same age at school, apprenticeship and factory, where solidarity and practical knowledge means more than theoretical knowledge or the familiarity with the articles of the constitution.

Aristotle had already said: "The young are not fit to be students of politics, for they have no experience of life and conduct, and it is these that supply the premises and subject-matter of this branch of thought" (*Ethica Nicomachea*, L, III, 5).

Political science goes beyond the comprehension of the 15-18 year olds because it goes beyond their own experiences. Inasmuch as there are direct political experiences, that is immediate local experiences, these can be the basis for useful discussions. But the fundamental issues of political science—quite apart from the arguments between representatives of different opinions—and conclusions arising therefrom could only become the subject for parrot-like imitation or immature prejudices.

This does not exclude the introduction of the young worker into the industrial and political environment where he lives. Questions regarding wage rates, the rights of apprentices and young workers, their rights as panel patients or as members of trade unions, questions of conduct towards superiors at the factory, or as witnesses in court, etc., should be answered in vocational schools. But the teacher should only discuss questions which really interest his pupils. Amongst these may be the procedure in parliamentary elections when these are just being held, but probably the elections of pupils' representatives into the school council or the election of shop stewards would provide the more familiar and therefore more interesting example.

The questions which interest the growing citizen do not necessarily belong to the realm of civics or political science. Questions relating to the cinema or sex may influence or disturb him as much as, or more than, the election of the Reich President or even his wages.

To help young people find their own attitude to all such questions of

life is a far more difficult task for the teacher than the old task of preaching blind adherence to an existing régime. The solution of this problem has nowhere been attempted on a large scale or systematically. Nevertheless this must be done, if education in citizenship is to deserve its name.

Pupils' questions which are political in a narrower sense will place the greatest difficulties before the vocational school teacher, particularly in the first years after the destruction of the Nazi régime. There will be questions on the Nazi and the succeeding régimes, on international relations, on occupation troops and international commissions in Germany. We must be thankful if such questions are asked openly. The teacher must on no account evade the issue and report only the opinions of others. He should state his own opinion if he has formed one, if not he should openly admit it. But on no account must he attempt to force his pupils to a definite opinion, he should rather help them to discuss other opinions tolerantly.

Even in the turbulent post-war years young people will only learn to understand their political and social surroundings after further years of experience. Vocational schools in particular should create a demand for adult education. They offer the last possibility to prepare young people in a compulsory school for this further education. It will therefore depend upon the work of the vocational school teachers whether young people, after having completed their compulsory schooling, will look on education as a disagreeable medicine to be taken in early years and then discontinued, or whether they will try in voluntary adult education to find answers to the questions which, during the period of their compulsory schooling, were still beyond them. As a gradual introduction to adult education it may be a good idea to allow vocational school pupils to take one or two hours per week of their compulsory training in courses at the youth departments of *Volkshochschulen* (People's High Schools), where they would be free to choose their courses.

If a vocational school teacher succeeds in making his pupils discuss calmly and think independently on questions which interest them—either political questions or questions in relation to their work or private life—and if he awakens their interest in objective research—an interest which will turn to more difficult questions with greater maturity—he has done whatever it is possible to do within the scope of the vocational school. This is an achievement which can only be expected of a very few teachers in the first post-war years. How it will be possible to help them will be discussed in the last chapter.

#### IV. APPRENTICESHIP

At all times the training of craftsmen and merchants in Germany has taken place in a 3-4 years' apprenticeship. Even to-day the training as an apprentice is the normal education not only for craftsmen but even for many skilled industrial workers. Seventy-five per cent of all apprentices were trained in craftsmen's workshops. Before the war these shops passed

about 50-100,000 trained journeymen annually as skilled workers to industry.

The training in the workshop of a master craftsman has certainly many advantages. Apart from the educational influence which can be considerable during a three to four years' association in a small community, even if the apprentice no longer lives with the master's family as in former times. The important thing is that in many cases small workshops are many-sided and that the intensive division of labour as practised in bigger works is impossible. This enables the apprentice to get an all-round training in his trade.

Although nowadays more and more small workshops specialise in some particular type of work, attempts have recently been made nevertheless to secure an all-round training of apprentices. In some towns building apprentices are gathered into training centres where there is no specialisation. The bricklayer apprentice learns there how to mix cement, how to erect a scaffolding or to thatch a roof; only after this are they sent into apprenticeship with a specialised builder, and at the beginning of the second or third year of training there is a further general course. At some places communal training workshops for mechanics were established because the apprentice of, say, an office machine mechanic would have received too one-sided a training from him alone. The apprentices of various master mechanics gather once a week in a training workshop where masters of eight different branches of mechanics supervise the work.

In those German areas where there are many large combines the training of apprentices is much less usual than in other areas, in spite of the efforts of these great plants to increase the training of apprentices (cf. following chapter). In the Rhineland, with its many big concerns, only 30 pupils, in some districts even 20, out of each hundred leaving elementary schools are apprentices to a master. In Central Germany, on the other hand, there are usually 70, sometimes even 80. But these figures give no hint as to the quality of training. In many cases it is merely an "apprentice ramp", i.e. masters exploit the fact that apprentices are paid very low wages and pay for their training with their work, and obtain cheap labour without fulfilling their part of the bargain. Apprentices are either not trained at all or only inadequately trained; they are exploited as messenger boys, etc. There is a wide scope here for improvement.

Since 1908 only craftsmen who have passed the master's test are entitled to employ apprentices, and this should afford a certain guarantee for their training. At present there are minimum requirements for the training of apprentices in 142 trades. These requirements are formulated in such a way as to avoid one-sided training. Their execution is supervised through annual interim competitions.

In 1938 the final examination for bank and insurance apprentices was changed from a voluntary to a compulsory basis. Since 1935 nobody is allowed to open a workshop without having passed the master's test. All these and other measures have resulted in more young people passing through a regular apprenticeship. In this way the Nazis intended to increase the numbers of young skilled workers (cf. Chapter VII, "Vocational Guidance").

