

THE BRITISH AND UNIVERSITY REFORM POLICY IN GERMANY
1945-49

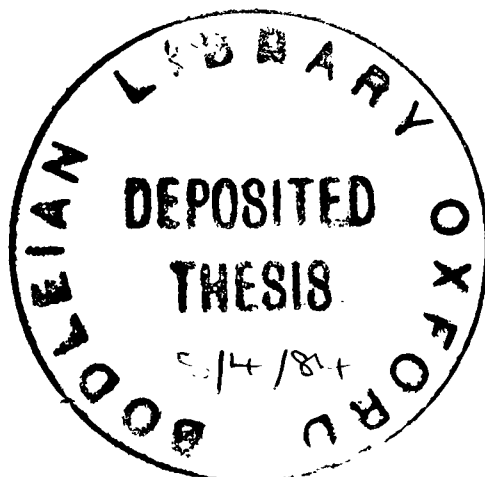
A Study with Particular Reference to the
Gutachten zur Hochschulreform
of 1948

by

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ABSTRACT

The British and University Reform Policy in Germany, 1945-49:
A Study with Particular Reference to the Gutachten zur Hochschulreform
of 1948.

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This study traces the development of British policy towards the universities and other Hochschulen in the British Zone of Germany during 1945-49. It starts by describing in outline the salient features of the German university against the background of the criticisms levelled against it by those in Britain who had been working on the problems of dealing with a defeated Germany. Chapter Two describes the war-time planning; the allied conferences and statements, the influence of Vansittart and Morgenthau, the role of Professor E. R. Dodds and the émigrés and others, and the military government handbooks and directives. There follows a description of the university institutions of the Zone and their students. Chapter Four addresses the question of British control and the universities, focussing on the military governors, chains of communication, Education Branch, the Educational Adviser, and, more particularly, the University Officers and their duties. It considers also the 'dereservation' of education, denazification, democratisation, and re-education.

Chapter Five describes the report of the AUT delegation to Germany of January 1947: this is analysed in full and seen in its relation to the setting-up of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform, the subject of the succeeding chapter. The work of the Studienausschuß is described, and the genesis of the Blaues Gutachten of 1948 is reconstructed and its findings are related to British policy. The part played by Lord Lindsay in the work of the Commission is considered in detail. Chapter Seven examines the impact of the Gutachten on the universities of Germany and a final chapter reaches conclusions about the nature of British policy towards higher education in the Zone.

The footnotes provide a guide to the unpublished material; the bibliography lists published sources, and a separate volume of appendices provides the essential documentation.

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Among those former members of Education Branch who have helped me throughout my research are the following, all of whom gave freely of their time, advice, and help: Geoffrey and Joan Bird, Valerie Dundas-Grant, Caroline Cunningham, Phil Carter, Ray and Barbara Perraudin, Muriel Lambert, Harry Beckhough, Peter Whitley, Edith Davies, Trevor Davies, Geoffrey and Veronica Carter, Tom Creighton, A.W.J. Edwards, James Mark, the late James Alldridge, and Berta Humphrey. The late Sir Robert Birley was characteristically generous in his support and encouragement. Professor Roy Pascal in Birmingham and Ruth Harvey in Oxford, both now dead, helped to clarify the detail of work in which they were involved. Many of these eye-witnesses lent me documents preserved among their personal papers.

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I am grateful too to Mrs Greta Ilott for her careful typing of this thesis, and to my family for their long patience.

NOTE ON THE TEXT AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Throughout I have preferred to keep quotations in the original language of the sources, even where (as is the case with Birley and Lindsay, for example) it might seem more natural to retranslate into English. This is not so much because, as the English version of the Gutachten zur Hochschulreform notes, 'a translation from German into English which is exact often sounds so stilted and unlike ordinary English that the reader is distracted' as because I have wished to be as faithful as possible to all original sources. Retranslations (in the absence of English originals) would be twice removed from the original texts or utterances.

I have also kept certain terminology in the original German. Words like Hochschule and Dozent, or Gymnasium and Abitur, or even Rektor and Kultusminister, have no unambiguous English equivalents. I have preferred to use the English versions of Nürnberg, Köln and München, but to use German forms for Brunswick and Hanover.

The essential documents are included in a separate volume of appendices. Abbreviations and acronyms inevitably abound. Apart from the very commonest they are listed below.

Abbreviations

AEK	(Historisches) Archiv des Erzbistums Köln
AStA	Allgemeiner Studentenausschuß
AUT	The Association of University Teachers
BDM	Bund Deutscher Mädel
BE	British Element (as in: Control Commission for Germany (BE))
BG	Blaues Gutachten
Bodl. Mss.	Manuscript Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
BZR	The British Zone Review

CC	Control Commission
CVCP	The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the United Kingdom
DJV	Deutsches Jungvolk
DNB	The Dictionary of National Biography
ECI	Education Control Instruction
EIGA	Education Instruction to German Authorities
FO	Foreign Office
GEG	Großeinkaufs-Gesellschaft Deutscher Konsumgenossenschaften
GER	German Educational Reconstruction
GUZ	Göttinger Universitäts-Zeitung
HJ	Hitler Jugend
IA & C	Internal Affairs and Communication Division (of the Control Commission)
ISS	International Student Service
IZEBF	Informationen zur Erziehungs- und Bildungshistorischen Forschung
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
NSDStB	Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMGUS	Office of Military Government (US)
ORC	Overseas Reconstruction Committee (of the Cabinet)
PRO	Public Record Office
RB	Regierungsbezirk
RWTH	Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule, Aachen
SBZ	Sowjetische Besatzungszone
SDStB	Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund
SED	Sozialistische ^{Einheits} ~~Einheits~~ partei Deutschlands
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces
TES	The Times Educational Supplement
TGWU	The Transport and General Workers Union
TH	Technische Hochschule
TU	Technische Universität (Berlin)
UECO	University Education Control Officer
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
WEA	Workers' Educational Association
WO	War Office
WRK	Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz
ZEI	Zonal Executive Instruction
ZER	Zonen-Erziehungsrat

Der Rektor Magnificus hat das Wort . . .



From left to right: Robert Birley, Rektor Professor Kroll, Lord Pakenham, Mrs. Berta Hochberger (interpreter), and Brigadier Barracclough, in the Senate room of the University of Cologne, February 1948.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years interest in the period between the end of the war and the emergence of the Federal Republic has increased considerably. A prime reason for this has been the gradual release of official documents of the time, now available in the Federal Republic and in the UK under the provisions of the thirty-year rule. The period in question is also now more susceptible to historical analysis from the objectivity lent by distant perspective. Another reason for the current interest, however, is the realisation that key figures of the period are now in their old age and that their evidence and recollections need to be secured before it is too late.

The historian attempting to describe the British involvement in and influence on education at all levels in the British Zone of Occupation in the post-war years is faced with the problem of reconciling several often contradictory sources. There is first the wealth of contemporary material: newspapers, journals, broadcasts, photographs and films, as well as contemporary books and pamphlets. Such material is often vivid and revealing, but much of it lacks the dimension of reasoned perspective: its factual content too is often unreliable - in the turmoil of the immediate post-war years facts were hard to come by - and it often has a polemical or even propagandistic flavour. Secondly, with the opening-up of archival material we have at our disposal vast quantities of what looks like authoritative official documentation which, if carefully collected and analysed might, as it were, recreate for us the situation prevailing in Germany at the time. Thirdly, we have the testimony of those who were actually working with Education Branch, many of whom have been prepared to talk or write about their experiences.

The main difficulty occurs when specific documentary evidence is quoted to those lebende Quellen whose work was directly associated with the subjects referred to in such documentation. This problem was much in evidence in the lengthy discussions during a conference on Allied policy on education in the four Zones held in Bielefeld in September 1979. At that conference it was often the case that seemingly authoritative statements, based on documentary sources, were refuted by former members of Education Branch attending. The question of the training of Education Branch officers was raised, for example, and a statement made to the effect that all such officers received prior training in the UK. Those former British officers of Education Branch insisted, however, that they had received no training at all, and what is more had been given no formal briefing. The cry 'Es steht doch in den Quellen!' produced only a shrug of the shoulders. One eye-witness complained that she could not recognise her work in what had subsequently been written about it on the basis of documentary evidence. Professor Johannes Erger of Aachen reminded the historians present in the British group - after a highly critical letter by an Officer of Education Branch on the restoration of power over educational matters to the German authorities had been taken at its face value - of the danger of reading tactical, strategic letters and documents as the truth. And beyond that, of course, there should be a degree of healthy scepticism about the minutes and agenda of meetings, the reports of discussions, and the accuracy of official and unofficial statistics.

An attempt has been made in this present study to draw on contemporary published sources, on documents now available in public and private archives in the Federal Republic and in England and on the evidence of surviving members of Education Branch and to arrive at a synthesis which, it is hoped, gets as near to the truth as possible. The techniques are not new. In the past six years or so we have witnessed

several conferences and symposia which have involved both researchers and those with direct personal experience of the period under discussion.¹

It is not the purpose of this study to write the history of the German universities in the immediate post-war years. That vast task is being undertaken at the University of Hannover in a research project directed by Professor Manfred Heinemann. Nor is it my purpose to write a comparative study of university reform in the four zones. Neither shall I be concerned to approach the subject of university reform from both the British and German angles throughout. The view from the British side will dominate, the aim being to describe and examine the development of a British policy towards the reform of the universities and other Hochschulen in the British Zone of Occupation alone. Within the limits of such an aim the study is not so much an historical analysis as an educational one, concentrating as it does on the concept of university education held by the British to be appropriate to their desire to see a free and democratic Germany emerge from the devastation left by Hitler's war.

The criticisms of the German universities which the British identified at the end of the war will be seen both in their historical (pre-war) context and in the context of the various measures adopted in the British Zone from 1945 onwards. The British aspiration to see the German universities restored to their former greatness but with a more responsible role, and one more appropriate to the needs of a revived post-war society, will be apparent throughout, and the means by which this restoration and transformation were to be achieved will be assessed in terms of their

1 Full details of these discussions and symposia are included in an introductory note to the Bibliography (pp. 384-91).

appropriateness and practicability in the turmoil of a Germany emerging from the ashes of the Third Reich. Policy, inasmuch as it can be properly identified - a question to be addressed in the final chapter is 'Was there a British policy?' - will be seen to be pragmatic rather than theoretical or idealistic, and those charged with its implementation will be seen to be encouraging the Germans to solve their problems themselves, rather than forcing change on reluctant academics. Therein lie both the strength and the weaknesses of the British approach. It was weak in so far as it encouraged - and now induces in retrospect² - criticism in terms of lack of direction, forcefulness and foresight; it was strong in that it represented a realistic policy, perhaps the only realistic policy, towards a defeated nation desperate to get back on its feet again. 'Could more have been achieved?' will be a question demanding an answer in the study's conclusions.

The main proposals for reform of the German university system, among which may be counted encouragement of a sense of social responsibility, more contact with the world outside, measures to counter the effects of over-specialisation, broadening of the social base of the student body, strengthening of the position of the Dozenten and a corresponding weakening of the powers of the professoriate, provision of block grants, reconsideration of the State's role in university affairs, development of relationships with other countries, furtherance of the social sciences, and involvement with adult education, will be seen to develop from views about the future of higher education in Germany developed during the war, through the initial period of reconstruction and the preparation of the major reports of 1947 and 1948, to the discussions and developments of 1949, the year of the birth of the Federal Republic.

2 Cf. Hellmut Becker's criticisms in his contribution to The British in Germany, ed. Arthur Hearnden (London 1978) to which reference will be made in a later chapter.

An understanding of how British policy developed depends on knowing the story of the German universities and the British part in their, literal and metaphorical, reconstruction. And so a substantial part of the study consists of narrative, a narrative throughout which prominent figures make their entrances and exits: on the British side the present Earl of Longford, Robert Birley, Lord Lindsay, Professor E.R. Dodds, Ernest Bevin, Sir Ernest Barker, Sir Walter Moberly, Professor Roy Pascal...; in Germany Adolf Grimme (the last Prussian Minister of Education), Karl Jaspers, Theodor Litt, Ludwig Raiser, Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Erich Rothacker, Helmut Schmidt, Karl Schiller, together with a host of others less well known in Britain. The story has not been told in detail before, and so the study's main originality lies in its piecing together of a mass of evidence from a wide variety of sources in order to describe the British involvement in German higher education after the war.

A further aspect of the study's originality is its record of the role of the British University Officers in Germany. The description of their contribution presented here is further augmented in German Universities after the Surrender and in the complete Transcript of the proceedings of the 1982 Oxford Symposium³ (compiled by Sarah Cox and David Phillips) to which reference is made throughout.

The overall pattern of the study is as follows:

Chapter One attempts to relate the post-war criticisms of the German universities to some aspects of their historical development and to the traditional view of their salient features. Within the limitations of a

³ The subject of the Symposium was 'British University Policy in Germany, 1945-49'.

study of this kind it is only possible to describe these features, and their historical background, in broad outline, the aim being to provide illustration rather than detail and to set the scene for what follows. The succeeding chapter then examines in outline the Allied planning during the war years for a future defeated Germany. The major political personalities, Churchill, Eden, Montgomery, Roosevelt, Stalin, make only fleeting appearances, since the planning for education was left to others. However, the role of E. R. Dodds is examined in detail, since he was to prove to be a key figure in policy making as far as the universities were concerned. Chapter Three describes the general situation prevailing in the six universities and in the other Hochschulen of the British Zone. Problems associated with the student body, particularly against the background of fears of resurgent nationalism, are considered at length. There follows a chapter which then analyses the nature of British control in Germany as it affected the universities. The roles of the Military Governors, of Education Branch and its Director and Officers, and of the Educational Adviser are described, chains of command are examined and the question of the 'dereservation' of education is discussed. A full analysis of the function of the University Control Officers is attempted, and the development of contacts with other countries is described.

With Chapter Five we approach the nub of the problem of university reform policy. The AUT Report of 1947 is examined in close detail and hitherto unpublished details of its genesis are described. It is analysed in its relationship to the decision by Robert Birley to set up the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform of 1948. The Report of that Commission, the so-called Blaues Gutachten, is treated in full detail in Chapter Six, and the Commission's work is described with reference to the hitherto unexploited and unpublished archive in the Library of the

Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz. The Report's immediate reception is the subject of Chapter Seven, in which an attempt is made to describe some immediate efforts at implementation of the Commission's recommendations. The final Chapter addresses itself to the question 'Was there a British policy?' and draws on the evidence of the preceding sections to reach some conclusions about the British contribution to the German universities in this crucial period of their development.

The detailed Bibliography and the full documentation contained in the Appendices (collected together in Volume II) complete the study and, together with the footnotes, provide, it is hoped, an original resource on which others may draw in future studies of the period in question and the modern history of the universities of Germany.

CHAPTER ONE

The German University

The French university has no liberty
and the English universities have no
science; the German universities have both.¹

In June 1944 Professor E. R. Dodds put together a twelve-page report on the German universities as part of his work in the Foreign Office Research Department. From this report, and from some of his earlier writings, it is possible to identify the main criticisms which were being levelled against the universities of Germany at the end of the war. The criticisms stem not so much from the results of the National Socialist perversion of higher education as from what Dodds calls the 'inherited system'.² The areas of concern may be listed as follows:

1. State control of the universities, largely through finance and the making of ~~professional~~ ^{PROFESSORIAL} appointments, resulted in too much potential interference in their autonomy.
2. Despite the fact that the universities had grown rapidly since their post-Napoleonic reconstruction they had remained socially elitist, the working classes being severely under-represented.
3. In their development since the creation of the German Empire the universities had become politicised. The Weimar governments had failed to reform them along democratic lines and to counter the nationalist and anti-democratic stance rife among both staff and students.

¹ Matthew Arnold: Schools and Universities on the Continent, London, 1868, p. 232.

² E.R. Dodds: 'The German Universities', typescript dated 2.6.44 (Dodds Papers). Reproduced in full as Appendix I.

4. The Ordinarius enjoyed wide-reaching powers which could too easily be abused. In his Department he ruled as an autocrat.
5. There was an over-emphasis on research at the expense of teaching, and a corresponding contempt for what Dodds calls 'utilitarian' studies. The 'tardy' development of the social sciences is noted as a case in point.
6. There was a 'too frequent absence, in both professors and students, of a real sense of social responsibility'.
7. University studies were 'becoming increasingly specialised. Max Scheler's description of the university applied: it was 'a Fachschule with a bad conscience'.
8. The universities had tended to be isolated from the world outside their walls. Such voluntary isolation was now compounded by the fact that most contact with the academic world outside Germany had been cut off not only during the war but effectively since 1933: there had been 12-13 years of what was usually described as 'spiritual isolation'.
9. The unsalaried Dozenten could only be drawn from among those with private means; they remained subservient, if not servile, to their professors, as did, a fortiori, the Assistenten.
10. There was no corporate life in the universities which remotely approached the British model. 'Each university... resembled a loosely knit federation of petty princedoms. Such unity as it had depended less on structure than on a common philosophical and social outlook.'

This check-list of criticisms refers largely to the pre-war university. Of course the effects of National Socialist rule would have to be undone. But that 'reform' would not be enough. 'On from Weimar' - which became a catchphrase of the post-war years - would have to mean progress from the pre-1933 position, and not simply a return to the old institutional form and attitudes.

It is worth considering briefly, and largely by illustration, how the German university, formerly revered for its greatness, had developed to a position where it could be subject to the kinds of criticism listed above.

The nineteenth-century fascination of the British for the German universities and for all aspects of German learning is well documented. From the time of the great flowering of German literature, and from the Blütezeit of German philosophy dominated by Hegel and Kant, Germany remained the goal of the British academic seeking enlightenment beyond the shores of his own island: the tour of Germany became in effect for the British academic the nineteenth-century equivalent of the Grand Tour.

Thus, at the beginning of the century we may picture Henry Crabb Robinson, who spent no less than five years in Germany (between 1800 and 1805), enrolling at the University of Jena, listening, along with one hundred and thirty 'enthusiastic young men' to a lecture by Schelling and smiling 'at the patience of so large an assembly, listening, because it is the fashion, to a detail which not one in twenty comprehends, and which only fills the head with dry formularies and rhapsodical phraseology'.³ But reviewing his studies before he left Germany in 1805 he could say:

³ Henry Crabb Robinson: Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, ed. Thomas Sadler, London and New York 1872, Vol. I, p.69.

It was my good fortune to come to Jena while the ancient spirit was still alive and active, and I saw the last not altogether insignificant remains of a knot of public teachers who have seldom been surpassed in any university.⁴

Thus Benjamin Jowett, in mid-century, toured Germany twice in the company of Stanley (Jowett, too, made a point of calling on Schelling) and found a congress of philologists in Dresden more impressive than the sights of Trier and Nuremberg.⁵

Thus Haldane, later Lord Chancellor, in 1874 (aged 18) took off for Göttingen to study philosophy and theology: he talks of the 'great teaching' he received and concludes:

There was real reverence for the personalities of the great teachers who abounded, and who drew disciples from distant parts of Germany. It was felt that in the University, if anywhere, progress might be looked for in solving the problems of existence.⁶

And thus towards the end of the century H.A.L. Fisher, later President of the Board of Education and Warden of New College, Oxford, likewise studied at Göttingen; in his autobiography he sums up the reasons that drew him and so many others there:

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the German universities enjoyed a wide reputation for freedom, courage and learning. To sit at the feet of some great German Professor, absorbing his publications, listening to his lectures, working in his seminary, was regarded as a valuable, perhaps as a necessary passport to the highest form of academic career. Every year young graduates from our universities would repair to Berlin and Heidelberg, to Göttingen and Bonn, to Jena and Tübingen. The names of the German giants, of Ranke and Mommsen, of Wilamowitz and Lotze,

4 Henry Crabb Robinson, op. cit., p.115.

5 Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell: The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, London 1879, Vol. I, p.90.

6 Richard Burdon Haldane: An Autobiography, New York 1929, p.20.

were sounded again and again by their admiring disciples in British lecture-rooms. We learned that the great figures of the Augustan period of German literature had been followed by two generations of perhaps even more remarkable men, who had given new hope to every branch of human knowledge.⁷

As a young Oxford don, William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury, travelled in 1905 to the University of Jena (R. H. Tawney joined him there) and also attended lectures in Berlin: 'what in Oxford is one sentence is here a long flowery paragraph' he reports,⁸ but he enjoyed his time at Jena (where he worked with the theologian Wendt), declaring it to be 'delightful'.

For each of these scholars and men of letters we could quote numerous others throughout the last century who made the pilgrimage to Germany to sit at the feet of German professors and to complete their education. For each Englishman who took this course we could find Americans in plenty, since the crossing of the Atlantic was no bar to their enthusiasm for the German universities.⁹

What was it that attracted so many students and established academics to Germany? They went, of course, to learn German, but many of them found it an impossibly difficult language - twelve years of study would be needed to understand a German lecture, reported one New Hampshire cleric.¹⁰ They went, more particularly, to experience at first hand the advances in Wissenschaft which the great German academics had achieved. Just as German students migrated from university to university

7 H.A.L. Fisher: An Unfinished Autobiography, London 1940, p.79.

8 F.A. Iremonger: William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Letters, London 1948, p. 70.

9 See in this connection Carl Diehl: Americans and German Scholarship, New Haven and London 1978.

10 Ibid., p. 129.

in order to study under great men, so too did the foreigners flock to hear the lectures of the giants of nineteenth-century German scholarship, from Fichte, Schelling and Hegel at the beginning of the century to Ranke, Mommsen, Lotze and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff at the end. But they went too because the German universities provided the very model of a modern university. They were attracted by the dual principle of Lehr- und Lernfreiheit, freedom to teach and to study, and they were intrigued by the German insistence on the interdependence of teaching and research. Matthew Arnold's reports on the schools and universities of Germany are well known: they did much to encourage an enthusiasm for the German model, and he encapsulates in his descriptions the particular strengths that Germany was felt to exemplify: Lehr- und Lernfreiheit and the systematic pursuit of 'science' (Wissenschaft). 'Our university system' he says,

is a routine... but it is our want of science, not our want of liberty, which makes it a routine. It is in science that we have most need to borrow from the German universities.¹¹

Soon, of course, with the growth of the academic profession in Britain, the universities of which Arnold was so critical caught up with their German counterparts. But Arnold could not have dreamt that eighty years later his compatriots would be decrying the perversion of science that twelve years of Nazi rule had caused in those very universities and that they would be reporting on German higher education in terms of what could be learnt from the British model.

After the Second World War, when the Allies were faced with the prospect of total responsibility for Germany following the unconditional surrender, control over education became an important issue for the occupying powers. Though the subject could not compete for importance with the wider issues of international politics, particularly the

11 Matthew Arnold, op. cit., p.252.

relationship between the Soviet Union and the West, the fate of the German universities, the institutions which would produce the future leaders of the country, was a topic which received a lot of attention from the officers of the Control Commission - indeed, it was one area where both direct and indirect attempts were made to effect change.

The most striking impression gained from study of the German university is the strong sense of philosophical tradition which prevails in discussions about its past, present, and future state. This tradition has its roots in the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt's broad conception of Bildung, his view that the training of the intellect led to moral training and a resultant sense of social responsibility, had been forming over a long period and he was a scholar of amazing breadth. As the (reluctant) Head of the Prussian Section for Education and Religious Affairs he entered into his tasks with the total enthusiasm he was accustomed to devote to his scholarly work. Humboldt and Fichte were both opposed to a utilitarian view of the university's function; the result of a combination of neo-humanist and utilitarian reforms was to make the universities, as McClelland puts it,¹² 'stronger, financially better off and organisationally more modern' and to raise the prestige of university study. 'In social terms,' McClelland concludes, 'the reforms of the Napoleonic era ended by augmenting the appeal of the universities to a social elite and firmly fixing a university education as one of the most important acquirable badges of membership of that elite.'

¹² Charles E. McClelland: State, society and university in Germany 1700-1914, Cambridge 1980, p. 122.

Humboldt had had his problems, particularly with professors:

'Their jealousy, their envy, their desire to run things, their prejudice,' he wrote, were beyond belief,¹³ but in his brief period of office he managed to achieve enough for his name to be used adjectivally to imply the ethos attaching to German models of both grammar school and university. To his vision the nineteenth-century university owed the binding principle of Forschung and Lehre, the acceptance of the dual function of a professor in the fields of teaching and research (both dedicated to the furtherance of Wissenschaft) and the guiding force of Lehr- und Lernfreiheit.

With the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810 the German university had undergone a renaissance which led to its becoming the admiration of Europe and caused, as we have seen, so many scholars from Britain and America to make their pilgrimage there. There is no doubt that Germany led the world in research and that university studies could be pursued within a liberal and enlightened atmosphere lacking elsewhere. But the fundamental importance of the university's philosophy (its Idee), and the high degree of freedom, served paradoxically to weaken it as an institution.

Teaching and research as a basic principle can, and did in the case of the German university, result in the primacy of research, teaching depending upon it and becoming subsidiary to it. The Professor had to be a leading figure in his field, his teaching would be informed by his latest discoveries at the frontiers of knowledge about his particular subject - but there was no assumption that the teaching had to be relevant to students' needs, or indeed that it should amount to what in Britain

¹³ Paul R. Sweet: Wilhelm von Humboldt. A Biography, Columbus 1980, Vol. 2 (1808-1835) p.60. Professor Sweet's biography is a masterly work of scholarship of immense value to all concerned with the history of ideas in Germany.

would be a university course. This particular freedom led to the unbridled development of the specialist, the Fachidiot, narrow and pedantic and weltfremd in his outlook.¹⁴ The Professor's protected status as a servant of the State made him unassailable and gave him wide powers. Max Müller, who once fought a duel with another student over disrespectful remarks made about one of his professors, writes in his autobiography about his time at the University of Leipzig (1841-4) and describes the awe in which professors were held:

People have no idea in England what kind of worship is paid by German students to their professors. To find fault with them or to doubt their ipse dixit never entered our minds. What they said of other classical scholars from whom they differed... was gospel, and remained engraved on our memory for a long time.¹⁵

By the time of the Empire the German professoriate, seeing itself as a keystone in the intricate jigsaw of relations between education and the State, was playing a considerable role in the shaping of public opinion.¹⁶

14 One nineteenth-century commentator remarked: 'The lecture of a German professor has been summarised as "a heaping up of facts and ideas, a deluge of quotations, and an avalanche of bibliographic notes".! (Henry Vizetelly: Berlin under the New Empire, London 1879, Vol. II p.90). The Germans too were able to caricature the image of the professor - cf. a cartoon in Fliegende Blätter, CVI/2703 (1897) entitled Semper idem: 'Professor der neueren Sprachen: '... Aber Sie werden doch Lenau's Gedichte gelesen haben, Herr Kollega? Professor der Mathematik: Du lieber Gott - Kaum eine Seite! ... Was ist denn, erlauben Sie, mit diesen Gedichten eigentlich bewiesen?'

15 F. Max Müller: My Autobiography - A Fragment, New York 1901, pp. 127-8.

16 Professors had played an increasing role in public affairs since the first half of the century and their influence was considerable. The Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848, the 'Parliament of Professors', had 585 members, of whom 550 were academics, among them 200 university professors and judges.

By the First World War, in the mass of literature about Germany published in England, the German professor had become identified with the worst features of the nation. The German universities, though it could still be said of them that 'the average German takes a deep breath before discussing the Hochschulen, in order to accord such a sacred subject the honour which is due to it', are described as 'high-schools of Kultur and brutality',¹⁷ the German professor is 'a most conspicuous war figure... a category by himself' and his utterances are 'dogmatic, intolerant, spiritually shortsighted'.¹⁸ The claims of German scholarship began to be called into question, as a lively correspondence in The Times in the last days of 1914 demonstrated. 'It is astonishing,' wrote one Oxford don,

that British scholars and politicians should still be found speaking of "our intellectual debt to Germany".... But theories made in Germany have so long been accepted at the valuation of their authors both in this country and in America, where the younger generation has sat obediently at the feet of Teutonic professors, that it has become difficult to see them in their true light. It is worth while, therefore, examining what Germany has really done for culture and scientific progress.¹⁹

The Germans are the 'intellectual "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for Western Europe'; the German academic can

laboriously count syllables and words and pile up volumes of indices, he can appropriate other men's discoveries in the interests of "culture", but beyond this... we get from him only theories which take no regard of facts, though as coming from Germany we are told that they must be regarded as infallible.

17 Thomas F. A. Smith: The Soul of Germany, London 1916, p.37.

18 Michael A. Morrison: Sidelights on Germany, London 1918, p. 32.

19 A. H. Sayce, The Times, 22 December 1914. Sayce was Professor of Assyriology. Lord Haldane had often spoken of the indebtedness owed to German scholarship. In the First World War he was ruthlessly pilloried for being 'pro-German'; his public statements on the subject are said to have cost him his political career.

Subsequent letters attempted to redress the balance, but the original writer's main contention was generally accepted.

The specialisation of the professors, for all that it often resulted in important works of scholarship, inevitably had its effects on the universities as institutions, and criticisms of their degenerating into a conglomeration of specialist schools began to be levelled. This trend was further encouraged by the rapid growth in the second half of the century of the prestigious Technische Hochschulen,²⁰ which did much to stimulate Germany's rise as a leading industrial nation.

The State relationship served both to preserve and protect the university's much cherished principles of Forschung und Lehre and Lehr- und Lernfreiheit, and to place unwritten limitations on such freedom. The Kurator, a State official appointed to oversee the State's interest in each university, had a permanent status which placed him at an advantage over the Rektor, who was usually elected for one year only. The Kurator symbolised the State's presence, and it is unsurprising that the universities at times of national stress should toe the line. The 1914 Professors' Manifesto²¹ was seen as final proof of the universities' corruptibility. The venom of commentators makes it quite clear:

20 The Technische Hochschulen had enrolled between one and two thousand students in the 1850s; in 1871-2 the figure was nearer 5,000. By 1899-1900 it had reached 13,500; by 1903 nearly 17,000.

21 Of the 93 signatories to the intellectuals' manifesto of 10 October 1914, 61 were professors. One of them, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, remained unrepentant, despite the fact that he had objected (too late) to the final wording. Because he had signed the manifesto he was expelled from the 'Paris Academy': he then seized the opportunity as Rektor in Berlin of adding to the Latin of the diplomas on which his name appeared 'plerarumque in hoc orbe academiarum socius, e Parisina honoris causa ejectus'. Du Bois Reymond once called the professoriate the intellectual bodyguard of the Hohenzollern.

From that moment, the German Universities were doomed to ignominious acquiescence, throughout the war, in each successive violation of all the rules of international law by the German Government, as they followed hard on one another. They became the camp-followers of the German army, prostituting their intellects in its service by justifying each violation, as it occurred, with one sophistry after another.²²

(At the end of the Second World War the universities were likewise to be equally condemned for their - largely silent - acquiescence in the brutalities of the Third Reich.)

In the years following the Treaty of Versailles the professoriate was again vociferous in its condemnation of the peace and its contempt for the Republic. Weimar failed, as it did in so many areas, to produce new directions for the universities to take, despite the fact that reform was very widely discussed.

The leading educationist of Weimar, the Prussian Minister C.H. Becker, (who, in different capacities, led the Ministry from 1919 to 1930) made bold attempts to start university reform. His Gedanken zur Hochschulreform²³ is a classic statement of the problems. Becker identified the main evil as an over-emphasis on the purely intellectual, resulting in arid specialisation; he regretted the separate development of the Technische Hochschulen; he recognised the need for chairs in sociology; he was in favour of the students having a voice in the affairs of their universities; he saw the universities themselves as Klasseninstitutionen, protecting themselves from any 'influx from below'. The need for reform was variously recognised:

22 J. H. Morgan: Assize of Arms, London 1945, Vol. I, pp.228-9. On the subject of the professoriate and the First World War see Klaus Schwabe: Wissenschaft und Kriegsmoral, Göttingen 1969.

23 C. H. Becker: Gedanken zur Hochschulreform, Leipzig 1919.

Das Bedürfnis nach Reformen unseres akademischen Lebens wird ziemlich allgemein anerkannt, am wenigsten noch von den Professoren, stärker von den Studenten, am stärksten gewiß vom akademischen Nachwuchs, den Privatdozenten, und den vielen Geistigen außerhalb des eigenen Rahmens der Hochschulen.²⁴

But the main problem was the over-emphasis on research. Becker deplored the inadequacy felt by and ascribed to those who saw themselves principally as teachers ('"Hochschulpädagogik" - welchen deutschen Professor überläuft es nicht kalt bei diesem Wort?') and saw the interaction of 'Lehre und Forschung, Staat und Genossenschaft' as the starting point of all reform. And yet he still believed that the universities were basically healthy institutions.

Even the liberal-minded and non-political Becker saw a certain need to maintain the State's authority:

der liberale Professor C.H. Becker [hat] als Minister die Autonomie der Hochschulen gerade dadurch garantiert gesehen, daß der Staat sich in der Lage sah, die Gefahr des Cliqueswesens an der Hochschule zu durchbrechen. Sein Wort "ohne Oktroi gäbe es nur Roethe-Schüler auf den germanistischen Lehrstühlen" trifft die Gefahr einer überautonomisierten Hochschule noch bis zum heutigen Tag.²⁵

Becker himself eventually fell foul of the Berlin students who marched down Unter den Linden in 1929 chanting 'Deutschland erwache, Becker verrecke!'²⁶ or 'Metternich ist wieder da!'²⁷

Following the First World War the mood had been right for reform; it might have been expected that measures would be taken to counter the

24 C.H. Becker, op. cit., p. 17.

25 Hellmut Becker: Auf dem Weg zur lernenden Gesellschaft, Stuttgart 1980, pp.35-36. Roethe ([Karl Ludwig] Gustav Roethe, 1859-1926) was a leading Nationalist professor with a chair in Berlin who combined his scholarship as a Germanist with anniversary paeans to the Kaiser and the authorship of works like Wir Deutschen und der Krieg (Deutsche Reden in schwerer Zeit, Heft 1, Berlin 1914).

26 Hellmut Becker, op. cit., p.40.

27 E.Y. Hartshorne: The German Universities and National Socialism,

high degree of specialisation, to broaden the social base of the student body, and to democratise the universities to the extent at least of giving the Dozenten - and possibly the students - more say in the running of university affairs. In his 1944 paper Dodds reports on the positive mood towards easier access to the university, towards adult education, on the need for more emphasis to be placed on the social sciences, and on 'an academic policy which would stress education for citizenship rather than the training of researchers'.

But there was strong resistance to such ideas from the conservative professoriate and from conservative officials in the Education ministries. A few reforms were imperfectly instituted; the reformers were alienated while the conservatives were not conciliated. Anti-democratic elements in the universities not only flourished but were openly encouraged.

The student body - not discouraged by the professoriate - became increasingly nationalistic and militaristic in the inter-war years: by May 1933 they were gleefully burning books in front of the University of Berlin; two-and-a-half years later their old associations were dissolved (on the anniversary of the original 1817 Wartburg festival) in favour of the National Socialist German Student Union.²⁸ Earlier in 1935 the Nazis had applied the Führerprinzip to the administration of the universities, and the way was clear for the Gleichschaltung which was to follow. According to the 'Guiding Principles for the Simplification of University Administration' of 3 April 1935 the Rektor became the Führer of the university, subordinate only to the Minister of Education; the student body would consist only of registered students of German descent and mother-tongue, irrespective of nationality.²⁹

28 See Martin Stephen Steinberg: Sabers and Brown Shirts: The German Students' Path to National Socialism, 1918-1935, Chicago and London 1977.

29 See Hartshorne, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

Rational forces within the universities had suffered a progressive defeat: the culmination was perhaps Heidegger's speech on taking over the Rektorat of Freiburg University in May 1933. When a leading philosopher could prostitute the cherished principle of Forschung und Lehre to the extent that he did in his speech -

Die deutsche Universität gilt als die hohe Schule, die aus Wissenschaft und durch Wissenschaft die Führer und Hüter des Schicksals des deutschen Volkes in die Erziehung und Zucht nimmt.³⁰

- there was little hope left that lesser minds would stand firmer.

Resistance - the Weißer Rose excepted - hardly existed. An innere Emigration was the best that the majority of non-Nazi professors who remained could manage; others had been dismissed or had fled.

What Hartshorne³¹ describes as the three rights of the university in which its autonomy existed (the award of the Habilitation, which led to the venia legendi, or Lehrbefugnis, the right to teach; Promotion, the right to award the doctorate; and the right to make proposals for appointments) were systematically undermined by State controls. Puppet institutions and puppet professors emerged and tottered on through the war until the universities finally closed after the Winter Semester of 1943/4.

In 1943, in a report on the present state of German science and the universities, a former Rektor of Freiburg University lamented the current situation. He looked forward to a time when the German professor would regain his prestige:

30 Heidegger's speech has recently been reprinted together with his 1945 commentary on it: Martin Heidegger: Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität. Das Rektorat 1933/34, Frankfurt 1983.

31 Hartshorne, op. cit., p.49.

Die Stellung eines deutschen Hochschullehrers muß sowohl ideell wie materiell so ausgestattet sein, daß die besten Kräfte des Volkes kein schöneres und idealeres Berufsziel und keine höhere Ehre erstreben, als einen Ruf an eine deutsche Hochschule zu erhalten.³²

In the post-war reform discussions many professors looked back not so much to the Weimar years but to the period before 1918, when the professoriate had the respect and standing which this particular writer wished to see reinstated. There is no doubt that by 1943 very little remained of the nineteenth-century ideal of the university. There is little doubt, too, that after the shock of Nazi rule that ideal became a powerful force in Germany in discussions about the future development of the universities. As a model, however, it had a tragic flaw best encapsulated in the sub-title of a recent monograph on the German university, it was 'A Heroic Ideal in Conflict with the Modern World'.³³ That conflict resulted from some of the problems in its development touched on above; the main criticism was that the universities had not kept pace with society, that they were elitist, ivory-tower institutions, lorded over by a professoriate whose power and influence were counter-productive to any progress on democratic lines. The post-war criticisms

32 Professor D. W. Süss: 'Die gegenwärtige Lage der deutschen Wissenschaft und der deutschen Hochschulen', mimeographed type-script dated 26.8.43, Universitätsbibliothek Bonn, Nachlaß Rothacker IV.

33 Daniel Fallon: The German University, Colorado 1980.

were not new (Michael Sadler, among others, had identified them forty years earlier)³⁴ but with the collapse of the university after the destruction of the Third Reich they were criticisms, as we shall see, that were to be pursued directly and indirectly throughout the period of occupation.³⁵

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- 34 Cf. comments of Michael Sadler in 1906: 'Many Germans... desire to secure more freedom of individual study in the higher classes of their secondary schools. They are conscious of the darker side of State examinations on academic study and on the intellectual development of less usual types of mind. They regret the separation of the technical high schools [sc: Technische Hochschulen] from the universities. They feel the need for more scholarships, to enable poor men to go through the university course and to enter a liberal profession. They would like to see something like a tutorial system organised at the universities as a supplement to professional teaching. They would welcome the establishment of halls of residence at the universities as an alternative to isolated lodgings. And they realise the tendency of a highly organised system of state-aided secondary and higher education to overcrowd the professions.' Preface to Paulsen's The German Universities and University Study, London 1906, p. xii.
- 35 I have drawn in this Chapter on my own published writings in Comparative Education (17/3, 1981) and the International Journal of Educational Development (3/1, 1984). It remains an illustrative rather than detailed account of the development of the university up to the surrender and concentrates on aspects with a bearing on the reform discussions of 1945-49. The following works provide the detailed background: Friedrich Paulsen's two-volume Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts (3rd edition, Berlin, 1919 and 1921) and his The German Universities and University Study (London 1906); W. Lexis: Die deutschen Universitäten (2 vols., Berlin 1893); Konrad H. Jarausch: Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany (Princeton 1982); Fritz K. Ringer's The Decline of the German Mandarins (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) and the same author's Education and Society in Modern Europe (Bloomington and London 1979); Nationalsozialismus und die deutsche Universität (Universitätstage 1966, Berlin 1966); Die deutsche Universität im Dritten Reich (Munich 1966); Manfred Heinemann (ed.): Erziehung und Schulung im Dritten Reich, Vol. II: Hochschule, Erwachsenenbildung (Stuttgart 1980); and R.H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas: Education and Society in Modern Germany (London 1949).

CHAPTER TWO

War-time planning for a post-war Germany

A British observer asks a German how long it will take to rebuild his country. Answer: 42 years. Why precisely 42? 'Well, I suppose you intend to stay here for 40 years, and it will take at least two to reconstruct everything after you've gone'.

In the event, of course, the two-fold pessimism of this joke of the time was unfounded: not only did the Occupation not last nearly as long as the Germans had feared, but the impositions, in the western zones at least, were such as to build on the strengths of the traditions of pre-Nazi Germany rather than to force alien change on unreceptive systems. Estimates of the period of occupation that it was felt would be necessary varied considerably. Twenty years was often mentioned. Dr A. J. Ryder, a historian of modern Germany who served with Education Branch, remembers this particular time span being spoken about in 1945. Michael Balfour, another historian of Germany who served with the Control Commission, recalls 10 years being frequently mentioned; Sir Duncan Wilson (with the Control Commission from 1945 and from 1947 to 1949 in Berlin) believed that by the end of 1945 or 1946 it was no longer felt that an occupation of 20 years would be possible - 5 to 10 years would be more realistic. Sir Hugh Greene, formerly Controller of Broadcasting in the British Zone, feels on the other hand that a period of 20 years' occupation would have seemed 'ridiculous'.¹ Few would have foreseen, however, that full control over education (along with other 'dereserved' subjects such as public safety and health) would be restored to the Land authorities by January 1947 and that the Federal Republic would be established just two years later.

¹ Discussion at the final plenary session of the London conference on 'The Political Re-education of Germany and her Allies after World War II', 6-8 April 1983.

Progress, in physical reconstruction at least, was in fact remarkably swift in the four years following the surrender, and much of the war-time planning and discussion inevitably appears in retrospect either to have exaggerated the problems facing the Allies (with respect, for example, to the hostility they would encounter, or the dangers of resurgent militarism) or to have underestimated them (inasmuch as it was assumed, for example, that there would still be a competent German government after hostilities ceased, or that major institutional reforms could be swiftly instituted). This chapter will attempt among other things to assess the various moods prevailing from time to time in the war-time planning for Germany as reflected in the Allied Conferences and in such manifestations as the isms of Morgenthau and Vansittart; to consider the work of émigré groups, of individuals and of official and independent organisations concerned with the future of education in Germany, and to describe in detail the role of Professor E. R. Dodds in the war-time planning for the future of the German universities.

1. Allied Conferences and Statements

Even before the United States entered the war she had committed herself to the 'final destruction of Nazi tyranny' in the terms of the 'certain common principles' of her government and that of the United Kingdom formulated in the Atlantic Charter, the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration which was published on 14 August 1941. As a general statement of intent it was welcomed by the Soviet Union and the European Allies, and the 'Declaration by the United Nations' of 1 January 1942 gave the Charter the further support of more than a score

of governments: 'Never in any previous war has a wide alliance been committed during a war to so substantial and so widely agreed a programme'.²

The Charter was followed by a series of Allied conferences and agreements, all of which built on its fundamental principles. But the conferences and their respective statements were inevitably concerned primarily with larger issues of the peace, with territorial change and stability, with international co-operation during and after the war, and with disarmament. In the memoirs of Churchill and Eden no detailed mention is to be found of plans for the practical measures to be adopted during a period of occupation. Indeed, even in January 1945 Eden could record that Germany was 'a subject on which [Churchill] was still unwilling to take decisions'.³ After victory Churchill's practical thoughts on the occupation still inevitably centred on military matters. But a minute to the Secretary of State for War written at the end of April 1945 asking among other things for an estimate of manpower requirements and a statement of 'the broad basis you have taken and the system upon which it is proposed to act' does contain something approaching a policy statement.⁴ Churchill himself had 'not yet given a final decision on any of these points while the war was going on', but the minute ends with a statement of British policy in its broadest terms:

2 W. Arnold-Forster: Charters of the Peace, London 1944, p.14.

3 Anthony Eden: The Reckoning, London 1965, p.505.

4 Winston S. Churchill: The Second World War, Vol. VI, Triumph and Tragedy, London 1954, pp. 644-5. The minute is dated 30 April 1945.

Of course we must make the Germans govern themselves and face their own future, instead of lying down and being fondled by us and the United States.

Roosevelt would refer to the 'Four Freedoms' when summarising the peace programme:

Disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the Four Freedoms - freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.⁵

And such general principles would be reiterated on future occasions.

The Anglo-American Casablanca War Council of January 1943 established the principle of unconditional surrender which was to be endorsed by the Moscow Declarations of the Four Powers in November of that year. The Teheran Conference which followed discussed the establishment of a peace-keeping international organisation for the post-war world. The Yalta Conference of February 1945 finalised the arrangements for the zonal division of Germany (including provision for a French zone), the preparatory work having been undertaken by the European Advisory Committee set up in London in 1943.⁶

But it is the Potsdam Conference of July 1945 that produced the final blueprint for the occupation. In the Protocol of the Conference is to be found a statement of the four-fold purpose of the occupation:

- (i) The complete disarmament and demilitarisation of Germany and the elimination of all German industry that could be used for military production [...]

5 W. Arnold-Forster, op. cit., p. 11. This statement was made on 23 February 1942.

6 Full details of all the war-time conferences are contained in: John W. Wheeler-Bennett and Anthony Nicholls: The Semblance of Peace - The Political Settlement after the Second World War, London, 1972.