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On the other hand, in order to get more skilled workers more quickly, they have cut the period of apprenticeship, first from an average of 4 to 3-3½ years, finally during the war to 2½-3 years, a dangerous course in the long run.

### V. DINTA

A special part in German vocational training—and simultaneously in the preparation for the Third Reich—was played by an institute which was founded in Western Germany in 1925 by a meeting of leading industrialists. The name of this institute at the time was *Deutsches Institut fuer technische Arbeitsschulung* (German Institute for Technical Work Training), abbreviated DINTA. In 1933 this institute was incorporated into the German Labour Front and the name was changed to “German Institute for *National-Socialist* Technical Research and Training of Work”. The “N” had already appeared in the abbreviation, so it remained the same—DINTA. The Principal also remained the same—Chief Engineer Arnhold. He was soon appointed Chief of the Office for Vocational Training and Works Management of the German Labour Front. We shall see that the easy incorporation of this *entrepreneurs’* establishment into the National-Socialist régime was no chance.

The aim of DINTA is more extensive than merely the improvement of vocational training, although from the beginning this has been in the centre of the Institute’s work. According to an early programme pamphlet of one of the Institute’s collaborators, Dr. Paul Osthold, entitled *Der Kampf um die Seele unseres Arbeiters* (“The Struggle for the Soul of our Worker”), the aims of DINTA are:

- (1) The liberation of the worker from the loneliness of his isolated part-functions in production;
- (2) The overcoming of the hostile attitude between worker and *entrepreneur*;
- (3) The satisfaction and appeasement of the worker in the present economic system by those means which are at present at the disposal of German industry.

For industrialists, Arnhold formulated the aim more concisely and honestly: “The key problem is the improvement and cheapening of production, beyond that nothing is planned”.

One of these means is the well-organised establishment of training workshops and, linked to these, works schools with excellent technical equipment and excellent teachers, also the training of technicians as teachers of apprentices.

Other means to the same end are works newspapers which should bridge the gap between workers and employers and awaken in individual workers an understanding of the whole enterprise. (In 1936 there were 113 with a total circulation of 1,500,000.) Equally important is the special

training of technicians as "leaders of men" in managers' schools (*Betriebsführerschulen*) in Stuttgart, Breslau and Gelsenkirchen. To this must be added the organised care for the welfare of the worker from the cradle to the grave, the establishment of crèches, playing-fields, old people's and invalids' workshops where old and disabled workers are allowed to spend their last energy for "their shop". Arnhold wrote as early as 1927: "This is the problem: to maintain control from toddlers to old men, not for social reasons but because of the experience in productivity that man, the most important factor in industry, must be cared for and led".

Almost at the same time Arnhold announced proudly that Mussolini, as well as the Soviet Union, had approached him to organise a similar institute for them. But let us confine ourselves to Germany. Whoever has read Dr. Ley's speeches will have recognised, even from our short characterisation, the source of Dr. Ley's expressions and ideas. Dr. Ley's Labour Front, even the whole Nazi State, appears as a gigantic extension of the DINTA plan, to induce workers to work more for less wages, for love of work, affection for the works and the *Führer*—a trick of exploitation which is particularly mean because it tries to hide the fact of exploitation. But we are still discussing the work of DINTA during the Republic, when the training of skilled workers for industry was only a partial aspect, even though an important one. Let us not forget in what connection this training was planned, even if we have to discuss it here more or less in isolation.

Young people receive their practical vocational training in the DINTA training workshops. Their manual and mental capacities are to be developed so that they become "highly valuable collaborators" in the process of production—an expression often used first by DINTA people and later by the Nazis. Furthermore, the education aims at an eager acceptance of industrial work. It is intended to ensure that the worker "from the knowledge of his technical tasks and the realisation of the importance of his factory within the total production, and from the common experience of its economic fate, should gain a personal relationship to his factory" (Osthold).

The training workshop is an opportunity to influence the whole factory for a matter of years. Arnhold maintains that experience has shown that a plant with a good training workshop shows a 25-33% higher performance than an identical plant without a training workshop. However, a good training of apprentices in training workshop and works school is expensive. Just to quote one example: The Siemens Works, a well-known electrical concern, spent more than a million marks (£50,000) in 1934 on apprentice training. Such an expensive training can only be granted to an élite. The selection is made on the strength of psycho-technical findings. This selection is not only intended to save industry from unprofitable expense, but it has a further reason to which one can agree in general: "Only where the daily work is in accordance with physical capacity and the mental inclination of the person expected to perform the task will there be any chance that his work will result in joy of work and life" (Osthold).

DINTA has established training workshops in industry for large combines and also combined training workshops for several smaller works.

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To give an example of how the training in the works, in the training workshop and in the works school is related, I shall describe the normal course of training for the coal-mining industry.

For one month the apprentice attends Training Workshop I, where he learns the elementary principles of various trades: locksmith's work, forging, turning and carpentering. This workshop is, of course, a wholly subsidised establishment, in contrast to Training Workshop II, which is attended at the end of the training period.

After the first month come fifteen months in the works, where every week there is an "instruction shift" in which contact between the training Principal and the apprentice is strengthened and compulsory vocational schooling given in the works school. The apprentice spends five months' hand-picking at the travelling band. There he learns to distinguish between coal and waste and learns to work ambidextrously. Then follow two months in the mine's locksmith's workshop where he becomes acquainted with the mining machines (mechanical coal-cutters, drills, etc.) which are being dismantled, repaired and put together again. Then follows a month in the timber-yard where apprentices help to load and measure pit wood, and gain a knowledge of the various types of wood. They learn to remember lengths and thicknesses and practise eye-measuring. One month at the stores serves to make them acquainted with the various materials and teaches tidiness. Four months as a messenger boy and two months in a specialised workshop (e.g. in an electrical workshop) provide a knowledge of the whole plant and carry the training to the end of the sixteenth month.

Then the apprentices attend Training Workshop II, where they produce fittings and implements needed in all departments of the works. This training above ground is followed by two years' similar training below ground.

All training schemes take into consideration the fact that a modern industrial concern continually introduces many changes, and it is intended to create a generation of workers who will also be able to follow new ways in technical achievements. For this reason apprentices of the textile industry, for instance, work for two full years in a locksmith's workshop. This is held to be the best preparation for their future work as "machine workers".

All apprentices are conducted through the training workshop when they enter, a practice intended to make them feel at home there. For the same reason there are also conducted tours of apprentices through the whole plant: this is an important point in the DINTA training.

A special education for economical behaviour is carried out by instruction in calculating and costing. Monthly returns are presented in a juxtaposition of expenses and results expressed in figures and graphs. The apprentices take part in discussing what should be bought for the Training Workshop and where things should be bought. As far as possible the Training Workshop is supposed to support itself by carrying out work for the plant. The ambition is wakened in the apprentice not to be presented with any gifts from the works. The Principal of the Training Workshop must instruct his apprentices that in a good enterprise surpluses must be invested in order to improve the plant—in the given



circumstances a well-devised education for docile integration into the capitalist economic system.

Besides instruction there is current training for the prevention of accidents, for cleanliness, for dressing as well, for precision in work and for hygiene; this includes a quarterly examination by the works physician, and provision for gymnastics, sport and hiking.

Here is a practical example of how sport not only pays the works generally because young people who know how to control their bodies are the better workers and develop a more enterprising spirit, but also specifically. In a training iron works it was established that a high percentage of the iron was shed and wasted. The explanation was that the young apprentices were not physically in a position to handle the slightly awkward forging pans adroitly. A technical psychologist was called in to help. He had an iron pan made of the weight of a filled forgery pan. Then two apprentices were made to walk about with these pans on the sports ground, walk over obstacles, etc. They enjoyed this "works sport" and the waste decreased.

The prerequisite for such a training is the training of technicians. It does not suffice that they have a good technical knowledge. DINTA has deliberately undertaken the task of educating them as "leaders of men".

On the strength of the DINTA experience over a period of many years it may be said that the technical training of the apprentices has been well thought out and well carried out. Particularly the close relation between theory and practice is good. But the education is only partially good, because, although it encourages independence, it does so only as far as it is profitable to the firm.

Of course the trade unions turned against the DINTA system, which was used by the contractors, particularly of large concerns, for the "struggle for the worker's soul", just as it was used later within the wider framework of the German Labour Front and National Socialism as a whole. The special DINTA education of a workers' élite continues even to-day because contractors want to secure for themselves under all conditions a well-trained, well-selected and, finally, a well-treated and devoted élite.

In the Third Reich the contractors' policy, advised by DINTA, experienced its greatest triumph. DINTA was given the right to question works and combines, even the right of direct examination on the spot, but what is still more important, the Works Community as created by DINTA is furthered by National Socialism. The glamour of the highest leader, Adolf Hitler, is borrowed by every contractor.

Although the *Führer* principle is applied in all organisations whatsoever, the word *Führer* is not permitted in most national socialist organisations lest it should become a cheap title. But even in the smallest works the contractor or the manager is called the "Works Leader" (*Betriebsführer*), and his authority, which had been diminished during the Weimar period, has been re-established by the Nazi laws. It would lead us too far to demonstrate here that, from the point of view of *entrepreneurs*, the Third Reich is fundamentally a copy of the DINTA gigantically magnified.

But all this does not exclude that a great part of the carefully worked-out methods of apprentices' training could be applied with advantage in

another social structure. Particularly worthy of imitation is the close relationship between vocational guidance, vocational training in training workshops and in the works, hygienic welfare and assistance in the use of leisure.

## VI. SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS

### (a) UNSKILLED WORKERS.

Vocational training for unskilled workers has always been a difficult problem, for they have no work with which instruction in school could easily be related. That is one of the reasons why compulsory vocational schooling which had existed for apprentices since 1911 was extended to all unskilled young workers only in 1938.

According to the 1925 census 55% of the workers in industry were unskilled workers, and yet in 1926 there were in Prussia 13,600 vocational school classes for apprentices but only 3,400 for unskilled workers. A considerable proportion of the unskilled workers did not attend any vocational school. The problem of their schooling was diminished considerably by decreasing the number of unskilled workers. In 1927, of 600,000 children leaving school 130,000 went into unskilled jobs; in 1938, of 510,000 only 80,000. The "battle against the unskilled" which the Nazis pursued has partly ejected the unskilled workers merely from statistics, but partly from reality as well. Whatever direction developments may take, there will always be a considerable number of unskilled workers and therefore the question of what can be done with them from an educational point of view will remain.

Why do individuals become and remain unskilled workers? For a great number the main reason is the financial status of their parents which does not admit of their supporting a child during an apprenticeship when he earns nothing or very little. Family circumstances often demand that the young people earn as early as possible, thereby contributing towards the living expenses of the family. It is a good thing that vocational schools charge no fees, but this alone is not enough. If there are no maintenance allowances there will always be children who would like to learn a trade and have the capacity for doing so but who will be prevented. Some large concerns have paid special "training allowances" to the parents of their apprentices in order to discourage the trend towards unskilled but immediately paid work. For the child this has obvious benefits. For the concern it has the advantage—and for society generally the disadvantage—that the dependence of the workers is increased. The same benefits without this general disadvantage would be obtained by maintenance allowances paid out of public funds.

Further reasons which during recent decades prevented people from learning a trade were the following: the high wages which were paid to young unskilled workers during the first World War, together with the general pauperisation experienced during the last years of that war; later on, the chronic unemployment which made it appear pointless to learn any trade when one would probably remain unemployed after

finishing one's apprenticeship. Further discussion of such economic reasons for taking up unskilled work lies behind this study; but it is obvious that they can only be removed by economic measures.