- (ii) To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves, since their own ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistance have destroyed German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable.
- (iii) To destroy the National Socialist Party and its affiliated and supervised organisations, to dissolve all Nazi institutions, to ensure that they are not revived in any form, and to prevent all Nazi and militarist activity or propaganda.
- (iv) To prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis and for eventual peaceful co-operation in international life by Germany.⁷

And this same section of the Protocol contains the first statement to be found in the official declarations emanating from the Allied conferences which relates specifically to education:

German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.⁸

The significance of this statement within the framework of the Protocol was very important. It gave the question of education in occupied Germany a status equal to that of the judicial system (the only other comparable subject to be given a full paragraph to itself in Section II on 'Political Principles'); it sanctioned control and complete measures to eliminate Nazi influence; and it established the principle of development along democratic lines (though, of course, 'democratic' lines may be interpreted in a wide variety of ways). As

⁷ Protocol of the Proceedings of the Berlin Conference, Berlin, 2 August 1945, Cmd. 7087 (HMSO), II A 3 (p.4).

⁸ Ibid., II A 7 (p.5).

the first proper official Allied statement on the subject it may appear weak, but often the broader scope of general guiding principles provides a spur to initiative on the part of those charged with implementing policy that more detailed directives might stifle. Certainly Section II 7 of the Protocol was frequently quoted in the immediate post-war period. One University Officer remembers it as the nearest to a brief that he was given.⁹ Edith Davies, who served with Education Branch from 1945 to 1955 and stayed on in Germany in other capacities until 1969, could still quote the text at the Oxford symposium of 1982 as the statement of British educational policy in Germany.¹⁰

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2. Vansittart and Morgenthau

Alongside the discussions at the highest level the debate about the future of Germany continued on various planes. Günter Pakschies¹¹ has fully documented the lively debate on what to do with Germany that continued throughout the war years in the polemical literature of all persuasions and under the aegis of the main political parties and groups like the Fabian Society, the Trades Unions and the Communist and Independent Labour Parties. Much of this literature¹² was produced as a reaction to the publication in 1941 of Sir Robert Vansittart's Black Record.

9 Harry Beckhough, University Officer in Cologne.

10 See the Transcript of the Symposium proceedings (compiled by Sarah Cox and David Phillips, Oxford 1982), p.157.

11 Umerziehung in der Britischen Zone 1945-1949, Weinheim/Basel 1979.

12 Among the books in question may be mentioned T.H. Minshall's What to do with Germany (London 1941) and Future Germany (London 1943); Julius Braunthal's Need Germany Survive? (London 1943); Louis Nizer's What to do with Germany (London 1944) and the various writings of Wickham Steed.

Sir Robert Vansittart¹³ had been Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1930 to 1938. He was a brilliant civil servant of remarkable - and, for his political masters, discomfiting - prescience. His constant warnings about the German menace had passed largely unheeded and caused so much embarrassment that he was 'kicked upstairs' in 1938 to the sinecure post of Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the Foreign Secretary, which position he held until 1941.

Black Record, originally a series of seven radio broadcasts, is a powerful invective, written in a racy and popular style. It sets out to describe Germany's conduct towards her neighbours, but the intellectual force of Vansittart's argument is prejudiced throughout by his sensational oversimplification and by his unstintingly ironical comments. One fairly random quotation will give an impression of the style:

I read in a German newspaper a week ago: 'The English should know by now that we never joke.' Yes, we know. For a German even to see, let alone make, a joke it must be about as long as it is broad. Hitler, the ex-Kaiser, Bismarck, away back into the dank record, you will find nothing but a procession of mirthless braggarts ruling over dreary robots.¹⁴

This is little more than caricature, but it had the popular appeal which found a natural audience in war time, and the pamphlet quickly sold half-a-million copies. So strong was Vansittart's attack on Germany that it was even suggested that he was really a German sympathiser whose fierce polemics were designed to inspire a pro-German reaction!¹⁵

¹³ He was elevated to the peerage in 1941.

¹⁴ Black Record, London 1941, p.27.

¹⁵ DNB.

Certainly Black Record caused others to write more balanced accounts of the issues, among them Harold Laski and Victor Gollancz.¹⁶ Vansittart felt that 'Vansittartism' was little more than common sense, and he vigorously denied all charges of racialism. 'Vansittartism says that [German militarism] must be brought to an end and by force. The end must be final but it need not be barbarous'.¹⁷

On education Vansittart talks of '150 years of mis-education' in Germany:

... Vansittartism says that the German nation has got to be disarmed and re-educated; and every honest and reasonably well-informed man knows perfectly well that the Germans will do neither of their own accord, or without supervision. We have trusted them once - most unwisely. To do so again would be a crime against humanity. But there is no inhumanity in re-education.¹⁸

Black Record had spoken of the need for Germany to undergo 'a deep, spiritual regeneration':

she will have to undergo the most thorough spiritual cure in history; and part of that cure will have to be self-administered. It will have to comprise a complete change of heart, mind and soul; of taste and temperament and habit; a new set of morals and values, a new, a brand-new way of looking at life.¹⁹

The 'change of soul' would take 'at least a generation',²⁰ and such a change would have to be fundamental, 'no mere administrative or

16 H.J. Laski: The Germans - Are they Human? - A Reply to Sir Robert Vansittart, London (The Left Book Club) 1941; Victor Gollancz: Shall Our Children Live or Die? - A Reply to Lord Vansittart on the German Problem, London 1942.

17 Lord Vansittart: Lessons of My Life, London n.d., p.32.

18 Ibid., pp. 31-2.

19 Black Record, p.15.

20 Ibid., p.55 (Vansittart's emphasis).

technical tinkering can be permanent'. Vansittart offers practical solutions in the more reasoned arguments contained in his later writings. Bones of Contention, for example, includes a chapter on 'Reform and Precaution' which advocates the post-World War I notion of 'los von Berlin', a policy of decentralisation which would place the administration of most public departments in the hands of municipalities, counties and provinces: 'the guiding principle should be that responsibility should rest as far as possible with the local government':²¹

The Allied occupation should encourage all German aspirations or attempts at self-government [...]
It will not be the business of the Allies to impose any form of government at anyone's behest, but to see fair and free play for all legitimate and innocuous tendencies.²²

This is close to what eventually emerged as official British policy, and there is in Vansittart's description a hint of the compassion that guided much of the local implementation of that policy. But Vansittart closes Bones of Contention with his habitual warnings:

Do not forget. Remember what I have written [...]
Forget - and forgive - when there is a different
Germany, not before. And that will not be soon.²³

Vansittart clearly made a forceful impact on public opinion during the war, though after victory and unconditional surrender (which was the outcome he wanted - his main fear was of a compromise result) there was no role left for him. His style and influence may be traced, however, in the policy of non-fraternisation and also, for example, in the Allied

21 London, n.d., p.65.

22 Ibid., p.67.

23 Ibid., p.142. From the Epilogue to Bones of Contention, actually the Preface to the French edition of Lessons of My Life.

propaganda films made for the occupying forces.²⁴

Vansittart says that it took him three years to succeed in getting Black Record published in the United States. The reluctance of American publishers to take it on may be due in part to America's late entry into the war; Vansittart's harshness of approach, however, found its American counterpart in the ideas of Henry Morgenthau, President Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury, whose name, like Vansittart's, became associated with another war-time ism.

Morgenthau is remembered principally for his proposals for the pastoralisation of Germany after defeat. Anthony Eden dismisses his simplistic Plan with the contemptuous remark:

Large areas of the Ruhr and the Saar were to be stripped of their manufacturing industries and turned into agricultural lands. It was as if one were to take the Black Country and turn it into Devonshire.²⁵

But Roosevelt was attracted to Morgenthau's Plan, and it found favour for a while with Churchill too.

Following the Teheran Conference of November 1943 Roosevelt had aligned himself more with the ruthless attitude of Stalin towards Germany than with Churchill's more balanced approach. Stalin wanted Germany de-industrialised, whatever the consequences, and of course the dismantling of German industrial plant was to become a reality during the course of the occupation.

24 Particularly an American film like Frank Capra's Your Job in Germany, which actively encouraged non-fraternisation and condemned the German people as a whole for the war and its atrocities. It was widely shown to German audiences, prefaced by the screening of film shot in the concentration camps.

25 The Reckoning, p.476.

Morgenthau was a close friend of Roosevelt, and in August 1944 he revealed to the President the contents of a SHAEF handbook which he had acquired.²⁶ Roosevelt declared himself against what he felt was going to be a too lenient approach to Germany:

It gives the impression that Germany is to be restored just as much as the Netherlands or Belgium, and the people of Germany brought back as quickly as possible to their pre-war state.

Scope was thus created for Morgenthau to develop his Plan, which was to be discussed at the second Quebec Conference in September. Churchill's reaction was initially hostile, but he was won over (mainly for fear of prejudicing the provision of American aid for the post-war period) and gave his support to the Plan. It was Eden's unequivocal opposition that finally carried the day, however. Roosevelt too succumbed to pressure from his advisers and dropped the Plan in October. Thereafter, however, its existence became publicly known, and its spirit lived on in the guiding policy directive of the American Occupation, JCS 1067.

James Tent describes Morgenthau's views on re-education as 'rudimentary' (they involved, for example, a plan to swamp German schools with former officers of the Allied armies²⁷); the importance attached to such plans for a 'Carthaginian' peace at a relatively late stage of

26 Cf. Wheeler-Bennett and Nicholls, op. cit. and James F. Tent: Mission on the Rhine, Chicago 1982, pp.16-17.

27 Cf. Karl-Ernst Bungenstab: Umerziehung zur Demokratie? Re-education-Politik im Bildungswesen der US-Zone 1945-49, Düsseldorf 1970, p.27. For the plan in detail see Henry Morgenthau: Germany Is our Problem, New York 1945. Morgenthau envisaged (p.2) that institutions of higher education would not be reopened for a considerable time. He did not hold out hope for the success of reform initiatives: 'For many years to come [Germany's] schools and colleges will be nothing but a disappointment to believers in freedom. Such believers will be strongly tempted to attempt a revolution in German education. They can try, but they should not be too upset if they achieve little progress' (p.154). He adds, however, that 'so far as education is concerned, the Germans will have to do most of that themselves'.

war-time planning was, however, of some concern to those hoping for an approach to Germany that would be based on the principle of reconstruction rather than destruction. JCS 1067,²⁸ adopted in June 1945 as the Americans' official policy, was generally punitive in tone, but less so in the sphere of education, where it required the closure of all educational institutions, the development of a programme 'designed completely to eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines and to encourage the development of democratic ideas' (wording echoed in the Potsdam Agreement), the purging of Nazi personnel, and the interim establishment of training programmes.²⁹

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3. Professor E. R. Dodds and the German Universities

An interesting and important case study of British planning for the future of higher education in Germany is provided by the war-time career of the Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford. Professor E. R. Dodds was approached in 1940 by Arnold Toynbee and asked if he would be willing to help in a Research Department, based in Oxford and organised by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which was involved in post-war international planning.³⁰ Dodds agreed to work on German education and quickly produced both a Macmillan War Pamphlet³¹ on the subject and a long document on German universities,

28 Dated April 1945.

29 The parts of the text relating to education are given in Bungenstab, op. cit., p.180.

30 E. R. Dodds: Missing Persons: An Autobiography, Oxford 1977, pp. 140-41. The activities were centred on Balliol College, which had been partly taken over by the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

31 E. R. Dodds: Minds in the Making (Macmillan War Pamphlets No.14), London 1941.

'Memorandum on the German Universities in Relation to German Politics'.³² Later Toynbee's 'Department', the 'Foreign Research and Press Service', was taken over by the Foreign Office and moved to London where it became the Foreign Office Research Department; Dodds was to continue his work there in the German section which was under the charge of Professor T. H. Marshall.

Dodds, an outstanding Greek scholar of Irish Protestant birth, a pacifist, something of a rebel in his early days (he was expelled from Campbell College, Belfast, for 'gross, studied and sustained insolence to the headmaster') and well to the left politically, was a worthy successor in the Regius Chair to Gilbert Murray (whose nominee he was). Like Murray he combined scholarship with an energetic desire to serve in public life. He played a leading role in the work of the Association of University Teachers, becoming its President in 1946-47 and leading the Association's Delegation to Germany in January 1947.³³ He was known to a large circle of influential figures in public life, both politicians and intellectuals, and was in constant demand to serve on committees, accept office in various international organisations and lend his name to causes espousing the development of international understanding and democracy. His papers contain the notes and drafts of numerous talks and lectures on German education, and he must have been one of the most knowledgeable British scholars of the German educational scene. His Memorandum of 1940 certainly contains ideas which were to find echoes in other documents published much later in the war.

32 Copies survive in the Dodds Papers (in the present writer's possession); the Memorandum was never published.

33 For a full account of the Delegation and its work see Chapter Five and David Phillips: Universitätsreform in der britischen Besatzungszone 1945-1948 (Series: Studien und Dokumentationen zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte (No. 24), Cologne, 1983.)

Dodds begins the final part of the Memorandum (Part IV: 'The Universities in the future German State') by quoting 'Werdie Jugend hat, hat die Zukunft' and pointing out that this was a maxim ignored by the Allies after the First World War and by the parties of Weimar Germany but not by the Nazis, whose perversion of the whole education system he had outlined in great detail in the previous 54 pages of the document. Dodds moves quickly to the problem of re-education:

What the future of German education will be in the event of a British victory is much less obvious. But two things are clear: (a) no German Government can be acceptable to this country which is content to leave unaltered the existing German educational system; (b) on the other hand, no reform can be effectively enforced except by a German Government and with the willing support of some substantial section of the German people. Without such support, a foreign government can destroy education, but it cannot re-educate. It can impose new textbooks and new curricula; but whatever guarantee of "political reliability" it demands from the teachers it cannot control the spirit of the teaching, still less the reactions of the taught.

Here, then, is a clear statement of the need for the Germans to re-educate themselves which was to become a basic principle of British policy. Dodds next addresses his mind to the question of where the support of the German people might be found. It would be no use looking to the Mittelstand or to the upper and professional classes, Dodds thought, since the former had been a pillar of strength to Hitler and the latter had been purged of all liberal elements: the ideal of those who remained would be

a return to the class university of the nineteenth century, with an intellectual outlook based on devotion to God, Country and pure Wissenschaft, a social life based on Korps, Kneipe and Mensur, and a guaranteed monopoly of the best jobs.

The answer lay with the industrial working class ('always the chief carrier of democratic and internationalist sentiment'); its support could be gained through the provision of secondary school places and

university scholarships: 'This would be an expensive form of political insurance, especially for a defeated nation; but it might pay the conquerors to make it financially possible.' This theme is reflected in Dodds's Macmillan pamphlet, Minds in the Making, where he talks of the Weimar failure to open up the secondary schools and universities to the children of the working class.³⁴ This is a not surprising view for Dodds, as a socialist, to take, and there is no disputing the imbalance in the proportion of students of working class and other origins. But there was something too idealistic about the view that the 'industrial working class' would be instrumental in effecting reform. Heinz Koeppler, then Assistant Director of the German Region of the Political Warfare Executive and later Warden of Wilton Park, found the whole of this section of the Memorandum 'very helpful and constructive', and he was in complete agreement with Dodds's views.³⁵ But Gilbert Murray cast doubt on the main thesis:

The only point where I felt a doubt is your conclusion that the German working class was more likely to be helpful to us than the cultivated middle class. Both collapsed before the Nazi onslaught, but who is it that he selects as his special enemies and drives into concentration camps? Surely, Jews, Liberals, intellectuals, etc.?³⁶

But Dodds's view was in line with the attitude adopted by the Labour Party in the early years of the war, that hope for a peaceful future lay firmly in a vision of the egalitarian society of a post-war

³⁴ Loc. cit. p.18. Dodds quotes 1931 figures to show that the working classes, representing over 50% of the population, took up only 7% of secondary school and only 6% of university places.

³⁵ Letter of 19.9.40 (Dodds Papers). The early date of this reaction indicates that Dodds had finished the work at a remarkably early stage in the war.

³⁶ Letter of 18.1.41 (Dodds Papers).

socialist Europe. Dodds clearly felt that an appeal to the ordinary working men and women of Germany would help pave the way for the educational reconstruction and reform implicit in such a vision. There is in the Dodds Papers an undated 6-page manuscript entitled 'What Chance will My Child have? A Talk to German Parents', evidently the script of a broadcast. Despite its propagandistic mode Dodds's sincerity clearly emerges throughout the text. He talks of the Frontkämpfer returning after the First World War to his home in Germany or France or England

determined to make an end of privilege in education; determined that there should no longer be one education for the rich and another for the poor; determined that the working man's clever son in the Volksschule should no longer be cut off by a Chinese Wall from the opportunity of reaching the Höhere Schule and the university.

And he reminds his audience that it was the Social Democrats who tried to meet their wishes. Most of the talk is taken up with statistical comparisons and with Germany's shortage of doctors, engineers, teachers and Dozenten: he quotes Krieck, the theorist of the National Socialist university, as saying that this was 'catastrophically serious' and Scheel, the Reichsstudentenführer, as estimating that the annual output of universities would soon be 15,000 short of the nation's requirements. No nation, Dodds says, can both educate its youth and engage in foreign conquest ('Bomben oder Bildung: that is the choice'). While educational opportunity in Germany is diminishing, it is increasing rapidly in Britain. Dodds concludes:

We are determined that after this war, both in our own country and wherever our influence extends, there shall be no more broken promises: education shall no longer be a matter of class privilege or money privilege or Party privilege, but shall be freely available to all who can profit by it. We know that many Germans secretly cherish that ideal today, and we believe that a time will come when you and we shall work side by side for its

accomplishment - building a world in which the ordinary man will feel happy and secure, and will know that his child's prospects are secure also.

Such proselytising could easily be dismissed as hollow propaganda, but the message is consistent with Dodds's lifelong educational convictions. It is clear throughout the final section of the Memorandum that Dodds regarded the broadening of the social base of university students as 'a point ... on which a future educational policy might be made to pivot', and he was to be proved right to the extent that it did become, in the climate of opinion following the 1944 Education Act in Britain, an important part of the post-war education policy in Germany.

Nazi nominees would have to be removed ('not as enemies of Great Britain but as enemies of the German people'), Party organisations and offices in the universities would have to be dissolved, the bogus sciences dismantled, and proper academic freedom restored. Again Dodds anticipates one of the major and controversial problems of staffing in the post-war years:

The purge of personnel should be based on the principle not of revenge but of security: fanatical Nazis could not be safely left in office, but the very numerous trimmers whose conversion to Nazism dates from 1933 might be given the opportunity of a second conversion where suitably qualified successors were not available.

Difficulties with émigrés were also anticipated:

Émigrés should in no circumstances be forced upon a reluctant Faculty, since that course of action would inevitably defeat its own ends. Many of the academic exiles would in fact have no wish to return; the remainder could be re-absorbed only gradually if at all.

Dodds could not divorce the problems of the future of universities in Germany from questions relating to the future of higher education

generally - questions such as the relationship of the university to the State and society and that between vocational and cultural education. Politics and education equally could not be divorced: the university would have to produce not only the necessary specialists in all fields but also 'citizens conscious of their social responsibility and capable of applying an independent intelligence to contemporary social and political problems'. An international dimension would be needed: Rhodes scholarships, the work of the Humboldt-Stiftung, the conferences of I.S.S., provided good examples. Student exchanges should happen on a large scale, mutual recognition of university courses and qualifications should be developed, visiting professorships should be instituted (over 1-5 years) and consideration should be given to the establishment of an international university. This would be sited on 'neutral' ground, and would be a postgraduate institution with only one faculty (economics, political theory, sociology, international law, etc.) and its diploma might be a prerequisite for those seeking civil service appointments in Germany, France and the UK. If such a university were to be established 'an important step would have been taken towards the realisation of the idea of a common Europe', its teachers would have 'a European and not a nationalist outlook'.

This last proposal reflects Dodds's internationalist perspective on educational issues, and it was one which would be taken up by others in the future. Louis Nizer, for example, described a similar proposal, in a book published four years later.³⁷ This idea and much of Dodds's

37 Louis Nizer: What To Do With Germany, London 1944, pp.137-9.

philosophy, must be seen against the background of a general interest among intellectuals of all persuasions in the internationalism which would eventually replace the emasculated League of Nations with a stronger United Nations Organisation.³⁸ Much of the literature of the war years (particularly the hundreds of pamphlets flooding forth from every kind of organisation) envisaged hope for the future in international co-operation of some sort. During the war the work of organisations such as the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (formerly the Academic Assistance Council), the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers, the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the London International Assembly - to mention but four - did much to promote the notion of intellectual co-operation and development in the post-war period and draw on the expertise of émigrés, for whose welfare they also catered.

Throughout the war years Dodds lectured to a variety of groups on the present state and future development of all aspects of German education. From his surviving lecture notes it is possible to gain an impression of the consistency and development of his views over the period 1941-5.

March 1941 saw him warning against complacency: totalitarian education was only specifically German inasmuch as it was thorough; Nazi education was an 'educational article of easy export. We had better be certain that the flaws in the system it replaced do not exist in our own system'. He quotes Adolf Löwe's view that Weimar collapsed

38 The name was invented by Roosevelt and used for the first time in 1942 - the need for its establishment was recognised in the Moscow Declaration of 1943 and the Organisation was actually established in 1945.

because it failed to solve the problem of mass education. Have we solved it? he asks.³⁹ In May of the same year he was issuing similar warnings in Oxford: totalitarian education was not a national eccentricity but an international menace.⁴⁰ In November he was speaking in Cambridge on 'The Future of Germany'⁴¹ and arguing that as far as a policy towards Germany was concerned it was a question of choosing the least dangerous of positive alternatives, 'of making the best of a bad job'. On the question of re-education he advocated a purge of all Nazi influence and the substituting of 'something positive'; this could only be done by the Germans, or with their co-operation. It was 'Utopian' to suppose, as Erika Mann had suggested, that 'Germany could be re-educated by corps of English and American teachers'. Whatever means were adopted a strong government would have to be ensured, and this might be found in the three 'centres of discontent', the army (about which he had doubts), the Catholics, and the working class.

An article on the subject of German universities under Nazism which appeared in The Times Educational Supplement later in the year clearly reflects Dodds's thinking.⁴² The university system would have to be radically reconstructed after the war, the author concludes. But more than denazification would be necessary: 'A simple return to the purely individualistic "non-political" university of the last century is no longer possible, even were it desirable'. The questions

39 'Lessons of Nazi Education', WEA, Princes Risborough, 12.3.41.

40 Talk to Martineau Club, Manchester College, Oxford, 14.5.41.

41 Conference address, Cambridge, 8.11.41.

42 'University Education in Nazi Germany', TES, 17.5.41. The article is unsigned; enquiries have revealed the author to be Miss B. Lloyd-Williams.

facing the universities after the war would revolve around their relationship with the State, 'the political and social conditioning of students', 'vocational versus cultural education' and equality of opportunity in education. For the sake of European security the failure of the Weimar Republic in these areas must not be repeated.

March 1942 saw Dodds addressing the Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship which was considering 'The Place of Education, Religion, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction'.⁴³ A year later this Commission was to produce the document Education and The United Nations (to which we shall return below) whose proposals for the future of German education were to be widely discussed. At the Joint Commission meeting Dodds warned against the cry 'Back to the liberal university!' which would come from many non-political academics: the liberal university was, he argued, out of touch with reality in 1914 and would be more so in 1944, nor was it liberal in the political sense. If the old universities were restored, if there were a new Versailles and a new Weimar, history would simply repeat itself. It would not be enough to remove the Nazis if the conditions that bred them remained. But it would not be possible simply to reconstruct the German universities on the English, French or American model: 'if we impose a foreign pattern we shall fail'. Education requires the consent of the educated.

Dodds admitted that he might be accused of sentimental generosity towards the enemy, but it was expediency and not sentiment that influenced him; he would accept any settlement, hard or soft, that

⁴³ Meeting of 18.3.42, chaired by Gilbert Murray. For this meeting we have the notes from which Dodds spoke and the minutes which record the discussion that followed.

ensured a lasting peace. ' "Exacting justice" and "showing generosity" are both emotional luxuries we can't afford.' Any debate on the future of Germany must be carried out on realist rather than sentimental lines and a realist will recognise two points. Firstly 'the Germans are what they are, which is not the same as what the English or French or Americans are, and there are several sorts of Germans making several sorts of demands. We must use those Germans whose demands are compatible with European security....'. Secondly - and this is a theme he had begun to develop in the Cambridge talk in November 1941 - there was the possibility (and 'increasing possibility' at that time) that the British and Americans would not have the deciding voice on the future of Germany as a whole or of the German universities. If Russia were to emerge undefeated some universities at least would become organs of communism: this was

not my own notion of what a University should be - but as a realist interested in security I should be thankful if the Prussian educational machine were producing dialectical materialists rather than Nazis or Corps students. Communists can at least be relied on (a) to carry out a thorough purge of personnel; (b) to destroy [the] class character of the Universities; (c) to integrate them in the social structure - three necessary policies which [the] Weimar Republic failed to carry through.

Gilbert Murraray returned to the point he had raised with Dodds in his response to the 1940 Memorandum, namely that the rise of the Nazi party was 'largely due to the destruction of a cultured middle class'; he also expressed faith in the liberal influence of the Catholics who might play a part in forming 'a new centre of authority' in Germany. The Commission agreed that any international educational authority which might be established after the war 'might well exercise more direct supervision of education in Germany than in other countries',

possibly, in the case of universities, appointing and paying the teaching staff.

There appears at this stage of Dodds's views on the future of the German universities to be a very uneasy relationship between his natural desire for any educational institution to be free and his wish to see the lessons of recent history heeded almost at any cost. Many would argue (and would have argued in 1942) that the communist university is only marginally better than the Nazi university inasmuch as it engages in the one-sided teaching that is the enemy of truth. Dodds's reasons for declaring himself to be (albeit reluctantly) in favour of this lesser of two evils are related to his wholly consistent views on the need to destroy the class-ridden nature of education: this is a theme which runs through his writings from the Memorandum to the 1947 AUT Report.

~~In March~~ ^{APRIL} 1942 Dodds was addressing a conference in Sutton.⁴⁴

His subject this time was 'Re-education' and many of his earlier arguments recurred: there were Germans who could be trusted with power; a drastic purge would be necessary, but it would have to be conducted by Germans (an international court for the trial of war criminals would be the 'height of political ineptitude'); after a transfer of power the 're-education of non-political following-leaders German sheep' could begin, but conducted by Germans ('you can't re-educate a nation by Act of Parliament. [You] need [the] active co-operation of teachers'). The future lay in 'internationalising education, anyhow in debatable subjects like modern history': there should be an international educational authority 'with power to veto textbooks and inspect and report on history teaching in all countries

⁴⁴ 'Germany and Re-Education', Conference address, Sutton, 24.4.42.

represented'; there should be a large-scale system of exchange between teachers and between students; and an international university should be founded.

In the eleven months leading up to August 1943 Dodds was out of England, spending most of his time in China. But he still found opportunity to lecture on German education. In February 1943 he was speaking on 'Education for Leadership in Greece, Germany and England';⁴⁵ in March he was addressing the North Central University⁴⁶ and blaming the collapse of the German university not so much on Hitler (who 'administered the deathblow') but on the remoteness of the German professor from his students and from life, the increasing internal disunity of the student body (who were without a sense of community) and the failure of the university to adapt to the practical needs of the twentieth century. He developed this last point in his concluding remarks:

Speaking quite generally it seems to me that after this war the central problem of Higher Education all over the world will be the problem of reconciling Academic Freedom with Public Service, and the cultural and economic interests of the individual with the needs of the community.

I believe that both sides of this antithesis represent essential demands of the human spirit; and that a one-sided solution, which asserts the one demand and rejects the other, is no solution at all.

In June he returned to the subject of re-education.⁴⁷ Again he warned of the dangers of simply returning to Weimar: 'Restore Weimar and you'll get another Hitler in another 20 years'; 'To go back to

⁴⁵ At the Central Political Institute, which he likened to a Nazi Ordensburg.

⁴⁶ 'Talk on German Universities', 13.4.43.

⁴⁷ 'Can Germany be Re-educated?' Talk to International Club, Kunming, 11.6.43.

Weimar would be political bankruptcy'. He attacked Vansittartism with ruthless vigour describing Vansittart's views as 'the racialism of Rosenberg and Goebbels turned inside out'. Germany needs to be 'rechristianised' in the sense of a return to 'decent moral standards'; consideration of security and not revenge should determine the measures to be adopted by the victors. There would have to be a period of martial law (Dodds mentions UN Plans for an army of occupation, a disarmament commission, a relief organisation, etc.), but peace could only be secured with a stable German government acceptable both to the German people and to the United Nations. It was nonsense to talk of an occupation of 30 years' duration; we must let any German revolution take its course, even if it meant communist or near-communist regimes in parts of Germany (whose possible splitting-up should be welcomed). 'Psychological' resources would have to start pari passu with military and economic measures. The Germans must be put in charge of the punishment of war criminals, Germans should be accepted as equals, they must be welcomed at once in non-political associations, and their 'energy and organising ability' must find a proper outlet. German education must be purged (of all office-holders under the Nazis, all racialists, all Party nominees, but not necessarily all Party members), restaffing would be difficult and émigrés should only be employed by consent of both parties. A permanent international control would only be practicable if applied also in other countries. International exchange was again mentioned, together with the idea of an international university. Dodds's internationalist view now found expression in terms that look beyond the confines of Europe:

In [the] long term internationalism can be made a reality only by building up a new elite, [a] solid body of able and determined men who realise that national patriotism is not enough and will give their

whole mind and will to the service not of any existing State but to the United States of the World which may one day come into existence.

Here again we can see that for Dodds, and for many people like him who combined activity in the world of international scholarship with a standing in public life, the parochial view was not enough. Dodds had seen enough of the horrors of twentieth-century history to be content only with a broader vision of the future: in taking such a view he would be laying himself open to the charge of idealism, particularly since the post-war situation in Germany was to create so many problems of a material nature, the solution of which needed not so much vision but immediate, practical application at a parochial level.

Dodds returned to the subject of re-education in a lecture given in September 1944.⁴⁸ At this stage he was pointing out that the views expressed were his own and not 'official' policy. 'Re-education', an ambiguous term which Dodds confessed he did not like, covered both the narrow sense of reconstruction and the wider sense of giving young Germans a new political outlook and orientation. This latter aspect was all important, or there would be a new war within 25 years. But there would have to be a 'real not sham' revolution in Germany, the UN would have to succeed in establishing a New Order in Europe and German 'brains, energy and enterprise' must be given a proper outlet. No nation with its own long cultural tradition can be re-educated by foreigners (who 'can destroy[the] existing educational system but... cannot re-educate'). Textbooks might be controlled, 'but not the spirit of teaching, still less the reactions of the taught'. A large

48 'Re-Education of German Youth', SHAEF School, Kilburn, 20.9.44.

proportion of the population (especially teachers) would be prepared to co-operate with the occupation forces, especially initially. Although the occupier cannot re-educate, at least the conditions can be created which would make it possible for the Germans to re-educate themselves; a priority must be to secure the co-operation of teachers of all kinds: I suggest this can be done, not by compulsion, and not by preaching about democracy, but by meeting their specific professional grievances, which means more to [the] average man than any political thesis.'

Dodds dealt with the question of a 'drastic purge' (he does not use the term 'denazification') at some length. This should be done quickly and thoroughly, even if it meant closing schools and universities temporarily, 'otherwise ex-Nazi officials may ingratiate themselves with harassed education officers and gradually come to be accepted as indispensable instruments of the occupation'. It should be done with local German advice ('from trustworthy men') and should begin at the top - the Rectors, Schulräte and others would have the power as well as the will to prevent real reconstruction. There would be a 'White List' of trustworthy Germans, but also 'Black' and 'Grey' lists. those on the 'Grey' list would have to state their case before tribunals and could be suspended in the meantime. Dodds felt that it would be years before schools and universities could be properly staffed: admissions would therefore have to be limited for some years, and there might be a temporary amalgamation of some neighbouring universities (he suggests Bonn and Cologne, Giessen and Marburg, Leipzig and Halle).

A new theme that emerges in this lecture is that of adult education. Books and lectures could be provided and contracts organised with adult education leaders in Britain and America. International

contacts between professors and exchanges among students and graduates should be encouraged (the latter through the 'International Education Authority').

Dodds finished again by setting the German problem in a wider context:

In education as in other fields, [the] problem of Germany merges in the wider problem of Europe: unless we can integrate Europe, and integrate Germany in Europe, no amount of purging and police work will afford a permanent guarantee of European peace.

Two months before the surrender Dodds was speaking in Eastbourne, again on the subject of the German universities.⁴⁹ After the usual historical survey he raised several problems: how to replace losses through purges and death in war ('hard to see how all universities can be kept open in first five years'); how to adjust the output of graduates to the demand; what relation should exist between the university, the Reich Ministry and the Land Ministry ('need not be settled at once: occupation authorities will presumably take over Ministry's task of approving appointments. But if any Universities are to keep running, finance will be needed'). There is a need to democratise the universities by encouraging 'real' equality of opportunity. This is bound up with the need to reorganise the secondary schools - if lack of staff or adequate finance restricts access to universities and secondary schools admission should be based on a competitive entrance examination, something Germany had never had.

There is here a continuation of some of the themes which emerged in the earlier lectures and talks, but with perhaps a more hardened view of the practicalities: could the universities be kept open?

⁴⁹ 'German Universities', address in Eastbourne, 21.2.45.

what were the actual problems of administration? how were restricted admissions to be arranged? There is at this late stage no more mention of a role for the United Nations (plans, of course, were by now well advanced and appointments had been made to the emerging Education Branch of the Control Commission).

Dodds himself had been chairing a working party charged with the job of gathering information about the needs of particular German universities and about the people available to work in them after the defeat of Germany. He interviewed many Germans who might contribute to the reconstruction of the universities and drew up lists of potentially helpful individuals (the 'black', 'grey' and 'white' lists to which he had referred in his SHAEF School lecture of September 1944), drawing on information from Englishmen with experience of Germany in the inter-war years, from 'neutrals' who had kept up their contacts with Germany, from the German press, and from refugees.⁵⁰

Dodds left the Foreign Office Research Department in March 1945. Speaking at an ISS conference in August, still before the universities had reopened, he described in some detail what the foundation of reconstruction in the German universities might entail.⁵¹ His lecture is of some significance, since it can serve as his final statement on the German universities after the end of the war but before the work of reconstruction actually began, and his views may be compared to those in the AUT Report of January 1947 (the subject of Chapter Five) by which time control over the universities had been restored to the German authorities.

50 Dodds: Missing Persons, p.144.

51 'Foundations of Reconstruction in the German Universities', lecture of 21.8.45 to the International Student Service Annual Summer Conference on 'Germany in Europe: A University Approach', University of Manchester, 22-27 August 1945.

He outlines developments in the universities during the war, giving facts about student numbers, and anticipating the problems that would arise if the large number of ex-students and intending students serving (compulsorily) in the services and in industry were to return to their studies - the universities would be 'fuller than they had ever been'. By VE Day there were 'practically' no university staff left under the age of 50.

Severe damage had been done to some universities, but others had escaped unharmed, the contents of most libraries and museums had been evacuated from target areas: effective university work could hardly restart until they were brought back and rehoused. The replacement of books would be very difficult: publishers' and booksellers' stocks had been destroyed and the publishing centres of Berlin and Leipzig severely hit. Trade in learned books would take years to get back on its feet.

The main problem in the professoriate was the age question: most professors had been in the service of their universities under Weimar, and many under the Kaiser. Most appointees since 1933 were in the army or the government service, and so it was unlikely that there would be convinced Nazis among the present university staff - but there would be many who had claimed to be 'secret' Nazis in 1933 who would now claim to have been 'secret' anti-Nazis. Detailed Anglo-American plans drawn up in 1944 for the filling of educational posts would ensure that most such staff would eventually be removed. Because of the professors' 'civil servant' attitudes it was unlikely that many active anti-Nazis would be found. Evidence on those who did take risks (by protesting against Nazi interference, by helping Jewish students and colleagues, by making their anti-Nazi attitudes clear in

their lectures) was carefully collected in London with a view to employing such people in responsible positions - there were already cases where this had been done in the British Zone. Evidence suggested that the majority of university teachers were either 'non-politicals' or 'passive anti-Nazis'; they would have to be kept on, but it should not be assumed that anti-Nazis were necessarily good democrats or good Europeans. Possibly the majority of the older professors, Dodds felt, were either German nationalists or 'right-wing Catholic Centrists': there was no reason to imagine that they would have any sympathy with democracy in education or in any other sphere. Dodds was firmly against entrusting the professors with any power, a real danger for the future could come from those likely to obstruct attempts to democratise German education.

Among the student body Dodds expected a general demand for the university to be freed from external control (by both Allied and German authorities). Such a demand would have to be handled very carefully, since it could spark off student nationalism. Control should be exercised indirectly with as little direct interference (in matters of purging libraries, reforming curricula, appointing émigré scholars, etc.): 'This view [is] at present accepted by [the] British authorities, who will not, I hope, be deflected from it by ill-informed criticism charging them with "inaction".' Students might be expected to turn towards communism, since there had also been a demand for the 'socialisation' of the university (abolition of fees, introduction of scholarships, selection of students without regard to parental income or social status). If such demands emerged Dodds felt that the British authorities should support them.

Before the universities could be reopened a lot of repair work would have to be undertaken, and provision should be made for student accommodation; the staff would have to be purged and a suitable administrative machinery established. All this could only be achieved through co-operation between the universities and the Control Commission. Dodds forestalled criticism of slowness of action by outlining the immense problems Germany was facing: at this stage he had been told that it was expected that 25% of the population would die within 12 months from the effects of hunger, disease or exposure. With such major problems in the foreground it was no small wonder that education was not receiving priority attention: within the sphere of education generally the highest priority in Dodds's view should be given to providing one free meal a day to children under 14.

Some professors could transfer from the East (Breslau was to become Polish, Königsberg Russian), some émigré professors might wish to return, but staffing problems would still be great, and Dodds was still anticipating that some universities would have to be amalgamated. Students 'continuing to make Nazi, racialist or militarist propaganda' would have to be expelled. Where places were restricted, admission should be by means of a competitive examination.

Dodds next posed a series of major questions on the position and function of the universities in a new Germany. (1) Should the universities be the responsibility of the Länder or of Central government? Should the professors and the Dozenten be civil servants? Should professors be appointed in the traditional way? Should the professors or the State appoint the Dozenten? How should university finances be controlled? Should disciplinary control of students be entirely in university hands? (2) Should elementary schoolteachers have a university education? (3) Should the universities be content to train researchers

or do they have a further duty to society (i.e. to provide trained professionals to meet social demands and citizens conscious of their moral responsibility towards Germany and Europe)? The first two groups of questions were ones that could only be settled by the Germans themselves in the long run, though the Control Commission would wish to retain some control of appointments and a veto on student political activities. The third group went 'to the root of the whole matter'. The Americans and Russians were likely to insist on the social responsibility of the university (including the training of 'morally responsible citizens'). Some of the older professors would reject the notion, but Dodds felt it would have support among the majority of students: 'I think we should accept it also, and see that it is carried through'; 'The University cannot be allowed to isolate itself from society'.

The university cannot continue to be 'a class institution' once it has accepted its social role. There must be equality of educational opportunity, and until there is the German university will be a 'direct menace to German democracy and indirect menace to European peace'. The lower middle class had shown the narrowest outlook on international matters, while the manual working class had shown the 'broadest and most co-operative'. Here Dodds was returning to the point he had made some years earlier in the Memorandum, with his socialist faith in the working man undiminished.

On international relations Dodds again reiterated the need to avoid isolating Germany (the lesson of the aftermath of the First World War is again mentioned): 'Official quarters in London realise this, and are anxious that it should not happen again.... When the situation begins to ease up I don't think obstacles will be put in

[the] way of renewing international contacts between professional groups, anyhow not by Whitehall or Washington.' 'International Student Service' (ISS) would have a role to play, though the moment was not yet ripe. Dodds supported the appeal for relief provision, but hoped that this would not be unilateral: further, no relief should be given which would diminish the amount of relief available 'to students of any of the United Nations' - this would not exclude the provision of token relief which, as a gesture, could do much good.

Dodds had begun this lecture with a plea for absolute confidentiality to be preserved (even citing the Official Secrets Act); and it is clear that, having only recently left the Foreign Office Research Department, he was privy to a lot of secret information. We may accept his analysis of the reconstruction task in the universities facing the Allies as an up-to-date reflection of British policy as it stood in the summer of 1945.

Dodds probably knew more about the German universities than anyone else in London during the war and the effects of his advice and influence must have been profound. His views demonstrate a remarkable consistency over a long period: at a very early stage of the war they showed great prescience, and many of the problems he identified at a time when an Allied victory was by no means certain were to become all too apparent after Germany's defeat. The issues closest to his heart (the international approach; the democratisation of the universities; the broadening of the social base of the student body) were to become a central feature of British policy and a Leitmotiv of the post-war reform discussions in which he himself played a part (as leader of the AUT delegation) and which others (notably Birley and Lord Lindsay via the Studienauschuß für Hochschulreform) took forward. He had played a

full part in the determination of policy in the best tradition of the academic's contribution to public life. But he spurned the chance to assume a closer link with the control of education in Germany. In November 1944, so he relates in his autobiography,⁵² he was approached by the Foreign Office to act as 'Adviser at Control level' for 'the educational side of Mil Gov'. He turned down the offer, partly for personal reasons, but partly because 'with such a team⁵³ the most that could be hoped for was a series of makeshift short-term answers to long-term questions'. As it happened, Education Branch was not to have an Adviser until Robert Birley's appointment in the spring of 1947.

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4. The Émigré Voice

In 1943 an Anglo-German organisation known as 'German Educational Reconstruction' (GER) was formally constituted.⁵⁴ It consisted of émigré German teachers intending one day to return to Germany and of British sympathisers, among them Mr S. H. Wood of the Board of Education, who had attempted in vain two years previously to gain help from the Government for such exiles.⁵⁵ That Wood and his group should have received no official encouragement from Government sources when their suggestion was floated is remarkable: help for those intending to return to Germany during a future period of reconstruction could

52 Missing Persons, p.163.

53 Dodds describes the Foreign Office as being 'dissatisfied with the quality of the personnel it had been able to recruit' in Education (ibid.)

54 The actual year of the group's founding is disputed: see Günter Pakschies: op. cit., p. 81.

55 Cf. Jane Anderson: '"GER": A Voluntary Anglo-German Contribution', in: The British in Germany, ed. Arthur Hearnden, London 1978.

have resulted in the immediate provision of a body of expert advice at an early stage in war-time planning, advice that was in any case to be sought out officially by Professor Dodds and others towards the end of the war. Proper contact between GER and the British Government was not established until the autumn of 1944.

S. H. Wood became the Chairman of the Board of GER; its first President was Eleanor Rathbone, its second Sir Ernest Barker. Karl Mannheim was a Board member, and the secretaries were Fritz Borinski and Werner Milch (they were later succeeded by Erich Hirsch). Minna Specht was closely involved in the group's work. From the year of its foundation until 1958, when it ceased to exist, GER remained active in the promotion of Anglo-German understanding in educational matters. During the war its task was 'Klärung, Vorbereitung, Sammlung, Kontakte';⁵⁶ when hostilities ceased it concentrated largely on material help and contacts, and from the summer of 1946 onwards (when GER invited Senator Landahl, Kultusminister of Hamburg, and Adolf Grimme, his counterpart in Niedersachsen, to England) a stream of visits⁵⁷ was arranged which did much to further the British policy of establishing international contact.

The main focus of GER's work during and after the war was on schools and youth. By the end of 1944 five study groups were at work, addressing themselves to adult education, the school system, nursery schools, the youth movement and youth employment, and youth welfare.

56 Cf. Jane Anderson: loc. cit.

57 These are described in Jane Anderson's paper prepared for the Bielefeld conference of 1979: 'German GER Guests' Impressions of British Education 1947-1950'.

Only later was a sixth group formed which would concern itself with university problems.⁵⁸ In 1944 a plan for educational reconstruction had been produced (which had become known in Germany before the end of the war), assuming that there would be a transition period between war and peace. The universities were not included in the six parts of the document, which remained the only plan as such that GER produced.⁵⁹

As a summation of GER's attitudes towards the future of the German universities we may take the discussion which surrounded a memorandum prepared towards the end of 1945. The paper in question provoked a lively response from those GER members to whom it was circulated. The memorandum, 'Die künftige deutsche Universität',⁶⁰ was prepared by Fritz Pringsheim, formerly Professor of Roman and Civil Law at the University of Freiburg. Its main points were as follows:

1. There should be no return to the pre-1933 situation.
2. There is a need to reconsider the nature of the university, in particular to return to the Humboldtian ideal of the university as a centre for research; university education should aim at the furtherance of that scientific (wissenschaftlich) objective thought which leads to education for democracy and tolerance. Associated with this kernel of activity there should be workers', Volkshochschule, and adult education courses.
3. The university should become the conscience of the nation again [sic]: 'Man sollte in Stunden der Krise auf sie blicken, und ihr Wort sollte wieder etwas gelten'.
4. It will be difficult to counter the university's isolation: specialisation is unavoidable, but barriers between faculties should be broken down. Philosophy, theology and sociology must become more prominent.
5. Social differences among the student body will no longer reflect the prejudices of society: 'es wird nur arme Studenten geben'. It will be more difficult to ensure that the professoriate is not drawn from a narrow social layer. 'Hochmut, übersteigertes Bewußtsein eigenen Wertes, Verachtung anderer Stände und Eitelkeit sollten mit allen Mitteln ferngehalten werden'.

58 Pakschies, op. cit., p.107.

59 Ibid., p. 93.

60 GER 1025/1-2 (GER Archive, University of London Institute of Education).

6. Important people outside the universities ('Dichter, große politische Menschen, vorbildliche Richter, weise Ärzte, Bankleiter von Rang und Industrie-Führer von tieferer Einsicht, große Geistliche und denkende Gewerkschaftsführer') should take part in the life of the university. Students should not only hold 'Gelehrte und Gebildete' to be their exemplars.
7. There should be no centralisation of planning: 'Freiheit ist das einzige gute und neue, das wir bieten können (soweit die Besatzungsbehörden es erlauben)'. Each university should be given the freedom to develop in its own way and granted as much responsibility as possible. Student participation should be encouraged 'an rein sachlichen Aufgaben'.
8. Student houses are indispensable; they should also accommodate young university teachers.
9. Assistants should help the professors with their teaching; research will have to take second place in the early stages of reconstruction. Student societies should be established to provide a link with other students, and faculties and with other countries. Discussion clubs should be formed.
10. The Numerus clausus is to be avoided if possible. An entrance examination could be instituted in order to limit numbers.
11. There should be compulsory attendance at general lectures, though not at particular lectures: students should choose those lectures which interest them. A Zwischenprüfung is indispensable; a Zwischenpraxis is desirable where possible.