As young unskilled workers often changed their jobs and places of work, and as they more than other groups became unemployed, it had been thought during the Weimar period that they might be interested in the discussion of economic questions. This attempt failed. However, such an attempt might achieve better results under more stable economic conditions. A common research of teachers and pupils into the economic-geographic conditions of the more immediate environment might meet with some success and awaken further interest.

In many cases the elementary schooling was just continued by a few weekly lessons in German, history, geography, and arithmetic. But this had no success either. Children who had passed from learning to earning were not inclined to go back to school to hear the same old story over again.

Without doubt there is much more chance when learning is linked up with the new experience of working for one's living. During the Weimar period attempts had already been made to train unskilled workers in some practical work, wood and metal work, or gardening (important for the future allotment holder!).

Two Nazi attempts in this respect, however, did not survive their first steps.

In Hessen-Nassau a special attempt was made with 2,300 who were leaving school to create a link between school and unskilled work, between play and earning. It is reported that they all participated "voluntarily", i.e. under pressure from the Hitler Youth. During a number of weeks they were given courses in simple wood and metal work. These courses were called "Robinson" courses. But only 50% of the young people went through with them, in spite of the pressure from the Hitler Youth, and the organisers concluded that it would be better to include such "Robinson" courses in the last year at school—a conclusion which was not unfamiliar to the teachers from the Weimar period.

DINTA, too, although generally devoting its work to the training of skilled workers, has made a plan for the schooling of unskilled workers. But it appears to have been carried out only in single cases. DINTA suggests 8-12 weeks' training in locksmith's work at a training workshop, besides attendance at the works school up to the eighteenth year, with instruction in knowledge of the special materials used in the works, technical arithmetic and drawing, and citizenship. After the short time in the training workshop the so-called half-apprentice is supposed to remain under its supervision until he has found a position in the works in accordance with his qualifications.

Such a short training of all young people is certainly in accordance with our century of machines and might help at the same time to facilitate the transition from school to work.

#### (b) GIRLS.

Girls were only gradually included in vocational training, beginning with office workers; their training does not present any special problems.

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Treatment of the young unskilled woman workers is in general easier than that of unskilled boys because there are a number of subjects where a more or less general interest can be assumed: housework, baby care and child welfare. Purely theoretical instruction in cooking is, of course, neither interesting nor useful. But wherever a moderately well-equipped training kitchen was available (one working table and one cooker for about four pupils) the instruction was successful. And the girls enjoyed it. They realised that there was a practical purpose in what they learned. If cookery lessons were combined with the buying of provisions a good teacher would have more opportunity for instruction in citizenship and economics than in a special lesson.

Vocational schools for girls in the country, where they exist, are called "domestic science schools". The attendance at 160 lessons per annum is compulsory for a period of two years. It goes without saying that a domestic science teacher has several villages allotted to her. In order to keep her district small and her travelling limited, she is frequently entrusted at the same time with instruction at elementary schools in gymnastics, needlework and housework.

### (c) AGRICULTURE.

The learning of the many-sided agricultural skills is more often based on tradition than that of any other job. The son learns from his father what the latter learned from his; the young worker learns from the older, without any systematic instruction. This is still the rule. There does not yet exist a proper agricultural vocational school system (part-time, in working hours) which should cater for all young workers. But there do exist agricultural schools (usually full-time during winter) through which only 10% of rural youth pass.

The teachers in these schools are very often consulted as agricultural experts by local farmers—an excellent combination. For in this way the teachers get acquainted with the families and farms of their pupils, who are mostly of peasant stock, and the work at school can be supplemented by subsequent advice on the farm.

For a long time it has been realised in Germany that agricultural schools of every kind would have to play a pioneering part in the modernisation and mechanisation of German agriculture. It cannot be denied that in many instances they have broken through old traditions and have made a way for progressive methods. Nevertheless their success in furthering better methods of production and the application of the co-operative principle (in order to give small farms the chance to use the technical advantages of the large estates) has on an average been much less than the success of the People's High Schools in Denmark. The latter deal with general education and not with specific agricultural questions. By widening the horizon of rural youth they make them aware of new ideas and of their application on a co-operative basis.

Thus the training in separate agricultural schools is made more effective. But let us not forget that the now famous Danish peasants' High Schools became possible only after the basis had been laid for them by the agricultural policy of the first half of the nineteenth century, a policy orien-

tated in the peasants' interests. In this context it is worth mentioning that the Danish People's High Schools were a positive answer to the lost war of 1864.

The strenuous attempts of the Weimar Republic to create in Germany a peasant movement for People's High Schools after the Danish model, and their partial success, are the best proof of the necessity for the sequence; first, a peasants' agricultural policy, then the general education of peasants, and only, finally, specialised training for the peasants.

If any further proof is needed it may be found in the new peasants' settlements in Pomerania which were established on the old estates of big landlords after the last war. This was a piece of practical peasants' policy, though only on a small scale and with the drawback of innumerable economic measures favouring the big landlords and detrimental to the peasants. Nevertheless, the "Settlement helpers" who were trained in domestic science and in agriculture, and who served as advisers to the peasant women in their new environment, and gave continuation instruction to girls between 14 and 16, very often became the centre of the cultural life of the village.

Peasants' education is only possible with a peasants' policy.

## VII. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Expert vocational guidance is necessary if individuals are to choose a vocation which is not only in accordance with their interests but also with their gifts and their capacity.

Motives for the choice of a vocation are various and often have nothing to do with aptitude. The influence of parents and teachers or young people of the same age, the chance example set by a neighbour or school-fellow, the condition of the labour market when leaving school, the chances for making money in an individual job, all these play a large part in the choice of a vocation. A Nazi inquiry of 1938—for what it is worth—into the coincidence of wish with aptitude provided the following results. For the chosen profession

18% were well suited;  
 50% were suited;  
 12% were suited conditionally;  
 12.5% were just suited;  
 7.5% were not suited.