Pringsheim's memorandum has little logical structure, it is (badly) typewritten, partly in telegraphic style, as though he were thinking on his feet. It gives the impression on the one hand of that fervent enthusiasm for the impracticable which characterises the idealist, and on the other of a curious inconsistency of thought. It is very odd to argue at one and the same time that there should be no return to the pre-1933 university and that the Humboldtian ideal, particularly in its insistence on the primacy of research, should be resurrected. This latter point was quickly taken up by an irritated respondent, Kurt Emmerich:⁶¹

61 GER 1028/1-2, 'Die künftige deutsche Universität - Versuch einer Antwort'.

Soll die Rückkehr zu dem Zustande von 1933 vermieden werden, so wäre vor allem die Einsicht nötig, daß der moralische Bankrott der deutschen Universität im Jahre 1933 seine Wurzeln schon in der Humboldtschen Reform hat, daß also, wenn nicht zu 1933 zurückgekehrt werden will, auch der unkritische Rückgriff auf Humboldt zu unterlassen ist.

Emmerich described⁶² Pringsheim's paper as 'ebenso töricht wie geschwätzig'. Contact with 'die Welt' was not per se a prerequisite for new direction:

Warum sollten der Bankleiter von Rang (also von Erfolg) und der bei allen Universitätsfesten schon vor 1933 unvermeidliche Industrieleiter dem Studenten mehr zu sagen haben als der geniale Clown oder der perfekte Jongleur?

There was therefore a sense in which even to talk of contact with the (outside) world implied a failure of the university. In Emmerich's view it was when the Umwelt became for the university the Welt that the trouble began:

Die deutsche Universität war in dem Augenblick bankrott, als ihr die Umwelt zur "Welt" geworden war. In dieser Sicht, in der die Nation plötzlich vom Katheder aus gesehen wird, zeigt sich an, daß die Universität sich als Kirche konstituiert hat. Sie ist als Widerkirche eine Vorläuferin der nationalsozialistischen Partei und ihr wesensverwandt. Die (falschen) Dogmen dieser Widerkirche sind:

- (a) Forschung ist um ihrer selbst willen da;
- (b) Wissenschaft ist voraussetzungsfrei;
- (c) Was zweckbestimmt ist, ist minderwertig.

Die Resultate dieser falschen Einstellung sind das Spezialistentum, die moralische und politische Verantwortungslosigkeit, der Opportunismus und der wissenschaftliche Individualismus. Die Universität entschlöße sich, eine Schule zu sein, dann wird sie eine Forschungsstätte werden.

Voraussetzungen dieser Universitätsreform sind: Neuordnung des Berufungswesens, Neuordnung des akademischen Gradwesens, entschlossene Ausrichtung auf den Beruf, Betonung des Lernens (und Lehrens!).

62 In a letter to Milch dated 17.12.45 (GER 1027).

Emmerich criticises Pringsheim for not putting forward the concrete proposals for a reconstruction of the universities that would mean more than a simple restoration of the old system. But he himself can suggest only that the Dozenten should teach rather than undertake research, that the Magister degree should be reintroduced, that through 'Zweckhaftigkeit und Disziplin' lectures should be geared towards preparation for careers, that learning should not be a matter of cramming (but at the same time there should be 'fewer hypotheses and more facts') and that students should be educated towards what he calls in English 'balance of mind and of judgement' and 'fairness'. Emmerich succeeds, then, in demolishing the foundation of Pringsheim's paper, but himself puts forward no concrete proposals which would ensure that his own aims could be realised.

Some points among further reactions to Pringsheim's paper are worth noting. One response insists on the need for attendance at certain general lectures to be compulsory and for the subjects covered to be examinable.⁶³ Richard K. Ullmann dismisses the paper because of its inner contradiction, warns against student houses which could encourage an old-school-tie mentality, brushes aside the too lofty notion of the university becoming the conscience of the nation and wonders whether there was any point in making and discussing such plans until more was known about the actual state of the German universities.⁶⁴ Ullmann's 'Erziehungsideal' for a new German university would be 'der Gedanke der "Mitarbeit", der gegenseitigen Hilfe, des Dienstes an der menschlichen Gemeinschaft in bescheidenster Weise'. Another

63 GER 1026/1-2.

64 GER 1030 (dated 17.12.45).

respondent, agreeing fully with Pringsheim, adds the suggestion of compulsory one-year 'Nicht-fachstudium', associated with practical work connected with students' career intentions.⁶⁵

GER was faced with official indifference during its war-time activities (its failure to gain recognition had discouraged Karl Mannheim from playing more than a nominal part in its work⁶⁶): given the impractical nature of Pringsheim's discussion paper it is not surprising that so little attention was paid to the group's ideas. What was needed was something approaching a blueprint for future action. We look for it in vain in Pringsheim's memorandum and the reactions to it from a group of émigrés whose collective wisdom and experience ought to have enabled them to provide it. We shall return to Pringsheim when considering reactions to the 1947 AUT Report on the Universities of the British Zone and in connection with the practical help GER was able to provide in the post-war years. By the last weeks of 1945, however, the verdict must be that GER was unable to produce practical ideas which could begin to match those of Professor Dodds. It was from 1946 onwards, when more information was becoming available about conditions and needs in Germany, that GER's role became more vital and realistic.

The émigré voice made itself heard too outside of organisations like GER. Professor Paul E. Kahle, for example, a distinguished scholar of Hebrew and Islam, Fellow of the British Academy, holder of an honorary D.Litt. from Oxford, wrote a report from his English base in July

⁶⁵ GER 1031 (dated 12.12.45).

⁶⁶ See The British in Germany, Appendix I, p.298.

1942 which was privately printed three years later. The report deals with life at the University of Bonn before and during the Nazi period, describing the contribution of three professors of the Catholic Centre Party (the Centrum), Lauscher, Tillmann and Konen (whom he singles out for particular praise) and the work of the three professors at Bonn who, he says, were Nazis when Hitler came to power: Naumann (the first Nazi Rektor, who sanctioned and spoke at the burning of books in the market place in Bonn on 10 May 1933), Rothacker (who, so Kahle alleges, had ambitions to become the Nazi Kultusminister) and the anti-Bolshevist Anthropoff. But aside from his desire to preserve such information for the record - and we must in any case treat it with great caution - Kahle looked to the future and devoted a section of his report to a consideration of ways in which the German universities might be reorganised after the war.⁶⁷

Reorganisation, he felt, would only be possible with foreign assistance but would rely too on German collaboration - such collaboration to be looked for among the many 'scholars of rank' who were non-Nazi and who were familiar with young scholars. These men would have to be treated as scholars and as equals and not simply asked to execute orders. The reorganisation would have to happen immediately - a boycott of German science of the kind established after the First World War would preclude the possibility of collaboration.

'Active and outspoken' Nazis would have to be dismissed: 'How far it might be possible to retain some of the real scholars who were for a certain time Nazis will be a question which will have to be carefully investigated. In any case they must be prevented from exercising

67 Paul E. Kahle: Bonn University in Pre-Nazi and Nazi Times (1923-1939). Experiences of a German Professor, July 1945 (privately printed). See Ch. 8, 'Problems of the Future', pp.35-38.

any influence on the students'. Kahle felt too that it would be inadvisable to select émigrés for responsible positions in the German universities - they had lost contact, and the anti-semitic feelings which caused many of them to be dismissed would only die out slowly.

On the question of administration Kahle believed that the dependence of the university on the Ministry could hardly be changed; the relationship relied, however, on having a 'wise and strong man' in charge of a university department. The Rektor must be a man in whom the university could again have confidence, and the Faculty must have similar confidence in the Dekan. Voting rights would have to ~~be~~ reintroduced and the office of Kurator should be restored.

The student body, he believed, would present the most difficult problem: educated in Nazi schools and organisations it was unused to liberty. The British model of debating societies 'might give them an idea of the importance and value of the democratic spirit, which they have not known before'. Interestingly, Kahle mentions a role for the suppressed Studentenverbindungen:

The reintroduction of these institutions would mean that the Alte-Herren-Verbände, whose members have known and experienced University life in better times might have some influence upon the students. This resumption of old tradition might prove helpful in bringing back the students to normal pre-Nazi life. There is no doubt that these institutions were by no means perfect, and several alterations would be necessary in any case, but with such modifications these institutions might be able to compensate the students for such attractions in the Nazi organisation as appealed to young people.

Kahle goes on to propose exchange schemes with other countries for both students and younger staff and concludes with his conviction that lists of 'scholars of rank, men of character, men, collaboration with whom I would expect to be successful' could be drawn up not only for Bonn but for most German universities.

Kahle's report is interesting in two respects: it represents the passionate feelings that the émigré professors had about setting the record straight (i.e. we must be sure who sanctioned the burning of books, who was ambitious for promotion in the Nazi hierarchy, who was one of the first to be suspended) and it shows too that despite the stated intention of the need for reorganisation any measures adopted would serve mainly to set aside changes made since 1933. What Kahle clearly wanted was a return to the days of greatness which for him had to be the Weimar years (he was born in 1875). Thus he sees nothing wrong in the dependence of the universities on the Ministry, in the role of Kurator, or, fundamentally at least, in the role of Alte Herren and the Verbindungen, all of which were in fact matters of great concern to the British during and after the war.⁶⁸

And - to take but one further example from many - that prolific popular historian Emil Ludwig, the object of a lengthy published attack from the Nazis (Der Fall Ludwig), went into print in 1943 to express the view that the control and reorganisation of schools and universities in Germany would be the most important task for the victorious Allies; he points to the Weimar experience as a warning that lack of supervision would mean a return to the 'old religion of national arrogance'.

68 This was a topic discussed during the Oxford Symposium of July 1982 (Cf. the Transcript of the symposium proceedings, pp.136-141): Valerie Dundas-Grant remembered being 'very much worried' about the revival of the Verbindungen, regarded as a hot-bed of militarism; Professor Erger felt that they had a lot of support in the German civil administration after the war, and Professor Jürgensen recalled that the corporations played a part in making the Third Reich possible.

The universities would have to be 'reorganised' (he does not say how) 'especially in view of the professors'. Of the professors 80% would have to be dismissed; Ludwig would clearly take a firm line on denazification:

There can be no excuse for a man who taught Nazi ideals; many of them did it long before Hitler. During the first years there will be thousands of German professors living on their pensions. But the millions spent for pensions are a mere trifle as compared to the harm these men could do if permitted to continue as teachers. They would claim to have been forced to teach the Nazi doctrines, and would promise to reform. Their record, however, is such that attention should be paid neither to their claims nor to their policies.⁶⁹

Such an unequivocal view precludes the kind of exemptions that Kahle had thought inevitable and that in the actual circumstances prevailing after the surrender had been made to ensure that some essential disciplines continued to function. There is a certain irony in the parallel with Nazi purges of academic staff. Rust, the Nazi Education Minister, is said to have asked the Göttingen mathematician Hilbert whether his institute had suffered after the dismissal or forced resignation and exile of its Jewish staff and to have received the reply: 'Suffered? No, it hasn't suffered, Herr Minister, it just doesn't exist any more.'⁷⁰ The paradox of course is that Ludwig's proposed approach would have had the same effect in many instances: not so important in mathematics, perhaps, but in medicine (gynaecology, for example) blanket dismissals would have been disastrous.

69 Emil Ludwig: How to treat the Germans, London, n.d. (finished in Santa Monica, California, in October 1943) pp. 68-9.

70 Quoted in: Richard Grunberger: A Social History of the Third Reich, Harmondsworth 1974, p.392.

Anthony Glees has shown how the German Social Democrats in exile in Britain during the war found it difficult to gain the support of, or even to be taken seriously by, the Foreign Office.⁷¹ By the end of 1945 the 'Union of German Socialist Organisations in Great Britain' had produced - after five years of co-operative work in exile - a programme based on their 'Beschlüsse und Kundgebungen' from March 1941 to April 1944.⁷² The Union aimed to speak for those German socialists silenced under Hitler and to plan for the resurrection of the workers' movement in Germany after the fall of National Socialism. The executive⁷³ of the Union, in drawing up their 'politische Kundgebungen und programmatische Richtlinien' were putting the final full stop to their work in exile. Their recommendations under the rubric 'Hochschule' read as follows:

1. Universitäten und Fachhochschulen sind gleichberechtigt. Sie sollen planmäßig zusammenarbeiten und sich ergänzen. Sie sind öffentliche Einrichtungen. Ihr Bestand ist aus öffentlichen Mitteln sicherzustellen.
2. Das Hochschulstudium steht grundsätzlich jedem offen, der nachweisbar die hinreichende Fähigkeit und Neigung besitzt. Die Zulassung zur Hochschule erfolgt im Einvernehmen mit der öffentlichen Berufsberatung, um die Überfüllung einzelner Berufe nach Möglichkeit zu vermeiden. Das Studium soll frühzeitig mit praktischer Arbeit verbunden sein, die das soziale Verantwortungsbewußtsein weckt und stärkt. Die Studentenschaft soll eine demokratische Vertretung erhalten, die Einrichtungen der studentischen Selbsthilfe schaffen soll und der sonstige die Studentenschaft angehende Aufgaben zur Selbstverwaltung überlassen werden sollen.

71 Anthony Glees: Exile Politics during the Second World War. The German Social Democrats in Britain, Oxford 1982.

72 Zur Politik deutscher Sozialisten, London, n.d. (1945).

73 The Chairman was Hans Vogel, who died before the document was produced. The remaining members of the executive included some prominent exiles: Willi Eichler, Hans Gottfurcht, Erich Ollenhauer, Wilhelm Sander, Erwin Schöttle and Gustav Sprewitz.

3. Die Berufung und Zulassung von Hochschullehrern erfolgt weitgehend auf Vorschlag der Hochschulen. Jedoch soll sichergestellt werden, daß sie, soweit zu ihren Aufgaben die Berufsausbildung von Studenten gehört, das hierfür notwendige pädagogische und soziale Verständnis haben. Die Hochschulen sollen sich selber verwalten. Die Dozenten sollen nicht auf dem Verwaltungsweg abberufen und versetzt werden können. Enge Zusammenarbeit mit Körperschaften und Organisationen des öffentlichen Lebens ist anzustreben. Die Gründung von sozialwissenschaftlichen Instituten, in denen unter Mitarbeit von Vertretern der Arbeiterbewegung die Erfahrungen und Probleme von Gewerkschaften, Genossenschaften u.a. behandelt werden, sollen gefördert werden.⁷⁴

These guidelines seem, in comparison to other statements in the period leading up to the Occupation, to be somewhat lacking in bite. There is no explicit statement in paragraph 2, for example, that university entrance should be made more accessible to working-class children, though that may be assumed under the principle that 'Fähigkeit und Neigung' are all that should count. Paragraph 2 also contains an invitation to introduce the numerus clausus so alien if not to the principle of academic freedom then at least to German tradition. Further, there is not even the obligatory attack on the entrenched position of the professoriate and the need for a regeneration of the academic staff.

There are, however, some points which were to find echoes in the reform debate of the post-war years: practical work experience, more responsibility for the student body, and a closer relationship between the universities and the institutions of public life, including the workers' movement and the trades unions. Indeed these points were to find particular expression in the 1948 recommendations of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform.

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⁷⁴ Op. cit. p.15.

5. Other Voices

As we have seen, a report produced in March 1943 by a joint committee representing two independent bodies, the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship, included recommendations about the future treatment of the universities at such time as hostilities would cease. This joint commission consisted of 56 members from a dozen countries as well as observers from the Board of Education, the British Council, and Chatham House. Its Chairman was Gilbert Murray, Professor E. R. Dodds's predecessor as Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford.

The Commission felt that re-education of the Germans could only take place in the right climate: 'the German people must first be re-educated and, in our view, they must re-educate themselves'; this would mean avoidance of any policies smacking of revenge:

We are... agreed that no fundamental re-education of the German people can be achieved if the peace imposed upon them is one of such vengeance that they would be placed in a position of permanent inferiority.⁷⁵

Proposals for the universities included the removal of those appointed to high office under National Socialism and particularly those professors of the bogus sciences (Rassenbiologie and the like), the maintenance of close scrutiny of university affairs (through a High Commissioner for Education), the broadening of admissions to make university education available to all social classes (possibly by means of scholarships), and the provision of opportunities for German students to study abroad ('on their return [they could] bring an important reinforcement to the democratic elements in Germany, especially important in the case of students entering the teaching profession'). Though the Commission conceded that some of the

⁷⁵ Education and the United Nations, p.25.

professorial body (whose 'extreme nationalism... was notorious') had obeyed without question the wishes of the Government which appointed them' (i.e. had submitted rather than positively agreed to the status quo,⁷⁶) they would nevertheless propose the removal of all who had actually supported the Nazis or racialist activities before 1933. At the same time Professor Kahle's view about the impracticability of relying on the return of émigré professors is echoed in the Commission's recommendation that great tact would be necessary in this particular area ('Probably they should in general not return except by definite invitation from their University or the competent German body. Many will not wish to return'). Also mentioned was the need to ensure an ample provision of books (especially those previously banned by the Nazis and new books written from the non-Nazi and non-militarist angles), though a 'purging' of existing books was not recommended.

In general, the Commission felt, the collapse of the Nazi regime would be followed by what they described as 'a period of great bewilderment, with widespread disillusionment and cynicism and many and, often, violent reactions against existing methods'. Such an alarming prediction justified the call for particular scrutiny of the universities. The Commission's document concludes by emphasising the fundamental importance of education in plans for the future of Germany:

76 This submission was in the eyes of many equally reprehensible. Among others Julian Huxley attacked it in 1941: of those scholars who had remained in Germany he wrote: 'acquiescence [has been substituted] for that independence of thought which is one of the essentials of creative scholarship. The imposition of political standards must compromise intellectual integrity' (Argument of Blood (Macmillan War Pamphlets No. 11), 1941, p.5). Robert Birley, confronted at a Senate Meeting in Göttingen by the question (posed by Nikolai Hartmann) 'You seem to think that the Professors at Göttingen were Nazis?' replied: 'The charge against the Professors at Göttingen is that they were quite ready to accept a regime, the whole policy of which they know to be based on academic nonsense'. (The British in Germany, p.55.)

The re-education of Germany is... one of the most fundamental of all the problems which will confront the United Nations and we hope that even now, during the war, there may be some in high office, Ministers of Education and others not directly absorbed in the permanent effort of fighting the war, who may be able to devote some thought to preparing for the very grave responsibility which will fall upon them.

In June 1943 a Chatham House study group produced a document on the German problem which, in discussing what would have to be done in education after the defeat of Germany, did not envisage the kind of situation which would emerge after unconditional surrender: thus the measures to be adopted assumed some continuing responsible German authorities and sought to capitalise on available strengths within Germany. In the universities, the document states

the task of restoring learning to its former high place in German life would need to be undertaken; the restrictions placed by the Nazis on the numbers of students admissible to universities overcome, and better facilities provided for those qualified on their merits to enter; above all, the anti-intellectualist trend imparted by the Nazis reversed.⁷⁷

The study group envisaged 'a great eagerness' among German intellectuals to make contact with other countries again and to catch up on matters obscured to them during the Nazi period: in this connection translations and new textbooks might be prepared in advance. But the group warned against expecting those Germans likely to co-operate with the victors to 'reflect our own outlook' and rather foresaw a pooling of ideas on the best path to recovery. 'The great issue for British policy' it was felt, 'would be whether an apparently radical movement

77 The Problem of Germany. An interim report by a Chatham House Study Group, London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, June 1943, p.71 et seq.

in Germany towards co-operation can be reciprocated'. A 'moral boycott' resulting from the victors' justified enmity towards the Germans would not be appropriate. But if no radical change seemed possible when the situation in Germany had been assessed, what might be done then? 'British policy... is not likely to espouse such solutions as the taking over, with positive responsibility, of the whole educational system of Germany.' In the event of course something very like this did actually happen, but it was not accompanied by the 'use of sufficient force and "conditioning"' about the success of which the study group was so sceptical.

Echoing the March proposals of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship the Chatham House group also suggested the appointment of a 'commissioner of education' backed by the United Nations and with powers of prevention, who 'might even, if the attitude of the German authorities is not one of hardened opposition, supply some positive guidance'.

During the war several such suggestions were made on the subject of controlling agencies in the sphere of education. Many saw a distinct role for the United Nations (the AUT delegation was to propose, in 1947, the establishment of an International Educational Commission working in collaboration with UNESCO⁷⁸). And the Labour MP Rennie Smith, who was later (1946-9) to work as a civilian officer in Germany, proposed in 1943 the setting up of a United Nations Board of Education for Germany.⁷⁹

78 'Universities in the British Zone of Germany', The Universities Review, 19/3, May 1947, p.219.

79 Cf. Rennie Smith: 'The Re-Education of Germany', Time and Tide, 30.1.43.

A similar idea can be traced back to initiatives by Sir Ernest Simon, later Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, Chairman of the BBC and one-time Liberal MP, and Grayson N. Kefauver, Dean of the School of Education of Stanford University. Their joint proposal, made towards the end of 1942, was for the establishment of an International Commission on Education (involving the governments of Britain, the United States, Russia and China). Such a Commission would make its deliberations available to each country co-operating with it, but it would have no power to influence directly the development of a particular country's educational system - except perhaps in one regard:

There is one important problem which could be attacked by the Commission early in its deliberations. The educational programmes of the axis nations should be reorganised after the war. We can hardly permit, for example, a continuance of the nazi educational programme with its emphasis on force and destruction and its opposition to democratic values and practices. Some type of control during the early years of the post-war period will be desirable. Wise planning is needed to determine the nature of the control which should be exercised and the type of education which should be supported to aid the German people and the people of the other enemy countries to secure understanding and acceptance of democratic social values and the methods by which these values might be realised.⁸⁰

Among the urgent tasks facing the Commission would be the need to 'develop recommendations for the handling of education in the peace treaty' and to 'develop plans and to assist the new governments of the Axis countries in the reconstruction of their programme of education'.⁸¹

80 Kefauver and Simon: 'A Proposal for the Establishment of an International Commission on Education', copy in Lindsay Archive, University of Keele (L153). The Proposal was made on 16.11.42.

81 Kefauver: 'Proposal for the Establishment of an International Educational Organisation: Role of the Proposed Organisation', dated 27.11.42 (Lindsay Archive, L153).

Kefauver developed his ideas on these two issues in a memorandum prepared in December 1942.⁸² The people of the Axis countries should develop their own educational systems; any control should not be permanent and there would be no 'cultural enslavement' - indeed, Kefauver argues, control should be kept to a minimum. At the cessation of hostilities, however, assistance and control would be necessary. Kefauver proposes a twelve-point programme of planning activities, among which would be analysis of the present educational programmes of the Axis countries, surveys of the probable social, economic, political (etc.) needs of the post-war period, studies of published histories and possible revisions, the bringing together of exiles and the identification of people of outstanding ability who have stayed in their country during the war and who could be of help during the period of reconstruction, and the making of recommendations as to how education should be dealt with in the peace treaty.

In the context of the internationalism of the period embraced by Dodds and others, and as an early example of the developing policy of allowing the Germans guided self-determination in their education system, these proposals are an important contribution to war-time thinking. Out of the germ of the Simon-Kefauver proposals grew the moves that would lead eventually to the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Kefauver later became the US delegate to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, and as minister in the US State Department America's chief representative to the emergent UNESCO. He died suddenly in January 1946.

82 'Memorandum on the Reconstruction of Education in the Axis Countries', 1.12.42 (Lindsay Archive, L153).

Kefauver had been keen to emphasise the universities' potential role in the activities of UNESCO.⁸³ On an international level inter-university contact had been maintained throughout the war, not only via the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (which had had its first meeting in October 1942) but also through the Association of University Professors and Lecturers of the Allied Countries in Great Britain,⁸⁴ whose first general meeting was held in May 1942. This latter organisation had held an educational conference at the Royal Institution in London in the spring of 1943 to consider the role of the university in the modern world and future co-operation.⁸⁵ Again, a subject which presented itself for discussion was the establishment of an international organisation. Julian Huxley's suggestion for the creation of an International Education Office was mentioned, so too was a possible 'International University Institute'. Kenneth Lindsay MP (one-time Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education) felt that whatever form future international organisations might take, a United Nations Office of Education (comparable to the International Labour Office) would be a prerequisite. In the event of course, even after the founding of UNESCO (and despite encouragement of the kind offered by the AUT delegates) the detailed work in education in Germany was undertaken by the Allies separately, rather than by any supra-national organisation.

83 Cf. Grayson N. Kefauver: 'The University's Interest in the Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations', in: Communication from the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers, No. 7, April 1946 (text of an address delivered on 1.7.45).

84 Changed in September 1944 to the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers.

85 Cf. The Function of a University in a Modern Community, Oxford 1943.

It remains to mention the meetings of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, held regularly from October 1942 under the chairmanship of R. A. Butler. Pakschies⁸⁶ sees the Conference as a forerunner of UNESCO. Its members (from Belgium, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia and France) discussed (apart from matters relating to their own countries' post-war needs) the subject of re-education in Germany. A positive line was encouraged, which would treat the problem in the best traditions of democratic societies. The Conference formed groups charged with the task of studying the various areas of concern: school books, denazification, science, etc. Pakschies regards its main strength as its prestige as an international organisation, a prestige which helped to establish the importance of re-education policy for the future of a post-war Europe. Its influence too served to some extent to balance the extreme views of Vansittart and others.

* * * * *

6. Military Government Handbooks and Directives

Donald Riddy has described⁸⁷ how he worked at SHAEF headquarters (actually in the stables at Versailles) on the production of a technical manual for education and religious affairs which was issued in February 1945.⁸⁸ The production of such a manual had become necessary, according to Riddy, since the actual situation in Germany when Allied troops crossed into the country in mid-September was different from that

86 Cf. Günter Pakschies, op. cit., pp. 55-7.

87 Transcript of interview with Patricia Meehan in connection with her BBC television series Zone of Occupation, 24.10.78.

88 Technical Manual for Education and Religious Affairs, SHAEF, G-5 Division (Copy in Public Record Office (PRO): W0220-228). ('G-5' civil affairs teams were to implement military government in territory which became liberated or occupied).

which had been envisaged. Educational institutions were to have been closed (and the earlier handbooks had tended either to ignore or to pass quickly over education, since, as Riddy put it 'there was no educational problem at all' (i.e. for the military operation)). In the event schools and other institutions had to be opened rather than closed, and detailed guidance was needed. This particular handbook, however, contained no instructions on higher education: it was considered that at the very early stage of the occupation (what the manual calls the 'fighting-in' phase) this field (together with adult, technical, and vocational education) would not concern the specialist education officers. The 'fighting-in' period would coincide with a phase of destruction (of Nazi and militarist aspects of German education); the 'post-hostilities' period would coincide with a phase of reconstruction, when the initiative must be taken, not by Military Government, but by the Germans themselves 'subject, of course, to strict supervision'.

The manual on which Riddy worked was a late addition to a whole series of handbooks and directives that SHAEF had been producing since the summer of 1944. The SHAEF Interim Directive for the Military Government of Germany is dated 31 August 1944.⁸⁹ Policy in Education was stated to be 'to completely eradicate Naziism from the German educational system'. Responsibilities of Military Government commanders were:

You will close educational institutions and open them only when you are satisfied that the educational system has been completely eradicated of Naziism, including the removal of undesirable officials, isolation of racial discrimination, and abolition of Nazi education and Nazi youth organisations.

89 PRO: W0220-218.

This directive, and the revised version which followed on 9 November,⁹⁰ also describes the 'white', 'grey', and 'black' lists which would give guidance on the purging of staff. All Rektoren (Führer) appointed under the Nazis would be on the 'black' list, 'university professors, Directors of Institutes, and... Kuratoren of universities' similarly appointed would be included on the 'grey' list.

There is a slight variation in the allocations to black and grey lists in the Handbook for Military Government in Germany issued on 1 September 1944.⁹¹ Here the 'black' list was to include Rektoren and Kuratoren of universities and heads of Pädagogische and other Hochschulen. The 'grey' list would cover 'directors of institutes and deans of universities; members of university faculties who were members of the SA or held chairs in racial biology, eugenics, military science, political education, geopolitics or Nordic Culture'.⁹² Appointments of a temporary nature could be made 'in cases of emergency' without consultation with education specialists in Military Government.

A document of October 1944⁹³ containing directives for the Allied Commanders-in-Chief gives fuller details about what had to be done in the educational field. Directive No. 8 deals with the re-education of Germany. Some points worthy of note here are that school and university premises should not be requisitioned for military purposes, that books should not be removed from university libraries, and that there should be no attempt to 'reshape' the curricula of schools or universities.

90 PRO: W0220-218.

91 Chapter XVII deals with Education and Religious Affairs. The handbook is based on the provisions of the 'Directive for Military Government in Germany prior to defeat or surrender'. (PRO:W0220-214).

92 Apparently 5,000 names appeared on such lists (James F. Tent: op. cit., p.28).

93 'Germany and Austria in the Post-Surrender Period: Policy Directives for the Allied Commanders-in-Chief' (PRO: W0220-215).

Black, grey and white lists are described, and the abolition of the Deutsche Studentenschaft, the NS Deutsche Studentenbund, the NS Altherrenbund and the Studentenführung is required. Harsh treatment was to be meted out:

It will be necessary to purge German educational authorities ... more strictly than most branches of German administration. Most of the leaders of German central and local educational administration will have to be dismissed.

A proclamation was to be issued 'at an early stage after Germany's surrender' forbidding any teaching on militaristic, National Socialist, or racist lines, or which 'is hostile to, or seems to disturb the relations between, any of the United Nations' or which 'expounds the practice of war'.

The same document deals with the long-term objectives of the Allies in German education in the following terms:

- (a) to re-establish in German education the former standard of respect for objective facts and to extend this standard to fields in which it did not even formerly operate;
- (b) to foster in German education interest in the ideas of popular democracy, such as freedom of opinion, speech, the press and religion.

Such objectives were laudable and uncontentious, but the short-term problems were to be the most pressing, and their solution would depend on unequivocal practical instructions which, in the university sphere, do not seem to have been systematically assembled. However, those education officers who had access to the various handbooks found them of great value in terms of the general background information some of them provided, although some university officers from whom we have

information seem never to have had sight even of the Technical Manual let alone the policy directives.⁹⁴ Officers in the field had to wait for detailed guidance and instruction to arrive in the form of the 80 or so Education Control Instructions (ECIs) which Education Branch issued between July 1945 and December 1946. These instructions in turn related directly to the Handbook of Military Government in Germany and the Technical Manual for Education and Religious Affairs.⁹⁵

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The evidence suggests little sense of system in war-time planning for the future of higher education in Germany. The Foreign Office Research Department had started preparing memoranda and documentation at an early date, and there was no shortage of advice from émigré groups and polemicists and pamphleteers of all persuasions. But the directives which were prepared to provide practical guidelines for the occupying forces have very little to say about the universities: what instructions there were related largely to denazification. The plethora of detailed advice on the urgent reform measures that would be necessary in the universities if history was not to repeat itself finds virtually no reflection in that outward manifestation of policy which the directives provide. Of course it must be remembered that the reform proposals which came from so many interested parties during the war were two-fold, involving first the dismantling of the Nazi university (which would mean re-forming it back to its pre-1933 state) and only later the more fundamental reform of the German university as it had evolved up to 1933.

⁹⁴ Cf. the record of the discussion on this subject at the Oxford Symposium of July 1982 (Transcript, pp.64-68).

⁹⁵ Cf. George Murray's contribution to The British in Germany, p.72.

The work of Professor Dodds and others therefore remained - in the initial period of reopening and reconstruction at least - of theoretical rather than practical value. It would be argued many years later that chances were missed in 1945 and 1946 which could never present themselves again after power over educational affairs was restored to the German authorities in January 1947, but such an argument ignores the primacy of the task of reconstruction (in the sense of getting things going again) that faced the Allies in the immediate post-war period, and it ignores too the appalling physical conditions prevailing generally in Germany, against the background of which immediate and far-reaching reform measures were unthinkable. Chapter Three will describe the situation in the six universities and three Technische Hochschulen of the British Zone after the cessation of hostilities.

CHAPTER THREE

The Universities and other Hochschulen
of the British Zone and their Students

Auch die "intakten"
 Universitäten waren ¹
 kein Paradies....

The overall physical condition of the German universities and other Hochschulen after the war presented problems of an enormity difficult to contemplate. Ludwig Raiser, the third post-war Rektor of Göttingen, estimated that of the 16 universities, 8 Technische Hochschulen and 8 other institutions of Hochschule status in the Western zones only 6 were relatively unharmed; 6 could use about 50% of their buildings and facilities and 8 about 25-30%. The remaining 12 had been almost completely destroyed. Those that had escaped unscathed often had vital buildings requisitioned by the Military Government. The AUT Report of 1947² (described in detail in Chapter Five) mentioned that in Münster the whole university was crowded into the former clinical departments of the medical faculty; in Kiel the university was housed in what had been an electro-technical factory (the so-called ELAC building) and lectures had taken place in the Winter Semester of 1945-6 on board four ships in the harbour which were being used as working and living accommodation for staff and students (a coastal steamer was still housing 120 women in July 1946³); and in Cologne, where the university escaped virtually all damage, the buildings (among the few left standing in the city - Cologne had been four-fifths destroyed) had to be used for various municipal purposes. Only the outer walls of the University

1 Ludwig Raiser: 'Wiedereröffnung der Hochschulen - Ansätze zum Neubeginn', in: Nationalsozialismus und die deutsche Universität, Berlin, 1966, p.176.

2 The Universities Review, 19/3, May 1947, p.205.

3 British Zone Review (BZR), 1/22, 20.7.46, p.6.

of Bonn remained: by a strange irony it had been destroyed in the town's worst air-raid on 18 October 1944, the anniversary of its foundation in 1818.⁴ Hamburg's university buildings suffered mainly blast damage to roofs and windows - one wing was in full use again by December 1946,⁵ and the medical faculty was able to work 'at full capacity' by February 1946.⁶ The Universities of Erlangen, Göttingen, Halle, Heidelberg, Marburg and Tübingen (to consider Germany as a whole) were relatively unharmed; of these only Göttingen was in the British Zone. Münster was 80% destroyed, Munich 70%, Würzburg 80%; Freiburg lost 65% of its clinics and institutes. Some smaller Hochschulen were totally destroyed - that of Mannheim (Handelshochschule), and the Musikhochschulen of Munich and Karlsruhe. In Jena 60 of 71 institutes had been destroyed, in Darmstadt (TH) 70%, in Gießen 60%.⁷

4 BZR, 1/33, 21.12.46, p.6.

5 Ibid., p.16.

6 Manchester Guardian, 2.2.46.

7 Deutschland-Jahrbuch 1949, ed. Klaus Mehnert and Heinrich Schulte, Essen, 1949, p.365.

In the British Zone only Göttingen (and the Bergakademie at Clausthal-Zellerfeld) existed outside a devastated area⁸ (and Göttingen had to accommodate the Rhine Army College for British Troops, as well as its own students). The saying went that the Americans had the scenery, the French had the wine, and the British had the ruins.

The six universities in the British Zone had all reopened by the middle of December 1945. Göttingen, not surprisingly, was the first

8 An idea of the relative degree of devastation in the four zones can be gained from a table in the Deutschland-Jahrbuch 1949, (p.291):

Die kriegszerstörten und -beschädigten Wohnungen in Deutschland nach Besatzungszonen und Gemeindegruppen

Wohnungen	Großstädte über 100 000 Einwohner		Mittel- und Kleinstädte von 10 000-100 000 Einwohner		Landstädte und Landgemeinden unter 10 000 Einwohner		Insgesamt	
	abs. Zahl in 1 000	in %	abs. Zahl in 1 000	in %	abs. Zahl in 1 000	in %	abs. Zahl in 1 000	in %
Berlin:								
vor dem Kriege	1 563	100	—	—	—	—	1 563	100
davon total zerstört	469	30	—	—	—	—	469	30
davon beschädigt	703	45	—	—	—	—	703	45
davon unzerstört	391	25	—	—	—	—	391	25
Sow. Zone:								
vor dem Kriege	893	100	1 052	100	2 428	100	4 373	100
davon total zerstört	204	23	56	5	43	2	303	7
davon beschädigt	341	38	112	11	76	3	529	12
davon unzerstört	348	39	884	84	2 309	95	3 541	81
Britische Zone:								
vor dem Kriege	2 390	100	1 176	100	1 460	100	5 026	100
davon total zerstört	789	33	144	12	152	11	1 085	22
davon beschädigt	1 099	46	319	27	351	24	1 769	35
davon unzerstört	502	21	713	61	957	65	2 172	43
Am. Zone:								
vor dem Kriege	1 145	100	557	100	2 076	100	3 778	100
davon total zerstört	378	33	92	17	60	3	530	14
davon beschädigt	547	48	145	26	101	5	793	21
davon unzerstört	220	19	320	57	1 915	93	2 455	65
Französische Zone:								
vor dem Kriege	84	100	310	100	816	100	1 210	100
davon total zerstört	37	44	49	16	37	5	123	10
davon beschädigt	38	45	78	25	65	8	1 181	15
davon unzerstört	9	11	183	59	714	87	906	75
3 Westzonen:								
vor dem Kriege	3 619	100	2 043	100	4 352	100	10 014	100
davon total zerstört	1 204	33	285	14	249	6	1 738	18
davon beschädigt	1 684	47	542	26	517	12	2 743	27
davon unzerstört	731	20	1 216	60	3 586	82	5 533	55
4 Zonen und Berlin:								
vor dem Kriege	6 075	100	3 095	100	6 780	100	15 950	100
davon total zerstört	1 877	31	341	11	292	4	2 510	16
davon beschädigt	2 728	45	654	21	593	9	3 975	25
davon unzerstört	1 470	24	2 100	68	5 895	87	9 465	59

The damage was clearly much greater in the British Zone than in the other zones.

to open (on 17 September). Using a (rather incomplete) Foreign Office memorandum of March 1946,⁹ comparative details for each of the six universities can be listed (the date of opening is given in brackets in each case):

Göttingen (17.9.45)
4,296 students
(22% women)

All faculties open; 12 students' clubs approved by Military Government

Münster (3.11.45)
1,250 students

Faculties of theology, law and economics, and medicine open; faculties of philosophy and natural science giving special courses only; only limited number admitted for chemistry and pharmacy

Bonn (6.11.45)
2,500 students
(20% women)

All faculties open

Hamburg (8.11.45)
2,500 students

All faculties open

Kiel (27.11.45)
2,000 students

All faculties open (more than one-third of students in the medical faculty)

Cologne (12.12.45)
c.1,500 students
(20% women)

All faculties except medicine open

(At this stage 10% of all places at universities in the British Zone were being reserved for Displaced Persons. The DPs could be counted in addition to the number of students for whom there was accommodation, since they were housed in special camps).

9 PRO: FO945-138: 'Some basic facts about universities and colleges in the British Zone, Germany' (22 March 1946).

Of the Technische Hochschulen Braunschweig had reopened on 12 November with 1,200 students (including 150 foreigners) and Aachen on 27 December with only 246 students; Hannover had reopened by early January.

1. The six universities of the British Zone

One of the earliest Control Commission officers to visit and report on the universities of the British Zone was James Mark, later to play an important part from his desk in the Control Office for Germany and Austria and as Private Secretary to Lord Pakenham in stimulating reform initiatives. His visits took place in July and August 1945.¹⁰

In Münster he found less evidence of Nazi infiltration than in many other universities, but 60% of the staff had been lost. Three-fifths of the Library had been destroyed, as had 'nearly all' the university buildings apart from the clinics and medical institutes. In Hamburg he reported that a 'high proportion of the staff should be employable' ('[Hamburg] forms a striking contrast to Kiel') and that the university was making 'very determined efforts to put itself in order and to start functioning again'. Among these efforts were repairs to buildings, the preparation of lists of staff, the provision of rudimentary accommodation for students, plans for preparatory courses, and the establishment of a Students' Council (whose leaders impressed him favourably). Mark wanted to do all possible to allow the university to reopen for the Winter Semester for several reasons:

10 The information which follows is taken from copies of his reports lent to me by Dr Mark. The reports on Göttingen and Bonn were not available.

- (a) Hamburg University is in relatively good order and quite capable of opening with a little assistance;
- (b) It has already made energetic efforts to help itself;
- (c) It seems likely that the City of Hamburg will become one of the most important centres of cultural life - if not the most important - in the British Zone.
- (d) The re-opening of the University as a whole will act as a great moral stimulant of the population of the Zone and show them that we are trying to help them to recreate a civilised existence.

Here, in a report of July 1945, are to be seen some of the fundamental aspects of British policy as it was to be developed throughout the Occupation, a cornerstone of that policy being encouragement and self-help. Mark's report in no respect emphasises the need to purge the staff (the University had in any case drawn up its own lists of staff to be dismissed); instead it concentrates on the positive steps to be taken to set the University back on its feet again.

Kiel (a university with the reputation of being a Nazi stronghold during the early years of the Third Reich) had lost almost all its buildings, but Mark estimated that about 80% of books and equipment had been saved. On the staffing position he recorded:

The University's own judgements on the political eligibility of its staff are undoubtedly too lenient; only 11 are definitely regarded as deserving dismissal. Assuming that rather over half the absentees return by 1 November and that 20-25% have to be dismissed (my scrutiny of the available Fragebogen indicates that the proportion will not be higher) rather over 100 of the old staff should be available for teaching.

Denazification was still of course in its early stage, and would continue for some time to come.

Serious consideration was being given at this time to a proposal to move the whole University to Schleswig (where the clinics were housed). If that were not to happen, Mark made a strong plea for the acquisition of the ELAC building, a building which still today forms a central part of the University.

In Cologne, despite the University's pessimistic view (in Mark's opinion) that up to 40% of the staff were 'unemployable or else doubtful cases', the hope was that the University could be reopened by November (in the event it was the last to open, on 12 December). An early opening was desirable for three reasons:

- (a) A considerable part [of the University] can be put in order without much effort;
- (b) It would be a tremendous moral tonic, especially for the younger generation [...];
- (c) It would make it easier to get the University going properly (i.e. to get repairs done and assemble a full staff.

Mark wrote up his impressions of the reopening of the universities in three articles in the Manchester Guardian early in 1946.¹¹ The following extract (from the issue of 2 February) continues the spirit of his official reports and reflects British policy to restore university life to normal as soon as possible.

It has always been the policy of the British authorities to reopen the universities as soon as possible, within the limits of what is physically possible and subject to the overriding consideration that they must be purged of Nazi elements. Training for the learned professions must go on, especially after the purges of Nazis which have taken place, and although it is fully realised that universities may become centres of political unrest the risks involved are far less than those which would result from an over-cautious policy of keeping them closed for the present and thereby increasing the feeling of frustration among the potential student population. The principle has been to get universities open as soon as they can function with even moderate

11 'Universities in Germany I, II, III'; 2.2.46, 7.2.46 and 12.2.46 respectively.

efficiency and to effect further improvements in the course of time. No one would pretend that at present even the most fortunate has sufficient buildings, books, equipment, and staff to conduct a normal term's work, but something has been started. It is a great deal easier to carry out further repairs once the machine is running than to try to get it into theoretically perfect order before it starts, even if this were likely to be practicable in Germany today.

In Bonn there was concern that the University could not simply readopt its form as it had existed before 1933, since Bonn was a foundation of Prussia (its latest statutes dated from 1923) and Prussia no longer existed, the new Land of Nordrhein-Westfalen being in its infancy. The prime concern of the teaching staff before the University reopened was to preserve as much of the tradition of university autonomy as could be managed.¹²

Professor Rein, the second post-war Rektor of Göttingen, describes¹³ how many leading academics, the core of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institutes, Nobel Prizewinners like Otto Hahn, Werner Heisenberg and Max von Laue; names like Max Planck, Hermann Oncken, Friedrich Meinecke and Nicolai Hartmann had gathered in Göttingen; their presence did much to get the University started again in the right direction. The remaining staff in Göttingen showed early initiative (in April 1945) in establishing a provisional administration for the University. The first Rektor (officially elected in September) was the lawyer Smend, chosen in the hope that he would be able to represent 'die korporative Selbständigkeit der Universität als ihr Eigenrecht',¹⁴ a concern similar to that noted in Bonn.

12 Theodor Klauser (ed.): Chronik der akademischen Jahre 1939/40 bis 1948/49 und Bericht über das akademische Jahr 1948/49, Rheinisch Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, n.d.

13 F.H. Rein: 'Die Georgia-Augusta nach dem Kriege', Universitas, 3/2, February 1948.

14 Wiebke Fesefeldt: Der Wiederbeginn des kommunalen Lebens in Göttingen: Die Stadt in den Jahren 1945 bis 1948, Göttingen 1962, p.140.

Rein states some of the practical problems the University faced:

Nur der harten Arbeit und Sorge eines kleinen Kreises von Männern sowie dem wohlwollenden Verständnis der britischen Militärregierung ist es zu danken, daß der Universitätsunterricht bisher in vollem Umfang durchgeführt werden konnte. Die Sorgen des Alltags erschweren den Universitätsbetrieb und die Forschungstätigkeit sehr. Das erste Recht aller geistigen Arbeiter, das Recht auf Alleinsein, bleibt durch die beängstigende Raumnot in vielen Fällen unerfüllt. Der Mangel an Glühlampen und Heizmaterial und die häufigen Stromabschaltungen machen die Arbeit oft zur Qual. Es fehlt an Meßgeräten, an Glas, Chemikalien und Versuchstieren. Der Austausch wissenschaftlicher Veröffentlichungen mit dem Ausland beginnt nur sehr zögernd. Der heiße Wunsch aller ist nicht in Erfüllung gegangen: das Ende des Krieges¹⁵ brachte nicht das Ende der Abschließung von der Umwelt.