It is obvious that a considerable part did not have that aptitude which leads to the highest achievements in the desired vocation. In many cases this leads to a lack of joy in the work which still further decreases the results. And, further, it leads to frequent changes of the place of work, perhaps even to changes in the type of work.

Besides the discrepancy between wish and aptitude there exists the

discrepancy between situations available and those desired in any given profession. The usefulness of well-organised vocational guidance was already recognised during the Weimar period and it was planned in co-operation with the labour exchanges (of which there were 350-400 in the old Reich). Special care was taken for the training of personnel for vocational guidance.

In 1926-27 as many as 31% of all pupils ending their fourteenth year received vocational guidance, in 1931-32 67%, and is said to have risen to 90% in 1941.

As a measure of total mobilisation the registration at a labour exchange of all those leaving school was decreed in 1938, and the employment of apprentices, voluntary workers and juniors was made subject to permission of the labour exchange. This enabled a total assessment of young workers as well as of jobs available.

At Easter 1938 the labour exchanges were given directions as to how to preserve, increase, or cut off the flow of young labour into individual trades. About a quarter of those leaving were to be directed to the metal trade, as hitherto; agriculture and mining were to receive a higher quota, office jobs a lower.

Since 1941 the offices for vocational guidance have been working with the "Plan for the Recruiting of Young Labour" (*Berufsnachwuchsplan*), which in that year was only established for male skilled workers. In 1943 unskilled work and civil service positions were included for the first time. Girls and academic workers are not yet included. In 1941 vocational guidance offices were instructed to direct 15,000 boys into the mining industry, 117,000 into agriculture, and 120,000 into the metal industry. (Figures for later years were no longer published for military reasons.)

The drawing-up of a recruiting plan is a difficult matter because it must be based on the estimated demand, and for this there are many potential sources of error. The importance of the individual professions may alter during the training period, still more so during the time of the actual working life—for political reasons, or for reasons of a change in tastes or of technical developments. When drawing up a recruiting plan after the end of the war, not only the changes in German industry but also the different impact of war losses on various professions will have to be taken into consideration.

Vocational guidance based on the recruiting plan consists in general information given to those leaving school, their parents and the population in general, and individual guidance. The task of vocational guidance offices consists in interesting as well as deterring people. They must work against too many going into the "fashionable" professions. (A third of the boys want to get into one of the big "Fs": *Fliegen, Funken, Fahren*—flying, radio, driving. Seventy to eighty per cent of the girls want office work.) On the other hand, propaganda must be made for the neglected professions (as, for instance, that of a vocational teacher) or for professions which become increasingly important but are not yet well known (e.g. metallurgy). The aim—even in the Third Reich—is to avoid all obvious compulsion and rather to influence the wishes of the young people in such a way that they should coincide collectively with the recognised demand of the various branches of economic life.

This is achieved by giving information through lectures with the help of the schools and the Hitler Youth. In 1939 about 600,000 young people were reached in this way. Monographs and exhibitions on the chances in individual professions work in a similar direction; vocational guidance workers found a greater diversity of interests as a result. There are also "works inspections" by young people before they make their choice. These are held to be the most efficient means of influence. Labour exchanges decide for which vocations inspections should be made in their districts; the youth departments of the German Labour Front then select the suitable works. The Labour Exchange in Erfurt found that inspection of building sites led to sufficient young people being directed into the building trade when there was a shortage. The Labour Exchange in Essen found it necessary in 1941 to send circulars to fathers at the front before the choice of profession was made by their children, with different text for fathers of boys and girls.

Individual guidance is given on the strength of teachers' reports and, as already mentioned, to a growing extent on the basis of psycho-technical suitability tests. These were for the first time applied in the First World War in order to find suitable personnel for technical units (signals, pilots, etc.). They were used by large industrial concerns with a similar aim after the war, and were finally employed by public vocational guidance offices. According to an estimate of the International Labour Office, Germany was first in Europe in the application of such methods.

During a time of great unemployment, when there were fewer apprenticeships available than applicants, selection of the best was attempted. On the other hand, when there was a shortage of labour, the Labour Exchanges tried to distribute the scarce young workers over the available apprenticeships in such a way that on the whole an increase in production might result. Such an attitude can, of course, only be expected of public vocational guidance offices. Suitability tests made by industrial concerns have the disadvantage that they only establish whether the youth concerned is fitted for their works or not; they do not give an opinion as to whether he would be better fitted for another vocation; and if he is not suitable they do not say for what work he would be fitted.

Public vocational guidance offices find out what gifts an applicant has and where he could utilise them most efficiently within the general economic situation, as expressed to-day in the recruiting plan. On principle the test is not made by a member of the desired vocation. Experience has taught that such persons usually confuse the knowledge and achievements which must be acquired by vocational training with the disposition needed in order to acquire them. The suitability test does not assess the former but only the latter.

Here is an example of the requirements for vocational suitability as drawn up by the Reich Institute for Training in Commerce and Trade. The following requirements are stated for a goldsmith:

"Necessary are: Spatial imagination, comprehension of forms and shaping of forms. Manual dexterity. Exact, careful, persevering work bound to a fixed place. Capacity to distinguish the finest shades of colour and light. Capacity for independent work.

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Desirable are: Sense for artistic forms.

Prohibitive are: Hastiness, superficial work. Slowness in thinking. Heavy hand."

There is nothing in this list that the goldsmith has to learn, but only dispositions. And to ascertain these no expert goldsmith is required but an expert with a psychological training.

Such experts are prepared for their work partly through courses, partly by self-tuition. The training scheme of the Provincial Labour Exchange in Brandenburg has provided since the 'twenties a course of eighteen months' duration with the following subjects:

- Analysis of different occupations;
- Commercial geography;
- Industrial hygiene;
- Educational science;
- Psychology;
- Economics;
- Practical problems of vocational guidance.