Smend instituted an 'akademisches Hilfswerk', effectively the Rektor and Senate, supported by professors, in order to alleviate the material needs of the students.¹⁶ The universities could not be given special privileges with regard to the provision of food, heating, and accommodation, but two of the areas Rein mentions were soon to become something of a priority in British policy towards higher education in the Zone. As we shall see in later chapters, the question of contact with the outside world was to be taken very seriously, and plans were soon developed to enable exchange visits of students and staff to take place; emergency provision of urgently needed materials and equipment (and printing paper) was organised. And books too became a priority.

Apart from the physical destruction of buildings and equipment almost every university in the British Zone suffered heavy losses to library stocks. According to an Education Branch report of December 1946¹⁷ Kiel had lost 500,000 volumes; Hamburg had lost 600,000,

¹⁵ F. H. Rein, loc. cit., p.230.

¹⁶ Otto Mertens: 'Das erste Nachkriegssemester', Göttinger Universitätszeitung (GUZ), 22.3.46.

¹⁷ 'Recent Developments in the University Situation', dated 13.12.46 (copy in Lindsay Papers, University of Keele, L221).

Münster 300,000 and Bonn 200,000. Cologne had evacuated 3,500 crates of books to South Germany and had succeeded in recovering 2,000 of them. Göttingen lost very few books, and students, helping with reconstruction work, retrieved 15,000 volumes from a salt mine where they had been stored. Various schemes were quickly put into operation to supply books from abroad (a scheme existed, for example, for the exchange of books and journals between Bonn and Cologne Universities and the Bodleian Library), and it was hoped that, despite the paper shortage, the printing of new publications (particularly learned journals) would soon proceed at a faster rate.

2. The Technische Hochschulen

The Technische Hochschule in Braunschweig was so severely damaged that great efforts had to be made to convince the Ministry and the Military Government that it should even continue in existence.¹⁸ The Rektor was relieved of office at his own request in July 1945 and replaced by Professor Gassner, who had been dismissed as Rektor for political reasons in 1933. Gassner, in his Immatrikulationsrede, talked of the difficulties facing the institution and, interestingly, focussed his attention on the need, as he saw it, for students to occupy themselves with areas of knowledge outside their specialist subjects in order to balance their specialist preoccupations and to compensate for the twelve-year gap in their education.¹⁹ The Studium generale (cf. Chapter Six) was to be a key factor in reform measures later in the occupation, and the Technische Hochschulen were to be held out as exemplars of how it might be put into practice.

¹⁸ Franz Moeller (ed.): Die Technische Hochschule Carolo-Wilhelmina zu Braunschweig - Aus ihrer Geschichte und ihrem Wirken bis 1951, Braunschweig 1952, p.217.

¹⁹ Reported in GUZ, 8.2.46.

Braunschweig, founded in 1745, got its reprieve, but, so it was felt, only at the expense of the younger Technische Hochschule in Hannover, founded in 1831. Hannover too had suffered extreme bomb damage, but was only given 'modest' financial support. There was talk of either disbanding the institution altogether, or merging it with Braunschweig, the argument being that the Land Niedersachsen could not support two similar Hochschulen. Hannover argued forcefully that much of the nation's future depended on teaching and research in the universities, that there would be need for a large number of engineers to direct the future economic course of Germany, that the catchment area of the Technische Hochschule Hannover and its area of influence stretched throughout North-West Germany, that it would not make sense to merge an existing and effective Hochschule with another smaller, equally damaged and geographically less well placed institution, and that the loss of the Technische Hochschule would be culturally serious for the town of Hannover and the Land Niedersachsen.²⁰ That the authorities saw the two institutions as closely linked is demonstrated by the fact that one and the same member of the Control Commission was appointed to act as University Officer in both institutions, as well as overseeing the Tierärztliche Hochschule in Hannover. This latter Hochschule, incidentally, was reopened as a matter of urgency by the military authorities despite the severe damage it had suffered, since it was recognised that the expertise of its staff could be directed not so much towards teaching as towards combatting animal disease and overseeing the provision of meat products.²¹

20 Uvo Hölscher: 'Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Technischen Hochschule Hannover', in: Otto Leunenschloss and Erich Böttcher (eds.): Jahrbuch der Technischen Hochschule Hannover 1949/50, Düsseldorf 1950, p.20.

21 GUZ. 22.2.46.

Aachen, however, contained probably the best known of the Technische Hochschulen of the Zone. Hopes were expressed that it might become 'a link between Germany and the West',²² because of its traditional ties with Belgium and the Netherlands. In his Immatrikulationsrede of 15 February 1946 the first post-war Rektor, Professor Röntgen, spoke of the dangers of specialisation and of the need to find a proper path towards real university reform.²³

The town of Aachen was among the first to be occupied by Allied Forces advancing from the West: it had been surrounded on three sides by the first US Army and surrendered, after a six-week battle (bitterly fought, because of the town's strategic and symbolic importance) on 21 October 1944.²⁴ Very few people had stayed in the town during the heavy fighting and enforced evacuation: according to one American source only 100 had remained. When the fighting ceased 13,000 returned in a matter of weeks.²⁵ The early period of occupation had been very unstable - the first mayor appointed, the lawyer Franz Oppenhoff, was assassinated by a Nazi commando unit which had returned to punish him as an example to collaborators. The capture of Aachen at this early point in the final stages of the war meant, however,

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- 22 'Report on the Technische Hochschule Aachen, January 1947.' Copy provided for Professor E.R. Dodds by the Foreign Office in April 1947 (Dodds Papers).
- 23 Paul Röntgen: 'Die Technische Hochschule nimmt Stellung', GUZ, 15.4.46.
- 24 Charles Whiting's Bloody Aachen (London 1976) is a rather garishly overwritten account of the battle for Aachen: it does, however, paint a vivid picture of the attitudes of and problems faced by the civilian population, staunchly Catholic and generally anti-Nazi.
- 25 Eugene Davidson: The Death and Life of Germany. An Account of the American Occupation, London 1959, p.50. Other sources indicate that much larger numbers defied the evacuation order.

that when military government teams moved in from Luxembourg the running of the town served as a model for future operations and that some order was restored more quickly than elsewhere. The first issue of the Aachener Nachrichten, for example - the first post-war newspaper to be licensed - appeared on 24 January 1945.

But three-quarters of the buildings of the Technische Hochschule had been destroyed. The UECO for Aachen, A.W.J. Edwards, was not appointed until October 1946: the university had been overlooked by the Military Government, he felt, despite the fact that in his view it had the 'biggest worries' of all the Hochschulen in western zones, even though it was the smallest.²⁶ Some of its problems, Edwards says, were possibly due to the fact that the term Technische Hochschule was often mistranslated as 'Technical High School', its proper status not being realised. The possibility of changing the name to Technische Universität (as was to happen in Berlin) was discussed, but the Rektor, Professor Röntgen, had insisted that since generations had fought for proper recognition and respect for the term Technische Hochschule it would not be right to sacrifice it for the sake of the expedience of the moment.²⁷

Rather different reasoning prevailed in the case of the Technische Hochschule in Berlin. The Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (later to be restyled as the Humboldt-Universität) was in the Russian Sector, but the British Sector contained the Technische Hochschule (in Charlottenberg). Birley, in a memorandum of December 1946 to Ellen Wilkinson following a

26 Arthur W.J. Edwards: 'Zwei kritische Jahre in der Geschichte der RWTH Aachen', Alma Mater Aquensis, XV, 1977-78, p.85.

27 Ibid., p. 86. On Aachen cf. also: Hans Martin Klinkenberg (ed.): Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen 1870-1970, Stuttgart 1970.

visit to the Zone before he was made Educational Adviser, welcomed the proposal to raise the status of the college to that of a university.²⁸ And in fact the renowned Technische Hochschule (founded in 1799) was renamed Technische Universität at its reopening.

The devastation in Berlin was of course immense: the city had suffered 350 air raids and the bombardment of the advancing Russian forces. In May 1945 the buildings of the Technische Hochschule were

ein riesiges Ruinenareal, nach allen Seiten offen, ein Anziehungspunkt für alle Buntmetall- und sonstigen Sammler. Was nicht niet- und nagelfest war, wurde weggeschleppt, und was es war, wurde abmontiert.²⁹

Some two-thirds of the buildings had been destroyed. Physical reconstruction took ten months: descriptions survive of

Studenten, Studentinnen, Assistenten, Assistentinnen, Professoren und andere Angehörige der alten Technischen Hochschule, die im Winter 1945/46 in kalten, zugigen Räumen unermüdlich säuberten, klopften, hämmerten, mauerten, zimmerten, klempnerten, um für die neue Institution die ersten räumlichen Kernzellen zu schaffen.

The special situation prevailing in Berlin meant that finance for the University was controlled by the Assembly and so was largely in the hands of the Russians. The Russians were opposed to its reopening, and the fact that money was eventually found to enable this to happen was due to the Military Governor, who procured funds from the British Zone.³⁰

The Russians had been afraid, according to T.R.M. Creighton, that the Technische Universität would become a centre for renewed German

28 PRO: FO371-64386.

29 Quoted in Hochschulführer, ed. Petra Kipphoff, Thomas von Randow and Dieter E. Zimmer, Hamburg 1964, p.146.

30 BZR, 1/16, 27.4.46, p.16.

technological militarism, and the University when it reopened did not teach marine, aircraft, or any type of military engineering: instead the emphasis was placed on agricultural and food sciences, as well as on pure science.³¹ 'The aim of this latest university to be opened,' said the British Zone Review, 'is that it should be a medium for producing not merely technicians but responsible citizens.' Some 2,400 students (including 400 women) applied to enrol, of whom only about 1,800 could be accepted: 2% of the applicants were rejected on political grounds.³² The new name was the idea of the first Rektor, Professor Kucharski, and was intended to commit the University to 'ein umfassendes humanistisches Erziehungs- und Bildungsziel' beyond the teaching of technical subjects.³³ This symbolic act was important as an indicator of policy towards the role of universities generally.

It is necessary at this stage to devote some space to the students of the universities in question. The professors are dealt with throughout the study, and a picture of their corporate views emerges against the background of the development of British policy towards higher education in the Zone. But the students are deserving of particular attention since the occupying powers saw in them both the raw material from which the future leaders of Germany would emerge and a potential breeding ground for resurgent nationalism. The

31 Related by T.R.M. Creighton as reported in The British in Germany, ed. Arthur Hearnden, London 1978, p.292.

32 BZR, loc. cit.

33 Berlin: Kampf um Freiheit und Selbstverwaltung (Hrsg. im Auftrage des Senats von Berlin), Berlin 1961, p.411.

students would have to be carefully nurtured - but they would have to be watched as well.

3. Students

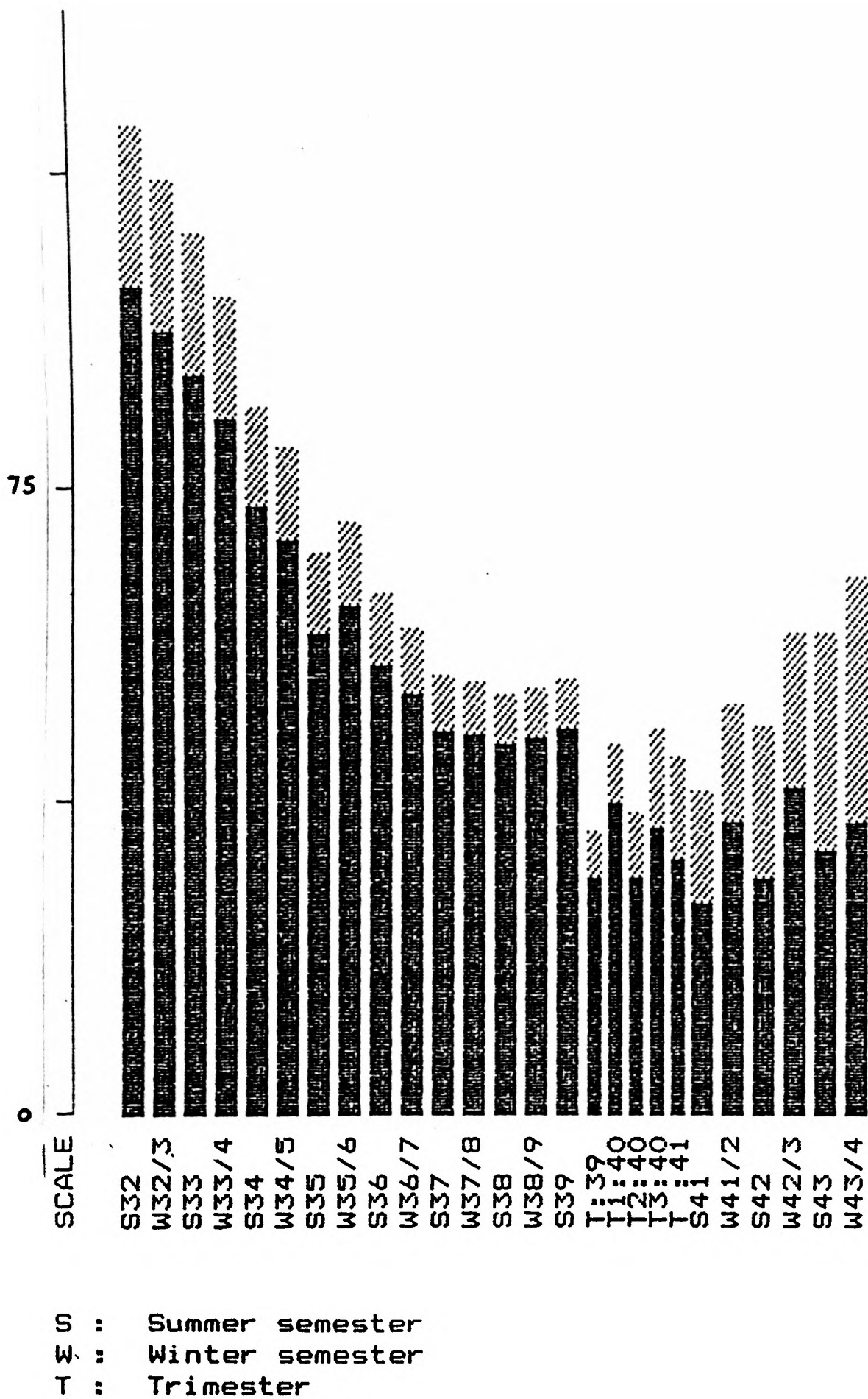
The bar graph³⁴ on p.101 shows something of the fluctuations in student numbers from the beginning of the National Socialist period to the Winter Semester of 1943/4. By the Winter Semester of 1947/8 figures had almost reached their pre-1933 peak. Comparative numbers for the four zones can be seen from the table on p. 102.³⁵ Answering questions in the House of Commons in April 1947 the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster quoted 23,000 as the number of students in the six universities of the Zone.³⁶ (The figure of 26,132 which can be deduced from Table II relates to the Winter Semester, i.e. the session following that to which the Chancellor is referring). He went on somewhat over-optimistically to describe the student numbers as 'more than had ever occupied the universities' (meaning presumably the six zonal universities). The Table reproduced on page 102, however, shows

34 Statistics from Statistisches Handbuch von Deutschland 1925-1944 (hrsg. vom Länderrat des Amerikanischen Besatzungsgebiets), Munich 1949, p.622, and R.H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas: Education and Society in Modern Germany, London 1949, p.176.

35 Source: Samuel and Thomas, op. cit., p.176.

36 Quoted in the Times Educational Supplement, 12.4.47.

Totals in German higher education (000's)
(both Technische Hochschulen & Universities).
Men: ■ Women: ▨



25,363 students in universities in 1930-1, and figures for the peak Summer Semester of 1932 indicate a total of 30,763.³⁷

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE
DIFFERENT ZONES
1930-1, 1939 AND 1947-8

	1930-1 ¹	1939 ²	1947-8 ¹	
<u>BRITISH ZONE</u>				
Kiel. . .	2,389	941	3,241	)
Hamburg . .	3,746	1,521	5,060	)
Göttingen. .	3,851	1,153	5,410	) 26,132
Münster . .	4,149	1,957	3,844	)
Cologne . .	5,616	2,428	3,600	)
Bonn . .	5,612	2,515	4,977	)
<u>AMERICAN ZONE</u>				
Giessen . .	1,876	553	728	)
Marburg . .	3,210	1,126	3,259	)
Frankfurt. .	3,823	1,464	4,795	)
Würzburg . .	2,971	1,293	3,210	) 32,406
Erlangen . .	1,944	834	5,570	)
Munich . .	8,895	4,382	9,995	)
Heidelberg .	3,079	1,818	4,849	)
<u>FRENCH ZONE</u>				
Mainz . .	-	-	5,800	)
Freiburg . .	3,397	2,176	3,385	) 13,134
Tübingen . .	2,960	1,447	3,949	)
<u>RUSSIAN ZONE</u>				
Berlin . .	14,687	6,100	5,634	)
Greifswald .	1,644	577	1,242	)
Halle . .	2,491	739	2,800	) 17,903
Leipzig . .	6,938	1,895	3,665	)
Rostock . .	1,624	851	1,600	)
Jena . .	2,897	1,101	2,962	)

(1 = Winter Semester, 2 = Summer Semester)

It was nevertheless a considerable achievement to have provided places for just under half the total number of students in universities in the whole of Germany in the peak Semester of the war, the Winter of 1943-4 (54,252).

Displaced Persons, as we have seen, were entitled to 10% of places at universities in the Zone. Another group of students concerning whom there was some controversy and whose influence is worth considering in detail, were former regular ('active') or reserve officers of the German army. In the Summer of 1946 there was a total of 5,510 former officers at universities and other Hochschulen in the Zone (858 regular officers, 4,652 officers of the reserve): this constituted 23.77% of the total student body. (If we take the six universities alone the total is 4,323 (684 regular, 3,639 reserve officers). Expressed as percentages these figures become 23.58%, 3.73% and 19.85% respectively.) Full details are given in the table on page 104.³⁸ Almost one in four students in the British Zone was therefore a former officer; the figures are appreciably lower for the other zones.

Samuel and Thomas,³⁹ writing in 1948, mention the original ban on professional officers and observe that it was not 'enforced systematically'. They cite the AUT Report's view that many such officers had joined the Wehrmacht in order to escape pressure from the Nazi Party: although professional officers would need special

38 PRO: FO945-137. Appendix A to Minutes of 5th Conference of UECOs, Bünde, 14.8.46. In the French Zone the percentage of former officers (active and reserve) was 15.6; in the US Zone 19.1. In the Soviet Zone the percentage of reserve officers was as low as 3.1. These figures are for the summer of 1946.

39 Op. cit., pp.176-7.

	1 Total No. of Students	2 No. of former 'Active' Officers	3 No. of former 'Reserve' Officers	4 (2) as % of (1)	5 (3) as % of (1)	6 (2) and (3) as % of (1)
Bonn	3,175	24	657	0.75	20.69	21.44
Cologne	2,195	44	511	2.00	23.28	25.28
Göttingen	4,285	197	996	4.59	23.24	27.83
Hamburg	3,400	70	826	2.05	24.29	26.34
Kiel	2,575	237	213	11.14	8.27	19.41
Münster	2,700	62	436	2.29	16.14	18.43
TH Aachen	800	10	254	1.25	34.75	33.00
TH Hannover	990	68	194	6.86	19.59	26.45
TH Brunswick	1,390	37	401	3.38	28.84	32.22
Vet. Coll. Hannover	410	5	53	1.21	12.92	14.13
Med. Acad. Düsseldorf	700	8	18	1.14	2.57	3.71
Art Acad. Düsseldorf	176	2	17	1.13	9.66	10.79
Music Acad. Düsseldorf	187	0	16	0	8.50	8.50
Mining Acad. Clausthal	200	34	60	17.00	30.00	47.00
TOTAL	<u>23,133</u>	<u>858</u>	<u>4,652</u>	<u>3.70</u>	<u>20.07</u>	<u>23.77</u>

screening the automatic exclusion of all officers was unjustified; there were no grounds for excluding former temporary or reserve officers.⁴⁰ But a part of the AUT Report which did not become public indicates much stronger support (at the beginning of 1947) for a change in basic policy, particularly towards academic staff, but also towards students. In his unpublished note of reservation Lord Chorley, though he reports that the amnesty had produced pronounced improvement in feeling among students, argues that the ban should be lifted without delay. He goes on:

⁴⁰ AUT Report, p.218.

The amnesty to students excludes notorious Nazis and any amnesty to ex-regular army officers should be similarly limited. Indeed, public opinion in this country in supporting the denazification proposals when they were first put forward did so under the impression that they would be limited to notorious and dangerous Nazis and not carried down into the categories of technical offence which have been included in practice.⁴¹

In its response to the AUT Report⁴² the Control Commission stated that there had never existed a special quadripartite agreement on the admission of former officers to universities, even though this had been 'under constant discussion' since the autumn of 1946. The temporary ban on former regular officers (introduced in November 1946) resulted from a realisation, as we have seen, that the percentage of former officers among the student body of the British Zone was higher than in the other zones⁴³ and from reports on 'the attitude of many former active officers in some universities' which were 'not satisfactory'. The ban had been removed in February 1947.

The Control Commission's response went on (in Paragraph 63) to detail the particular problems relating to former regular officers: it is worth quoting in full:

It must... be stated that the problem of the former regular officer is far more complicated than might be assumed from the argument set out in the Report. For our part, we are by no means happy with the present position. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that we are concerned, not with former regular officers in general, but with former regular German officers. As

41 'Reservation by Lord Chorley: Denazification', dated 18.1.47.

42 Loc. cit.

43 'The Soviet Zone did not admit former active officers.'

a whole, the latter do not constitute promising material with which to build a peace-loving Germany. It is no doubt true, as the Report states, that some young men did choose the Wehrmacht as a career in order to avoid party pressure. It would in any case be easy for an individual to advance the claim, though it would be a different matter to provide in its support evidence which could be satisfactorily sifted. The fact must be recognised that, for whatever reasons young men did enter as regular officers, they became for a varying number of years members of a corps which had built up over a period of more than a century a tradition which was wholly antagonistic to democracy, and which was accorded by the general population the status of a highly privileged class. It is one of the declared aims of Allied policy to destroy the long-standing tradition of the German Regular Army, and we must take that fact into account. To bring more than a limited number of the former active officers together in the close community of a university, the conservative spirit of which is stressed in the Report, might well prove calculated to keep alive rather than to destroy that tradition. It is important to remember that the tradition of the German Regular Army is something very different from the honourable traditions of regular armies in other countries. In view of the severe limitation of numbers at present inevitable in German Universities today we feel we have a duty to give positive encouragement to students whose previous training appears to offer a more reasonable hope that they may have a positive contribution to make to the building up of a democratic Germany.

That was written in June 1947. Professor Dodds pencilled on his copy of the Control Commission's comments a remark to the effect that this might be very unjust to the individuals,⁴⁴ and it is clear from Chorley's doubts about denazification generally that concern for the fates of individuals caught up in blanket procedures was uppermost in his mind.

The Control Commission's relative intransigence on the question of admitting former regular officers to universities may have been conditioned to some extent by the effect on universities after the

⁴⁴ Copy in Dodds Papers.

1914-18 war of a large influx of former officers, an effect highlighted by commentators on the German scene writing in the 1940s. Professor A. Wolf, for example, in an investigation undertaken at the request of the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee of the London School of Economics in 1944, talks of ex-army officers as the 'most dangerous of all the students' who entered universities 'not in order to study, but to carry on reactionary propaganda among the students and teachers' and mentions their para-military training sessions, recalling their involvement in, among other extremities, the planning of the Kapp Putsch and the murder of Rathenau.⁴⁵

The University of Kiel, as can be seen from the table on p.104, had a noticeably high proportion of ex-regular officers.⁴⁶ Kiel was the only institution in fact which had more former active than reserve officers. The proportion of 11.14% former regular officers is nearly two times the proportion in the university with the second highest number of such officers (Göttingen). Samuel and Thomas describe this state of affairs as 'characteristic' for a university 'long noted for its conservative and backward outlook'.⁴⁷ The Rektor of Kiel University in 1946, Professor Creutzfeldt, was dismissed because of 'irregularities' on the special committee (on denazification) of which he was automatically chairman. The UECO in Kiel, Miss Cunningham, had to ask for all Fragebogen to be submitted to Public Safety Branch because there were 'serious discrepancies' in Professor Creutzfeldt's figures. If Education Branch had not dismissed him, Miss Cunningham reported, Public Safety Branch would have done so.⁴⁸ So serious was the problem

⁴⁵ A. Wolf: Higher Education in Nazi Germany, London 1944, pp.5-8.

⁴⁶ The Mining Academy at Clausthal-Zellerfeld had the highest relative percentages of both active and reserve officers, but it was a very small institution. The UECO at Göttingen was responsible also for Clausthal.

⁴⁷ Samuel and Thomas, op. cit., p.177.

⁴⁸ Minutes of 3rd Conference of UECOs, 5.6.46 (PRO: F0945-137).

that it was felt that 'the prestige of Education Branch had been at stake over the matter:

It had long been obvious to all concerned that a "clean" Fragebogen did not necessarily mean that a person was desirable in his post. Professor Creutzfeldt, for example, had as "clean" a Fragebogen as anyone; the fact that he did not know why he was being dismissed was, in itself, a good reason for his dismissal. He was an obstructionist, and if he had been permitted to remain in his post it was evident that the University would have become completely disorganised.⁴⁹

Dr Samuel noted in a detailed official diary, a copy of which was available in the Foreign Office:

Sat. 19 Oct..... (Kiel)... tea with Miss Cunningham ... Insuperable difficulties with University. Second Rektor had to be sacked because of irregularities on Fragebogen. Caroline Cunningham has to be careful as a police dog not to be done in by the professors. Outwardly they are charming, but they try their hardest to delay or gloss over or get their way surreptitiously.⁵⁰

Caroline Cunningham sent in a confidential report on Creutzfeldt's successor, Professor Burck, which encapsulates the range of problems UECOs were having to deal with:

Due to Burck's personality a new attitude is developing among the University staff. He is a firm believer in delegating responsibility and is busily setting up Committees from amongst his colleagues for the purpose of solving some of the University's major problems. He is particularly anxious that these Committees should not be composed solely of the older members, for he rightly holds the view that if a healthy corporate life is to be developed in the University, all, particularly the younger teachers, must play their part. This viewpoint is, of course, contrary to German University tradition which admitted only of an academic pyramid with all the power vested in the apex.
[...]

49 Minutes of 3rd Conference of UECOs, 5.6.46 (PRO: FO945-137).

50 'German Journey, 9. Oct. - 9 Nov. 1946' (PRO: FO945-147).

Bearing in mind the ECO's brief acquaintance with Burck it would be fair to say that so far he betrays definitely democratic tendencies which, if properly cultivated, might provide that sorely needed leaven in the Kiel lump. His interest in the workings of democracy is not purely academic. He is most anxious to see democracy infused into the German spirit, but in this he tends to be a little precipitate and hence somewhat over complacent about the difficulties inherent in such a process. So far he has not yet seen any of his big democratic schemes (e.g. the Studentenschaft) working, and he is inclined, like most Germans, to think that a blue-print is synonymous with its satisfactory execution. Time, in the form of some slight set-back, will no doubt provide the proper corrective.⁵¹

In the same year, however, an alarming Foreign Office report on nationalism in the universities of the Zone, compiled in response to a spate of articles in the German press,⁵² could quote a law student at Kiel as writing 'The spirit of our present-day youth is still National-Socialist. None of us want [sic] to have anything to do with democracy'.⁵³ This, and other written information, was obtained through censorship intercepts.

One student from Hamburg could write: 'Fortunately most of the students are nationalistic', another could complain with remarkable exaggeration that '82% of those admitted to the university are former officers':

You can imagine that such a poor genuine democrat as myself feels extremely unhappy among this mass of Nazis and militarists. The general mood here is such that not one of us dares open his mouth. In respect to Gestapo times many things have not changed. But also the professors are already talking nonsense again about Germany's greatness.

51 'Education Personalities' (1946) (PRO: FO945-144).

52 Dating from 30.11.45 and culminating in a front-page article in the British Observer of 17.2.46.

53 'Nationalism at Universities in the British Zone of Germany' (PRO: FO945-138, p.2.)

A Cologne student is quoted as writing 'gleefully': 'The old spirit is not dead. It is bubbling up everywhere.'⁵⁴

Göttingen in particular, with the second highest proportion of former active officers, is mentioned in several contexts. The Foreign Office 'Nationalism' paper quotes from the Hannoverscher Kurier of 30.11.45:

In the University of Göttingen the great majority of the students are former officers. The political attitude of the student body is influenced by Nazi ideas. Minor political incidents have already occurred.

The same newspaper contained in its next issue a letter from a Göttingen student (later supposedly retracted by its author):

The Nazi militaristic spirit among the students is already so strong and so unconcealed that to fight against it seems as futile as to tilt at windmills. When one sees and hears how certain circles greet each other with "Heil Hitler!" and demand that Fehm murders be re-introduced, one is amazed at such brutality and effrontery.⁵⁵

The Frankfurter Rundschau of 29.1.46 reported a student as describing 20% of the students as 'pure Nazi' and 60% as Nazi sympathisers:

Socialist student groups play no part.... We have even been told that a student explained to a professor that the ban on the Hitler salute was undemocratic.

Intelligence reports suggested that - though many of the incidents were exaggerated - there was certainly disturbing evidence of nationalist elements. An American HQ Intelligence report of November 1945 is quoted:

⁵⁴ 'Nationalism at Universities in the British Zone of Germany' (PRO: FO945-138, p.2.)

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.1.

A lecture on the "Moral and Economic Basis of a World of Peace and Justice" was open to all faculties and drew about 400 listeners. The lecturer sharply attacked the Hitler regime which, he said, had thrown the whole world into disaster. The students reacted very unfavourably to the lecturer's thesis and almost the entire audience got up and walked out during the lecture. The lecturer could only conclude with difficulty.⁵⁶

The Foreign Office view was that conditions at Göttingen were unlikely to be very different from those at other universities, but censorship intercepts did seem to uncover 'a specially large number' of letters containing nationalist sentiments. The memorandum on Nationalism concludes that the majority of students were apathetic about politics, that in some places a minority of nationalist-minded students (very few of whom were Nazi in outlook) had made their influence felt, and that (plus ça change) the old men on the teaching staffs from conservative or nationalist circles could only be expected to give preference to prospective students with good war service behind them. Göttingen figures were examined in detail:

- (i) 98% of the male students have served at least one year in the Armed Forces. 12.2%, 10.8% and 7.5% have served for 6, 7 and 8 years respectively.
- (ii) 26.3% are ex-reserve officers; 4.5% are former regular officers.
- (iii) 67.4% are 26 years old or under; 52.9% are between the ages of 22 and 26. An insignificant number is over 32.
- (iv) Over 65% come from middle-class families, the children of civil servants, teachers, businessmen, officers or landowners. A bare 6% are of working-class origin.⁵⁷

The implications of these facts were said to be that little else but nationalistic/militaristic attitudes could be expected from young men

56 'Nationalism at Universities in the British Zone of Germany' (PRO: FO945-138, p. 2.)

57 Ibid., p.5.

who had spent their formative years in the Hitler Youth or the Army: they would have no conception of the meaning of democracy. 'Many of them will look back on their life in the Army, with its absence of responsibility and clarity of aims, with regret. Those who have been officers will be especially sensitive to the humiliations of defeat.'

Samuel and Thomas⁵⁸ point out that the proportion of former active officers in Bonn, 'always fairly Liberal [sic]', was as low as 0.75%; but an intelligence report from the area that included the universities of Cologne, Bonn and Münster stated: 'Students adopt a hostile attitude towards adverse references to the Third Reich and towards favourable comments on the present regime.'⁵⁹

A Labour MP, Mr Arthur Skeffington, wrote to the Chancellor of the Duchy in February 1946 mentioning a complaint from one of his constituents that the student body consisted largely of ex-army officers and that there seemed to be no provision for the admission of working-class students. He also recalled complaints made in Hamburg that 'the university was being filled with ex-Army officers whose national spirit was most manifest'.⁶⁰

Lecturers visiting the British Zone were invited to submit to the Foreign Office reports on their visits. At the beginning of 1947 Otto Freund wrote of 'violently nationalistic reaction' to his talk from medical students in Düsseldorf. Münster and Cologne he thought were 'more alert and less reactionary' than Bonn. He reflected the

58 Op. cit., p.177.

59 Loc. cit., p.2.

60 Note of 19.2.46 (PRO: F0945-138).

worry shared by many commentators that working-class students constituted only a small minority of the student body, the students with few exceptions shared 'a hidebound middle class attitude towards social problems' and the gap between the universities and the working class was as wide as ever.⁶¹ The problem of social class and the universities will be considered in greater detail later. We must first, however, look at the situation prevailing in Hamburg, about which special reports were written in March 1946⁶² and February 1947.⁶³

The Socialist Student's Association had its beginnings in Hamburg, having been founded there by two students who declared themselves the Association and called a first meeting without asking permission (political youth movements being originally banned). But Fenner Brockway, delighting in describing this encouraging development in his diary of a visit to Germany in the spring of 1946, admitted that the students were 'still largely Nazi' and against democracy, although they were 'bewildered', with their opinions unformed.⁶⁴ Control Office concern about Hamburg was expressed following representations made to Hynd, the then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, by the Chairman of the SPD in Hamburg, Karl Meitmann, during the Chancellor's visit to Hamburg in January 1946. Meitmann's complaints about Hamburg University⁶⁵ centred on the teaching staff ('a body of lecturers composed almost entirely of men who held office during the last 12 years')

61 'Education - Reports by Visiting Lecturers' (PRO: F0945-147). Letter of 19.1.47.

62 Appendix A to letter of 7.3.46 from Riddy to Granville Smith of the Control Office (PRO: F0945-138).

63 Hamburg Intelligence Office - Special Political Report No. 5: Post-War Development of Hamburg University (24.2.47). (PRO: F0371-64386).

64 Fenner Brockway: German Diary, London 1946, pp.55-6. Brockway was in Germany from 28 April to 11 May 1946.

65 A translation of Meitmann's report is contained in PRO: F0945-138.

and the student body ('the large majority... openly confess to emphatically nationalist ideas'). Meitmann complained bitterly of the influence of Professor Hahn, a man previously known to him as an ardent Nazi and 'notorious militarist': 'that is why a considerable percentage of the present students are ex-officers, who take a decidedly militarist and nationalist view of affairs.' Demonstrations were said to have taken place during a lecture when the subject of democracy was touched upon, or the name of Rathenau mentioned. In Meitmann's view, not only did ex-officers constitute the majority of those admitted (2,000 students were admitted for the Winter Semester, he thought, out of a total of 10,000 applicants) but professional officers and 'definite Nazis' had also found places, among them Flittchen, a former major on the General Staff, and Dehmel, a former member of the SS. Another student, Schult (who was refused admission) had been told that he should on no account mention his anti-Nazi sympathies if he valued being offered a place at the University. 'Ex-officers and Nazis have been preferred to those with a political clean sheet,' he says, 'the professors actively co-operating in the revival of democracy can be counted on 10 fingers.'

Professor Emil Wolff, the first post-war Rektor, who had been nominated as early as 12 June 1945 by the mayor of Hamburg,⁶⁶ is criticised for 'not doing justice to the intellectual and political requirements of the present day', despite his record as an opponent of Nazism. Meitmann concludes:

It is not going too far to assert that Hamburg University will prove to be the birthplace of future German nationalism,

66 Charles Whiting: Norddeutschland Stunde Null, April-September 1945, Düsseldorf 1980, p.148.

unless decisive steps are taken for the regeneration of the students and lecturers. It would be political suicide to ignore this fact, for it is from these circles that a new class of political leaders - a nationalist reaction - will arise. The social position of these leaders would once more enable them to contribute decisively to the destruction of German democracy for the second time.

There is in Meitmann's criticisms a flavour of the denunciation, jealousies, and grudges which, as Geoffrey Bird (UECO in Göttingen) has described,⁶⁷ made the task of finding reliable academic staff so difficult. However, Meitmann was sufficiently important for his complaints to be taken seriously, and Education Branch was asked to prepare a detailed report on the situation in Hamburg.

The general view of the response (signed by the Commander in Hamburg, Brigadier Armytage, and dated 2.3.46) was that Meitmann's report was 'grossly exaggerated' and misrepresented the facts. It admitted that the staff would not readily adapt themselves to new ideas in education, how could they shed 30 or 40 years of training in nine months? But younger staff could not be found. It confessed too that Wolff was recognised as being too old and that attempts were being made to find a younger man 'with greater drive and personality'; he was no nationalist, however, and would not 'voice nationalistic sentiments'.⁶⁸ Enrolment figures were 3,000 (out of 12,500 applicants) and an examination of all the Fragebogen had shown that these students

67 Geoffrey Bird: 'The Universities' in The British in Germany, Educational Reconstruction after 1945, ed. Arthur Hearnden, London 1978, p.147.

68 Professor Dodds, in a letter to his wife from Hamburg, described Wolff as 'as vague, humorous and charming as the old-fashioned English professor at his nicest; not an appropriate figure to preside over the ruins, but an attractive one'. (Letter dated 10.1.47 in Dodds Papers.)

- with only four exceptions - had been admitted by the vetting committee presided over by Hahn in accordance with the regulations in the Education Control Instruction then in force.⁶⁹ Complaints had been made about Hahn's fulfilment of the tasks set him and - though nothing could be proved against him - he had been dismissed at the time of Hynd's visit.

Student Flittchen had been a captain on the General Staff, but not a regular officer (information not contained in his Fragebogen) and student Dehmel could not be shown to have been in the SS. The Education Control Officer had examined the Fragebogen of all students and was sure that none of them could be deemed a Nazi under the terms of the original directive. 28% of them, however, did not fulfil the requirements of a new directive in force from 15 March 1946, and so they would not be eligible to return for the Summer Semester: this affected a total of 954 students.

The Hamburg report expressed no surprise on the subject of the high percentage of ex-army officers in the student body (the total of 26.34% giving Hamburg the second highest proportion after Göttingen): 'it was the custom in the German army, as in the British army, to choose well-educated men for training as officers.' In his covering letter to the report Donald Riddy, Director of Education Branch, felt too that it would be surprising if the ex-army officers did not hold 'aggressively nationalist views', though he thought it was too early to determine whether they actually did. He put trust in the processes of re-education to counter the ex-officers' twelve years of Nazi indoctrination. At the same time, however, there was a certain nervousness about the subject of right-wing students and admission policies and a degree of defensiveness when

69 ECI No 12, issued on 22 August 1945. (Appendix II).

visitors to Germany gained an impression of little change in the student body since the Occupation had begun. Clearly the oft stated view that change could only come slowly had some force, but it must be remembered too that matters connected with the Occupation itself tended to harden extremist opinion: Fenner Brockway knew Meitmann well and visited him when he was in Germany in April 1946. The British had been welcomed in Hamburg as liberators, Meitmann told him, especially by the working class: a friendly atmosphere had prevailed until the end of 1945, but after that there was a change in attitude due mainly to the food shortage (and the fact that housing problems were being exacerbated by requisitions, and to the slowness of industrial recovery).⁷⁰ Riddy expressed in his letter the fear that because of lack of proper Four Power agreement on university admissions policy in the early stages of the Occupation and the broad terms of ECI No. 12, some students had been admitted as a result of 'an unjustifiably wide interpretation [of] the phrase "mere membership"' in the following paragraph of the Instruction:

In general mere membership of the NSDAP should not be regarded by the German university authorities as a ban to entry, especially since membership of the HJ has for some time been compulsory for all young people, many of whom appear to have been enrolled automatically as Party members after reaching their eighteenth birthday. Also the political influence of the University in the reclamation of young Nazis who have not become hopelessly indoctrinated must not be forgotten; on the other hand, it must not be over-emphasised.

A change of policy was needed, and, on 20 February 1946, a new Education Instruction to German Authorities (EIGA)⁷¹ and a new ECI⁷²

⁷⁰ Op. cit., pp. 6-7.

⁷¹ EIGA No. 5 (Appendix IV).

⁷² No. 52 (Appendix V).

were issued after agreement in the Inter-Allied Education Committee.⁷³ The new regulations came into force from the Summer Semester (on 1 May 1946 in most institutions), but were to be kept secret by the German authorities until 15 March, since student unrest was feared if the rules and their effects were to become known while the Winter Semester was still in progress. 'Any application of new standards to Hamburg University,' said Riddy, 'would almost certainly have become quickly known in other Universities, with the probable results we want to avoid.'

EIGA No. 5 described five categories of applicants, two of which (D and E) embraced students who would in no circumstances be admitted to any Hochschule. These were: active members of the Nazi Party or affiliated groups or leaders in the Hitler Youth or BDM and 'those who otherwise fall into the Mandatory Removal Categories of the Directive of the Allied Control Authority on Denazification'. Those in the first category (A) (who had never been members of the Hitler Youth or BDM or candidates for admission to the Nazi Party or affiliated organisations) were to be considered for admission in preference to all other students. Provided places were available all students in this category would be admitted. When their places had been filled students in Category B would be considered (members, but not leaders, in the HJ or BDM and at no time members of the Nazi Party); remaining places would be filled by Category C students (non-active members of the Nazi Party or affiliated organisations) provided that students in this category did not constitute more than 10% of the student body. The admission of students in these two categories would be considered

73 See Allied Control Authority Coordinating Committee: Non-Admittance of Persons with Former Nazi Affiliations as Students to Institutions of Higher Learning, 14.1.46 (PRO: F0371-55688). (Appendix III).

by a special committee chaired by a leading member of the institution's staff and consisting of two or more members of the staff and an equal number of other persons appointed by the local Denazification Panel.

These moves - though they do not refer specifically to former members of the armed forces - were clearly designed to reduce the proportion of students likely to be conspicuous for their right-wing attitudes: they indicate the development of a safer policy than one which would allow of no restrictions on the grounds that Nazi tendencies might best be countered if right-wing students were permitted to be re-educated within the democratic processes of a university. ECI No. 52 refers specifically to the negligence of Hochschule authorities in screening students and responsibility is given to ECOs to attend the early meetings of the selection committees to ensure that the new procedures are being observed. By the end of 1946, however, the question of the admission of former officers was still being actively discussed, the British and Americans taking the view that no special regulations were necessary in addition to those already in force, the French and Soviet authorities proposing a resolution to the effect that no former officers would be admitted except in special circumstances and by special agreement of zonal authorities.⁷⁴

Clearly there was a lot of confusion about the extent of nationalist resurgence or even the danger of it. 'Blanket' rules did not provide a sufficient answer to the problem, nor did the often somewhat academic distinction between active and reserve officers. Chorley's reservation demonstrates that there was some feeling that exclusion was not the right policy, whatever the dangers inherent in more liberal admissions

⁷⁴ Allied Control Authority Coordinating Committee: Note of 13.11.46 (PRO: FO371-55692).

procedures - and this brings us up against that fundamental paradox implicit in any forceful policy on the part of an occupying power whose avowed aim was democratisation. Excessive exclusion was not in line with the general policy of non-interference, and, that aside, it could be argued that precisely what was needed by those exposed to a National Socialist upbringing reinforced by years in the armed forces was the kind of liberal education that the university can provide.

Of the mood prevailing among the German students in general there are many accounts, the most reservedly enthusiastic of which came from lecturers visiting the British Zone. Sir Ernest Barker, for example, described the students at the colloquia he held in Cologne in the Winter Semester of 1947-8:

These German students were passionate about intellectual and political ideas: they had a sort of Hegelian zest for making "shrewd thoughts devour one another"; and they took me deep. They could dive more readily than we English do into the recesses of consciousness: they were more ready to wrestle with abstract conceptions: they had a greater welcome for pure ideas.⁷⁵

A visitor to Kiel in the summer of 1946 was impressed by the students' enthusiasm for study and their determination to make up for lost time,

75 Age and Youth, Oxford 1953, p. 205.

resulting in a tendency for overwork, despite the meagre ration of 1,051 calories a day.⁷⁶ A British student visiting the University of Hamburg a year later reported that students were taking full advantage of what facilities existed, lectures being 'crowded to suffocation point'.⁷⁷ W. Friedmann, writing in 1947, described students as 'an eager, earnest and sincere body of men'.⁷⁸ 'The average German student,' a correspondent reported in February 1946,⁷⁹

76 BZR, 1/22, 20.7.46, p.6. The normal ration was 1,550 calories a day, roughly half the British ration. Victor Gollancz quotes from the House of Commons Select Committee on Estimates, 5.11.46: 'A diet of 1,200 calories may be characterised as slow starvation... 1,550 calories is probably no better than even slower starvation.' (In Darkest Germany, London 1947, p.35.) In early 1946 the rations had been:

Basic:	1,048 calories
Heavy workers:	1,753 calories
Very heavy workers:	2,312 calories
British civilians:	2,800 calories (as in the UK)

(Source: Fenner Brockway, op. cit., p.49.) A survey conducted in June 1950 among some 2,000 people in the Federal Republic (including West Berlin but excluding the Saarland) revealed that those in the British Zone in 1945 considered they had suffered least from the Occupation. The question asked was: 'What, generally speaking, was your experience in 1945 when the country was occupied?' and the results were:

	In Zone occupied by:			
	British troops %	American troops %	French troops %	Russian troops %
Unpleasant	37	49	65	95
Pleasant	16	15	7	1
Noticed little	47	36	28	4

(The Germans. Public Opinion Polls 1947-1966, ed. Elisabeth Noelle and Erich Peter Neumann, Allensbach and Bonn 1967, p. 218.)

77 BZR, 2/2, 26.7.47.

78 The Allied Military Government of Germany, London 1947, p. 182.

79 Manchester Guardian, 12.2.46.

is grateful for the chance to work and is only anxious to do so to avoid trouble. His great worry is lest any irresponsibles should attempt to indulge in the only kind of politics shown at German universities - that is, agitation or demonstration, - cause scenes and provoke Military Government to close the university. The real problem for anyone dealing with German students nowadays is not to control them but to stimulate them: to put something into the spiritual vacuum left by National Socialism.

Prospective students were often set to work clearing rubble in order to secure the offer of a university place: in Aachen for example a group of applicants worked for a whole Semester to gain admission in the following term. (Others had to undertake physical labour in order to obtain the Papiermark (of no use on the Black Market but needed to buy food rations and pay fees.⁸⁰) Working parties of students were helping to clear the rubble in Bonn in the summer term of 1946; in Hamburg students working for two full days each moving rubble, salvaging materials and preparing old window-frames for re-use enabled the west wing of the University to be fit for use by the end of 1946.⁸¹ Geoffrey Bird mentions the practice in 'several' universities of admitting students only if they had worked for a time clearing sites or building accommodation: in Göttingen teams of students, as we have seen, laboured to return thousands of books to the library shelves.⁸² The practice varied from institution to institution: in Braunschweig five months of work were required, in Münster three months. In other zones practice was equally varied: all Bavarian universities required six months, Stuttgart (TH) required six weeks, Karlsruhe (TH) four weeks; Heidelberg demanded only eight hours per Semester.⁸³ It seems that this policy was not official:

80 Edwards, loc. cit., p. 85.

81 BZR, 1/33, 21.12.46.

82 The British in Germany, pp. 149-50.

83 Deutschland Jahrbuch 1949, p.366.

the Education Branch paper of 13.12.46 on 'Recent Developments in the University Situation'⁸⁴ says:

Student labour has not been made a condition for entry to Universities, but in cases where intending students have assisted, the University authorities give the candidates priority, provided that the applicants have outstanding academic qualifications.

There was clearly considerable demand for the places available - in 1947-8 it was reckoned to be 40% in excess of the universities' capacity.⁸⁵ Student numbers in the British Zone in 1947 were double those in 1939, but a numerus clausus had to be imposed in order to ensure that the universities could operate with reasonable efficiency despite the enormous problems caused by physical destruction, lack of books and equipment, shortage of accommodation and availability of teaching staff. In the summer of 1946, 4,600 students were admitted in Göttingen and 5,000 were turned away; in Bonn 3,200 were admitted and 5,500 refused entry. In Kiel the figures were 2,575 and 5,000.⁸⁶ The principle of numerus clausus was alien to the tradition of Lernfreiheit and caused much bitterness. The AUT delegates reported the fear of professors and students that those turned away from the universities might join 'underground movements', but their report could not envisage the maxima being increased 'without endangering public health and/or disastrously affecting academic standards'.⁸⁷

4. Social Class

The German university had traditionally been open to the privileged classes in preference to all others. During the period 1886 to 1903,

⁸⁴ Loc. cit.

⁸⁵ Helen Liddell (ed.): Education in Occupied Germany, Paris 1949, p. 100.

⁸⁶ Samuel and Thomas, op. cit., pp. 176-7

⁸⁷ Loc. cit., pp. 216-7.

for example, a constant 21 to 22% of all students at Prussian universities came from academically trained and officers' families, 46 to 49% came from the property-owning middle class, and 30-32% from other social classes.⁸⁸ The period 1870-1914 was 'the heyday of exclusiveness in student social life',⁸⁹ and though students from lower middle-class homes were increasing their representation in the universities by the time of the First World War their presence was generally bitterly opposed by the Burschenschaften.

By 1953/4 the percentage of university students from working-class homes was still less than 5%, although at that time more than half the population lived in Arbeiterfamilien. In 1893 the percentage was 0.1%, and in 1928/29 2.2%.⁹⁰

Friedmann,⁹¹ writing in 1947, talks of the student body preserving 'the outlook of the professional middle classes from which they overwhelmingly come'. Those workers' children admitted to adult education colleges and trades union colleges, he felt, were not likely to influence the outlook of the universities. Concern about the social origin of the students was occasioned by two considerations: first, that a democratic system must admit students from all social levels; second, that the reactionary and nationalist tendencies associated with the solidly middle-class university students and their teachers could be counteracted by an influx from other social groups.

An example of this latter consideration is provided by a conference held in Bünde in August 1946 to discuss the admission of

88 Figures quoted in Charles E. McClelland: State, society and university in Germany 1700-1914, Cambridge 1980, p.244.

89 Ibid., p. 245.

90 Ralf Dahrendorf: Arbeiterkinder an deutschen Universitäten, Tübingen 1965, p.5.

91 W. Friedmann: The Allied Military Government of Germany, London

children of working-class origin to universities.⁹² Rectors, Education Officers, and representatives of students, political parties and the trades unions attended, and several suggestions were made that might improve the situation. These included free schooling, endowments from the Churches, local government, trades unions and other bodies to provide loans for gifted students, and the provision of evening classes for those who had not taken the Abitur at the usual age.

A few months earlier (28-29 May 1946) a Rectors' Conference in Göttingen had discussed the same problem.⁹³ Grimme had reported at this meeting that in Göttingen 22% of students were children of academics, 12% were from 'the merchant classes' and only 0.8% came from working-class families. The Rektor of Cologne University, Professor Kroll, insisted that these statistics did not represent the

92 Reported in: 'Hamburg Intelligence Office, Special Political Report No. 5: Post War Development of Hamburg University' (24.2.47). (PRO: F0371-64386.)

93 Minutes of UECOs' Conferences (3rd Conference, 5.6.46). (PRO: F0945-137).

situation in the British Zone as a whole, a point supported at the meeting by the UECO in Cologne.⁹⁴ The Rectors' Conference decided on the following resolution:

The Conference deplores that so few children of parents who are without adequate means, particularly among the working classes, are now studying at the Hochschulen, and urges that the necessary reforms of the entire educational system be undertaken as a matter of great urgency. The Conference declares itself, in the meantime, prepared to do all in its power to assist such children and to solve this problem.

The furtherance of working-class admissions to the universities became a matter of policy. A paper from the Directorate of Civil Affairs,

94 Samuel and Thomas give the following breakdown for Cologne in 1946-7:

STUDENTS AT COLOGNE UNIVERSITY, 1946-47, ACCORDING TO FAMILY BACKGROUND				
	FATHERS		GRANDFATHERS	
	Men Students %	Women Students %	Men Students %	Women Students %
1. Higher-grade Officials . . .	9.2	16.7	3.9	4.2
2. Medium-grade Officials . . .	21.5	20.5	9.2	10.4
3. Lower-grade Officials . . .	4.5	2.1	5.9	5.6
4. Independent Professions . . .	8.0	11.8	3.1	4.5
5. Independent Merchants . . .	19.2	21.0	20.1	27.1
6. Independent Craftsmen . . .	4.8	3.4	16.5	16.0
7. Independent Landowners . . .	3.1	2.6	18.1	15.4
8. Employees in Leading Positions	5.3	4.6	1.2	1.4
9. Remaining Employees (other than Workers)	17.8	15.3	10.5	8.2
10. Workers	5.7	1.0	10.5	5.4
11. Other Trades and Professions	0.9	1.0	0.7	1.8
12. Without Trade or Profession .	-	-	0.3	-
An approximate estimate based on the above figures shows the following general conclusion:				
	FATHERS		GRANDFATHERS	
	%		%	
Upper Class . . .	32		22	
Middle Class . . .	58		62	
Lower Class . . .	9		15	

(Op. cit., p.178.)

dated-stamped 6 September 1946 and headed 'Recommended Policy for Re-education in Germany', contains a section on 'The Universities and the General Life of the Nation':⁹⁵

German universities have in the past tended to divorce themselves from the general public life, which is not to say that often they have not exerted a profound influence on it. Recently the raising by the Control Commission of the question of how best the universities could extend their recruitment to all students of ability and character, irrespective of their parents' means, has brought representatives of the universities, the political parties and the trade unions around the table and provided conclusive evidence of the vast gap that separates the universities from the ordinary people, in so far as this could be judged from the attitude taken by the representatives of the more left-wing parties and the trade unions. Apart from the practical results concerning the provision of scholarships for the sons and daughters of working-class families, the above conferences have served a most useful purpose and every occasion will be taken to encourage similar meetings, having as their main purpose the broadest possible consideration of university problems.

In the first post-war Semester (Wintersemester 1945-6) at Göttingen figures produced by Dr Walter Wienert show that 22% of students had fathers with an academic education, 13.7% with 'beamtete Berufe'. Of 'nichtakademische Berufe' Beamte represented 17.6%. There followed Kaufleute (12.1%), Lehrer (7.6%), Angestellte (5.82%), Handwerker (5.2%) and Bauern (4.7%). All other occupations represented less than 1%, except officers with 1.83%.⁹⁶ An analysis of the social origin of Göttingen students undertaken by Wienert in 1949⁹⁷ showed that the number with 'akademisch gebildete Väter' had increased:

95 PRO: FO945-194.

96 'Göttinger Studentenschaft im Zahlenbild', GUZ, 1/3, 10.1.46.

97 'Struktur der Studentenschaft wandelt sich', GUZ, 4/4, 25.2.49.

<u>1945/6</u>	<u>1947/8</u>	<u>1948/9</u>
c.22%	35.9%	37.4%

But at the same time the number of working-class students had increased from 1% to 2.5%; the number of students with fathers in 'freie Berufe' rose from 11.6% to 15.8%, and of children of Angestellte from 6% to 15.5%. Sons [sic!] of 'selbständige Kaufleute' dropped from 12.1% to 8.1%; of 'mittlere und untere Beamte' from 25% to 22.3%, while those of 'höhere Beamte' and 'Kleinbauern' maintained their numbers of 16% and 4-5% respectively.

Though there was growth in the proportion of working-class students over the period it was clearly very slow. As late as July 1949, at a meeting of Chief Education Officers in Bad Rothenfelde,⁹⁸ the CEO for Schleswig-Holstein could state that

universities are regarded as the homes of privilege, and left-wing people tend (unless they are enlightened, and have been to Wilton Park or Haus Hartmann) to decry universities as survivals of conservatism rather than to demand a fair share of places in them for their own children and their own class generally.

The situation in the Soviet Zone stood in strong contrast: as a matter of policy it was intended that 30% of students should be of working-class origin. Special preparatory courses, designed to get students up to Abitur level in a period of ten months to two years, were instituted from the spring of 1946 in so-called Vorstudienanstalten, which were originally based in existing Volkshochschulen and from the end of 1947 incorporated into the universities as Vorstudienabteilungen. These Abteilungen later (1949) acquired the character of faculties,

⁹⁸ 27th Conference, 18.7.49. Paper by Mr C. W. Baty on 'School Reform Against the Domestic, Political and Social Background' (PRO: F0371-76815).

known as Arbeiter- und Bauern-Fakultäten (ABF) with the object of ensuring that 60-70% of the students would be Arbeiterkinder.⁹⁹ A declaration of local political parties in Leipzig in February 1946 made the philosophy behind these moves quite clear:

Die demokratische Neuordnung Deutschlands macht auch eine Änderung der Zusammensetzung der jetzigen Studentenschaft nötig. Der Besuch der höheren Schule, die Möglichkeit zur wissenschaftlichen Arbeit war praktisch ein Vorrecht des Besitzes. Wir wollen heute den bisher zurückgehaltenen Schichten die Möglichkeit geistiger Arbeit geben, um damit an der geistigen Führung des Staates auch die bisher Ausgeschalteten beteiligen zu können....

Möglichst viele junge Arbeiter oder Arbeiterinnen sollen aus ganz Sachsen neu zur Landesuniversität stoßen.¹⁰⁰

Writing of the situation at the end of the sixties Ralf Dahrendorf gives some indication of the lack of progress in this area in the Federal Republic: one half of the population was then providing only 1/20 of the student body. He shows that the bottom 25% of the German population was producing only 1% of university students, while the top 1% provided just under 25%.¹⁰¹ Where efforts were made in the immediate post-war years to increase, by means of positive discrimination, the numbers of students with working-class parents, they do not seem to have made much effect on overall proportions: in Hamburg, for example, a decision was made in early 1947 to accept 'bei gleicher fachlicher Eignung' applicants 'aus den sozial niedrigen Schichten' in preference to others.¹⁰² But it was not a simple question of admissions policy, as people like Riddy, the Rectors at their Göttingen conference, and the AUT delegates realised. In order to improve the proportion of

99 Ernst Richert: "Sozialistische Universität". Die Hochschulpolitik der SED, Berlin 1967, pp. 61-2.

100 'Arbeiter auf die Universität', quoted in Herbert Stallmann: Hochschulzugang in der SBZ/DDR 1945-1959, Sankt Augustin 1979.

101 Op. cit., pp. 5-6.

102 Deutschland-Jahrbuch 1949, p.366.

working-class students consideration would first have to be given to the paths by which they reached, or failed to reach, the universities. In his letter to the Control Office of 7 March 1946 (answering Meitmann's criticisms of Hamburg) Riddy admitted:

It is true... that there is no system really comparable with the British one of University, State and Local Authority scholarships, which enables a talented child from a family of limited means to contemplate nevertheless a University course at a reasonably early age. We in the Branch have been conscious of this defect for a long time. But it is only part of a much bigger problem, for, while the gate to the Universities could be widened somewhat by action here, there is a very long, narrow lane (in the Secondary School system) leading up to the gate. If the German Universities are in fact to be thrown open to a wider circle of students, this lane must be considerably widened.¹⁰³

The AUT Report developed this point a fortiori by suggesting that the social structure of the universities was bound up not only with that of the secondary schools but with the structures of German society: only 'a much wider movement of social reform' would bring about reform of the educational system, on which university reform in this area would necessarily depend.¹⁰⁴ The setting-up of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform was seen as a step towards breaking down the social exclusiveness of German education generally:¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ PRO: FO945-138.

¹⁰⁴ Loc. cit., p. 205.

¹⁰⁵ Times Educational Supplement, 21.2.48.

One of the first needs, as Mr Robert Birley pointed out in announcing [the] commission, is to break down the social exclusiveness of education, which has been in Germany almost as severe as that of the military class itself. It is a good thing for common mortals to be in awe of a great professor, but it is his mind they should reverence, not his social rank. The rigid class stratification in Germany has been supported by the educational system, whose ladder has been closed to the working classes generally.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Some of the material in this chapter has appeared in German translation in David Phillips: 'Die Wiedereröffnung der Universitäten in der Britischen Zone. Nationalistische Gesinnung, Entnazifizierung und das Problem der Zulassung zum Studium', Bildung und Erziehung, 36/1, March 1983.

CHAPTER FOUR

British Control and the Universities

The British were very conscious of the fact that the faith which they wished to propagate involved a disbelief in the value of imposing faiths by order.

This paradox, succinctly formulated by Michael Balfour,¹ should be borne in mind throughout all discussion of control in Germany after the war, especially when considering control in education, and a fortiori in connection with the universities, where the imposition of faiths by order is an alien concept that had already imposed itself - with plain consequences - under Hitler.

Some, disillusioned with the style of control during the occupation, expressed the problem in extreme terms. Rennie Smith, for example, a Labour MP from 1924-31 and civilian officer in Germany during 1946-7, puts it this way in his unpublished autobiography:

What sort of democracy is that, where all the effective decisions are held automatically in the hands of the ruling peoples? The example we gave and, no doubt, had to give, was that of "Government from above", and without representation. It was but a replica of the Hitler or Stalin style of political and public life, under a changed form. We could, as an Administration, be described as a benevolent² autocracy, in contrast with the malevolent one of Hitler.

The comparison is offensively stark, but the paradox remains. It was resolved largely through the principle which runs through British policy throughout its development (from the early years of the war

1 Michael Balfour and John Mair: Four-Power Control in Germany and Austria, London 1956, p.230.

2 Bodl. MSS Eng. hist. d. 296-7. Smith was closely involved with the setting up of the post-war trades union movement in Germany. He had argued during the war that all universities and institutions of higher education in Germany should be closed for three years following an Allied victory.

onwards) of encouraging the Germans to solve their problems themselves. So firmly established was this principle that most difficulties that emerged in the sphere of education were attributable to neglect of what had become a cornerstone of British policy.

The machinery of Military Government, by its very nature autocratic, made immediate implementation of the self-help principle problematic, but the British Military Governors believed implicitly in it, and it was quickly reflected in the early measures taken to establish order in the Zone.

* * * * *

1. The Military Governors

Field-Marshal Montgomery's work as the first Military Governor predated the formal establishment of the Control Commission in Germany; in fact, as he recounts in his memoirs, while SHAEF continued to operate (it was not disbanded until July 1945) he was given (or took) free rein to establish Military Government machinery and to begin to develop a functional plan for the occupation.

Montgomery's first message to the German population of the British Zone was issued on 30 May 1945. His priorities at that time were food, housing, and the prevention of disease (in that order) and his main object 'to establish a simple and orderly life for the whole community'.³ This constituted the first stage of his plan. A second message (issued on 10 June) concerned non-fraternisation, and a third, put out on 6 August, announced the beginning of the second stage:

³ The Memoirs of Field-Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G., London 1958, p. 368.

In this stage it is my intention that you shall have freedom to get down to your own way of life: subject only to the provisions of military security and necessity.⁴

During this stage restrictions on press freedom could be lifted, local self-government could begin, denazification procedures could be implemented, the judicial system could be reorganised, and educational facilities could be provided. Following this third message Montgomery turned his mind to problems facing education in the Zone:

We were opening schools and universities as soon as possible. New school books must be printed which were not tainted with Nazi ideologies, and all Nazi teaching and ideas must be eradicated from educational establishments. There would be a shortage of suitable teachers and that matter must be tackled energetically.⁵

In the same month he issued a message on the subject of the future of education. He promised to open schools and universities as soon as possible. On universities he had this to say:

Das Ansehen der deutschen Universitäten ist unter dem nationalsozialistischen Regime in den Augen der Welt tief gesunken. Universitätsgebäude sind während des Krieges schwer beschädigt worden. Ich werde keinen Professor oder Dozenten im Amt belassen, der seine Gaben im Dienste des Nationalsozialismus prostituiert hat. Die Gebäude werden, wo es möglich ist, wieder instand gesetzt werden.⁶

Adult education especially would be encouraged. But there would be no attempt to impose foreign models:

Ich werde Ihnen keine fremden Erziehungsmethoden und Grundsätze aufzwingen. Es soll Ihnen freistehen, zu experimentieren und neue Ideen auszuprobieren.

⁴ Montgomery, op. cit., p. 395.

⁵ Ibid., p. 397.

⁶ Quoted from the text published in the Kieler Kurier of 25 August 1945.

In September he was referring to five months of 'clearing the ground' prior to a stage of reconstruction which was just beginning:

The defeated enemy must be made to put his house in order.... First he must be raised to his feet, and then made to work in such a way that he will not only be able to liquidate his debts but finally find his own salvation.⁷

The line between control and freedom was being trodden very carefully, and the self-help principle furthered wherever possible. The Control Commission and Military Government were soon merged, and moves towards a wholly civilian administrative machine were being made. Montgomery's principle was to 'start at the bottom and work up',⁸ reflecting the need to allow the Germans to begin to govern themselves at local level. By the last stage of his plan, scheduled for the middle of 1946, civilians would be in the principal appointments. By that time he had handed over to his reluctant successor, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Sholto Douglas, who arrived in Berlin on 1 May 1946.

When he left Germany Montgomery passed on a memorandum to the British Government describing the situation he was leaving behind him. Food remained the major problem, but more would have to be done in the field of self-government:

The whole country is in such a mess that the only way to put it right is to get the Germans "in on it" themselves.⁹

Curiously, the memorandum was not shown to Sholto Douglas, even though Montgomery had been preparing it in Berlin on the day Douglas arrived

7 'Introductory Message' from Montgomery in the first issue of the British Zone Review, 29.9.45.

8 Memoirs, p. 401.

9 Reproduced in full in Montgomery's Memoirs, pp. 413-16.

to take up his duties. Douglas, much to his annoyance, had his first sight of it when Montgomery's Memoirs were published in 1958.

Sholto Douglas had no wish to be Military Governor, and it was only his sense of duty and direct persuasion by Attlee and the Cabinet that resulted in his accepting the post at all¹⁰ - and then only for 'eighteen months or two years'. In the event he stayed for exactly eighteen months, until November 1947, regarding most of his work with ill-disguised dislike, if not distaste, and later describing his time in Germany as the unhappiest period of his life.

Douglas was succeeded by General Sir Brian Robertson, who had been Deputy Military Governor since August 1945 and, as the British member of the Co-ordinating Committee (which consisted of the Deputy Military Governors of the four zones) had been in charge of administration, effectively heading the Control Commission (British Element) since its establishment in Germany. As such he was uniquely placed to understand the day-to-day concerns of those administering affairs in Germany at levels below that of high policy-making, and he came to play an important part in the setting up of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform and the subsequent developments.

* * * * *

¹⁰ Sholto Douglas (Lord Douglas of Kirtleside): Years of Command, London 1966, pp. 308-11.

2. Allied Control, Chains of Command and Communication, and the Universities

the four Allied Commanders-in-Chief, meeting as the Control Council, exercised in name if not in effect ultimate control of Germany during the occupation. The Control Council was weakened, however, by two factors: first, each Commander had supreme authority in his own Zone; second, decisions of the Control Council could be neutralised by the exercise of a veto by any one of the Allied members.¹¹ The matter was further complicated by the fact that it had been assumed that the Control Council's decisions would be implemented by surviving German government machinery after the surrender: in the event, of course, such machinery did not exist. This meant that to all intents and purposes power was vested with the Commander-in-Chief and Military Governor as head of his corresponding Zone. Thus control in the British Zone rested ultimately with the Military Governor and his Deputy as Head of the Control Commission (British Element).

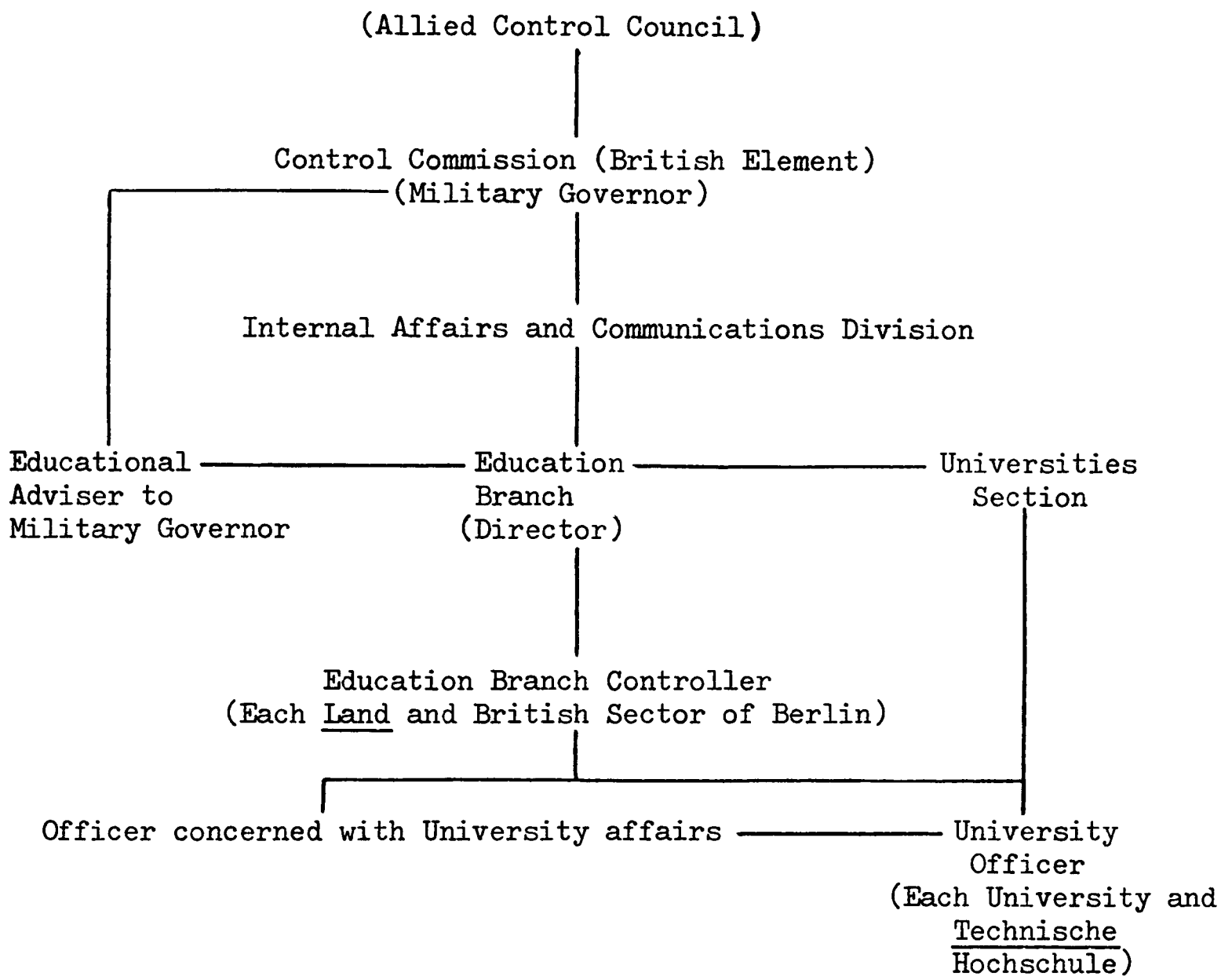
In the British Zone there were Economic and Governmental Sub-Commissions. Education Branch was part of the Internal Affairs and Communications Division of the Governmental Sub-Commission. The Branch in turn had nine sections, one of which, Universities Section, dealt with higher education (but excluding teacher training, which was the responsibility of a separate Section).

Each Land (and the British Sector of Berlin) had a Regional Commander and under him an Education Branch Controller, to whom an

¹¹ Montgomery recounts how in early October 1945 he had come to the conclusion (which he transmitted to Attlee) that Four-Power government of Germany could never be made to work (Memoirs, p.399).

Officer concerned with university affairs was responsible. To each university and Technische Hochschule was assigned a University Officer.

In diagrammatic form the lines of control, as far as the universities were concerned, looked like this:



In 1982 a questionnaire (see Appendix XVIII) was sent to as many former University Officers as could be contacted. One question sought to clarify the lines of command and communication from those responsible for policy-making at headquarters level to those, like the University officers, responsible for its implementation on the ground - and vice versa. It asked who the immediate superior of individual respondents was, i.e. the person to whom they reported in the first instance.

The replies showed a curiously ad hoc approach to what on the surface at least appears to be an important administrative matter. Caroline Cunningham (Kiel) says she reported when necessary to Education Branch HQ Berlin (where monthly meetings of University Officers were held) and that she was in close touch in Kiel with the Governor, Air Vice-Marshal Champion de Crespigny. Geoffrey Bird (Göttingen) saw himself as directly responsible to the Head of Universities Section (Eric Colledge, later Mr R. H. Pender). Geoffrey Carter (TH Hannover and TH Braunschweig) reported first to Colledge, then to Brigadier Maude as Chief Education Officer in Hannover. James Alldridge (Münster, Göttingen, from 1948) regarded his immediate superior as the Educational Adviser (Birley, Marshall, Allen). Peter Whitley (TU Berlin) feels he had two immediate superiors ('this dualism was a common feature of CCG/Education'): L. E. Ditchfield as Head of the Berlin Education Branch, and Pender as Head of Universities Section, Education Branch HQ - 'for almost every practical purpose it was [Ditchfield] that really mattered'. Harry Beckhough mentions 'a man of Lt. Col. rank sitting at Düsseldorf to whom all Education Branch officers reported. But he had no knowledge of universities and simply passed on any reports we submitted'. Dr Beckhough reported regularly to the Foreign Office.¹² A.W.J. Edwards (TH Aachen) reported to Colonel H.J. Walker, Chief Control Officer in Nordrhein-Westfalen.

It would seem then that the University Officers had several lines of communication open to them, and that no proper procedure existed to refer to any specified superior officer in the first instance. Given the fact that personnel moved from post to post and that many Control Commission officers, keen to return to the UK to begin work again in

¹² His interesting reports are preserved in PRO: FO945-266.

civilian life, were being replaced by others new to particular jobs, it must have been confusing to keep track of who was responsible for what. The regular monthly meetings of University Officers, chaired usually by the Head of Universities Section and attended by other Officers too, at least provided the opportunity for issues of common concern to be raised and joint decisions taken.

At the London end the Control Office for Germany and Austria was set up in October 1945 largely because neither the Foreign Office nor the War Office wanted to take responsibility for the day-to-day control of Germany. The Foreign Office was inclined to want to keep control, but traditionally had kept aloof in matters of administration: ideas and policy were and are its main preoccupation. The War Office was of course concerned with the interests of the military and, despite its involvement with planning for civilian affairs via SHAEF, was happier when dealing with the soldiery. The two Control Commissions, in Germany and Austria, had to be serviced from a London base, however, and the Control Office, established in Norfolk House in St James's Square under the charge of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, represented a compromise.

John Hynd, the Junior Minister who, as Chancellor of the Duchy, had responsibility for German affairs, was a minor politician who had been a railway clerk and an official of the National Union of Railwaymen; he was well-intentioned but, by all accounts, unimpressive. He had nothing approaching the confidence, and the contacts, of his eventual successor, Lord Pakenham. His political master was the Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, who disliked him - he would refer to him contemptuously as 'that 'ynd'. Policy matters were referred on the whole to Bevin, and so Hynd tended to be bypassed. In fact the description

of the Control Office as the 'Hyndquarters' probably said as much about its status as it did about the dismissive view taken of John Hynd. The Control Office was charged with matters relating to the governing of Germany, while the Foreign Office continued to take the major policy decisions on which governance depended.

There is no doubt that Hynd took his job very seriously, even to the extent of learning German,¹³ and he fulfilled his public relations function satisfactorily. He certainly had more time for the Germans than Bevin: it used to be said that Hynd thought there were some good Germans, who were socialists, while Bevin thought there were none. But Hynd failed to make his mark, and he was replaced in March 1947 by Pakenham, the Control Office being absorbed at the same time into the Foreign Office as its German Section and Pakenham having an office in Downing Street.

Pakenham was a much more successful figurehead than Hynd; he had more status (though no seat in the Cabinet) and was well known, and he attacked his new job with considerable vigour and conviction. He tended, though, to be emotional and sentimental, and to parade his moral convictions too much for the liking of some, as he readily admits.¹⁴ He was also notoriously eccentric, with unbusinesslike habits which did

¹³ Surviving film footage shows him addressing a crowd in tolerably well pronounced German. It was included in the first programme ('Year Zero') of Patricia Meehan's BBC television series Zone of Occupation (1981) in which Hynd's appointment was somewhat unfairly described as 'a casual gesture of indifference'. Lord Annan has said of Hynd: 'He was a simple, decent trade unionist who at first gave the impression that the revival of democracy in Germany depended on elections being conducted on the same lines as was current in the National Union of Railwaymen' (How Dr Adenauer Rose Resilient from the Ruins of Germany, 1982, Bithell Memorial Lecture, University of London, 1983).

¹⁴ See his autobiography, Born to Believe, London 1953.

not suit his civil servants. James Mark, who served as his Private Secretary, has described working for him as 'a slightly comic nightmare':¹⁵ it became so difficult to get him to read and sign documents that he too would often be bypassed. And although he always spoke with compassion and conviction on his fortnightly visits to the Zone he did not always make the positive impression he intended.¹⁶ Nor did he have much influence on policy, as his Private Secretary affirms:

15 Interview of 11.11.81 in London.

16 Though it is not strictly relevant in connection with the universities, it is irresistible to quote a document given to me by a colleague in Oxford, Miss Ruth Harvey, Fellow and Tutor of St Anne's College and a noted Germanist, shortly before she died. She had given up her lectureship at Westfield College, London, in order to work with Education Branch in Berlin, being put in charge first of the schools in the Charlottenburg district, and later of all schools in the city. Something of the flavour of the realistically critical and slightly irreverent (and generally left-wing) attitudes of highly intelligent young graduates like Ruth Harvey can be gained from her letters home to her parents. The following describes the impact Pakenham made on her during a visit to a Berlin school:

'I must tell you about Lord Pakenham's visit to my school, as I desire to record my impressions of a most comical and dreadful occasion before they get blurred. I got there early, of course (or rather, he was late) and found the Headmaster, my Hauptschulrat and various police Inspectors dithering up and down with excitement at the school door. We went in and chatted about various things till suddenly someone pelted into the room crying "They come! They come!" And down the corridor came the most incredible procession - Lord P. in front (he is larger than I thought, incidentally) surrounded by Louise Schroeder (Mayoress of Berlin), Ernst Reuter (prominent figure in City Parliament), May (Head of Public Education Dept.) and other notabilities, cavorting about, rubbing their hands, smiling anxiously and generally beating their foreheads on the ground before the Great Man. (The visit had been laid on entirely between Lord P. and the Germans, which explained their extreme desire to oblige.) In the rear came the most awful riff-raff of Pressmen, wireless reporters and so, tripping over yards of microphone flex, edging and grinning sheepishly and generally getting in the way. Lord P. demanded to see a class and we all flocked into a classroom where the babies were being taught the alphabet. The room seemed full of people so I kept well in the background and enjoyed the role of spectator. The teacher began to instruct his charges about the letter B in a voice trembling with emotion, while the whole entourage gasped and seethed with anxiety and desire to please. The children were reduced to such a state of excitement by all this doo-dah that they went on saying B loudly at intervals throughout the proceedings, in and out of season, while Lord P. put up a real "Act" - he recited a little speech about his 8 children, which was

He had...a warm heart and an Irish friendliness, and he got on well with a whole lot of people... and cheered people up. And this... was very largely the function that he performed;¹⁷ it was... quite an important function at the time.

On his visits to universities he would make rash promises which had small hope of being implemented. Geoffrey Bird reports that Pakenham's promise to Göttingen students to remedy shortages 'certainly raised their morale and reassured them as to our intentions',¹⁸ even if nothing actually happened afterwards. Kurt Frey, General Secretary of the Kultusministerkonferenz from 1955 to 1975, reports, however, that a lecture delivered to students in Kiel provoked hostility because of

16 continued...

reverently translated by one of the court, and then was photographed in various attitudes:- "Lord P. with child", "Lord P. with child and blackboard", "Lord P. speaking", "Lord P. patting child on head", etc. while the microphone-bearer hovered round collecting each syllable. Then we all flocked round into another classroom - more recited speeches, more photographs:- "Lord P. listening to children singing" and so on. Then, after a total visit lasting about 20 minutes, he concluded that he had gained an adequate impression of Elementary Education in Berlin, went out through lines of saluting policemen, women gibbering with agitation, and tumbling children, and drove away in his large limousine. My Hauptschulrat and I went back together to our respective offices and exchanged astonished and caustic remarks about the exhibition we had just seen. A doubly regrettable show, first, because it shows that the Germans haven't got rid of one atom of their headlong servility to People in Authority or of their craving to blossom in the shadow of the Great; secondly, because Lord P. must be a much "wetter" or vainer man than I had thought, to permit himself to be surrounded by this ridiculous homage, or to imagine that that sort of auto-apotheosis against a setting of school-children is any sort of substitute for investigating what conditions are really like. However, it's none of my business.'

(Letter of 15.12.47, Harvey Papers).

17 See the Transcript of the 1982 Oxford Symposium proceedings, p.70.

18 The British in Germany, ed. Arthur Hearnden, London 1978, p.150.

its excessively moralistic tone.¹⁹

Pakenham did, however, succeed in keeping up the morale of those whose spirits were flagging, from Sholto Douglas downwards.²⁰ He had been a politics don at Christ Church, Oxford, and was respected as an intellectual and scholar. He had a greater natural understanding of the universities and their problems than his predecessor as Chancellor might have been expected to have. And his appointment (actually from 17 April 1947) coincided roughly with that of Robert Birley as Educational Adviser to the Military Governor. Pakenham and Birley were between them able to move educational thinking in the Zone from the solution of practical problems to the realm of ideas.

* * * * *

19 'Lord Pakenham [hatte] in Kiel vor der Studentenschaft einen Vortrag gehalten, der sich bewußt und sicherlich ganz der geistigen Art und Entwicklung Pakenhams entsprechend des Eingehens auf Tagesfragen enthalten hatte und der vielmehr Grundfragen des Christentums und der Politik berührte und unter anderem einen Satz enthielt, der etwa lautete: Das himmlische Brot ist doch letzten Endes für Euch deutsche Studenten wichtiger als das tägliche Brot. Der Vortrag fand bei den Studenten, die zumeist wegen der Person Pakenhams mit sehr wenig Mißtrauen und erstaunlicher Aufgeschlossenheit gekommen waren, durchweg schärfste Ablehnung, selbst bei besonders religiös and kirchlich eingestellten Studentinnen und Studenten. Bei der nächsten Kabarettvorstellung nach der Pakenham-Rede brachten die kritischen Kieler Studenten natürlich prompt ein kleines Gedicht zum Vortrag, das die Reaktion auf den Pakenham-Besuch darstellte. In diesem Gedicht erschien ein Luftschutz-General - ziemlich deutlich als Lord Pakenham erkennbar - , der seinen Zuhörern unter anderem "Reinlichkeit als Abwehrmittel gegen Bomben" empfahl. Im übrigen wurde ihm selber am Schluß des Gedichtes recht deutlich empfohlen, wenn er keinen besseren Rat wüßte, lieber im eigenen Lande zu bleiben.' (Kurt Frey: 'Erfahrungen aus der Sozialarbeit unter deutschen Studenten nach dem Krieg' (1948) in: Konstruktiver Föderalismus, Weinheim und Basel 1976, pp.8-9).

20 See Years of Command, p.352.

3. Education Branch

Recruitment to Education Branch had been taking place since the early months of 1944. George Murray, with Education Branch from 1944 to 1956, describes the preparatory work of those appointed 'in a dusty requisitioned mansion in Kensington, surrounded by vast books of reference on Germany, German education, German history, German culture, politics and life under Weimar, Nazism and the War'.²¹ There were sections dealing with various aspects of education, including a nascent Universities Section.

Many of the recruits received training or at least had several months in which to prepare and brief themselves for their work in Germany, though we shall see that the University Officers in general had neither training nor briefing.

The actual setting up of Education Branch had been preceded by detailed work undertaken since May 1944 by a Working Party on Re-education, under the chairmanship of Professor Dodds, with representatives from the Foreign Office and its Political Intelligence Department, the War Office, the Board of Education, and SHAEF. The Working Party continued its deliberations until November 1944, when its work could be taken forward by Education Branch.²²

The Branch moved to Bünde in July 1945 under the direction of Donald Riddy, a seconded member of His Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools, whose specialism was modern language teaching. He originally bore the title of Deputy Director of Education Branch, since it was

21 The British in Germany, p. 77.

22 See Kurt Jürgensen: 'British Occupation Policy after 1945 and the Problem of "Re-educating Germany"', History, 68/223, June 1983.

intended to appoint a member of the Indian Civil Service as Director. The official in question, John Sargent, formerly Director of Education in both Southend and Essex, and Educational Commissioner (1938-42) and, from 1942, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, could not be released from his duties, however, and so Riddy eventually became Director himself.

Riddy had drawn up a war establishment during the preparatory phase, but on the assumption that there would still be a German Ministry in Berlin, and a Minister who would be expected to implement his policy directives.²³ Instead of advising and generally overseeing the implementation of his plan for education in the Zone Riddy found that he had to implement it himself. What had been envisaged as an advisory role now became a task centred on the practical problems of reconstruction: the provision of staff, buildings, equipment - and not least food. From the summer of 1945 until the end of 1946 the main preoccupation of Education Branch had perforce to be to get the education system of Germany back on to its feet: there were guiding principles to be observed, and ideas for reform were not lacking, but

23 Transcript of interview with Patricia Meehan, 24.10.78. Riddy was not considered to be the most suitable choice, and there was a certain amount of frustration both at the Foreign Office and the Board of Education that other names were not being put forward. Professor Lindley Fraser was considered, but ruled out because of his wartime activities (he had been a BBC German News commentator in 1940). A Foreign Office memo by John Troutbeck of 22 February 1945 makes the desperate suggestion, 'as our own educational world has fallen down on the business', to try to find a Canadian for the post: 'To entrust the re-education of Germany to a man who up to a few months ago was no more than a minor inspector of schools - holding a rank lower than a first secretary - would be regarded, and justly, as a clear proof that we are not taking this business seriously. It seems to me perfectly deplorable that the Ministry of Education can do no better than that'. (PRO: FO371-46693).

the major problem throughout was practical reconstruction.

As far as guiding principles for any lasting reform were concerned Riddy had to wait for Control Council Directive No. 54 of June 1947 ('Basic Principles for Democratisation of Education in Germany') as his blueprint, despite the fact, as he has admitted, that this document enunciated principles 'in advance of the actual practice in any of the four [Allied] countries'.²⁴ Directive No. 54 listed ten principles: educational opportunity for all; free tuition, textbooks, the provision of maintenance grants; compulsory schooling up to 15 (full-time) and 18 (at least part-time); a 'comprehensive' education system with elementary and secondary levels consecutive; education for civic responsibility; schools to promote understanding of other nations; health supervision and education; educational and vocational guidance for pupils and students; all teacher education in universities or institutions of similar rank; full provision to be made for 'effective participation of the people in the reform and organisation, as well as in the administration of the education system'. Riddy could rely on a committed staff to implement policies developed within the framework of the Directive.

Education Branch staff ('teachers, lecturers, administrators, educationists with a wide variety of interests, all with at least some knowledge of Germany, its language and institutions',²⁵) were almost universally highly spoken of by all who came into contact with them. They seem to have had a sense of commitment and an idealism that many other Control Commission staff lacked. This was probably due largely

²⁴ Ibid., The Directive in question was of course not produced until six months after the dereservation of education.

²⁵ Murray, in The British in Germany, p. 76.

to their knowledge of the country and the language. Berta Humphrey feels that Education Branch consistently attracted the 'nicest' people,²⁶ and Riddy had nothing but praise for them: 'If there is any credit to the British side for what was done in the early years of the occupation it was entirely due to these dedicated people'.²⁷

We shall return to the subject of those Education Branch staff concerned directly with the universities after looking briefly at the role of the Educational Adviser, who arrived in Germany after the initial reconstruction phase over which Donald Riddy had presided.

* * * * *

4. The Educational Adviser

In January 1947, less than a month before she died, the Minister of Education, Ellen Wilkinson, wrote to Ernest Bevin enclosing a summary of a memorandum on education in the British Zone. The memorandum had been prepared by the then Headmaster of Charterhouse, Robert Birley, following a visit to Germany organised for him by the Control Commission. Ellen Wilkinson wrote:

Mr Birley is a man of great ability and real educational knowledge.... When he returned I discussed his visit with him and asked him to write a memo. I have found it of the greatest interest and I think you will do the same.²⁸

In April of the same year Birley was back in Germany to take up the newly created post of Educational Adviser to the Military Governor.

²⁶ Interview of 14.11.81 in Cambridge.

²⁷ Patricia Meehan's interview with Riddy, 24.10.78.

²⁸ Ellen Wilkinson's letter and Birley's memorandum are contained in PRO: FO371-64386.

The decision to appoint Birley had been taken by General Robertson in December of 1946. There had been some discussion about the future of Education Branch - its upgrading to a Division had been suggested - but Robertson, while agreeing that Education needed a higher status, was not in favour of creating a new Division or Group. A Foreign Office note of 30 December 1946 indicates that Robertson himself had suggested appointing Birley 'as Educational Adviser with enlarged responsibilities over Re-education [sic] generally'.²⁹ Robertson felt that this would 'give a boost to the Commission as a whole'. It was doubted, however, 'that there would be room for both [Riddy] and Mr Birley at HQ'. Arthur Hearnden, Birley's biographer, is of the view that once Birley arrived in Germany Riddy had to go.³⁰

In August 1947 Robertson circulated the following description of Birley's duties:

'Responsibilities of the Educational Adviser

1. The success of the British occupation must ultimately largely depend upon the effect we make on the German mind and outlook. If our efforts to exert a good influence on the Germans and to present the British point of view are to succeed they must be co-ordinated and directed by a bold, comprehensive and consistent policy. This work of co-ordination and direction will henceforth be the responsibility of the Educational Adviser. This responsibility lies mainly in the fields of education, cultural affairs, the control of information and relations with the Churches, but the full presentation of our attitude and point of view to the Germans frequently involves the work of Divisions and Branches not directly concerned with these functions.
2. To enable him to exercise this co-ordination and direction, the following rights and functions will from henceforward be vested in the Educational Adviser:
 - (i) He may require from all Divisions and Branches information, planning and action which seem to him necessary for the end in view.

29 Signed by R. O. Wilberforce, PRO: FO945-199.

30 Transcript of the 1982 Oxford Symposium proceedings, p.23.

- (ii) He may summon any meeting he thinks useful. In view of the importance of sound opinion in such the Chief of the Division or Branch invited to such meetings should either attend himself or ensure that he is represented by someone of real experience.
 - (iii) Any Division or Branch of the Control Commission taking any action or considering any major proposals calculated to be of influence within the sphere of the Educational Adviser will refer such action or proposals to him for advice and guidance before they are implemented. Such reference will not interfere with normal consultations with other Divisions or Branches or with existing rights of access to higher authorities.
- [...] ³¹

There was some hostility to Birley's appointment, and Hynd had to defend it in the House of Commons. Arthur Hearnden feels that Birley was appointed

as a kind of charismatic diplomatic figure, to bring a kind of change of gear, so that once the really hard work had been done, and things had been handed over to the Germans to get on with themselves, some sort of inspirational input was needed.... His quality was that he was very good at inspiring people, very good at making people feel that there was something worth doing, something worth striving for....³²

His appointment³³ at the time when power over educational matters was being restored to the German authorities was no coincidence. The Control Commission needed in those circumstances not so much the administrative efficiency of Donald Riddy (whose work in the reconstruction period has been generally undervalued, since he was quickly eclipsed by Birley) but the inspiration that someone concerned more with ideas could bring - if that someone were additionally well known and well connected in the United Kingdom so much the better.