A high priority will have to be granted after the war to the demobilisation and training of vocational guidance workers because they occupy key positions in the difficult work of transfer from war to peace economy.

## VIII. HIGHER EDUCATION

In Germany, as in other countries, the demand has been made time and again to provide a higher education for all gifted children. Particularly in the Weimar Republic, the question of assisting and encouraging the most able was a constant theme of discussion. But in spite of the provision of many a facility the main obstacle remained the same, the class structure of society. It was significant that despite the trade unions' demand to break the privileges of those who had taken Higher School Certificate, this examination remained almost the only entrance to the universities, and similarly the *Obersekundareife* (i.e. six years' secondary school course, similar to the English matric.) was a condition for the entrance to most technical schools. To enable the gifted to advance in spite of this, a few facilities were created in order that talented pupils might take Higher School Certificate through evening classes. But there was no link between vocational and technical schools, let alone the universities.

To-day the building and engineering schools, for instance, no longer demand a certain kind of schooling. All applicants, whether they have passed Higher School Certificate or have only attended elementary and vocational schools, have to take an entrance examination which corresponds approximately to the former *Obersekundareife*, without languages. The knowledge required for this examination can be acquired through



self-tuition. There are also preparation courses which last twenty weeks following on elementary and vocational education; these courses are held either at vocational schools or as "pre-terms" at the technical schools themselves.

From 1934 to the beginning of the war Reich Vocational Competitions (*Reichsberufswettkämpfe*) were held of ever-increasing importance. They serve various purposes but chiefly the selection of the gifted whose further training is assisted as much as possible. Naturally the Third Reich is not interested in enabling the individual to develop his personality to the fullest possible extent. The chief of the propaganda office concerned gave his pamphlet on the Reich Vocational Competition the sub-title, "The Vocational Mobilisation of German Youth", and says quite openly that this competition is an "important means for overcoming the shortage of skilled workers". Besides, this annual event has the purpose of making a focus round which to occupy youth. "Olympic Games of Work" were talked about and much Nazi propaganda went with it.

The first Reich Vocational Competition took place in April 1934 with 500,000 participants. In 1936 the number of young people participating for the first time exceeded a million, and in 1938 reached the second million. Every year this movement was further extended and is organised by the Reich Youth Leadership, the German Labour Front, the Reich Food Estate (*Reichsnährstand*) and the vocational schools. In 1934 the five hundred best were taken to Berlin for a final test and twenty were declared "Reich victors"; they were given all possible encouragement and facilities for further training, partly out of public funds, partly out of funds from their factories. This side of the event was developed with particular care.

In 1935 undergraduates were included for the first time, and the whole population was interested by a shop-window display competition held throughout the Reich. In 1936 the Vocational Competition was specially dedicated to the "unskilled worker": it was intended to interest as many as possible in further training. In 1938 adults took part for the first time. That year there were 619,000 adult participants (a quarter of whom were women) and 2,070,000 young people (a third of whom were girls). To these figures must be added 14,000 undergraduates, 75,000 persons in the window-dressing competition and 60,000 in the craftsmanship competition. The total figure of all participants is quoted as 2.8 millions. As expected, only an élite of the unskilled workers took part, but these gained encouragement and a chance for further training.

Since 1938 not only the Reich victors but also Provincial and District victors were systematically assisted out of public funds, not only with money but also through opening up of training possibilities. In 1939, when 3.5 million adults and young people took part, a department of "Assistance for the Gifted" was established in connection with the Vocational Competition.

The main stress in the Vocational Competition lies in practical work, which is valued up to 70 points. Theoretical achievement, and for girl's housework, get up to 30 points. The knowledge of national-socialist doctrine and the attitude towards it get up to 20 points. Physical performances are also assessed. The entrants are divided into categories according to age and education. Great care was taken in training an

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army of examiners in order to secure an even valuation over the whole area of the Reich.

Practical tasks and questions were carefully prepared every year. A few examples are chosen at random: The youngest entrants for agriculture had to answer the question: "What is the best time for planting early potatoes?" Among the more difficult questions for girls were the following: "What kind of water is best for washing?" "How can one remove ink-stains from washing materials?" A practical task for girls in agriculture was the cleaning of two cows. Forestry apprentices had to saw firewood, to point four posts and to pile logs correctly. A young fisherman had to estimate the weight of a fish and to scale, open and clean a big fish; a young blacksmith to calculate and sketch a hammer; a young office worker to solve arithmetical problems, etc.

The Vocational Competition makes it possible to assess the participants' achievements, to evaluate the necessity and likely result of further training and, at the same time, to judge the efficiency of schools, training workshops and other places of training. Through careful statistics local or industrial weaknesses or strengths can be recognised. (For instance, in "practical work" the highest marks went to 53% of those who came from training workshops, compared with only 43% of the other participants.) Following the announcement of the Reich, Provincial and District victors, a medal is granted to the best vocational training establishments.

At the beginning of the war the Vocational Competitions were discontinued. Instead "selection camps" were used to a larger extent for recognising talented young people. In 1941 2,110 young people went through 36 selection camps (of which 10 were for girls). There were selection camps, for instance, for iron and metal work, mining, chemistry, building, printing and paper, textiles. According to the assessment of gifts a special training is provided either at the works, in technical schools, or—after special preparation—at universities.

The following detailed figures are available for the iron and metal trades: Up to March 1943 a total number of 43 selection camps were organised as the result of which 1,659 young people were enabled to continue their education as follows:

	30	to become engineers with university training;
693	" "	" " technical school training;
74	" "	marine engineers;
267	" "	aircraft engineers;
297	" "	technicians;
11	" "	training supervisors;
262	" "	foremen;
25	" "	vocational school teachers.