31 PRO: F0945-199.

32 Transcript, pp. 22-3.

33 It was announced in February.

Birley's memorandum contained recommendations described by a Foreign Office official as 'sensible and familiar'; but they were sufficiently important to be discussed by the Chancellor of the Duchy during a visit to Germany and incorporated in a Cabinet paper. In the memorandum (dated 20 December 1946) the German universities were held to be of vital importance:

It is of the very greatest importance that the Universities in the British Zone should be intellectually vigorous and independent. The whole question of the status of the Universities and their relationships with the State needs to be carefully considered. There is certainly some danger in handing over control of the Universities to the Governments of the Länder. They may become, in consequence, far too parochial. The recent history of the Universities is deplorable; it was in them that hot resistance to the Nazis ought to have appeared in the earliest stages of the movement, but it did not. There is a great opportunity to create a new status for Universities in the British Zone, which may make them an example to all Germany.

Shortly after the preparation of this memorandum the AUT delegates were to set off on their investigative tour of the universities of the Zone and to produce their highly critical report. What Birley is hinting at in this paragraph of the memorandum is, however, not the need for investigation and the statement of problems; it is more forward-looking, perhaps more opportunistic, than that. He saw the universities facing a challenge to develop in ways which would not permit them to repeat their shameful failures during the Third Reich, and we may see in this early statement the germ of his decision, not activated until January 1948, to set up a mainly German commission which would make radical proposals for reform.

* * * * *

5. The University Officers and their Duties

At each university in the British Zone an official was appointed with the task, as Geoffrey Bird puts it of 'helping the process of material and academic reconstruction',³⁴ and, until 1947, with 'absolute power' over their individual universities. These officials were first styled University Control Officer (UCO), the nomenclature later changing to University Education Control Officer (UECO) and again to University Education Officer (UEO) at the beginning of 1947.

Geoffrey Bird insists that he was given practically no brief - and certainly no training - before being sent to take charge of the University of Göttingen.³⁵ He had been demobilised in late 1945 and then offered his services to the Control Commission. Having been an exchange student (from University College, London, where he had read German) and later Lektor at Göttingen, his availability must have been particularly propitious to the authorities at that time: by December he was in Göttingen (the University had been open for over two months when he arrived) and was taking over from a young civil servant whom he found going through piles of Fragebogen. He regarded his main task as rebuilding the University rather than denazifying it, as helping it to 'get back on its feet'; he felt too that he should try to counter-act the autocratic nature of the University and to enable it to have an effect on public life. Ludwig Raiser, the third post-war Rektor of Göttingen, has described how the Military Government was directly noticeable in the universities through the presence of the University

³⁴ The British in Germany, p.146.

³⁵ Interview of 26.5.79 in Sheffield.

Officer 'als Kommissar mit Aufsichts- und Weisungsrecht auch gegenüber den Selbstverwaltungsorganen'. Raiser mentions that these powers were used mostly in relation to personnel matters and that the Officer (and we must understand him to be thinking of Geoffrey Bird) respected Lehrfreiheit and academic self-government. He describes the Officers as 'überwiegend verständige, in den vielen praktischen Nöten dieser ersten Jahre oft sehr hilfreiche Männer'.³⁶ A.W.J. Edwards³⁷ mentions that the Rektor of the Technische Hochschule in Aachen used the word Verbindungsoffizier to describe his functions, and Edwards himself was not displeased with the sense of the term.

Writing of the period of educational reconstruction generally, Valerie Dundas-Grant, who herself served with Education Branch in Göttingen (as Geoffrey Bird's assistant in 1948-9 and then in Bonn)³⁸ distinguishes between the two broad roles of the Education Officers: the actual reconstruction of education through the schools, colleges and universities, and 'a much more delicate matter', the wider re-education of Germany:

We felt that we could at least open doors. Those at the top used to talk about "twelve years of spiritual isolation": it was almost a cant phrase. We did our best to re-establish contact between Germany and the "free world", through cultural exchanges, through the dissemination of information, through discussion groups with international participation and through whatever other means we could devise, either on an official or on an unofficial level. Germany would, of course, have to find her own way, but at least the doors could be opened to new ideas.

36 Ludwig Raiser: 'Wiedereröffnung der Hochschulen - Ansätze zum Neubeginn', in: Nationalsozialismus und die Deutsche Universität, Berlin, 1966, p.177.

37 A.W.J. Edwards: 'Zwei kritische Jahre in der Geschichte der RWTH Aachen', Alma Mater Aquensis, XV, 1977-78.

38 'Education in Germany', unpublished typescript, pp.11-12 (lent to me by Miss Dundas-Grant). Valerie Dundas-Grant had gone to Germany in October 1947, working first in Intelligence. She joined Education Branch in October 1948 and was posted to Göttingen. In 1949-50 she worked in Bonn.

Valerie Dundas-Grant was one of a large group of young idealistically minded graduates who felt inspired to take up the challenge of working to achieve something in the shattered Germany of the mid-forties. She regarded her role in Göttingen as that of a 'self-propelled fieldworker', aiming at a high degree of personal involvement with the lives of students and staff alike. She initiated discussion groups with an even balance of Germans and non-Germans, inviting students, lecturers and professors and arranging talks over tea and snacks. She led Arbeitsgemeinschaften in Bonn, during which teachers could learn English. She had, she insists, no doctrinaire intentions, wanting only to encourage a free, relaxed and democratic atmosphere for the exchange of ideas, and to revive interest in cultural activities.³⁹ Her appointment as assistant to Geoffrey Bird was in line with a policy Birley had outlined in November 1947 at a meeting which Ernest Bevin had held with the Committee of Vice-Chancellors on possibilities of assistance to German universities. Birley

39 Interview of 12.5.79 in Keele and letter of 23.2.79. Stephen Spender, who had wanted to spend two years in Germany doing similar work, seems to have had a singularly negative rebuff from the panel that interviewed him:

The particular job for which I was applying, was to propagate our policy in the German universities, and through the Press and the media of publicity. I was asked by one of the officers of the Selection Board what I thought I could do in Germany. I made a little speech in which I said that German culture had often shown strong leanings towards internationalism. After the last war, for example, German literature, the theatres, the films, and so on, were flooded by foreign influences. Unfortunately, these were often bad, and in their German form became worse, setting up an idea in the German mind of a weak and decadent cultural cosmopolitanism instead of a strong internationalism. I suggested that after the war we should study to strengthen the German need in universities and the arts to have contact with other nations. One of my interviewers said: "We can assure you, Mr Spender, that after this war there will be no culture in Germany."

And with these words I was dismissed.

World Within World, London 1951, pp.304-5.

had then envisaged each university having a second Officer 'who would be able to spend rather more of his time with the students': such Officers would be recruited from British universities, they would be young graduates who had spent a little time in the Services.⁴⁰

An impression of the range of activities in which the University Officers were involved can be gained by looking at the minutes of their regular conferences. At the first conference, held on 3 April 1946, they discussed problems of classification in the Fragebogen, the return to Germany of refugee scholars, geological survey teams, the import and export of books, the requisitioning and derequisitioning of buildings, regulations concerning displaced persons, limitations on numbers of students, student representation and associations, rectoral elections, university newspapers, English visiting and permanent lecturers, and summer courses.⁴¹ One of their main functions, as they saw it, was to establish as much contact as possible with other universities: this contact found expression in, for example, invitations to visiting lecturers, vacation courses, and student exchange programmes. It was envisaged that individual German universities should contact universities in the UK 'with a view to exchanging ideas and to institute an exchange of University newspapers', and the following links were proposed, reflecting the associations of individual University Officers:⁴²

⁴⁰ Meeting of 28.11.47 (PRO: FO945-275). At the same meeting Birley mentioned the need for recruitment to Education Branch: by this stage of the Occupation some of the first contingent of officers working in Germany had returned to the UK and there were clearly problems in maintaining good quality recruitment.

⁴¹ PRO: FO945-137.

⁴² Minutes of 4th Conference of Education Control Officers, Göttingen, 3.7.46 (PRO: FO945-137).

Bonn	:	Oxford, Glasgow and Edinburgh
Hamburg	:	Wales
Münster	:	Cambridge
Kiel	:	London School of Economics
Göttingen	:	University College London
Cologne	:	Bristol

The questionnaire sent to former University Officers in 1982 has provided the information on which much of the following is based. Further details have been gleaned from the 1982 Oxford Symposium, to which several University Officers contributed.⁴³

The first fact of importance that emerges from the information provided is that the University Officers were surprisingly young: of seven officers for whom we have information, three were only 32 when they took up their duties, and the oldest 41: four had studied at German and/or Austrian universities and had degrees in German from British universities. One had only spent holidays in Germany before the war and a further 11 months as a prisoner of war: 'My "background" was negligible and my "experience" virginal: I was (in UECO terms) a generalist among specialists and an amateur among professionals'.

Appointments seem to have been made on a fairly ad hoc basis. Some applied and others were transferred from their military sections. Two at least were not interviewed. Question 3 asked about preliminary

⁴³ See Appendix XVIII for the full questionnaire. The verbatim text of the Oxford Symposium discussions is available in the Transcript compiled by Sarah Cox and David Phillips (University of Oxford Department of Educational Studies, 1982). Papers written in connection with the Symposium have been published in German Universities after the Surrender (ed. David Phillips), University of Oxford Department of Educational Studies, 1983.

training in the UK or Germany: two mention 'the routine few days at Bletchley for all CCG entrants', 'a general induction course at Bletchley Park'. Most, however, seem to have received no training whatsoever. One says simply 'shown Potsdam Agreement', as we have seen. Only Geoffrey Carter of Hannover was given what appears to be thorough and appropriate training, of which he speaks very highly. He describes an 'inspiring four-week course' in Bünde organised by Colonel Horwood and Edith Davies during which a wide range of subjects was covered. The course consisted largely of lectures, but there were also discussions, demonstrations, brains trusts, and language classes. The lectures focussed on aspects of German history and on the various functions of Military Government. Of particular interest was a series of problems (40 in all) described in the form of direct questions to which those on the training course supplied answers. A few examples relating to university work and administrative matters generally indicate again the range of responsibility of University Officers:

A University Institution is prepared to accept a student who has been favourably screened. Is any other Branch to be consulted before admission?

A DP comes to see you. He wants to study at a German University. What do you tell him to do?

You are asked whether Ukrainian students, now stateless because they do not wish to return to USSR, have their fees remitted at Hochschulen. What answer do you give?

One of your German officials wants to go into the American Zone for official purposes. You agree this is desirable. He passes you an application for a travel permit. Whom do you approach?

You think one of your typists is worthy of upgrading.
What do you do?

One of your German officials has a big job on hand and wants to work late in his office for a few nights. He will thus be out after curfew. How do you ensure that he will not be arrested?⁴⁴

Nobody received a written brief. Geoffrey Bird says that duties and policy soon became clear through attendance at the headquarters meetings of University Officers; Caroline Cunningham says she was 'just let loose in Kiel to get on with things'. We have already seen what Geoffrey Bird saw as his main tasks. Asked to describe his duties as fully as possible he has drawn up a full list as follows:

- a) To check and approve the appointment of academic and administrative staff, and the admission of students, avoiding, as far as possible, the appointment or admission of active Nazis (not to check academic qualifications, which was the responsibility of the German authorities).
- b) To support and encourage measures to enable the University to return to normal academic life.
- c) To gain the confidence and co-operation of the Rektor and Staff and discuss with them the educational policy and aims of Education Branch.
- d) To find and get to know younger Dozenten who wished to work towards the development of a democratic Germany in which the influence of the universities would play an active role.
- e) To elicit from staff and students new views on the aims of Allied policies and to pass on any suggestions or criticisms to Education Branch.
- f) To help as far as possible in the provision of materials and equipment necessary for the University to carry out its proper functions, and to interpret its problems to Education Branch.

⁴⁴ I am grateful to Mr G.T. Carter for lending me copies of documents handed out during the course. His own pencilled-in answers to the above questions were, respectively: Manpower; apply to University - tell him to go to UNRRA Welfare Officer who sends his request; UNRRA; don't take application, which must go to Public Safety at Kreis level; Camp Commandant, who deals with German authorities; Public Safety.

- g) To organise informal discussion groups with students and young Dozenten to help them to gain knowledge of the outside world, from which most of them had been isolated since childhood.
- h) To encourage and advise students in organising their own affairs, such as the formation of a student union, (AStA), and to help them in understanding democratic procedures.
- i) To help where possible with the problems of accommodation and student welfare.
- j) To interview candidates for visiting studentships or lectureships at British universities.
- k) To arrange, with the help of the Foreign Office, for visits to the University by university teachers, writers, scientists, theatre groups, etc., from the UK, and ensure that they met the appropriate members of the University.

This constitutes a very comprehensive breadth of duties, ranging from control (a) to practical help (f) and pastoral work (i) - but the strong emphasis is clearly on the public relations area and on encouraging and supporting. At the Bielefeld conference of 1979, Geoffrey Bird made the point that real authority was only exercised in the early months of his appointment: the handing-over of authority in educational affairs in January 1947 therefore made no real difference to his work.

Point (d) above finds an echo in Peter Whitley's reminder of an aspect of his work at the Technische Universität in Berlin. He refers to Birley's 'Dozenten Scheme' whereby 'a few hand-picked Dozenten' would be sent to British universities for 1-2 years, 'men of promise who, with maturity, would carry weight at home and effect change from within'.

James Alldridge⁴⁵ (Münster, August 1948 - August 1950; Göttingen August 1950 - October 1951) described his duties in these terms:

⁴⁵ Mr Alldridge died early in 1982.

To make and maintain contact with German Education authorities, officials and teachers at all levels within the sphere of my official appointment. Also to make and maintain social and informal contacts with such persons, and with those outside the Education field to whom I was introduced. A main part of my concern was to inform my German contacts of facts of education in UK, to arrange visits of UK education officials and teachers, and to try to arrange reciprocal visits by Germans to those organisations, colleges, schools, etc. of their interest This was done entirely in German. All that I talked to the Germans about and encouraged was made to appear to come from the Germans - hence the continuation to this day of schemes and contacts I, and other colleagues, made.

This refers of course to a much later period, when the emphasis of the University Officers' work had moved firmly to the sphere of cultural and (international) academic relations.

In the absence of written briefs dating from the time of their appointment, we can quote, post hoc, descriptions of the duties of two officers written at the time of their leaving the service of the Control Commission. In August 1949 the Chief Education Officer for Nordrhein-Westfalen, H.J. Walker, wrote a testimonial for Ray Perraudin, who had been University Officer in both Münster and Cologne, in which the latter's duties were listed as follows:

- (a) To secure the enforcement of Allied policy in the University, especially in such matters as de-nazification, the maintenance of a Numerus Clausus, etc.
- (b) To attend meetings of the Senate and present the point of view of the Occupying Authorities, and especially of Education Branch of the Control Commission, on the matters debated there.
- (c) To make contact with professors and lecturers and discuss with them University matters, the establishment of international exchanges, etc.
- (d) To get to know the student body and to encourage the formation of student associations with a healthy political and international point of view.

- (e) To select professors, lecturers and students for visits to other countries, especially Great Britain.
- (f) To act as a link between the University and the academic world outside Germany.
- (g) To organise international summer courses in the University.⁴⁶

A year later Walker wrote a similar testimonial for Valerie Dundas-Grant, in which her duties were summarised thus:

As assistant to the University Officer she had to make contact with students and the younger lecturers of the University, in order to encourage a critical, enquiring spirit regarding political, social and educational problems; to further international exchanges of students, and assist in the organisation of International Students' Conferences.⁴⁷

A.W.J. Edwards, who also claims not to have received a written brief ('Grey Eminences don't need briefs') quotes H.J. Walker's exhortation to him to 'try to make them into good Europeans' as the nearest he was given to a proper brief!⁴⁸

The listing of duties brings us to the subject of day-to-day policy in university matters. An important question in the 1982 survey of opinion asked: 'What, in general terms, did you understand British policy towards the universities to be?' Geoffrey Bird identified the broad approach associated with Birley:

Our policy was to encourage, through discussion and persuasion, not by decree, the growth of universities, which would no longer be just centres of higher academic education isolated from the general public, but would be democratically evolved institutions

⁴⁶ Copy lent to me by Mr Perraudin (dated 18.8.49).

⁴⁷ Valerie Dundas-Grant: 'As Assistant University Officer in Göttingen and Bonn: An Erfahrungsbericht', in: German Universities after the Surrender, p.106.

⁴⁸ He also remembers Walker saying 'How is it that whenever the Germans lose a war someone comes along and ballyrags their universities?'

fermenting free and independent thought, having close contact with, and influence on, and gaining the respect of German society as a whole.

Peter Whitley mentions the Birley/Lindsay axis:

Broadly - the gospel according to Lindsay (especially, "up the juniors"; damn the Ordinarien; and more social/political responsibility and less vassalage to the State).

James Alldridge talks of opening up the universities to other approaches, from which they had been cut off for so long. For this reason he regarded the arranging of reciprocal visits between Germany and the UK as of particular importance. Geoffrey Carter also mentions the importance of international contacts. The universities had to be purged of Nazi elements and as University Officer he had to

try to deal with the German staff philosophical problem; i.e. Why had German universities failed to cope with Nazism? How could one throw off the harmful State control of universities? How could one create more contact between university professors and new students than German tradition had allowed in the past?

Caroline Cunningham gives a classic statement of policy,⁴⁹ highlighting the paradox that beset all whose aim was to be democratic and to encourage democratic processes while being themselves in a relatively autocratic position and certainly part of an administration which had not been democratically elected:

⁴⁹ Tom Bower, in a recent study of denazification (Blind Eye to Murder, London 1981) argues that this sort of policy - which was nothing if not realistic - was timid. He accuses the academics who were not ruthless in their purging of every Nazi element of 'remarkable naivety and susceptibility to the charm and explanations of former Nazis' - 'the simplicity one might expect from the third-raters and duds recruited during the war, but not from academics' (p.185). Bower's book devotes very little space to education and fails in this regard to balance documentary and eye-witness evidence.

That they were to be democratised, whatever that was supposed to mean, apart from eliminating overt Nazis and subduing where possible Nazi revival. Given the situation in Kiel where both staff and students were on the verge of starvation I regarded trying to feed the starving, sick and homeless as far more important than preaching a few democratic shibboleths. Where it was possible to inculcate in a minor way that there were other means of getting things done apart from dictatorial methods, I did so, such as getting the AStA going, which I guided, though left the students to make their own mistakes. Once they brought these problems to me, which they did pretty smartly, it was then possible to point out why they had happened. In getting student societies going one of the biggest difficulties was that the executives wanted either to fine or exclude members who didn't attend regularly. It was exceedingly difficult to explain that freedom of choice to attend or not depended on the quality of what the various societies offered. It was exceedingly difficult to wean students away from the idea of compulsion.

Harry Beckhough, who had to deal with the obstructionist ploys of his Rektor in Cologne,⁵⁰ placed the emphasis on denazification, on

50 Dr Beckhough had enormous problems with the Rektor, Professor Kroll, whom he described as 'something of a dictator': 'Kroll and his circle belong to the 1920s, and they are busily trying to recapture the "glory" of the pre-1933 days'. Beckhough found too that admissions policy left much to be desired, as can be seen in a letter from him to Kroll of 21 October 1947:

'Subject: Student Robert Wieg - Law Faculty

On inspecting the papers of the above student who has just been accepted by the Law Faculty of this University for the forthcoming Winter Semester 1947/48, I note that he was:

- 1) Anwärter in the Party from 1.9.1939
- 2) Jungenschaftsführer for 3 years in the DJV from 1.5.1933.
- 3) In the HJ
- 4) Waffen SS as Rottenführer (9 months)
- 5) NSDStB Anwärter from 1.12.1939 (14 months)

I would suggest that there are much better students available amongst the 5000 applicants for this Wintersemester. Please investigate this case and furnish me with a full explanation as to why he (and possibly many others of similar nature) has been chosen, whereas students recommended by me have been refused admittance. During the snap check I have been carrying out I have noticed several cases of students accepted who appeared to be none too satisfactory.' (Material in PRO: F0945-266).

Kroll clearly made a strong impression on those who met him: a visiting lecturer from Durham University reported back: 'The only person I could not quite understand or size up was the Rector of the University, Dr Kroll.' (PRO F0371-2181). See Harry Beckhough's paper 'The Role of the British University Control Officer in Post-War Germany', in: German Universities after the Surrender, pp.76-89, for further information about his dealings with Kroll.

ensuring that 'clean' staff were in positions of responsibility to counter the danger of a resurrection of Nazism and on checking that students were equally untainted. Having done that, he regarded the main task as helping the universities back to 'a better, cleaner, well-conducted regime, to the help and benefit of Germany and the West'. He also mentions the fight against communism which, though not explicit in university policy, had nevertheless been in the minds of the politicians.⁵¹

In a lecture of 1947 Beckhough similarly placed the emphasis on denazification. He defined the University Officer's task as:

das gesamte akademische Leben seiner Lehranstalt zu überwachen, den Lehrkörper zu prüfen und vor allem auch die Universitätsverwaltung kritisch zu beobachten, d.h. dafür zu sorgen, daß die Entnazifizierung... sauber durchgeführt wird und keine neuen gefährlichen Elemente in den Lehrkörper eindringen.⁵²

Nevertheless, being responsible for everything in the university, his main task would lie not in negative control but in positive reconstruction work and in helping the institution on to a new life in the future.

51 When Ernest Bevin addressed the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals on 28 November 1947 he emphasised that the role of the British universities in influencing the future development of those of Germany was crucial: 'the spiritual and cultural factors were now of prime importance'. Politics alone were not enough: 'The Germans did not know where they were going and there was in fact a spiritual and moral vacuum in the country. There was a danger that this vacuum might be filled by Communist materialism and it was essential to prevent this by making sure that the cultural standards of the West prevailed.' (CVCP Minute 42, 28.11.47).

52 Harry Beckhoff [sic] (he later changed the spelling of his name): 'Zur Lage der deutschen Studenten', in: Schweizerische Hochschulzeitung, 20/3, Zürich 1947.

We shall come later to a consideration of the reports of visiting British lecturers on the vacation courses to which they contributed and which had been organised by the University Officers. One report from a visitor to the University of Göttingen is worth quoting at this stage, since it concerns itself with a dilemma in the University Officer's role. The report is by Professor F.R. Winton (Pharmacology) of University College, London:

I cannot say that I made a close study of the work that [Bird] was doing at the University, but I had a long conversation with him in which he described this work, and I had a considerable number of opportunities of checking as to how his work impinged on that of German workers in the University. My general impression is that he is doing a very good job of work and that the Germans cordially welcome his help. Nevertheless I must put on record that I was sorry to find that this work was all either negative (i.e. in the sense of being concerned with the possibility of vetoing applications of University students, or appointments to the academic staff) or neutral in the sense of facilitating transport for German, and in my own case British University workers. It seemed to me that there are several opportunities for positive leadership to be given by the British Education Officer in guiding the Germans through the difficulties which prevent more successful achievement. For example ... the technical difficulties concerned with experimental research and the totally inadequate library facilities in so far as the German knowledge of the literature of other countries is concerned. It may, however, be that if one knew more, these difficulties would appear insuperable.⁵³

The problem clearly is one of balance: so much time and effort had to be devoted to the work of practical physical reconstruction that broader educational reconstruction could often not be given that vital attention which was necessary. What Riddy called 'negative prohibition' could assume more apparent importance than 'indirect advice and assistance'. It is interesting though that Professor Winton

53 PRO: F0945-267.

makes no mention of the kind of work implicit in the vacation courses, in student and staff exchanges and in the establishment of Die Brücke, the British information centres, but is content to propose further work in the field of practical support measures, work which, however important, would have occupied yet more of the University Officers' time, to the detriment of their wider educational support role.

Summing up her experiences in Germany Valerie Dundas-Grant comments:

The three years I spent with CCG, particularly the last two years spent [with] Education Branch, were very significant to me personally and for my future career. I think Education Branch as a whole, working out from schools and universities, did a great deal to renew contact between Germany and those countries which, owing to the rise of National Socialism, had been her former enemies. Quite apart from what was officially organised the University Education Officers and other Education Officers working in the field did a great deal personally to establish fruitful relationships with the German population.

Valerie Dundas-Grant's work finished in September 1950; clearly a lot had been achieved by then, and the somewhat depressing thoughts of L.H. Sutton, Geoffrey Bird's predecessor in Göttingen, on a UECO's work had proved less founded than he had feared. In January 1946 he had written:

It is the duty of an ECO to pursue the policy in force at the moment, but it is not possible for him in his own mind to divorce his department from the general political situation, and he may be pardoned for wondering whether he is in fact pursuing a policy which has any reality left in it or whether he is not clinging to the tattered remnants of a noble idea which the cold blasts of peace have already torn to shreds.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ 'Shuffling Feet: A Discourse on the University of Göttingen', reprinted in German Universities after the Surrender, 1983.

The work of the University Officers was in fact generally very highly thought of. Let us return finally to the contemporary documentary evidence to gain a balance of the successes and difficulties of their task.

In September 1946 Lord Chorley, then Vice-President of the Association of University Teachers and Professor of Commercial and Industrial Law at the London School of Economics, attended a Universities Conference in the British Zone. In his report written on return to the UK⁵⁵ he criticised some of the UECOs for their lack of experience and administrative skills, though he was impressed by their industry and enthusiasm:

The Officers of the Control who are occupied with the Universities whether at headquarters at Bünde or in the field are young men enthusiastic about their work, and as far as I could judge of sufficient competence. Some of them are obviously men of considerable ability and judgement. For the most part they are lacking in administrative experience and [the] work of some showed signs of amateurishness. Very few of them had had any experience of University work except as students, and those who have been University teachers are too young to have taken part in University administration. On the technical side of University reconstruction they are therefore badly placed for giving advice and are hardly able to judge whether a good line is being taken. It is here I think that they particularly need expert advice.

This section was dropped from the published version in The Universities Review,⁵⁶ which contains instead a more cautious statement about the work of these same officers:

[The Education Authority] is fortunate both at Bünde and in the universities themselves to have secured the services of a number of enthusiastic young officers who fully appreciate that the future of Germany and of the peace of

55 'Report on a Visit to certain German Universities and a Zonal University Conference', dated September 1946 (AU'I archive).

56 'Report on a Visit to some German Universities', The Universities Review, 19/2, February 1947.

the world depends in no small measure on the work which they are doing. Of all the Departments of Military Government, they have met with least criticism, and I should imagine that no other part has been so acceptable to the German people, or those sections of it with whom they are working.

The role of the UECO is described as that of 'a benevolent if sometimes stern pater familias' and his function as an intermediary and negotiator is stressed:

The University authorities give high praise to the Control Officers for their invaluable assistance, and these I thought quite genuine about it.

The greatest testimony to their work is the successful re-opening of the universities (all, it must be remembered, by the end of 1945) and the successfully completed studies of so many hard-hit young people in that trouble time. The pride and gratitude of one such student might speak for many: the writer is a former student of the University of Cologne; the recipient Harry Beckhough:⁵⁷

Vergeblich habe ich mich damals auf eine Immatrikulation gewartet, bis ich mich an Sie wandte. Und es dauerte gar nicht lange, da wurde ich Student der juristischen Fakultät. Sie gaben mir den guten Rat mit auf den Weg, zunächst mein Studium zu betreiben, dann aber auch für die Studentenschaft zu arbeiten. Beides habe ich Ihnen damals versprochen. Heute glaube ich Ihnen mitteilen zu können, daß ich dieses Versprechen eingelöst habe. [...] Ich darf Ihnen heute noch vom ganzen Herzen dankbar sein, denn ohne Ihr Mitwirken wäre ich vielleicht noch lange nicht an der Universität angekommen. Daß ich aber nun mein Examen habe, beruht zum großen Teile auf Ihrer damaligen Fürsprache und Mithilfe.

57 Letter from Wolf-Dieter Gräf to Harry Beckhough, 27 November 1950.

6. 'Dereservation' and the Universities

The role of the Education Officers in establishing links and encouraging an outward-looking approach in the universities assumed added prominence after control over educational matters had been returned to the German authorities from January 1947 (when the Officers dropped the word 'Control' from their title). The need for contacts with the outside world was constantly being emphasised, for there was a recognition that latent nationalist tendencies persisted and could only be effectively countered by such contact. After 1 January no British official below Land level was able to give orders to German Land officials: below Land level their role became to 'inspect, advise, explain and report only'. At a meeting of UECOs in Bünde on 6 November 1946 this fundamental change, meaning that UECOs would no longer have direct control over their universities, was welcomed inasmuch as it would release them from routine work and leave them free to act as advisers.⁵⁸

The 'dereservation' of education at this comparatively early stage of the Occupation met with severe criticism from some quarters: as far as universities were concerned Dr R.H. Samuel of the Foreign Office Research Department, for example, felt that the situation (in December 1946) was not satisfactory with regard to staffing, the recruitment of lecturers, and university constitutions 'as a whole'.⁵⁹ He went on to state the problem as it would affect Education Officers:

58 PRO: FO945-137. As a Cabinet Paper of April 1947 put it: '[The devolution of Education] means that the Education Branch of the Control Commission has ceased to be concerned in matters of day-to-day administration of schools and universities and can now concern itself more with the content of the education which is given in them.' (ORC (47) 24, 10.4.47; in PRO: FO371-64387).

59 'Observations on the Possible Effects on Education of Handing over Control to German Authorities', Report dated 4.12.46.

Any action which Education Branch wishes to be taken locally (including universities) on the Land level would have to be referred to the Office of the Regional Commissioner who would then get into touch with the Minister of Education who himself would investigate the case put forward by Mil Gov and either take action or explain why he is not going to take action. There is no doubt that this process would be a lengthy one, would delay action in cases of urgency, and might, in a number of cases, jeopardise the prestige of Mil Gov officers in the field. What is urgently necessary is that once and for all the duties and terms of reference of field officers be clearly defined; that their task become a stable one; that their qualifications should be of a high order and that their professional security be assured.

And he concluded his report with a plea for the retention of the UECOs:

In the field of university education... the main work of reconstruction has still to be done. Charters, self-government, recruiting of new staff, mode of appointment of professors and lecturers, participation of students in the running of university affairs, all these and many more problems have not yet been settled. It is to be hoped that the posts of University Control Officer will not be abolished, and that these officers, even if losing their "operational control", will be invested with advisory capacities and enabled to act as arbiters between the University and the State, the students and the professors, and finally as liaison officers between the universities and Military Government.

The University Officers themselves do not seem to have objected to their change of status;⁶⁰ indeed the transition, according to Geoffrey Bird, passed almost unnoticed. But there was clearly concern

60 Though there was, of course, great concern among some officers of Education Branch. Friedmann speaks of the 'vast majority of the able and high-minded education officers' being unhappy about the transfer of responsibility for education to the Land authorities 'because, despite the far-reaching restoration of the technical apparatus and academic freedom, they feel the foundations, especially of higher education, to be insecure'. (W. Friedmann: The Allied Military Government of Germany, London 1947, p.185.) T.R.M. Creighton, closely involved with universities from his base in Berlin, wrote to Professor Dodds in April 1947 and expressed his disquiet on the subject:

in high places that power was slipping away prematurely and that initiatives would be frustrated by reactionary German officials. A paper, probably by Donald Riddy ('The Functions of Education Branch as from 1st April 1947') on the new functions of Education Branch, envisaged a twofold influence over educational policy, consisting of 'negative prohibition' and 'indirect advice and assistance' which would be 'by far the more difficult both because the problems to be dealt with are far more complex and will demand original thought and because it will not be possible to prescribe, but only to suggest'. The paper mentioned the need for 'tactful advice and assistance' since many measures to be taken would not require legislation, and instanced the university situation:

The staffs of the Universities form a closed caste, recruited according to a very old and lengthy procedure which tends to produce men with no interest in the outside world or else a somewhat reactionary political outlook. Both the staffs and the students are distrusted by the left-wing parties, not without some reason, and it is essential that the basis of recruitment of both should be widened if a healthy University life is to be developed. If this is not done it may have disastrous effects on the aims of the occupation, for the products of the Universities are the intellectual leaders of the country.⁶¹

60 continued...

'Educational reform is rendered doubly difficult by the fact that we have lately divested British Military Government of its most important power, the right to control education, over which the Germans now have unrestricted rights and the education officers only advisory functions. There are a lot of arguments on both sides about this... but I am clear in my own mind that the right if difficult answer is a stronger education service and very full control, not the despairing abandonment of control'. (Letter of 19.4.47 in my possession.) The AUT delegates considered the change 'premature'. Cf. in this connection similar concern expressed in a letter of 5.1.47 to Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the T.G.W.U., from Major T.J. Leonard which was seen by both Bevin and Hynd (PRO FO371-64386) and an earlier letter from Lt. Col. Andrews to Lord Aberdare in his capacity as Chairman of the National Association of Boys' Clubs: this last letter was passed to the Prime Minister, who asked for a memorandum to be prepared on the subject; it also caused the Archbishop of Canterbury to write to Attlee and Lord Lindsay to call on the Chancellor. (PRO: FO 945-190).

It is difficult to imagine how the University Officers could hope to do much to improve such a situation without any real powers. Their only feasible course of action lay in proceeding by example through their brief to advise and recommend, and in providing as much contact as possible with whatever might be understood by the 'outside world'.

Asked in the 1982 survey about their reaction to the restoration of authority in educational matters to the Germans some of the University Officers felt that the decision had been unwise. Caroline Cunningham considered it 'ill-conceived and far too early. To say I was shocked when I heard is to put it mildly'. Dr Beckhough felt that the German authorities were not ready for the change. Geoffrey Carter thought at the time that the change was wrong but feels now that he himself was wrong to think so: 'Hindsight shows that the new post-war Germany has adopted those of our suggestions which it willingly accepted and not those which we tried to enforce'. James Alldridge reacted 'very favourably' and Geoffrey Bird, as we have seen, noticed no particular change:

The restoration in 1947 was not unexpected and did not bring about any immediate change in relations with members of the University. We had been working in an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding for several months, and there seemed no general desire on the part of the University for us to withdraw.

A. W.J. Edwards reacted similarly:

As far as I was concerned the transition went almost unnoticed. Having given advice when I could have given orders, I was able to persuade when my advice had lost all authority. The advantage of being an "Eminence Grise" is that one is not affected by administrative changes.

Muriel Lambert (née Brown) who had responsibility for the Medizinische Akademie in Düsseldorf, feels that the transfer of power was a 'logical

development of the good relationship built up since '45 with those who were sympathetic towards our aims. From 1947 there was naturally to be more emphasis on cultural matters than on the physical problems of destroyed buildings etc.'

In so far as policy could be identified at all it does not seem to have changed noticeably in practice after 1947. Caroline Cunningham, as we have seen, was 'horrified' at the handing-over of power to the German authorities at such an early date, largely because she was still preoccupied with practical problems.⁶² Geoffrey Carter felt that the change made no difference to his work - there was no longer any 'laying down of the law', but that had not happened much prior to 1947 in his case.⁶³ James Alldridge says simply in his answer to the question about noticeable change: 'Not to my knowledge.' Peter Whitley sums it up thus:

I would doubt if the substance of our policy changed appreciably; but there was an obvious change in our modus operandi; - i.e. "influence" rather than "control".

But Harry Beckhough sees a wider political context, relating to the anti-communist drive:

Intelligence units were "warned off" universities and told to concentrate more on "political centres". The universities were to be given more freedom to rule themselves, leading to Angst, internal squabbles and destruction of real forward progress for years.

The overall impression gained both from contemporary accounts (the minutes of University Officers' meetings, the reports of visiting lecturers, etc.) and from their present-day recollections is that the UE(C)Os were far too busy to be affected by what was an important de facto change in control but one which made little difference to the

62 Interview of 18.11.81 in Birmingham.

63 Interview of 4.12.81 in Oxford.

day-to-day running of particular institutions and certainly one which did not solve the practical problems with which they had to deal.

Military Government Ordinance No. 57 of 1 December 1946 (see Appendix VI) outlined the powers of the Governments and Legislatures of the Länder in the British Zone. When the new arrangements came into effect (on 1 January 1947) Robertson wrote to all Regional Commissioners and Chiefs of Divisions with information to be passed on to every officer of the Control Commission. He describes the general change in these terms:

We shall in future intervene... only to the extent necessary to ensure the purposes of our occupation. Very briefly, our purposes are to prevent the revival of Germany as an aggressive power and to encourage her revival as a democratic and peace-loving member of the comity of nations.... CCG will cease to issue more than broad policy directives.... At lower levels... our officers will inspect, assist, when their assistance is invoked, and report to Region HQ: they will issue no executive instructions themselves.⁶⁴

The letter is couched in direct military-like terms, as though to make it quite clear that the change was final and unequivocal. He takes great pains to insist that no instructions should be issued which conflict with the new policy, though he recognises that some officers will find it difficult 'to loosen the fingers of their grasp on the German machine':

But they must do so. If they attempt to hang on when they should let go, they will defeat our policy and will cause embarrassment in our relations with the Americans.

⁶⁴ Text in Pakschies: Umerziehung in der Britischen Zone, pp.380-81.

There is more than a little irony in the fact that in the British Zone no major reform initiative had yet been taken in the university sphere. The AUT delegates arrived in Germany on 3 January, a few days after Ordinance 57 had come into effect. The timing was particularly unfortunate, as we shall see in Chapter Five, since the tone of their report was more in line with a situation in which control rather than persuasion prevailed. As far as the day-to-day running of the universities was concerned, however, the beginning of 1947 seems to have brought with it no changes of great moment.

It remains to describe the further development of the University Officers' function from the beginning of 1949. A paper on the present and future tasks of the British education service in Germany may be quoted to show the consolidation of the University Officer's task as counsellor, enabler, supporter, liaison officer, rather than controller, or even, by this stage, persuader:

The most important task is the continued support of progressive elements among teachers and students, and the bridging of gaps between different sections of the academic community. It has been argued... that the next two or three years will be crucial for the future of the German universities. If this is true, the withdrawal of the university officers would be a fatal mistake. It would be deplored by the Germans. For some time to come the university officer will also be needed as an agent to help in carrying through and utilising to the full schemes initiated (and financed) by the British Council and other bodies. His duties can be summarised as follows:

- (i) to help in the selection of Germans for visits to Britain and other countries, and in obtaining and filling posts for British lecturers in German universities.
- (ii) to advise on plans for vacation courses and to secure British participation in them.
- (iii) to introduce and "brief" the British scholar paying a short visit to the university. The success of the visit depends greatly on the proper discharge of this important duty.

- (iv) to "nurse" the German lecturer returning from a year in England to see that his experience permeates as widely as possible without provoking antagonism. If this "follow-up" work is not done, the visits may fail in their purpose, or even do harm owing to the over-enthusiasm of the visitor.
- (v) to serve as the channel through which the other Occupying Powers approach the German authorities in the British Zone in relation to their plans for western Germany as a whole. The Americans in particular have big projects in hand and more are in prospect. So long as there is an Allied High Commission, the representatives of each Occupying Power must act as official intermediaries in the Länder of their own Zone.

Thus, although the British Council can now make a unique and indispensable contribution to the work, it can only cover a part of the field, and even in this part it will for some time to come benefit greatly from the help and co-operation of the university officers.⁶⁵

7. Policy in Practice

Focussing still on the work of the University Officers, we may at this stage examine the measures taken to implement policy in the areas of denazification, democratisation, and contact with the outside world, and we can then assess the relationship between these aspects of British policy and the concept of re-education.

Denazification

A Control Commission file on the University of Göttingen contains papers which indicate something of the style of control in the autumn of 1945. L.H. Sutton had been appointed to control university affairs in Göttingen at the beginning of October, and his instructions and directives came from a Major at the Military Government HQ for the Hannover region. Dismissals were rife, and carried out with cold military efficiency. Short, sharp notes would pass between the Major

⁶⁵ 'Report on the Present Work and Future Tasks of the British Education Service in Germany', Para. 18, 'Future Tasks'. (Perraudin Papers.)

(A.J. Beattie) and Smend, the first post-war Rektor, and the acting Oberpräsident of Hannover Province:

It appears that Dr - and Dr - cannot be dismissed by the University of Göttingen as they are officials of the Provincial Administration. You will immediately take the appropriate steps and report to this HQ that these dismissals have been effected.⁶⁶

Smend would send terse notes of acquiescence:

According to the order of Sept. 12 1945 the professors Hans K-, Helmut H- and B- have been dismissed.⁶⁷

The Kurator, Dr Bojunga, was dismissed by the Minister (Grimme) on 14.11.45, a victim of the policy that insisted on dismissal where there was doubt (he was later reinstated). All appointments were made on a temporary, provisional basis. Sutton was still dismissing Göttingen staff in January 1946, several weeks after Geoffrey Bird's arrival.

But denazification was formally the responsibility of Public Safety Branch: its staff, consisting largely of police officers with little or no German, would deal with the Fragebogen, and the University Officers would then oversee any decisions made. Some, like Harry Beckhough in Cologne, who regarded denazification as an important part of his work, would be more vigilant than others (see the incident described in Note 50 p.163). Local German panels were set up to advise on denazification in the summer of 1946, and by October it had become a matter for the Germans themselves, though a right of veto was retained, giving appointing officers the final say.

66 PRO: FO1010-93. Beattie to Acting Oberpräsident, 27.10.45.

67 Ibid. Letter of 8.10.45.

We have seen in Chapter Three that student admissions were controlled by such factors as past membership of Nazi organisations and status in the armed forces. Here again considerable discretion existed at local level, and the Jugend-Amnestie (or 'exoneration' as it was sometimes called) of May 1947 effectively wiped the slate clean for all those born after 1 January 1919.

Reliable figures for denazification are difficult to come by. Falk Pingel⁶⁸ estimates that about one-third of the teaching body of each university was affected by the early denazification process (i.e. 100-150 professors per institution). By February 1946 125 of the teaching staff in Göttingen had been dismissed, but appeals resulted in some being reinstated.⁶⁹ Some 30% of the teaching staff of the University of Hamburg had been removed by the end of November 1945.⁷⁰ But many of those initially dismissed were later re-employed: in many cases their chairs had been left deliberately open.

We shall return to the subject of denazification in Chapter Five, when Lord Chorley's reservations on the question will be considered.

Democratisation and related issues

The concept of democratisation, in the university sphere at least, is problematic in several regards. Interpreted as meaning giving more say to those whose voices had not traditionally been heard in the university fora responsible for decision making, it is unlikely to have been a realistic policy until major reforms could be effected. And yet, since it had always been recognised by the British, from the

68 German Universities after the Surrender, p.23.

69 GUZ, 8.2.46, p.15.

70 BZR, 24.11.45, p.17.

war-time planning onwards, that the Dozenten had been notoriously badly treated in the German universities, and since the (younger) Dozenten were held to be more likely to be receptive to new ideas, attempts were made to encourage their development.

Typical was Birley's 'Dozenten Scheme', which attempted to formalise the ideas behind visits and exchanges which had been happening on an ad hoc basis as soon as relationships had been re-established with universities in other countries. About a year after the surrender the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP) was discussing an AUT proposal to organise a visit to Germany 'to ascertain whether the situation in the German Universities and Technische Hochschulen is such as to justify an early resumption of relations either with the German academic world as a whole or with some individual German professors'.⁷¹ By the end of the year the CVCP was recording that 'the time had come for some measure of co-operation with the German universities'.⁷² By this time, however, British lecturers were paying regular visits to the Zone, and a few Germans were coming to the UK. The CVCP did not think that it would be possible for significant numbers of German students to be brought to British universities, though they hoped that the practice of appointing native German speakers as Lektoren in German departments would be revived.

In November 1947 Birley attended a meeting between Ernest Bevin and the CVCP called to discuss the need for greater co-operation between German and British universities. Birley had prepared the following brief for the meeting:⁷³

71 CVCP Archive, Minutes Vol.4 (Sheet 28c, Min.103, Meeting of 24.5.46).

72 Ibid. Sheets 32b, c, Min. 24, Meeting of 29.11.46.

73 Meeting of 28.11.47 (PRO: FO945-275).

1. The importance of the development of German Education for the future of world peace and for the survival in Europe of the essential qualities of Christian democratic civilization can hardly be over-emphasised. Great Britain has a great task to fulfil in helping Germany to find an educational system and a spirit in her education which will fit her to become a democratic and peaceful country.
2. It is the policy of H.M.G. in the British Zone of Germany not to control or administer German Education, but by advice and suggestions to help them to build up themselves a democratic educational system. In order to do this it is necessary to bring the full influence of British Education to bear on Germany, not in order to persuade them to copy our methods slavishly, but that they might benefit from our experience.
3. It is generally recognised that many reforms are necessary in the German Universities if they are to play their proper part in German life, and that the future of German Education depends largely on them. Reform in Universities must come from within, but we can do much to help them by means of personal contacts and the advice and suggestions arising from these. The British Universities can do the greatest service by providing such contacts.
4. The British Universities have already offered a number of places to enable the younger members of the teaching staffs of Universities in the British Zone to come to British Universities for a year. This help is greatly appreciated.
5. The German Universities are now very weak in the fields of Political Science and Modern History, but these subjects are of the greatest importance in Germany today. It is proposed, therefore, that we should ask the Universities of the British Zone if they would agree to the appointment of a British Professor in one or other of these subjects. These appointments would be temporary ones, preferably for a year's duration. It is thought that the German Universities would welcome this offer.
6. It is essential that those appointed should be men of recognised standing in their subjects. If the British Universities could second men for these appointments in spite of all their own difficulties, which are fully recognized, they would be doing a great service to the cause for which we stand in Germany.
7. If we are to bring the full influence of British Education to bear on Germany, we shall doubtless have further requests to make of the British Universities. It is suggested that the Vice-Chancellors' committee might consider setting up a small Committee which should act as a liaison with the Control Commission on this matter.

Bevin spoke of 'inculcating in the Universities the idea of a mission' and envisaged 'a crusade to save Western Europe', and there was talk of wanting to 'save the soul of a nation'. As a result of this meeting a committee was set up which was to liaise between the

British universities and the Control Commission.⁷⁴ This committee met in January 1948 and responded very positively to the proposals made at the earlier meeting. When the AUT delegates visited Germany in January 1947 their original brief had been 'to consider what steps, if any, should be taken to renew relations between British and German universities'. And the resumption of proper relations was seen by the Foreign Office as perhaps the most useful step to be taken if any influence were to be brought to bear on the future development of the German universities.

Following the meeting with the CVCP Bevin wrote to the Chairman at some length on the subject of the potential British involvement in the German universities:

I need not tell you how important the German universities are for determining the whole spirit of German education and of the young men and women who go out into the world. The standards the universities adopt and apply filter down to the schools which feed them with students and so have a profound effect on the whole system; there pass through them most of the men and women who will in later years be the leaders of their country in many walks of life: finally, through their academic and cultural work they exert a profound influence on the whole culture of the country, which they touch at many points. In fact, the universities ought to be among the most enlightened and hopeful places in the country. Unfortunately they are not. They still suffer much from the tradition that learning has no contact with the social and political life of the country; their teaching staffs are by training and habit authoritarian both in the way they run the universities and in the philosophy which they teach their pupils, and their internal structure is not such as to allow young and progressive men to exercise the wide influence which is to be expected in a vigorous society. In short, many reforms are needed if the universities are to play their full part in a civilised Germany, and the Control Commission are actively engaged in working out the best way of bringing them about. But reforms are not everything. It is the spirit that really counts and that is why I and the Control Commission need your help. We believe that in this matter our role is that

⁷⁴ Its members were Professor D. Hughes Parry (London), Dr R.E. Priestley (Birmingham), Dr Ifor Evans (Wales), Sir James Irvine (St Andrews), the Rev. Professor C.E. Raven (Cambridge), Dr W.S. Stallybrass (Oxford) and the Secretary of the CVCP, J.F. Foster.

of a channel through which the best possible influences from outside Germany can be brought to bear on the German universities, and that it is the British universities that have the chief role to play in bringing the German universities once more into the intellectual and moral world of the West. They have already done much, for which I am most grateful, but much more still remains to be done.⁷⁵

Bevin's direct involvement in these issues is a measure of the importance the Foreign Office and Education Branch were attaching to the principle of influence by example. Birley's views on the subject are also clearly reflected in Bevin's remarks.

Bevin and Birley hoped that a result⁷⁶ of their meeting with the CVCP would be the secondment to German universities of 'six really good men of standing in the fields of political science and modern history'. Sir Ernest Barker⁷⁷ was already in Cologne as Visiting Professor, and it was hoped that his example would be followed by others. The proposal was favourably received, despite doubts about the wisdom of restricting the subjects involved to 'political and social sciences, modern history and international affairs' and worries that any help given to the German universities should be for educational and not propaganda purposes.⁷⁸ By the end of April, however, only one person had been nominated.⁷⁹ By the end of May the Committee were still looking for suitable candidates and being forced to admit to Bevin that despite a serious effort in all universities to accede to

75 CVCP Archive, Minutes Vol. 4, Sheets 117, 118. Letter of 10.12.47.

76 A second hope was that the CVCP might make known to British universities the vacancies that existed in Education Branch and elsewhere in the Control Commission 'which ought to be filled by young men and women who feel the force of the challenge presented to us by the German problem'. (Bevin's letter of 10.12.47.)

77 See Chapter Three, p. 120.

78 CVCP Minutes Vol.5 Min.162 Meeting of 14.7.48.

79 Mr W.D. Handcock of the University College of the South West, Exeter. By the end of May he had withdrawn his name.

his request they were unable to give the assistance he desired. At the CVCP meeting of 14 July 1948 four names were put forward, but it transpired that the persons involved were only available for vacation courses. The Committee 'noted with regret' that it had been unable to meet Bevin's request for six professorial appointments 'in any way'.⁸⁰

Far more successful than this thwarted effort was Birley's 'Dozenten Scheme', which had been in effect since the beginning of the academic year 1947-48 and in which the CVCP became closely involved. Birley's scheme involved a small number of Dozenten spending at least a year as senior members of British universities. They were chosen by Education Branch and all expenses for their visit were met out of British funds, the scheme being administered in the UK by the British Council.⁸¹ Riddy wrote on Birley's behalf to British universities in the summer of 1947 and stated the purpose of the scheme in unequivocal terms:

I shall not attempt to deny that my main object in making this proposal is to give some men, who, we believe, may be the leaders of German University Education in the future, the chance of coming to know what a British University is really like, in the hope that this will cause them, in due course, to lead the quite necessary reforming movement in Germany.⁸²

80 CVCP Minutes Vol.5, Min.162, Meeting of 14.7.48.

81 CVCP nominees took part in the interviewing of candidates in Germany in 1948. Cf. the published report of their visit to the Zone 'Awards to German Dozenten at British Universities', 27.5.48. (CVCP minutes Vol.5, Annex to Min.163). The nominees were Ifor Evans, F.P. Pickering and R.C. Symonds.

82 PRO: FO945-269. Letter of 15.7.47 to the Master of Clare College, Cambridge.

Riddy mentions the AUT Report, and the scheme may be seen as a practical move to implement the delegates' proposal for wider contacts with foreign universities. By the end of September 1947 there had been '10-15' acceptances by British universities. Peter Whitley remembers Birley's view that, as with American scholars who brought back ideas and influence from their work at German universities in the last century, those Germans selected for the scheme would be able to bring new ideas and life to their universities; they would 'carry weight at home and effect change from within'.⁸³

At the same time there was a flow of visitors to Wilton Park, which had started its work in January 1946 under Heinz Koeppler. It was first used for prisoners-of-war, but a change of policy in January 1947 - at the instigation of Brian Robertson - also brought about 50 civilians from the British Zone (and later from the American and French Zones) to Wilton Park for six-week courses alongside the POWs. Robertson's aim was 'to broaden the outlook of people who would be needed in leadership posts in Germany'.⁸⁴

There were then very serious attempts - not only in the realm of education - to identify potential leaders and to expose them to democratic ideas and procedures. The students too were able to take part in exchange programmes and study visits which were actively encouraged. International vacation courses, as we shall see below, occupied a substantial amount of the time of the University Officers from the end of 1946.

⁸³ Peter Whitley: 'One UEO's Duties in Berlin', in: German Universities after the Surrender, p.92.

⁸⁴ Dexter M. Keezer: A Unique Contribution to International Relations. The Story of Wilton Park, London 1973, p.21.

Democratisation interpreted as exposure to democratic procedures (from which it was hoped the Germans would learn by example) became therefore an important aspect of policy. Indeed, it could be argued that after January 1947 it was the only really viable policy to adopt. The example of student societies serves as another instance of such policy in practice, and the University Officers were instrumental in encouraging the founding of clubs and societies of all kinds from an early stage, particular attention being given to the drawing-up of constitutions on democratic lines, though there were sometimes problems.⁸⁵ Early attempts were also made to further the development in Germany of students' hostels and halls of residence on British lines. But, as far as students were concerned, some of the most valuable work, in terms of the widening of their views and experience, was done, albeit on a small scale, in the university vacation courses.

Further Contact with the 'Outside World'

A major contribution each University Officer made was in the organising of lectures and courses, and during 1946-8 hundreds of British lecturers agreed to travel to Germany to speak to students. University summer vacation courses were particularly successful: these had started in 1946/7, and by the summer of 1948 a very full programme was being offered. In that year all Hochschulen of the British Zone with the exception of Kiel and the Medical Academy in Düsseldorf⁸⁶ (where courses had to be cancelled because of lack of funds) were running courses of 2-3 weeks during the period 20 July to

⁸⁵ Caroline Cunningham remembers AStA officials in Kiel coming to her to resign because they had lost a vote at one of their meetings (Transcript of the Oxford Symposium Proceedings, p.37). Joachim Frege, first president of the Studentischer Zonenrat of the British Zone and a law student in Göttingen, was the first student to be invited to the UK (by ISS) at the end of November 1946. He describes his impressions 'Als erster deutscher Student in England' in GUZ, 20.12.46.

⁸⁶ The Technische Universität in Berlin was also unable to run a course for the same reason.

12 September. Involved were 35 lecturers from the UK, and 46 from Germany, as well as 21 from other countries. Some 175 UK students attended, and 136 from other countries; 663 German students took part. The average age of students participating was as high as 24 years 7 months.⁸⁷ Each university had taken a general theme for its course as follows:

Göttingen	:	Recent Trends in Educational Theory and Practice
Braunschweig	:	Economics, Politics, Sociology, Modern Literature and the Film
Bonn	:	European Society in the Last Hundred Years
Münster	:	Tradition and Progress
Aachen	:	Science and Engineering, the Common Heritage of Mankind
Cologne	:	Modern Cultural Developments of Europe
Hamburg	:	Modern European Thought and Culture

Among the lecturers the names of several prominent British academics are to be found: Lord Lindsay, Master of Balliol; Father Copleston and M.R.D. Foot of Oxford; Humphry House of Newcastle; and the Germanists Dr Erich Heller of Cambridge, Professor Gillies of Leeds, and Dr Mainland of Sheffield.

The printed programme of the Münster course in August 1947 indicates that it spread over sixteen days, included addresses by the Rektor, the Minister President of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Mr H.J. Walker, a student representative and the University Officer, involved lectures (around the theme 'The World and its Problems as seen from without Germany') from German, French, American, Swiss, Swedish, Italian, Dutch and British participants (among the latter Asa Briggs, Robert Auty, Vera Brittain and the Germanists Leonard Forster and F.P. Pickering) and accommodated exhibitions, music and drama performances, various social

⁸⁷ This and the following information is contained in a report compiled by George Murray: 'University Summer Vacation Courses in the British Zone of Germany, 1948' (PRO: F0371-70715).

activities, and a full quota of discussion sessions. The main talks and the addresses were made available in printed form later in the year.⁸⁸

Geoffrey Bird felt that the Göttingen course had been successful in forming valuable contacts and as an organisational venture (a group of students had formed an organisation committee) and A.W.J. Edwards reported that the course in Aachen had provided the students there with similar valuable experience in the delegation of authority.

Question 13 of the 1982 survey of University Officers asked: 'Did you organise any university vacation courses? If so, can you estimate their impact on the German participants?' Valerie Dundas-Grant remembers the enthusiasm of the German participants. Harry Beckhough feels that the first vacation course organised for Cologne and Bonn students at Burg Wahn (Cologne) in the Spring of 1947 was one of his greatest successes. Geoffrey Bird writes:

It is difficult to estimate the impact of vacation courses on the German participants, as they were, of course, limited in number and soon dispersed to all parts of Germany, but the immediate impression was that they felt a new world was opening for them. They were undoubtedly deeply thrilled by the contacts with fellow students from the outside world, and there was much discussion on political and social matters, and exchange of information and ideas. I feel that the contacts thus made must have had a lasting influence on their lives.

Peter Whitley organised a course in the summer of 1949, which 'was widely acclaimed by the participants, especially the TU students', and its success encouraged him to continue:

⁸⁸ See Das Auditorium (a monthly magazine edited by students and staff of the University of Münster), 1947 - 11/12.

The intellectual stimulus was considerable. But the main thing was the external contact; Western Berlin, more than the Zone, was cut off from the outside world, and there had never been anything like this in Berlin before. I included some students on the planning/steering committee, and this they greatly appreciated. One of them told me later... that this very fact - the 'Occupying Power' inviting them to sit round the table as colleagues and equal partners - had caused some of them totally to reject the nationalistic ideas they had hitherto been privately harbouring.

A.W.J. Edwards feels that it was not so much a question of the course making an impact on the students as of the students making an impact on the courses:

I am still astonished at their good humour, courtesy and tact, not to mention their genuine interest in the subjects which frequently were outside the scope of their own studies.

The cancellation of the Düsseldorf course in 1948 led the students to take a leading part in the planning and organisation of a highly successful course a year later, determined as they were to overcome the indifference of the academic staff and the difficulties created by what the University Officer described as 'personal animosities between members of the Academy administration, the town administration and personalities on the teaching staff'.⁸⁹

Despite the general view that the courses were on the whole a success there were contemporary criticisms. Individual lecturers were asked to send in reports to the Foreign Office. The efficiency of local organisation and the travel arrangements were clearly at the mercy of the vicissitudes of the time, but there were serious complaints from

⁸⁹ 'Report on the Vacation Course of the Düsseldorf Medical Academy, August 5-19th 1949' (copy in my possession).

many lecturers on these fronts. There is evident too, in a long report prepared by W.E. Morse, lecturer in Modern Russian History in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of London University,⁹⁰ and elsewhere, that some fundamental problems (none of which was the fault of the University Officers) had affected the degree of success of the Göttingen course (at which he spoke on the subject of the English Revolution, 1688-1689). Morse's comments centred on the uneasy relationship between the intellectual and social aspects of the course, the seriousness of attitude of the participants (he quotes one student as remarking that 'all the German students inscribed themselves for the Course in order to feed well and... the "foreigners" in their turn had come only to "have a good time" and to improve their German') and the lack of understanding of the nature of the course on the part of some of the German professors ('there was a slight overdose of German metaphysics'...). He described too the educational atmosphere at Göttingen and criticised both the Brotstudium and carpe diem attitudes of the students, the pre-1914 outlook of the older professors, and the nationalistic flavour of the history teaching.

M.R.D. Foot felt that the Bonn course had been 'friendly to the point of sentimentality', and he criticised the apparent lack of Control Commission policy on universities and the lack of opportunity to make real contact with Germans (let alone students and lecturers). Professor Arthur Hutchings (Music) of Durham University (writing of the Cologne course) reported that he found 'as usual... the company of two Germans most attractive but saw certain traits showing themselves directly the numbers increased to three [...] The only genuine

90 Report dated 22.10.48.

complaint against the British university control seemed to be that students were not allowed to MARCH down to the sports field'.

Professor Edward Hughes (History) of Durham was worried that in Braunschweig the students felt in discussion that he was acting as a stooge of the Foreign Office. Somerville Hastings MP (visiting Münster) was of the same opinion: 'I am quite sure that not one of the German students believed a single word of anything that I or any other British lecturer had to tell them.'⁹¹

91 Dr W.F. Mainland of Sheffield wrote of the 'irksome... well-meaning supervision of military individuals':

Having to change trains at Hamm, I entered, as was my custom in travelling about Germany, a 3rd-class compartment. I was somewhat surprised when an officer in the Army of Occupation with whom I had chatted at the railway-station came along the platform, and having quietly asked what class of ticket I had, invited me to join him in his compartment. I accepted his friendly invitation, but was naturally embarrassed as there were other civilians around me; and I asked him "Are we then not supposed to travel third class," I may never know the source of the authority behind his reply: "We don't like you to." In relation to the pressing matters of the moment this is, on the surface, ludicrously small; but as an accredited visitor of civilian status trained to understand what is said around me in Germany and with long practice in discreet response, I am chagrined that an army officer with no knowledge of the German language, or of myself, should attempt to hamper me or any like me in the absorption of views and opinions which might well contribute a the progressive work of British authorities in their arduous task.

Ruth Harvey claimed that Education Branch officers were generally disliked by others in the Control Commission because they could speak German and 'frat'. (Interview of 4.7.80 in Oxford.) Other lecturers complained about their isolation from the Germans, and about the deliberate remoteness of the messes and barracks in which they stayed. When M.R.D. Foot and Humphry House escaped to make contact with Germans they were said to have 'gone native'. 'And yet', Foot says, 'some collaboration with the CCG people is almost essential... Their profound lack of interest, not only in university matters, but in all things German, was a considerable shock.' Foot was referring of course to military officers.

On the other hand the Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, could speak of the 'admirable' work being done by Education Branch: in Münster and Berlin, he felt, 'even the Germans, who in general are very little appreciative of what is being done for them, are grateful here'; and Father Copleston (in Cologne) remarked on a lack of resentment and a general willingness to engage in rational discussion. Dr Edgar Stern-Rubarth (who was in Münster) spoke of 'well-nigh unanimous praise' for work in education. The UECOs were on the whole complimented; George Murray, who collated the lecturers' reports, felt that the UECOs had been put 'in a class by themselves in comparison with the efforts of other links in the chain of organisation'.

The aims of the vacation courses were sometimes somewhat vague, and many lecturers complained that they had not been properly briefed. E.W. Hughes of Leeds felt the object of the courses to be to 'put over the British way of life' by objective example rather than by instruction. George Murray proposed in his report (v. Note 87) that it should be made clear whether the aim was 'to exchange views or put across the British Way or democratise the Germans' and whether the British students should play the part of 'democratisers, proselytisers, or merely good companions of the moment and pen-friends in the future'. On the whole, Murray observed, the 'British Way' aspect was the most profitable line to adopt:

... one of the deepest impressions made on the Germans in these courses was the contact they were able to make with British methods of lecturing, discussing and debating. They admired the frank and easy manners of the British participants, their tolerance, their humour, their appreciation of the other man's point of view, their refusal to talk down to the Germans or to suggest anything that implied "re-education". What the British participants put across was done more by example than by instruction.

Clearly the University Officers were playing a vital part in this important aspect - at a delicate period of the Occupation⁹² - of their role as advisers and enablers.

'Re-education'

'Re-education' is an unfortunate term that figures prominently in war-time and post-war discussions on German education. Pakschies⁹³ has described two ways in which the word was used: first, in its broadest sense, as a form of shorthand for all Allied measures to destroy Fascism in the economic, political, and cultural life and consciousness of the Germans; second, and in a specifically educational sense, as a description of the attempts to indoctrinate by means of the mass media and to democratise cultural and educational life in Germany.

Used in the first broad sense, the term has an appropriate vagueness about it: it amounts in fact to little more than 'change' or 'making a fresh start'. It is in the second sense that the term becomes problematic, since the aim - democratisation - is implicitly incompatible with the method - indoctrination. This brings us back to Balfour's paradox quoted at the beginning of this chapter. If 're-education' means, or implies, 'indoctrination', or, to use Balfour's phrase, 'the imposition of faiths by order', then it becomes as philosophically objectionable as the excesses of National Socialist theory and practice

92 Another visiting lecturer reported of a (non-university) summer school in Westphalia in 1948: '(The young Germans) were sick of the word "democracy" ... so that by the end of the fortnight none of the lecturers could comfortably use it. It was not that they were anti-democratic, but rather that they were disillusioned, a little cynical, seeking information all the time, but unwilling to accept anything on faith. They seemed to be waiting.'
K. Gibberd: 'Young Germans Then and Now' (TES, 18.9.48).

93 Op. cit. p.1.

it was designed to counteract. The problem is particularly acute at university level, where a fundamental tenet must be respect for objective truth. Anything smacking even of propaganda, let alone indoctrination, would quite rightly be held to be entirely inappropriate in a university context. The CVCP were sensitive, as we have seen, on the issue of sending British professors of political science and related subjects to German universities precisely because they feared that there might be propaganda intentions behind the idea.

Pakschies's mention of indoctrination lends to the term 're-education' a ferocity which did not characterise it in the British Zone. As we have seen, a Leitmotiv of British policy from the war-time planning onwards was the determination to let the Germans sort out their own problems under the guidance and watchful eye of the occupying powers: there would be, in Riddy's phrase 'negative prohibition' as well as positive 'advice and assistance', the University Officer would be, in Chorley's description, a pater familias who could be both benevolent and stern - but re-education in the sense of systematically preaching or insinuating particular doctrines (as implied in indoctrination) had no part in the British conception of the reconstruction of German education. Such an approach would have been more in line with Morgenthau's 'Carthaginian' suggestions or with the French 'mission civilisatrice' or the Russians' neo-Gleichschaltung than with the more pragmatic - and democratic - British style. It is significant that Arthur Hearnden's book on British education policy bears the sub-title 'Educational Reconstruction after 1945' while other published accounts contrive to use the words Umerziehung or Re-education. Birley disliked the term, and Herbert Walker, Deputy Director of Education Branch, complained that 'this is an Education Branch, not a Re-education Branch'.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See Kurt Jürgensen's article in History, 68/223, June 1983.

The acceptability of the term 're-education' as a proper reflection of British policy revolves on a question of semantics. The prefix re- can indicate both the sense of 'back' and 'again'. The Oxford English Dictionary demonstrates that re- may be used sometimes to denote 'that the action itself is performed a second time, and sometimes that its result is to reverse a previous action or process, or to restore a previous state of things'. The second of these usages might imply, in the case of 're-education', an ideological stance on the part of those doing the re-educating; the first usage implies a fresh start, an 'eye-opening' approach, which does not necessarily involve hard and fast philosophical or ideological posturing. And it is this second sense (allied to Pakschies's first definition) in which the term can best be applied to British policy.

Germans have described the term Umerziehung as intellectually offensive, and this must be because the prefix um- has a strength which the English re- lacks through ambiguity. Um- implies definite change or 'turning round' rather than the sense of 'again'. Alternative German expressions, however, were not used as frequently as Umerziehung.⁹⁵

From a semantic point of view, as dictionary definitions concede, the distinction between the sense of 'back' and 'again' in words prefixed by re- is often blurred, but in terms of the sense of the concept as it was understood by those charged with implementing policy in Germany it is important to bear the possible distinction in mind.

95 Pakschies (op. cit. p.1) records as equivalents to Umerziehung or Reeducation the following: Neuerziehung, Rückerziehung, Wiedererziehung, Umbildung and Umstimmung, the first and third of which imply the notion of starting again. For further discussion of the term see Otto Schlander: Reeducation - Ein politisch-pädagogisches Prinzip im Widerstreit der Gruppen, Bern/Frankfurt 1975.

In practice re-education in the universities meant exposing staff and students to democratic ideas and procedures in the ways that have been described in earlier sections of this chapter. Visiting lecturers, vacation courses, visits to Wilton Park, staff and student exchanges, encouragement of individuals, discussion groups, the rebirth of student societies: all played a part in educating the German people anew. A clear exemplar of the British practice is provided by the model of the debate. Jane Anderson reports⁹⁶ that visitors to Britain under the auspices of GER were almost invariably exposed to debating societies and debates of all kinds in schools and other institutions - 'the proportion of German visitors who witnessed one', she reports, 'is suspiciously high'. Discussions too, in which all shades of opinion could be aired, provided a further model for that new slant on education implied in the British interpretation of re-education.

Re-education remained a cornerstone of British policy throughout the occupation period, but it was a broader and milder concept than the term might indicate. It relates too to the reform proposals which emerged after the AUT Delegates' visit to Germany in January 1947 and following the work of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform in 1948: the next two chapters deal with those proposals in detail.

96 'German GER Guests' Impressions of British Education 1947-1950'.

CHAPTER FIVE

Towards the Blaues Gutachten -The Report of a Delegation of the Association of University Teachers on The Universities in the British Zone of Germany (1947)¹

... the biggest mistake we made in
the educational field in Germany ²

In the late summer of 1946 the Association of University Teachers was approached by James Mark of the Control Office for Germany and Austria with a twofold request: he asked that a representative of the AUT should attend a Universities Conference in the British Zone on 24-25 September, and that an advisory delegation should be set up to act as a Commission of Enquiry into the universities of the British Zone.³ Lord Chorley (then Vice-President of the AUT) was asked, after agreement by the President (Professor E.R. Dodds) and the Executive, to attend the conference, and, subject to a favourable report from him on the situation in Germany, it was agreed that

it would be undesirable to refuse the request of HM Government to send a delegation to German universities, and that arrangements for the visit should go forward.

Lord Chorley telegraphed his recommendation from Germany:

Recommend strongly that the Committee should agree in principle to send a delegation to Germany in order to advise the Education Dept. of the Control Office on a number of technical matters on which they urgently require assistance. The position in the German Universities is exceptionally difficult because many of

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- 1 An earlier draft of this chapter has appeared in German translation together with the essential documentation: David Phillips: zur Universitätsreform in der britischen Besatzungszone 1945-1948, Cologne 1983. (Series: Studien und Dokumentationen zur Deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, No. 24.)
- 2 Robert Birley: British Educational Control and Influence in Germany after the 1939-45 War, Irvine Memorial Lecture, St Andrew's, 24.4.63.
- 3 This and the following information is contained in papers in the AUT Archive (Executive Minutes, 24.9.46, p.30, sheet 4).

~~the~~ The Rectors and Professors have returned recently to the Universities after 10 years of absence and it is important for the Military Government that they should have some up-to-date advice on the difficult problems which confront them.

The Executive Committee recommended acceptance of the Government's request, while making it clear that this was 'without prejudice to the question of the resumption of cultural relations with German Universities'; the opinion of local branches was also to be sought before the delegation began its work in the New Year.

In December 1946 the Executive recorded that branch replies had supported the AUT's proposal to send a delegation to Germany and that

owing to forthcoming transfer of the control of education (from the Control Commission to the local Governments of the Länder, subject to veto by the C[ontrol] C[ommission]) the urgency of the visit was emphasised.⁴

A meeting between Professor Dodds, Lord Chorley, the General Secretary of the AUT,⁵ and members of the Control Office had been held on 14 November and the visit (to take place from 2 to 17 January 1947)⁶ had been planned. Terms of reference had been drawn up as follows:⁷

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- 4 Executive minutes, 19, 20 December 1946 (p.44, sheet 2). The AUT had in the past sent delegations to report on the universities in other countries; cf. for example 'The French University System. Report of the AUT Commission of Investigation', 1930 (The Universities Review, 3/1, October 1930) and a similar report for Germany which appeared in 1939 (The Universities Review 4/1, October 1931).
- 5 Professor R. Douglas Laurie of Aberystwyth. The meeting had been suggested by Lord Chorley in his report.
- 6 Donald Riddy had suggested that the delegation should visit Germany in June, when the German universities would be in session during the British universities' long vacation. He agreed with Chorley, however, that a visit at that time would not be 'so fruitful' as a visit early in 1947. The delegates were actually in Germany from 3 to 15 January.
- 7 Professor Dodds had already drawn up a 'Memorandum on Relations with German and Italian Universities', and this had been circulated to members of the Executive (Minutes, 24.9.46).

- (1) to advise the Control Commission on a number of technical questions on which they require assistance;
- (2) to consider what steps, if any, should be taken to renew relations between British and German universities.

Between one-quarter and one-half of the eight or nine members of the delegation, it was agreed, should be German-speaking, and they should include representatives of all the main faculties.⁸ The members of the delegation were to be:

Arts: Professor Dodds (Greek, Oxford)
 Professor J.A. Hawgood (History, Birmingham)
 Mr A.H.J. Knight (German, Cambridge)⁹
 Professor R. Pascal (German, Birmingham)

Law: Professor Lord Chorley (Law, London School of Economics)

Pure Science: Professor R. C. McLean (Botany, Cardiff)

Social Science: Professor T.H. Marshall (Sociology, L.S.E.)¹⁰

Medicine: Professor C.H. Browning (Bacteriology, Glasgow)

Technology: Mr D. Martineau Tombs (Electrical Engineering,
 Imperial College, London).

Most of the members had met in James Mark's room at the Control Office on 19 December for a briefing session, and they had received relevant background papers. Some objection was raised to the second of the terms

8 AUT Council minutes, 21.12.46 (p.62, sheet 5). In fact all but one of the delegates could speak and understand German. Professor Hawgood had worked in Heidelberg (PhD 1928) and Vienna; in 1939-40 he had been Head of the German Section of the Foreign Research and Press Service and in 1946 he had lectured and attended conferences in the British and American Zones. Professor McLean had made a comparative study of university systems in Europe. Professor Marshall had been a civilian prisoner in Germany during the First World War and in 1939-44 had worked in the Research Department of the Foreign Office, where he became Head of the German Section and Deputy Director. Professor Browning had been Official Assistant to a professor in Frankfurt in 1906-7.

9 In the event, Mr Knight was unable to travel to Germany.

10 Later (1949) to succeed Robert Birley as Educational Adviser.

of reference, but a vote of confidence in the delegation was passed, with the proviso that the delegates could not speak in the name of the AUT until such time as their recommendations were accepted.

Lord Chorley's 'Report on a Visit to certain German Universities and a Zonal University Conference',¹¹ dated September 1946, begins with an admission that he left Germany (after four-and-a-half days) 'rather with a series of impressions than with clear-cut and thought-out views'. But he goes on to suggest in fairly critical and forthright terms what the main problem areas appeared to be.

First, though he expresses admiration for their commitment to university work while suffering under the most adverse conditions, he regarded some of the Rektoren as too old and tired to do their jobs properly:

The men in charge... are elderly, have in some cases... been for a long time out of touch, and though some of them are obvious enthusiasts and men of ability others did not strike me as having much vitality left.

In the published version of the report, which in many instances is less critical (particularly with regard to the British presence) the criticism is more severe: 'It is obvious that for the most part they are not ideally suited to the job of rebuilding the universities.'¹²

The Rektoren and professors to whom Chorley spoke seemed, he reported, 'to look back to the period before the First World War as the great period of German university life, and to long to return to it'. In his draft he had described the conditions prevailing in 1913 as 'not of course to our way of thinking ideal', but he goes on in both

11 A four-page typescript of this report is preserved in the AUT archives.

12 Professor Lord Chorley: 'Report on a Visit to some German Universities', The Universities Review, 19/2, February 1947, p. 126.

versions to talk of one major difference between the professors' longing for a return to this 'golden era' and their hopes for the future, namely their desire to become free of State control, exercised mainly through the appointment of the Kurator and the professors. The universities wanted to have control of these appointments themselves - but Chorley could see a danger in allowing the professoriate too much freedom: in the draft he reports that he was informed

that in several of the Universities the senates are dominated by small and reactionary cliques of elderly professors and that complete independence might well lead to a state of affairs less satisfactory than that which existed under the generally liberal administrations of the Weimar Republic.¹³

This was felt to be a problem of some concern to the British authorities, but, as Chorley puts it, no clear plan had emerged so far for dealing with it; the only step that had been taken had been the decision that the Kurator should be appointed by the university and confirmed in office by the Land ministry. The Land authorities were unwilling to relinquish their right to make professorial appointments ('a vital issue of academic freedom') and Chorley concludes in the draft that

the whole subject is one of fundamental importance upon which the Control need the best advice obtainable, since they can influence the decision, and a reasonable solution may well make all the difference to the future of the German universities.¹⁴

As we have seen (in Chapter Four) Chorley was critical of some of the Control Officers, whose enthusiasm he found impressive but who lacked

¹³ In the published version this becomes: 'It was suggested to me... that to transfer complete control to the professoriate, which is what a grant of independence tout court would mean, might well make for little, if any, improvements, since, on the whole, the professors are not men of the world, nor of a progressive outlook', loc. cit. p.127.

¹⁴ In the Universities Review version mention of advice and influence is dropped (p.127).

in his view both experience and the necessary administrative skills for their important responsibility. Mention is also made in the draft report of contact with local political leaders and trades unionists 'who are taking a great interest in the reconstruction of the Universities'.

The two main areas Lord Chorley identified in which immediate assistance was required were:

- (1) the provision of the 'apparatus of education': textbooks, paper, scientific equipment;
- (2) the re-establishment of contacts with academics in other countries - not only personal contact through exchange visits and similar arrangements, but also academic contact via journals and other publications.

Little had so far been achieved with regard to the second of these areas due, Chorley felt, to currency exchange difficulties and red tape.¹⁵

15 There was some feeling in Britain that not enough was being done to encourage contact between the universities of both countries. The AUT Executive later considered a resolution from the Oxford branch which stated 'That the Oxford Branch would wish to see English Lectors appointed in German Universities in the British Zone and would welcome a scheme to enable German university teachers of proved anti-Nazi sympathies to visit British universities. The branch feels strongly that German professors who are rewriting textbooks and who are impeded by lack of scientific material in Germany, should be given facilities under such a scheme to work in British libraries and to make contact with their opposite numbers here'. By this time (March 1947) the Executive could refer the Oxford branch to the delegation's report, shortly to appear.

Victor Gollancz had been in Germany from 2 October to 15 November 1946 and had pleaded, in a letter to the Times Literary Supplement, for seven steps to be taken to counter the 'intellectual isolation of Germany'; he 'begged': '(1) that visits should be arranged, on a really extensive scale, between the staffs and students of British and German schools and universities; (2) that parties of British youth should go out to Germany and live for two or three weeks with German youth on the German ration scale; (3) that parties of German youth should similarly be allowed to come to Britain; (4) that British universities should find out what books are urgently needed by German universities, should buy them by public subscription and should send them out through "Save Europe Now" or otherwise; [...] (5) that everybody with a friend in Germany should send him good English books of any kind, asking him to pass them on if he doesn't want them; [...] (6) that the

The situation in the French Zone is briefly mentioned, particularly inasmuch as it reflected the French Government's policy of integrating the work of German universities with that of universities in France; French teachers and students were working in German universities at this time. The French authorities, Chorley reports, were putting pressure on the British to appoint French academics to the staff of universities in the British Zone.

Chorley attended one of the bi-monthly Inter-University Zonal Conferences ('one of the happiest innovations of the Control') and was impressed by the constructive interchange of ideas and the opportunity for informal contact, as well as by the sensible contribution made by student representatives.¹⁶

15 continued....

public should take full advantage of the little known Control Office scheme for the supply of books and periodicals to information centres and public libraries in the British zone; [...] (7) that writers, university people, and scientists should write regularly to their "opposite numbers", giving them some little information about developments here in an endeavour to mitigate their isolation.' (Victor Gollancz: In Darkest Germany, London 1947, pp. 111-2). These proposals were repeated by E. Colledge, a lecturer at Liverpool University who had been seconded to the Control Commission in 1945-6 and served as the first Head of the Universities Section, in his article 'The German Universities after the War' (The Universities Review, 19/2, February 1947). Colledge called for 'the counsel and conversation of European scholars', more visits from abroad to Germany, provision of books and scientific periodicals, the regular exchange of students and longer visits from students and lecturers in order to build up personal contacts: this would break down the 'spiritual isolation' of Germany.

- 16 His only reservations concerned the overcrowded agenda of the conference (in Bonn) and the fact that discussion of 'larger problems of policy' failed owing to a lack of preliminary documentation. A system of electing students to representative councils had been developed within a year of the end of the war, and there had been a congress of the councils in Göttingen in the summer of 1946. Colledge described the atmosphere at the congress as 'practical and businesslike, and remarkably free from the rhetoric and sentiment which has marked other similar gatherings'.

He was convinced that an AUT delegation could make a fruitful contribution in Germany 'of assistance to both the Control Office and to the German Universities in their efforts to build up a new system of free and democratic university education in Germany'.¹⁷

The delegation spent thirteen days in Germany in January 1947. By the middle of March their report was in draft form and was being circulated among the eight members before being submitted to the Control Commission. The unamended version was received by the AUT Executive and it was agreed to publish it in the Universities Review.¹⁸

James Mark, when he received a copy of the Report, felt that it should be published with certain alterations. He was not in favour of making substantial changes, however, despite his view that 'certain passages might be more tactfully phrased'. In fact he saw the Report's value in terms of future policy-making:

The weaknesses indicated are not, of course, new discoveries, though the statement of them is admirably clear, but the report contains so many constructive suggestions as to serve as a basis for future policy.¹⁹

When it appeared²⁰ it was described in an editorial in the Universities Review as 'a sombre and arresting document [which] may well be regarded as the most important report that has up to the present time appeared in this journal'.²¹ It was welcomed by the Times Educational Supplement²² as a move likely to result in 'a general clarification of ideas concerning educational rehabilitation and the formulation of more constructive

17 Draft report, p. 4.

18 AUT Executive minutes, 14, 15 March 1947 (p.80, sheet 1).

19 Memo of 22.2.47 (PRO: F0945-265).

20 'The Universities in the British Zone of Germany', The Universities Review, 19/3, May 1947.

21 Ibid., p.169.

22 Comment in Brief, 31.5.47, p.261.

policies than have hitherto been apparent in official attempts to re-establish German academic life' and the 'remarkable perspicacity' of the delegates was praised, as evidenced in their recommendations for counteracting possible public sympathy for academics dismissed during denazification procedures.²³

The proposal to appoint an international educational commission to advise on policy was also warmly received, since 'the degree of disintegration of the university system is clearly such that no spontaneous revival is to be expected'. The delegation's view that there was little hope of spontaneous reform from within the German universities was regarded by two post-war chroniclers of German education, R. H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas (both university teachers) as

a much more realistic assessment of the situation than the surprising conclusions of Sir Ernest Barker who, writing in the Times on April 10th 1948 of his experience as a visiting professor at Cologne, said that he met "very few, if any, reactionaries among the professors" and stated that, in so far as the German university needed reform, he would like "to reform it from within, by gentle advice and quiet suasion".²⁴

23 Lord Chorley had talked of widespread sympathy for the idea of an amnesty and had reported the Control Office's decision to implement such an amnesty for students under the age of 27. 'The denazification committees are political in character', he writes, 'and I heard them much criticised. The problem is obviously a troublesome one, but in view of the key position occupied by university teachers it would clearly be disastrous to shirk the necessary, if unpleasant, task of eliminating the Nazi elements', loc. cit., pp. 127-8.

24 Education and Society in Modern Germany, London 1949, p.180. Lord Lindsay suggested in April 1948 that Sir Ernest Barker should be invited to speak to the Studienausschuß on the difference between English and German universities. In the event the invitation was either not sent or not taken up. Sir Ernest repeated and developed these views in an article in the Times Educational Supplement of 17.4.48 and in his autobiographical writings Age and Youth (London 1953, pp.203-9).

The report was given serious consideration by the Control authorities, and it must have been one of the factors motivating the Educational Adviser, Robert Birley, to plan the setting up of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform towards the end of 1947. A German translation was arranged through the Göttingen publishing house Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: the proprietor, Helmut Ruprecht, approached Reinhard Schaeder of Göttingen to undertake the work and the German version eventually appeared in the firm's periodical Die Sammlung in February 1948.²⁵ Education Branch in the person of Geoffrey Bird checked and approved the translation, which, the translator felt, could be regarded as 'eine offiziöse Übersetzung mit Zustimmung der britischen Militärregierung'.²⁶

The delegation divided into two groups,²⁷ one visiting Göttingen, Hamburg, Kiel, the TH Braunschweig and the TH Hannover, and the other ~~BOLOGNE~~ ^{Köln}, Bonn, Münster and the Medical Academy at Düsseldorf. They met together to visit the Technische Universität in Berlin and also visited the University of Berlin in the Russian sector. Adverse weather conditions prevented proposed visits to the TH Aachen and to two universities in the American zone (Frankfurt and Marburg).

25 3/2, February 1948.

26 Letter from Professor Schaeder to Dr Jürgen Fischer of 17.5.72. Copies were made available to members of the Studienausschuß in 1948. Discussion of the report was planned for the second meeting of the Commission and it was placed on the agenda; the minutes of the meeting do not, however, record any such discussion. The report itself was, of course, official, copyright remaining with the Crown. Extracts had appeared in the Göttinger Universitäts-Zeitung, I/III of 5 December 1947.

27 The first group comprised Messrs Dodds, Chorley, McLean and Tombs, the second Messrs Browning, Hawgood, Marshall and Pascal.

Dodds's letters home to his wife survive, written from 'a vast and super-elegant bed chamber in the villa of a Nazi cement manufacturer' in Hannover, a 'small carpetless and slightly sordid hotel bedroom' in Göttingen, and a 'quite pretentious hotel in Hamburg'. He describes the appalling weather conditions: 30 degrees of frost in Göttingen, the Alster frozen over in Hamburg (one of the Delegates suffered frostbite), the frequent cuts in the electricity supply. In a lecture given in Oxford later in the year he was to say that he had seldom spent a less enjoyable fortnight. Caroline Cunningham (who remembers flying to London to brief the Delegates before their departure for Germany) entertained Dodds and his colleagues, all dressed in as many clothes as they had with them, in the Officers' Club in Kiel and was later blackballed by the Club Committee for supposedly inviting Germans: Dodds's reindeer-patterned pullover could only have been worn by a German, it was felt!²⁸

On the whole Dodds was impressed by the equanimity of the Germans he met, though he found some Dozenten in Hamburg 'outspokenly bitter'. He was quick to draw a distinction between the older professors and the younger staff:

[I] have been to see old Pohlenz²⁹.... On seeing me the old man plunged at once into an eager discussion of Greek philosophy, exactly as if all that has happened since 1933 were an irrelevant and essentially unimportant interruption to our real business of scholarship. I suspect this is a common attitude with the older men: delightful, but also irresponsible. The younger men are, I think, different.

He noted too the contrast between the serious efficiency of German officials and the charming amateurishness of the Control officers:

²⁸ Transcript, p.203, and interview with Caroline Cunningham of 18.11.81 in Birmingham; Dodds's letters of 31.1.47, 6.1.47, and 10.1.47 (Dodds Papers). The Oxford lecture was delivered to the local United Nations Association Branch on 12.5.47 (Dodds Papers).

²⁹ Max Pohlenz, b.1872. Emeritus Professor of Greek Philosophy in Göttingen.

This afternoon [in Hannover] we met our first German - a fluent Ministerialrat, who addressed us very thoroughly for 2 hours on the administrative problems. I thought him as much superior in ability to our rather amateur CCG chaps as he was inferior to them in personal charm. If the light had not gone out he would probably be talking still.

Dodds later summed up his impressions on the trip in terms of hope mingled with despair:

It was in many respects a gloomy visit. Yet the prospect was not all gloom: one had the invigorating sense that by the united efforts of two peoples a new and saner order was being created out of the shambles.³⁰

The Delegates had devised an ambitious programme for so brief a visit: they were only in Germany for thirteen days, and their report was clearly open to criticism on the grounds that it must be unrealistic to produce a survey of problems that purports to be correct in its assumptions (which in any case are bound to be largely subjective) in such a short space of time. The delegates were anxious from the outset to recognise this fact:

No-one can make confident generalisations about the present state of the German universities, or give confident advice on future policy in relation to them, on the basis of a fortnight's visit to the British Zone.³¹

In Section I of the Report they acknowledge that it was possible 'to touch only the fringe of several important matters', but they felt it desirable to concentrate on the problems associated with one major question, namely: 'What measures are necessary to enable the German universities to play their part in a new democratic Germany?' This

³⁰ E. R. Dodds: Missing Persons, Oxford 1977, p.167.

³¹ The Universities in the British Zone of Germany, loc. cit. p.204. Professor Marshall later admitted that the AUT investigation could not be very thorough (see The British in Germany, ed. Arthur Hearnden, London 1978, p.291).

meant inevitably that any proposals would be concerned with 'the inner structure and composition of the universities, and with their relationship to society'; such proposals would not be restricted to those on which the Control Commission could take immediate action, but - and this was a fundamental principle of British educational policy in Germany - they would also include developments which 'can only be brought about by the Germans themselves'. On the other hand the delegates were very forceful in expressing their misgivings about reform possibilities emerging from the universities:³²

We feel that we should place in the forefront of our Report our strong and unanimous impression that no radical and lasting reform of the universities which we have visited is likely to come about on the sole initiative of the universities themselves.

The reasons for this initial and important conclusion were twofold and were regarded as representing the internal and external manifestations of the same 'social fact':

- (i) The German universities are at present controlled, so far as internal affairs are concerned, by groups of senior professors whose average age is high, whose academic ideals were formed under conditions very different from today's, and whose capacity for responding to new circumstances is therefore likely to be in general small.
- (ii) The social structure of the universities is bound up with that of the secondary schools, and both of them with the traditional structure of German society as a whole, so that reform of the educational system is unlikely to be brought about save in the context of a much wider movement of social reform.³³

Two objections to these conclusions are countered in paragraphs 10 and 11 of Section II of the Report: first, the fact that many elderly

32 In Section II of the Report, Statement of the Problem, p.204.

33 Ibid., p.205.

Rektoren were still 'young in vigour and ideas' was conceded, but their influence was felt to be limited and it was considered that successors of similar calibre would be hard to find; second, recommendations of the Hochschulkonferenz³⁴ concerning broader university intake, free places, student loans and other measures were felt - even if they could be implemented - merely to scratch the surface of problems with much deeper roots.

This section of the Report concludes with three aims in which hope for the future might lie:

- (1) the encouragement of younger teachers of the right kind by means of quicker promotion, better financial status and more say in university policy;
- (2) closer association between the universities and public opinion and 'movements outside their walls which tend to create a healthier social structure';
- (3) the creation of means by which foreign opinion might influence German university life.

These three aims lay behind the more detailed recommendations which follow in other parts of the Report.

Section III of the Report deals with material needs and outlines some of the difficulties, general and academic, with which the universities and the student body had to contend. The important point is made that students were engaged in searching for food and fuel and that Rektoren and professors were occupied with practical problems associated with the physical restoration of the universities ('restoring rooms, finding wood for window-frames, etc.').

³⁴ The Hochschulkonferenz, described elsewhere in the Report as 'oligarchic' (p.210), consisted of the Rektoren, representatives of the Land ministries, the Zonal Advisory Council and the Zonal Students' Council; its role was advisory.

The delegates felt that the various hardships caused both academic work and student morals [sic] to suffer. They made a strong plea for the provision of more printing paper, at least to allow one periodical to be produced in each main field of research, for the immediate printing of books already identified as being urgently needed, for a special allocation of writing paper to the universities and for foreign publications to be provided. The lack of special materials for scientific and medical departments was mentioned, and it was suggested that more encouragement should be given to research in the Zone. The Report stresses the political danger which would ensue from failure to improve material provision:

Until we can provide the minimum material facilities without which education, in the academic sense of the word, cannot be effectively carried on, no policy of political "re-education" can possibly be expected to succeed.³⁵

Section IV of the Report deals with denazification and the academic staff. This was at all times a highly contentious subject, and the delegates recorded the polarised views represented to them. There were clearly many injustices, of the kind mentioned by Heinrich Fraenkel when writing of his visits to Germany during this period. Fraenkel had discussed the subject at length with Karl Jaspers and his circle and reported:

They told me case after case of people who had been grievously wronged because they had stumbled into this or that pitfall of the questionnaire.³⁶

35 p. 207.