In 1944 a Reich Vocational Competition took place for the first time since the war, with 1.8 million participants. Of these 50-60,000 are to be selected as above the average. The victors in the Reich and Provincial competitions are to go for one week into selection camps where their further career will be decided.

Naturally, this Nazi system with the purpose of mobilising all gifts for

rearmament is not being quoted here as the one solution for the selection of the gifted. In its details it arose out of a special situation which might shortly be described here as the conversation of the old-class structure, an acute shortage of skilled workers, plus total industrial mobilisation.

But in different circumstances the quiet collaboration between vocational guidance officials, vocational school teachers and the young people's superiors at the factories, as well as the trade unions representing their interests, might yield better results than a gigantic Reich enterprise with much loud propaganda.

## IX. RETRAINING

After the war there will have to be wide measures for retraining. Here the experiences made at the beginning of the rearmament period and at the beginning of the war might be utilised.

At the beginning of the war a so-called "quick training" consisted of two weekly lessons for a period of about 4-6 weeks. The usual peacetime training courses were cut short of all avoidable theoretical work, and instruction was given with increased practical exercises. In Greater Berlin, for instance, there were, between October and December 1939, 500 such courses attended by 16,000 workers, some of whom were prepared for entirely new professions.

Workers were being retrained systematically in the whole Reich, particularly for the metal industry. Retraining was often facilitated by the labour exchanges and vocational guidance offices. Hairdressers, for instance, were retrained as fine mechanics because they could use their light touch there. Workers from trades requiring dexterity, such as engravers, printers, type-setters or engravers of music, were retrained for branches of the metal industry where dexterity was also required. Textile workers who were retrained for metal work received not only instruction about raw materials and reading of blue prints but also manipulative gymnastics, as their hands had formerly executed finer work and now needed a special adaptation and hardening for the new working process.

In general, instruction regarding the prevention of accidents was emphasised. The teachers of the transfer courses were given a special pamphlet, *Protection of Labour in the Execution of Fast-working Instruction Measures*, which summarises what newcomers in a trade must know about the prevention of accidents.

The necessity for retraining will not only exist for many demobilised soldiers, who had learnt little or nothing or who have not retained anything of what they learnt, it will also exist for young people who have become "war vocational casualties", viz. who have only learnt a narrowly limited specialised job. A special problem is of course presented by the disabled soldiers for whose rehabilitation much has been done already during the war.

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Time and opportunity for retraining will be given in the period of demobilisation and re-tooling of factories, the reconstruction of destroyed plants, etc. It will be possible to link up the retraining with much that soldiers have learnt in local courses or correspondence courses during the periods they served with an occupation army. Of course, much can be linked up with what soldiers have learnt of technical achievements in this technical war. A great difficulty for these refresher courses will lie in the variety of the former education, of the subject matter learned or forgotten—quite apart from the fact that they will take place at a time of great political unrest and uncertainty when many will not know for what kind of future they should prepare themselves.

### X. TRAINING OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS

In Prussia vocational school teachers have been systematically trained only since the 'twenties in Vocational Pedagogical Institutes, at Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt a. M., in connection with the universities and commercial high schools there. Up to 1929, 3,000 so-called "trade teachers" were trained in these institutes, of these 1,300 had taken courses in technical schools of all kinds, 1,200 were elementary school teachers, 200 university men, and 200 were master craftsmen. During the last years of the Weimar Republic the influx from the teaching profession decreased whereas the influx from practical work increased—a healthy development. Here was the only considerable breach in the secondary schools' privileges in preparing for the universities.

In Thuringia a particularly progressive vocational school system had developed before the economic crisis of 1930. Based on the compulsory vocational schools were vocational middle schools which charged a fee easily payable by young workers. (Before the crisis there were 50 classes with 1,000 pupils.) Based on these were vocational higher schools where the future vocational school teachers were to be trained.

The training of teachers of commerce was usually carried out throughout Germany in commercial high schools; agricultural teachers were trained in agricultural high schools.

In the Third Reich this system was further extended. Vocational teacher candidates are supposed to study for two years at a Vocational Pedagogical Institute, after specialised schooling and practical work. Their most important task is pedagogical training, and also supplementary specialised knowledge. After the final examination follows a year of practice in education.

All this is more in a state of planning than in practical execution. During the last years before the war the influx to the profession of vocational school teachers was decreasing sharply. Younger age groups did not enter this profession any longer even before the beginning of the war. In 1942 findings of the Reich Education Ministry were published to the effect

that in the coming years 30,000 new vocational school teachers would be needed. This great shortage has led, even during the war, to new measures for their preparation.

In the spring of 1941 the newly founded Reich Institute for Agricultural Instruction in Danzig opened its courses. This is the first institute of its kind. Entrance is obtained after several years of practical training. Further institutes of this kind have been planned for four university towns.

Vocational Pedagogical Institutes have been planned for five towns. The Munich Trade Teachers' Institute which had existed for a long time was extended in 1942 and became a Vocational Pedagogical Institute on the Prussian model. At the same time a course for the pedagogical training of agricultural women teachers was started in Munich.

According to German sources the number of students at Vocational Pedagogical Institutes has increased during the war. Chiefly women study there nowadays, and they are joined to an ever-growing extent by war-disabled men. Apparently the Institute count on a great number of disabled soldiers after the war; these are to take a preliminary course before the actual training in order to fill gaps in general knowledge and education.

## XI. AFTER HITLER

The foregoing discussion is based throughout on the assumption that factory and work can play a big part in the education of post-war German youth. They exercise a strong influence in any case. The only question is whether they could be consciously shaped and used educationally or misused politically.

No education takes place in a social vacuum. Vocational education can only be thought of in connection with the economic and political structure of the country concerned.

And we shall probably have to deal in Germany with a political structure which, after the collapse of the Hitler régime, will only be developing and might have to pass through violent birth pangs, with an economic structure which must first be planned, of which little can be said in anticipation except that presumably the building trade will occupy a larger place than ever, after the destruction of wartime. This is not the place to paint the initial difficulties of the next Germany. But only a man who thinks realistically can measure what a gigantic task it will be to help young people to find their way in the new Germany. It will have to be tackled—after the overcoming of the first transitional difficulties—with a simultaneous lack of suitable teachers, vocational guidance workers, school buildings, technical equipment, text-books, etc.

Certainly, just when everything is insecure many will want to gain a firm anchor in their life through the learning of a trade. But even the reply to such a simple question as "which vocation?" will meet with many difficulties. To grant vocational guidance workers priority in the demobilisation is of real use only if they can be told according to what "recruiting

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plan" they are to advise the millions of young people leaving school, the armed forces or the war industries. As Germany's future economic structure will only clarify very gradually, it will be necessary more than ever to warn against too specialised a training, to further an all-round training as much as possible, and to work for a training in adaptability so that any future transfer or retraining should not meet with too many difficulties.

To summarise, youth will need assistance in the choice of a vocation, in the use of leisure (after the closing down of the compulsory organisations which used up much of their spare time!), in the preservation and re-establishment of their health (school and factory canteens for young people, medical supervision, sport), all this besides the usual subjects of vocational training and citizenship—the latter being more difficult and more necessary than ever.

The political purge of vocational school teachers, and the training of new ones must be organised immediately. Short courses for men and women with suitable practical experience and for the technical personnel of the armed forces must be supplemented later by continuation courses. The vocational school teachers who remain in office must pass through refresher courses. The old technical text-books will probably have to be used at the beginning. But all teachers must be assisted by suggestions, broadcasts, reading-sheets, etc., so that they can help their pupils to understand their social environment, particularly the basic facts about re-armament, war and post-war economy, through which they have lived and will have to live and work. As soon as an atmosphere of free discussion has been re-established the pupils will put more questions than the teachers will be able to answer. "I do not know either" will very often be the most honest and therefore the educationally soundest answer. Whenever it leads to common research and open discussion, a big step forward will have been taken.

The wireless as an educational aid offers a unique opportunity for teachers and pupils to make an end of silent listening to the *Fuehrer's* speeches, announcements and news cooked up in the Propaganda Ministry, and to learn critical listening, in particular to lectures which induce further thought and discussion, but also to ordinary news. It is an important preparation for life in a democratic state to learn how to listen critically.

The author is convinced that in Germany a real peace economy can only be established through a socialist solution which would liquidate once for all Junkers, big industrialists, militarists and their social basis. Work with the profit motive (which, as bitter experience had shown before 1933, will only be performed if it shows a profit) will be differently regarded from work for the reconstruction of a socialist Germany, and will therefore have a different educational value. The old anti-capitalist longing, which was misused by the Nazis during the time of great unemployment only to fix the capitalist order still more firmly, has not been killed. To build out of this longing a political solidarity and to base on it democratic institutions is the great political task of the German people, for which all forces will have to be mobilised and which may lead to the healing and forgetting of war wounds.

The Weimar Republic did not have the best possible vocational

schools. But even the best schools would not have been able to make any impression on the youth of that time, because reality outside the school—in factory and family—was quite different from that envisaged in lessons in civics by a good democratic teacher. Vocational schools of the Nazi period have probably had a deeper influence partly because of full employment (not only promised but actually achieved by Hitler), but also because the DINTA methods most effectively hushed up capitalist reality.

Vocational schools of the post-war period will have a great chance of success with war and post-war youth if they can work within the framework of a political life which is becoming democratic; for instance, if they are endowed with local self-government through a council formed of teachers, parents, pupils and factory managers all collaborating; if free trade unions participate in vocational guidance and vocational training; and if, finally, vocational schools (the last rung in the ladder of compulsory education) become for an increasing percentage of their pupils the entrance to a broadly constructed democratic adult education.

In such an environment it will be possible to gain the collaboration of vocational school pupils in the building up of school life and to create thereby an excellent opportunity for practice in self-government in committees and sub-committees.

In particular, many organisations and measures of the DINTA, even during the Nazi period, might be taken over and further developed if they can only be permeated with the spirit of democratic reconstruction.

We enumerate briefly on what lines progress might be achieved:

- (1) Preparation in school for the choice of a vocation;
- (2) Vocational guidance for all young people;
- (3) Compulsory vocational school for one to three years—beginning a year later as soon as the school-leaving age has been raised from 14 to 15 years;
- (4) Extension of the system of training workshops in close conjunction with vocational schools:
  - (a) In connection with big firms but with the selection of pupils and appointment and remuneration of teachers by the public education authority;
  - (b) Training workshops instead of, or at least supplementing, the training in craftsmen's workshops;
- (5) Extension of vocational boarding schools with consecutive instruction of about six weeks per annum for pupils in rare professions and thinly populated areas;
- (6) Extension of agricultural vocational schools;
- (7) The close relating of vocational schools with practical work:
  - (a) School councils which should include people with practical experience;
  - (b) Training of pedagogically suitable foremen and technicians as vocational teachers;

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- (c) Inclusion of part-time and guest teachers (civil servants, local government officials, trade union and co-operative officials);
- (d) No full-time vocational teacher without several years of practical work;
- (8) Possibility of passing from vocational schools to technical schools and universities;
- (9) Training of vocational school teachers, for agricultural areas as well, at Vocational Pedagogical Institutes, linked with Universities, Technical and Agricultural High Schools.

Political and economic difficulties of the first post-war years will be so great that it will appear almost impossible to carry out vocational training to the present extent. But it must be broadened and improved! The author pleads for priority for all necessary measures, including the allocation of materials and labour for the building and printing involved. For here lies a great chance to prepare the mass of German youth, now influenced by the Nazis, shaken by the events of the war and defeat, both for their rightful work in peacetime economy and for their political situation in an increasingly democratic Germany.

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