36 Farewell to Germany, London 1959, p.60.

Elsewhere Fraenkel is highly critical of the Fragebogen approach to denazification:

It was, of course, a stupendous waste of time, paper and manhours to use forms and questionnaires and other methods of routine bureaucracy for an attempt to assess something as complex and intangible as a nation's state of mind; it was sheer lunacy at a time when that nation was in a state of complete physical exhaustion, and when most people were merely concerned with problems such as how to find a few lumps of coal and how to convert an old chair or some old trinkets into a few calories additional to those provided by the hopelessly inadequate rations.³⁷

The main fears associated with denazification were (1) that there were undoubtedly cases where academic staff had been treated unfairly; (2) that on the other hand some people had been treated too leniently; (3) that at a time when more staff were urgently needed it was regrettable that some specialists were prevented from working, especially if they were regarded by their colleagues as harmless; (4) that dismissals might result in a reactionary re-emergence of Nazi tendencies.³⁸

Though the delegates reported the view transmitted to them by a minority that 'some university departments could only be denazified by being closed' there was no mention of the extreme situations described by some observers indicating neo-Nazi attitudes adopted towards proven anti-Nazi colleagues in some places.

37 Farewell to Germany, p.59.

38 This view is echoed in more extreme terms by Heinrich Fraenkel (op. cit., p.124): 'Like any huge and over-bureaucratized administrative machinery this one, too, soon kept ticking over automatically, and did so even when the original aims were no longer acute and, indeed, just about to be turned upside down; when from one idiotic extreme of "Morgenthauism" there had been a swing to the opposite and no less idiotic extreme; when denazification turned into re-nazification, de-militarisation into re-militarisation, and thereby re-education lost any sense and meaning it ever had.'

The delegates felt that dismissed academic staff should be given some financial support, that some teachers in this category should be allowed to use university facilities for their own research, and that special consideration should be given to those who had joined the party at the age of 30 or under 'and who give evidence of a will and ability to contribute to a new spirit'.

The bureaucracy of the denazification process was discussed and simplification was urged, mainly to avoid the excessive delays implicit in the procedures. Judgement in individual cases should not be based entirely or solely on the completed Fragebogen but should also be supported by written and oral evidence.

On the question of the constitution of the universities, dealt with in Section V of the Report, the delegates considered that there was neither a desire nor a need for the universities to cease to come under the control of the Land authority. The prime reason, as the delegates saw it, was that the local German authorities would not be in a position to further and put into practice 'that constructive educational and cultural policy of which Germany today stands in such great need'; nor was it considered that the universities were yet in a position to govern themselves. Conversely, however, there was a fear that party politics might wield an unhealthy influence where the Land authorities did not 'use their power over the universities in the best interests of higher education and research'. The delegates hoped for a compromise, and quoted from Abraham Flexner's much discussed book:³⁹

39 Universities: American, English, German, New York 1930, p.323.

Generally speaking, the German arrangement works best when a strong Ministerialdirektor or ministry negotiates with a strong faculty:⁴⁰ both being strong deliberation takes place, and out of deliberation between equals, a sound result usually emerges.

Before proceeding to make suggestions about university government the delegates referred again to the absolute necessity of encouraging democratic processes (particularly via consultation and publicity) since, they felt, the many problems besetting the universities had deep roots in the social structure of Germany:

The conservative, nationalistic, and even reactionary attitudes noticeable in many of the German universities today, and passionately denounced by left-wing circles and trade unionists, reflect the social structure of the German people and the mentality of certain social classes; they cannot be wholly removed until that structure and that mentality have been changed.⁴¹

In advocating the establishment of university councils with academic and non-academic representation, the delegates had in mind the Kuratorium⁴² at Cologne, which was to be much discussed by the members of the Studienausschuß. Unlike the Kuratorium, however, the proposed councils would not have executive power; they would advise on university policy and finance. But beyond their general function:

⁴⁰ The delegates would substitute 'senate' for 'faculty'.

⁴¹ p. 209.

⁴² The Kölner Kuratorium consisted of the Oberbürgermeister of the city (as Chairman); a second administrative Chairman chosen by the Oberbürgermeister after consultation with the City Council; seven members chosen by the City Council: three representatives of the Stifter chosen by the Oberbürgermeister; and the Rektor and the Prorektor of the University; in addition the Deans of individual faculties could be included when matters were being discussed that concerned them (they would on such occasions have full voting rights).

They would serve to bridge the gulf that now divides the universities from the world at large, to give the interested public an insight into university affairs and the universities an understanding of their obligations to society, and to make Ministerial policy a matter for discussion and limited publicity.

The councils would include representatives of

- (1) the university;
- (2) the Land Ministry;
- (3) other areas of education;
- (4) public bodies;
- (5) the political parties;
- (6) 'prominent individual citizens' (by co-optation).

The delegates emphasised that this particular proposal needed more investigation and that there should be flexibility in the composition of such councils: they might even in some cases be unnecessary. It was felt that the Hochschulkonferenz⁴³ might consider the matter further.

The Report deals in detail with some fundamental problems connected with the internal structure of the universities and questions of staffing. The delegates noted two facts which made a particular impression on them: the lack of procedures to enable collective discussion and policy-making and the power of small groups of senior professors. They welcomed the move towards the abolition of the office of Kurator.⁴⁴ They wanted to see a block grant introduced (in place of the ministerially approved annual budget) which would force the senate to accept the responsibility of allocating funds and planning: too much independence would still accrue to the faculties, however, and this was seen as an important stumbling-block:

⁴³ The delegates stressed the value of the Hochschulkonferenz and hoped that it would continue in existence: it was felt, however, that the development of an association of university teachers would provide a useful forum for the younger academic staff.

⁴⁴ The Kurator was to be replaced by a nominee of the university who was to be answerable to the senate.

This particularist and individualistic spirit in the German universities is a result of the special interpretation of academic freedom known as "Lehr- und Lernfreiheit", which can in practice become perverted into a state of anarchy tempered by professorial tyranny.⁴⁵

Part of the problem here was that the faculties traditionally had the right of direct access to the Minister: the delegates suggested that such approaches should only be possible (with the exception of appointments) through the senate.

As to the composition of the senate, the proposals were that it should consist of:

- (1) the Rektor;
- (2) the Pro-Rektor;
- (3) the Deans of the Faculties;
- (4) a professor elected by each Faculty;
- (5) 5 or 6 elected representatives of the non-professorial staff.

This composition would lead to a senate of about 20 members if there were six faculties represented. The delegates were convinced that students should not be full members of the senate, though the practice of students being present when student matters were being discussed was welcomed.

No proposals were made with regard to the method of appointment of professorial staff, except for a suggestion that the university council (as with the Cologne Kuratorium) might comment on lists of nominees drawn up by the faculty board and submitted to the Minister. There was no support for the advertising of vacant posts.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ p. 211.

⁴⁶ The delegates recorded that 'among professors there is a strong preference for being "called" [berufen] rather than applying for a post' (p.211).

Section VI of the Report deals with staff questions, and immediately the delegates' interest in the future of the non-professorial staff is evident:

... the non-professorial staff is more closely in touch with student interests and needs and with new social developments outside the university. This body might therefore play an outstanding part in modifying the German academic tradition, especially if it were large enough and independent enough to be able to exercise power on university governing bodies.⁴⁷

Again the 'authoritarian controls' of the professors are criticised, and the resulting servility on the part of the junior staff is deplored. The Dozent, after Habilitation, was often forced to continue to act as Assistent to a professor in order to receive a salary and consequently he relinquished his independence. The Dozenten had traditionally been regarded as a special strength in the German universities. Matthew Arnold had described them as 'the great source of vigour and renovation to [Germany's] superior instruction'.⁴⁸ Depending as he did on the success of his lectures the Privatdozent, Arnold felt, had 'every motive to exert himself'. Equally, a Privatdozent could serve to stimulate the full professors to give of their best:

The distinguished professor encourages the rising Privatdocent, and the Privatdocent seeks to make his teaching serve science, not his own vanity. But it is evident how the neighbourhood of a rising young Privatdocent must tend to keep a professor up to the mark, and hinder him from getting sleepy and lazy. If he gets sleepy and lazy, his lecture-room is deserted. The Privatdocent, again, has the standard of eminent men before⁴⁹ his eyes, and everything stimulates him to come up to it.

⁴⁷ p. 212.

⁴⁸ Schools and Universities on the Continent, London 1868, p.227.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 227-8.

The delegates were critical of the, to them, alien practice of not paying salaries to the majority of the non-professorial staff: they wished to see more Diätendozenten appointed and an increase in the numbers of university staff generally.⁵⁰ The performance of routine duties for professors was criticised, and one lecturer was quoted as complaining that 'the non-professor is a cipher'. It was suggested, too, that junior staff should be offered tenured posts provided their work proved satisfactory.

Returning to the question of the social outlook of university teachers the delegates believed that progress lay firmly with the younger non-professorial staff, but there were natural impediments to such progress which would have to be overcome:

As a class, the non-professorial lecturers are at present deeply infected with traditional prejudices and inhibitions; they have been cut off for many years from foreign research and foreign thought, and in many cases have worked only in a Nazi-dominated atmosphere; they have never been able to discuss their own problems freely amongst themselves.⁵¹

It was suggested that inter-university conferences for non-professorial staff might be held, that such staff should be encouraged to discuss policy and that they should be given opportunities to travel and study abroad.

Despite the obvious difficulties connected with the recruitment of academic staff the delegates were convinced that there should be no change in the denazification policy and they looked forward to the time when the retirement age would be properly enforced. Refugee scholars

50 The Report points out that the increase in staff numbers had not kept pace with the increase in student numbers during the previous thirty years.

51 Pp. 213-4.

were not on the whole returning to Germany - the delegates suggested that persistent anti-semitism in the student body might be a factor here - and some chairs could still not be filled. The delegates again proposed the recruitment of more non-professorial staff, despite evidence that some faculties were hoping for dismissed professors to be reinstated and that political and racial prejudices were still operating. They quote 'a very high German authority' as expressing the opinion that 'but for outside pressure no Socialist would hold a post today in a certain university'. They hoped that more women would be appointed, again despite the evidence of strong prejudice against them, prejudice which had always existed.

In the section of the Report dealing with students the first point to emerge was that in comparison to Britain the Germans were recruiting very few working-class students to the universities: the Report mentions that at Cologne the number of students of working-class origin was lower (in 1947) than during either the Weimar Republic or the Nazi period. The problem was seen to be related not only to fees but to secondary education as well:

The social composition of the student body can be substantially broadened, without grave injury to academic standards of quality, only by (a) introducing free secondary education, or alternatively a "100 per cent free place system" in secondary schools, with maintenance grants where required, and (b) creating a generous system of competitive entrance scholarships to universities.⁵²

The delegates were convinced that something akin to the British system of interviewing and scholarships would be appropriate in Germany, and

52 p.216.

they proposed the introduction of entrance examinations and interviews. They felt, too, that an increase in the number of women students (then 20-25% of the intake) would be desirable.

Section VII ends with consideration of a possible widening of academic studies at the universities: not only should social studies be developed, along with contacts with other countries, but 'there should be a more systematic development of non-specialist lecture-courses, dealing with contemporary questions and open to students of all Faculties'. This proposal was a first step towards the Studium generale later to be strongly advocated by the Studienausschuß. Experiments at Cologne and at Kiel (where a dies universitatis had been introduced) were mentioned, but the ideas needed further development:

... what is chiefly needed... is a planned series of short lecture-courses designed to familiarise the student with the historical background of major contemporary problems, in such fields as economics, social and industrial organisation, philosophy, religion, and the arts.⁵³

Part I of the Report concludes with the admission that the delegates' recommendations can be nothing more than 'palliatives for the long-standing and deep-seated disorder of German academic life which reaches back to the nineteenth century'. This disorder, it was suggested, permeates the whole of the German education system. As a means of dealing adequately with these to their mind fundamental problems the delegates had one firm proposal to make which was reflected in the setting up of the Studienausschuß:

... we think that there is a strong case for the appointment of an International Educational Commission charged to examine fundamental problems of the German educational system and to advise the Occupying Powers with a view to

the adoption of a common policy. It should be composed of leading European and American experts, and might with advantage work in collaboration with UNESCO.... It should take evidence, after the manner of a Royal Commission, and should be provided with an adequate secretariat. At least three months should be spent in Germany, and sittings should be held at the leading educational centres in all four zones.⁵⁴

In the event the Military Governor decided to limit the scope of the Commission when it was appointed to university education and to restrict membership largely to German representatives. The proposal to use the British Royal Commission procedure as a model was novel in the history of German education, and much mention was to be made of the parallel when the Commission was finally set up.

The Report continues with suggestions about improved contacts between British and German universities and ends with a statement which summarises the delegates' attitude to their task throughout:

In making these proposals, we are not solely or chiefly concerned with restoring to the German universities their function as factories of specialised research. Our concern is rather to replace a narrowly German outlook by a European one, and thus to reintegrate German science and scholarship into the intellectual life of the European community.⁵⁵

Before this could be achieved, however, the task of improving living conditions and rations and of rebuilding German society in the widest sense had to be undertaken as a matter of urgency. Professor Browning is quoted as saying that

in spite of all the evidence of striving to restore a full university life, the strongest general impression which remains from the visit is that unless material conditions of living and housing are substantially improved in the near future, so as to provide soil in which hope can revive, it can hardly be doubted that efforts at reconstruction will fail through sheer physical exhaustion.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Op. cit.

⁵⁵ p. 222.

⁵⁶ Times Educational Supplement, 29.3.47, p.136.

And it was not only physical reconstruction that was of major concern. The distinguished Rektor of the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt, Professor Walter Hallstein, welcomed the attention being given to the universities,

denn auch wir glauben, daß die Wiederherstellung der zerstörten und beschädigten Werte, die die nächste Aufgabe unserer Zeit ist, unvollkommen sein wird, wenn nicht die Hochschulen instand gesetzt werden, ihre Funktion richtig zu erfüllen; ja die Art, wie es geschieht, wird sicher präjudiziell sein für die wirkliche Verfassung unseres Gemeinwesens überhaupt.⁵⁷

These issues aside, the recommendation that an international commission should be appointed was seen as a very positive step towards the solution of Germany's educational problems. The Times Educational Supplement regarded the case for the establishment of such a commission as 'irrefutable' but added:

but while the victorious Powers have, logically and actually the greatest contribution to offer to its deliberations, it would be a mistake to expect any German to give an enthusiastic reception to a body on which German educational opinion was not represented. Any such commission should, as a prime necessity, contain a German element.⁵⁸

Hallstein regarded the Report as 'ein wichtiges zeitgeschichtliches Dokument',⁵⁹ but singled out some of its more contentious statements for criticism, mainly on the grounds that in them 'die allgemeinen Grenzen eines Verfahrens sichtbar werden, das dazu nötigt, auf Einzelbeobachtungen verallgemeinernde Tatbestandsformulierungen aufzubauen'. Among the statements in question are those referring to

57 Walter Hallstein: 'Deutsche Universitäten in englischer Sicht - Bemerkungen zu dem Bericht der Delegation des britischen Hochschullehrerverbandes', Göttinger Universitäts-Zeitung, March/April 1948. Professor Hallstein had been a member of the commission which produced the Schwalbacher Richtlinien and had played a part in the Marburger Hochschulgespräche of June 1946.

58 Times Educational Supplement, 31.5.47, p.261. In the event of course the Studienausschuß only contained two non-Germans among its members.

59 Loc. cit.

the dominance of elderly professors and to the racist and political stances of some elements in the universities:

Man wird uns zugeben, daß das keine geringfügigen Behauptungen sind. Eben deshalb können wir - zumal wir wissen, daß es der Kommission ferngelegen hat, einen in der politischen Diskussion zu allen Zeiten gern geübten Trick zu gebrauchen und die Beweislast willkürlich umzukehren, den Wunsch nicht zu unterdrücken, sie konkretisiert zu sehen: Wo sind anstößige politische Tendenzen hervorgetreten, und worin haben sie sich geäußert? Dürfen wir die Gründe jener leidenschaftlichen Anklage hören? Gern möchten wir sogar wissen, welche Universität sich gegen einen Sozialisten wehrt, weil er Sozialist ist....

Hallstein regarded the problem of the position of the Dozenten as the central question for German universities, but he regretted that this had become in the AUT Report an issue associated with the view that universities were controlled by groups of elderly professors⁶⁰ and he regretted too that the question had almost 'eine klassenkämpferische Tönung'. He was surprised by what he described as the 'Generationstheorie' propounded in the Report and developed from the feeling that the Dozenten were too dependent on their professors and were forced to behave in a servile manner towards them: this he regarded as

eine Verzerrung, wenn es auch nicht nur Äußerungen natürlicher Verehrung gewesen sein mögen, was den Stoff zu jenem Urteil geliefert hat.

In any case, he felt, the homogeneity of the teaching staff, its 'ideelle Harmonie' had been undervalued; he points too to what he sees as a certain contradiction in the Report: on the one hand the

60 Hallstein felt that it could be asserted with equal justification that it was those aged between 40 and 50 who were shaping the face of the universities. He himself was 47 at this time. The view that German professors were uncompromising reactionaries was, however, very firmly established and it is well documented.

Privatdozenten are accused of being 'deeply infected with traditional prejudices and inhibitions' and on the other the delegates propose that they should become more involved in the running of the universities. He fails here to realise that the delegates viewed this 'infection' in the context of isolation over several years from foreign influence and lack of procedures to discuss their problems: involvement in the administration of university affairs, seen in this light, would help to counteract the prejudices and inhibitions.

On the question of the constitution of the universities Hallstein was pleased to see recognition made for long-standing traditions:

Der Bericht behandelt das Problem nicht nur mit Sorgfalt, sondern auch mit großer Besonnenheit und mit dem sichtlichen Bestreben, bei aller Fortschrittlichkeit bewährte Stücke der Überlieferung eines halben Jahrtausends nicht um des Experiments willen preiszugeben.

Close parallels with the recommendations contained in the Schwalbacher Richtlinien were also welcomed.

But Hallstein feels constrained to ask for more information about how such crucial questions as 'What measures are necessary to enable the German universities to play their part in a new democratic Germany?'⁶¹ are to be answered:

Wir möchten über all dies Genaueres hören, und wir können es wohl erwarten, denn wir halten auch die Kritiker unserer Ordnung für nicht so fortschrittsgläubig, daß sie schon in dem "anders" das "besser" sehen und für nicht so besessen von der Entwicklungstheorie, daß sie eine Lösung schon deshalb verwerfen, weil sie sich früher bereits einmal bewährt hat (wir sprechen aus einer reichen Diskussionserfahrung: manchem genügt es zur Widerlegung einer These, daß schon Humboldt ihr gefolgt ist oder gar die Griechen!).

61 Report, p.204.

Reform, Hallstein feels, must come from the Germans themselves (even if 'no radical and lasting reform... is likely to come about on the sole initiative of the universities'):

Keine Reform wird lebendig werden können, wenn sie nicht von dem Bewußtsein der Notwendigkeit in denen, die sie zu verwirklichen haben, getragen wird. Der einzige Weg dazu ist der der Überzeugung. Die überzeugenden Gründe aber werden sich uns in einer viel gründlicheren Diskussion gewinnen lassen, als sie bisher geführt werden konnte; die Zeit dazu muß und kann man sich nehmen. Soweit zu jenen Gründen ausländische Erfahrungen gehören, wird es sich auch empfehlen, den deutschen Hochschullehrern dazu einen möglichst breiten Zugang zu ermöglichen, durch Vermittlung sowohl von Material wie besonders von Anschauung.

Hallstein's review is an important response to the delegates' proposals from a well-established but receptive Ordinarius: there is a prudent balance between his admiration for the Report's understanding of the universities' problems, his fears that old traditions should not be overthrown without a lot of thought, his pride, and his distrust of control; he closes his article with support for the suggestion that UNESCO should become involved with Germany's educational problems, not in any controlling sense, but to provide counsel and assistance to break down the barriers between the German universities and the outside world: 'Wir empfehlen sehr die Noblesse dieser Formulierung', he concludes.

The Report was not generally received with Hallstein's balanced approval and cautious optimism, however, and Robert Birley, despite his initial enthusiasm, was later to regard it as a major mistake. A German critic feels that a hostile reception was inevitable:

Solche Kritik von Außenseitern und Ausländern, auf der Basis dessen, was sie in 12 Tagen gesehen hatten, sicherte dem Bericht an deutschen Hochschulen eine

ablehnende Aufnahme, zumal der Bericht sprach von "deep-seated disorder of German academic life which reaches back to the nineteenth century."⁶²

Anything which smacked of control and imposition, particularly after responsibility for education, ^a ~~an~~ 'dereserved' subject in the British Government's terms, had been handed back to the German authorities at the beginning of 1947, would not be well received. And, indeed, in the discussions which followed the publication of the Blaues Gutachten the AUT Report was seen as having been too gloomy and critical. An anonymous commentator, writing in the Manchester Guardian, concluded:

This report would have had more verisimilitude if it had included a few lighter colours to set off the sombre ones. As a document written by foreigners it caused ⁶³ resentment. No reform was likely to be based on it.

The Times Educational Supplement re-assessed the situation in the following terms:

There is usually something a trifle unsatisfactory about a report on another country's institutions by a visiting committee of British experts. No doubt it has something to do with the niceties - which never unduly disturbed our forebears but to which present generations are more than a little sensitive - of prescribing a strong dose of British democracy regardless of the patient's capacity to absorb it. Thus the praiseworthy, if often negative, report on the German universities prepared some 18 months ago by a delegation of the Association of University Teachers, could scarcely have influenced the German people as strongly as it deserved.⁶⁴

A German review, however, echoing Hallstein's balanced view, insisted that the Report should be taken seriously:

62 Harald Husemann: Ein Jahrhundert deutsch-englischer Universitätsbeziehungen, IZEBF, Heft 9, 1978, p.94. Professor Husemann's contribution to The British in Germany (1978), 'Anglo-German Relations in Higher Education', is a shortened and adapted version of the IZEBF paper. In the English article Husemann adds that the proposal for international inspection of the universities also secured the Report's unfavourable reception in Germany (p.164).

63 8.12.48. The indications are that the author was Mr Wint of Birley's office in Berlin.

64 11.12.48.

Die Feststellungen und Ratschläge der britischen Professoren haben nicht alle den gleichen Wert, aber sie verdienen wohl sämtliche ernst genommen zu werden, auch da, wo sie auf spezifische akademische Empfindlichkeiten stoßen sollten. [...] Die Vorschläge des Gutachtens entspringen dem Bemühen um ein gerechtes, objektives Urteil, sie wollen niemand neue Entschlüsse aufdrängen, aber dazu ermuntern. Es wäre ein Zeichen falschen Stolzes, sie geringzuschätzen oder gar abzuweisen. Sie dürfen, samt der Kritik, auf die sie sich stützen, beanspruchen, daß man sich zum mindesten unvoreingenommen mit ihnen auseinandersetze: das gebieten das eigene Interesse der Hochschulen und ihre Verantwortung vor der Gesamtheit.⁶⁵

The AUT delegates had been provided with a briefing paper which mentioned this difficult area, as well as covering the familiar ground which Hallstein was to describe as the 'Generationstheorie':

The Germans will have no faith in anything imposed on them, and this would be fatal in such a subject as education. At the same time it is clear that, in view of the importance of the subject, we should not, and do not envisage that they should be left entirely to themselves, subject only to a veto power exercised by the Control Commission. German educationists and administrators are too few in number, many are old and tired, with outdated ideas, and all are to a large extent ignorant of developments in the outside world during the last thirteen years. A good deal of positive advice and assistance will be needed, and it is hoped that the Delegation... will provide such advice in its own field both for the benefit of the German authorities and the Control Office and Control Commission.⁶⁶

The delegates had certainly fulfilled the obligations of their brief, and in going beyond it they had sparked off a chain of events which was to result in a new report whose spirit has permeated university reform proposals in Germany for over thirty years.

On the British side there is a lot of evidence to suggest that the Report, viewed in toto, met with wide official approval.

65 Badische Zeitung, 2.4.48.

66 'The Future Control of Education in the British Zone' (General Dept., Control Office for Germany and Austria, 12.12.46). Contained in the Lindsay Archive, University of Keele (L220).

T.R.M. Creighton, then Birley's Deputy, wrote to Dodds soon after the Report's completion to express a private view:

I have just read the report of the delegation of University teachers to Germany and wanted just to write and say that I think it is marvellous how many nails it hits upon the head. It should prove a most valuable statement of some of the main things we ought to aim at in dealing with the German universities. I dare say the facts - the domination of elderly conservatives who only want to get back to a pre-1914 University, the need of radical social reform as a corollary to educational or University reform, the fact that "it is not by Nazi ideas only that the mental health of the University is threatened", the danger of party politics, and the further observations and recommendations you make on the internal and constitutional structure of the Universities - may be theoretically pretty well known, but I cannot feel we have so far done anything like enough or used our full weight to remedy them, nor has anybody assembled them into a coherent document which really suggests a plan of action. I often wonder whether any plan of action has really been formulated. So the report should provide a very useful guide for the future. But I think all possible vigilance among people like yourself in England who are interested in the matter, will be needed to see that any Government organisation does anything about it. Birley is a great help, but he certainly will need support at home and will have a lot of hard battles to fight against the inertia over here and the false proportions in which regular soldiers and more still civil servants tend to see German problems. Our main object is becoming more and more to save the British taxpayer's money and to clear out as quick as we can, in official circles.⁶⁷

Creighton was writing at a time (in April 1947) when a certain amount of disillusionment was setting in among Education Branch staff: he goes on, as we have seen in Chapter Four, to regret the handing-over of control in educational matters to the German authorities, and the tone of his letters suggests that what was needed was a clear, firm, and publicly stated policy. This was not to say that imposition provided the answer. Birley remained convinced that reform measures could not be forced on the German authorities and that even if that were to be the policy Education Branch did not have staff 'of sufficient

⁶⁷ Letter of 19.4.47 in my possession.

calibre to carry out the task'. At a meeting with the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in July 1947, during which the AUT Report was discussed, he stated that 'there was a need for men of really outstanding calibre to influence the German universities in the right direction when they were reforming their constitutions'. This was a task which was about to begin and interestingly, though not too surprisingly, he was thinking at this stage of asking Professor Dodds to undertake it.⁶⁸ At the same meeting Birley intimated that he was in 'general agreement' with the views expressed in the Report, the main trouble lying in internal university politics: in general, he felt, 'the universities were going to be a very difficult problem indeed'.

The transition from AUT Report to the setting up of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform is marked by a meeting on 14 August 1947 between the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Birley, Riddy, and members of the AUT delegation.⁶⁹ Dodds had specifically asked⁷⁰ for four items to be discussed at this meeting: the functions and composition of the proposed university councils and/or commissions; methods of securing constitutional reforms of the Zonal universities; denazification; and the exchange of books and periodicals. Before the meeting a brief had been prepared for the Chancellor which suggested that he should say:

68 Discussion of 29 and 30 July 1947 (PRO: F0945-190). Birley clearly wanted at this early stage to involve a British academic of national standing: Dodds would have been well suited because of his experience in the Foreign Office Research Department and his wide knowledge of German universities and their historical development.

69 Messrs Dodds, Chorley, Hawgood, McLean, Marshall and Tombs.

70 In a letter of 1.8.47.

that the Foreign Office and Control Commission are most impressed with [the Report's] excellence. It is an outstanding contribution to this very difficult subject and the AUT's survey provides a useful point of departure for future action for the reform of the Universities.

and that he should concentrate on the general nature of the problem:

the excessively conservative nature of the Universities as Institutions, the concentration of power in the hands of an old-fashioned and nationalist oligarchy, the absence of contact between the Universities and the rest of the world, which is fostered by the Professors themselves in their cult of the University as a place for pure science, and their refusal to assist in adult education outside University walls.

Unless changes took place the universities would remain 'a breeding ground for nationalist and undemocratic sentiments'.⁷¹ The Chancellor was reminded too of Birley's intention 'to get a high-powered British University Representative to assist him in Germany in influencing the German Universities when they frame their constitutions'.

At the meeting itself Birley described the Report as 'of remarkable value' and emphasised that though he was optimistic about the student body he was deeply concerned about the teaching staffs: it was of particular importance to improve the position of the younger lecturers. (At the July meeting he had made the point that 'the younger don with influence was an unknown phenomenon in German universities'.) But before considering further points raised at the meeting it is necessary to examine in detail the formal reaction of the Control Office and the Control Commission to the Report.

Riddy had sent a draft of the Control Commission's comments to the Foreign Office in June together with an impatient note.⁷² ('Even over here we have to think to find answers to knotty problems such as those raised by the Report'.) The comments, which Riddy said represented no

71 Note by John Churchill dated 11.8.47 (PRO: FO945-256).

72 Dated 3.6.47 (PRO: FO945-256).

more than the views of the Education Branch, Berlin, incorporated suggestions by Birley and actually took into account soundings made in the interested divisions and branches of the Commission at both Headquarters and regional levels.

By the middle of July reference was being made at the Foreign Office to the 'expurgated' version of the Report. Letters of June 1947 to Dodds show that the Foreign Office made some changes, rather more than James Mark had felt desirable, to the text of the Report prior to publication. Some of these changes are of minor importance or involve corrections of fact, but others indicate sensitive areas, among them the following:

- Para. 7: ... even where direct action by the British authorities is impossible (now that education has been 'dereserved'), the methods of suggestion and persuasion may still have considerable effect: this passage, indicating a weakening of power, is dropped in the published version.
- Para. 9(i): This highly critical section was in its original form even more strongly worded: 'The German universities are now dominated... by a compact group of elderly conservative and nationalist professors who constitute the "hard core" of the teaching body, who are stubbornly unresponsive to new ideas, and whose main aim is to restore as completely and rapidly as possible the academic system and the academic ideals which prevailed before 1914.'
- Para.10: Original references to the filling of the office of Rector ' through British choice or pressure - by relatively liberal-minded men like Wolff at Hamburg, Kroll at Cologne, and Rein at Göttingen' were deleted, as too was reference to the fact that such men provided 'something for outside influence to work on'.
- Para.12: Reference to replacing the 'hard core' by men of more enlightened outlook was deleted.
- Para.21: The following sentence was to have been omitted, but survived in the published text: 'The University staff representative on the Bonn University Denazification Commission, who struck us as being a very moderate and sensible man and who is elected to this position by the university staff, told us that the Commission is always "on the defensive" against the university and that he himself is "looked on askance".'

- Para.23: 'Conservative hard core' is eventually changed to 'elements which are resistant to democratic reform'.
- Para.29: 'The Land Governments cannot everywhere be trusted to use their power over the universities in the best interests of higher education and research' is changed to 'have not yet everywhere learned....'
- Para.36: A proposal that each university should be provided with a permanent international governing body was originally described as coming 'from a British official source'.
- Para.55: was originally followed by a paragraph (fully deleted in the final text) which read: 'The British Authorities would do well to pay special attention to the needs and proposals of the non-professorial staff. The response would, we believe, be good, and the lesson to the professors, who are still markedly authoritarian in their general relationships to their staffs, very salutary.'
- Para.60: The university at which 'but for outside pressure no Socialist would hold a post today' was originally identified as Göttingen.

Most of these changes⁷³ indicate a desire not to particularise too much (whether on the British or the German side), to tone down some of the criticism, though many highly critical and strongly worded passages remain, to avoid offence to the German authorities, and to delete critical references to British policy (particularly dereservation). The most significant deletion concerns precisely this latter subject: a whole section (originally numbered Section VIII) on 'British Administrative Control in relation to the Universities' together with a 'Note on the Extension of the Activities of the British Council to Germany' was omitted altogether.⁷⁴

The deleted section criticised the move of the Headquarters staff at Education Branch from Bünde to Berlin (a criticism mentioned by all Education Branch officials to whom the delegates spoke) and the policy

73 Contained in a letter to Dodds dated 15.4.47 in which permission was given to proceed with publication of the Report subject to the proposed amendments. (Dodds Papers).

74 Copies survive in the Dodds Papers and in the Public Record Office. The original version is given in full as Appendix VIII.

of dereservation which had resulted in uncertainty among the UECOs:

We do not know what wider political considerations may have influenced the decision to "dereserve" education. But from the point of view of university policy we are inclined to consider it premature. We do not think the Germans were ready for it, and it may place University Education Control Officers... and the Education Branch generally in a somewhat difficult position. Formerly, officers of the Branch were usually able to persuade, but they always had in reserve the power to compel. German university officials have not as yet a sufficiently clear picture of the problems confronting both them and the Occupying Power, and of conditions and opinions in the world outside Germany, to be able to manage their own affairs without the need for some sort of control, enforceable by sanctions.

The delegates also called for the upgrading of Education Branch to a Division, for better support for the UECOs (whom they praised) and more liaison between them and education officers in other zones, and for no further reduction in the establishment.

The delegates felt too that the British Council could play a part in university work in Germany; the Council might organise the supply of British books and periodicals, the programmes of lectures by British speakers, and the running of information and reading rooms. These activities, they said, belonged not in the sphere of military government but more properly in the field of cultural relations.

The Foreign Office censorship reveals a sensitivity about the role of Education Branch which is understandable at a time of transition: the question of dereservation had been highly contentious, and not popular among education officers in Germany. And the move to Berlin, for largely political reasons (a small change required by the Foreign Office in the AUT Report had been the deletion of the word 'courtesy' when it spoke of paying 'a courtesy visit' to the University of Berlin) had created extra difficulties. The appointment of an

Educational Adviser, though that meant more change, was seen as a hopeful sign; the AUT delegates trusted that it would 'secure for our Education work full recognition of its importance'.⁷⁵

Another sensitive issue, about which Chorley had expressed reservations, was the subject of denazification. His note of reservation⁷⁶ attached to the original Report expresses his conviction that the denazification policy was 'profoundly wrong':

I have no doubt that it has caused a feeling of instability and frustration throughout the Universities in the Zone which is the most serious of all the purely psychological hindrances to recovery. I did not meet any German teacher who was not worried by it, and certainly some Social Democrats are as much upset by it as anyone else. One of the most experienced UECOs told us that the best thing would be to bring the system to an end at once and others went almost as far. We were given several examples of teachers who were outstandingly progressive in their views but who had been suspended because of a harmless membership of some Nazi organisation while others who were regarded as unreliable by the UECOs remained in their posts because they had refrained from any formal connection with the Nazis. Over the heads even of those cleared hangs the constant threat of possible dismissal as the policy changes, as it has from time to time.

He regretted particularly that denazification was interfering with the important task of recruiting young teachers, most of whom had perforce been connected with Nazi organisations. He regarded the fact that regular army officers were excluded from the student amnesty as 'typical of the illiberal spirit in which the denazification process is being carried through. It is morally wrong'. And he pointed to the fundamental paradox in the process of denazification as in that of re-education:

There is certainly some force in the argument that Nazi-ism cannot be successfully eliminated by the

75 A hope expressed in the deleted section on 'British Administrative Control in relation to the German Universities'.

76 Dated 18.1.47.

methods which it used itself against its own political opponents, imposed moreover much less ruthlessly and efficiently.

and suggested that the present arrangements for denazification should be brought to an end by 31 August.

In the Control Commission's comments on Chorley's reservation there is an admission that 'uncertainty concerning denazification has produced a serious psychological effect in the universities' and beyond, but it is emphasised that new categorisation then being undertaken by German panels⁷⁷ would remove the uncertainty; the speed with which the work was accomplished would depend 'entirely upon the vigour of the Germans themselves'.

The Control Commission reacted to the Report in a 27-page document.⁷⁸ There are several corrections of fact and defensive replies to some of the criticisms (many of which tended to generalise on the basis of insufficient evidence). Among the comments the following are particularly worthy of note:

- (1) The AUT suggestion that the best hope for the future lay partly in creating channels through which the influence of 'the best foreign opinion' may be brought to bear on university life was described as 'one of our most important functions' (para.28);
- (2) The Control Commission 'emphatically rejected' any suggestion that a lower standard of denazification should be applied to universities: 'The change should be in the direction of greater strictness rather than leniency, in view of the very great influence which can be exercised by the staff of such important educational institutions' (para.41);

77 Under ZEI (Zonal Executive Instruction) No.54, professors and lecturers categorised as Lesser Offenders (Category III) could be given full or reduced pensions and resume their appointments 'in a reduced status'. Those already dismissed would be treated as if placed in Category III. (Categories I and II included war criminals and major offenders respectively.)

78 Dated 30.6.47 (copies in the Dodds Papers and PRO). A summary of the AUT proposals with the Control Commission's comments in parallel is contained in PRO: F0945-256. These documents are given as Appendix IX and Appendix X respectively.

- (3) Regional Commissioners were to be urged to give strong encouragement to the Delegates' proposal for the establishment of University Commissions and Councils. The strength of support for this proposal can be gauged by the fact that the Control Commission exceptionally mentions force in connection with its implementation: 'If it became apparent that there was no prospect of action on the part of any Land government in the Zone, we should have to consider whether it was possible and desirable to enforce the acceptance of the idea' (via Ordinance No. 57) (para. 18);
- (4) Proposals affecting the staffing of universities were welcomed, but the Control Commission was not optimistic about their chances of success: '[These recommendations] will appear to the majority of German university men and women to be so revolutionary that probably only a resumption of direct control could guarantee their immediate adoption' (para. 42);
- (5) The Control Commission was not 'at the moment' prepared to support the proposal for an International Education Commission, mainly because with the different policies operating in the four zones it was unrealistic to suppose that inter-zonal action would be easy. The involvement of UNESCO was objected to on the grounds that 'confusion of counsels would be the result, to the advantage of those very Germans we are anxious to discredit' (para. 78);
- (6) General lecture courses were favoured (para. 66);
- (7) Proposals for wider contact and exchanges between British and German universities were welcomed, and strong support was given for the development of courses with programmes involving visiting lecturers;
- (8) The Control Commission recognised that the Report did not give consideration to 'one of the fundamental problems of the German university today', namely that the universities had become 'primarily professional schools (Fachschulen) preparing for the State examinations.... The universities refuse to recognise this fact and are unwilling to reconsider the function and organisation of the university in face of the need to prepare large numbers for official careers'. As a consequence, the Control Commission felt, the greatest importance should be attached to the relationship between the Zonal universities and the Land governments and the general public 'from which alone external influences in any form acceptable to the universities are likely to come' (para. 1).

This latter view reinforced the Control Commission's support for the introduction of University Commissions and Councils. The suggestion was that both Land Commissions and University Councils should be established: the Land Commission would advise the Minister and 'strengthen his hand... in resisting demands from inexperienced Landtage to bring unjustifiable pressure to bear on the universities'; they would also support the Minister when he wished to introduce reforms unpalatable to the universities. The University Councils would similarly support 'progressively-minded' Rektoren and Senates, at the same time 'making things suitably uncomfortable' for them if they were content to 'live in a dangerous past'. The Councils would also assist the Land Commissions.

At the meeting of the AUT delegates with the Chancellor Dodds intimated that the Control Commission, in proposing both University Councils and Land Commissions, had gone further than the delegation had intended: support was given, however, to both proposals. Birley felt that the proposed Land Commissions would 'reduce the risks that by urging Ministers to reform the universities we should open the way for the whole question to be dealt with in a narrow party spirit'. He felt that it was uncertain that sufficiently well-informed members could be found for both the University Councils and the Land Commissions.

It is clear from the records that the idea of setting up University Commissions in each Land composed of prominent individuals and with considerable power to act as a buffer between the Rektor and the Land Ministry had been proposed during the Delegation's visit to Berlin⁷⁹ by Professor Roy Pascal, who was in fact the main architect of the Report. He had in mind a body like the Cologne Kuratorium and regarded the

79 Minutes of a Conference with the AUT Delegation, Berlin, 14.1.47 (PRO: FO945-256).

suggested Commissions as fora for the free discussion of university problems and a bridge between public and university from which both could benefit: if the universities remained under the direct control of the Kultusminister 'könnten sie umso leichter zum Spiel einer bloßen Parteipolitik werden'.⁸⁰

A contemporary reaction to the AUT Report is provided by Professor F. Pringsheim, who wrote to Dodds from the French Zone in September 1947⁸¹ with his critical comments. While agreeing that many of the senior professors were not the right men to introduce reforms he argued that generalisation about their response to 'new circumstances' did not correspond to the facts. On the question of staffing generally he felt that almost nothing was of greater importance than the appointment of 'young, able and courageous young assistants and lecturers'. He was critical of denazification procedures and tended to favour more leniency. In connection with University Councils he was suspicious of political influence by trades union and commercial interests. 'The model of minor American universities,' he wrote, 'is not very encouraging.' He felt too that the experience of the city-administered universities of Frankfurt, Cologne, and Hamburg ('not always with good results') should be closely studied before change was introduced. He wished to see Studentenhäuser established: 'Such bodies of students

80 Roy Pascal: 'Die britischen und die deutschen Universitäten', in Blick in die Welt 1947, No. 9, p.31.

81 Letter dated 22.9.47 and separate comments, in my possession. Pringsheim, as we have seen, had been involved with GER and had written a memorandum towards the end of 1945 on 'Die künftige deutsche Universität' (GER 1025) which was widely discussed, and had reported in 1946 on conditions in Freiburg and on relations with German universities generally (GER A1033 and 1034).

would improve the social existence [of the students] and increase the experience of a democratic way of life'.

The Report has been described as coming from 'a perhaps Leftish body',⁸² and there is no doubt that this is true. Dodds himself was a socialist and he played a large part in revising the final draft; the bulk of the work, however, was done by Roy Pascal, whose left-wing views were well known. In fact objections had been raised by the Foreign Office to his participation in the delegation, but Dodds and McLean in particular insisted on his inclusion.⁸³ Pascal worked out a skeleton draft in the train on the delegation's return journey, and the others discussed and amended it. He then drafted the final version which was circulated and amended and then taken to Dodds for a further revision. Apart from the section on 'A Possible International Approach', which was drafted by Hawgood,⁸⁴ the Report was therefore the work of Pascal.⁸⁵

Looking back on his role in the delegation Dodds described denazification as the 'thorniest' problem the delegates encountered.⁸⁶ For the future, hope would lie with the younger men who were '[throwing] themselves with energy into the work of rebuilding a new and better Germany', and with people like the Classicist Bruno Snell, whom Dodds

82 William Ernest Hocking: Experiment in Education, London 1954, p.137.

83 I owe this and the following information to Professor Pascal (letter to me of 3.11.79).

84 Pascal describes it as 'a poor affair'.

85 A. V. Subiotto, in his memoir of Pascal, detects his 'pragmatic imprint' in the pages of the Report (Roy Pascal 1904-1980), Proceedings of the British Academy, London, Vol. LXVII (1981), p. 449).

86 Missing Persons, p. 166.

met in Hamburg and with whom he formed a lasting friendship: in the following year Professor Snell joined the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform.

It has already been mentioned that the germ of the idea to appoint a proper investigative commission can be traced to a proposal in the AUT Report. There is evidence to suggest that Dodds himself had been instrumental in suggesting such a course of action. During the delegation's visit to Berlin he:

suggested that an Anglo-German Commission comprising British and German experts in equal numbers should be formed to examine the university problems of the Zone. Alternatively (and perfectly, if agreement to it could be secured) an International Commission should deal with the problems in all Zones. Such a body would be able to bring pressure to bear on the Universities to remove conservatism. It would however need about six months to perform its work.⁸⁷

Riddy thought that such a proposal would meet with approval from both the British and German authorities. Dodds suggested that a Commission should visit Germany in the autumn of 1947, but Hawgood and Pascal felt surprisingly that the universities should be given 'more time to develop', a view with which Birley agreed: 'Unless the German universities were given a little more time, they might be able to claim that pressing material problems had prevented a proper consideration of broader issues.' In the circumstances the view of Hawgood and Pascal prevailed, and the Studienausschuß did not begin work until April 1948. The delay was particularly unfortunate. 1947 was a difficult year in many respects: the Germans had experienced one of the severest winters on record, the Bi-Zone had been established and relations with the Russians were particularly delicate, and control over education was now back in the hands of the German authorities. It was unlikely that a

⁸⁷ Minutes of a Conference with the AUT Delegation, 14.1.47 (PRO: FO945-256).

foreign delegation could provoke anything except antagonism: the time was no longer ripe for such an initiative - it might more appropriately have been taken in the early months of 1946, when the universities had just reopened. The further delay which ensued before a better constituted German university commission could be established and begin its work over a longer period meant that even less hope remained of immediate and fundamental reform measures being taken. The report of the Studienausschuß, however, which was produced by a German team and which resulted from a lengthy investigation of the universities and their problems, was able to provide the kind of blueprint for long-term reform which the AUT Report was never intended to give.

We have seen in Chapter Four that the Report's recommendations did not go entirely unheeded. November 1947 saw the important meeting between Ernest Bevin and the Vice-Chancellors' Committee to discuss co-operation between German and British universities. One part at least of the delegates' brief was to be followed up with some seriousness. The origins of that brief are to be found in a Foreign Office note of May 1946⁸⁸ written in response to a paper by Riddy:

There is perhaps a question of principle upon which endorsement of the paper by the O.R.C.⁸⁹ might help us; namely to what extent is it appropriate for contact to be resumed between British and German Universities. We are already making an approach to the Vice-Chancellors' Committee on this subject and await their views. It might be useful to ask for authority, in consultation with the Committee, to encourage the resumption of contacts at (for the present) the German end only and to defer bringing over German students and lecturers to this country. French opinion is understood to be against any contact at present so that Ministerial support might be helpful. The Chancellor will no doubt decide whether he desires this paper to go to the O.R.C. I would further suggest that we send copies of it to the Ministry of Education,

⁸⁸ Note of 14.5.46 (PRO: FO945-136).

⁸⁹ The Overseas Reconstruction Committee of the Cabinet.

to the Secretary of the Vice-Chancellors' Committee and to the individuals at Universities interested in these matters: this might include Lord Lindsay, Professor G.N. Clark, Mr J.R.M. Butler, Professor Dodds and Sir A. Salter.

And it had been the policy of the AUT anyway to make contact immediately after the war with the German universities.⁹⁰ A Joint Conference with the Union Française Universitaire had been held in Paris on 2 January 1946 to discuss two topics: Anglo-French relations; and the German universities.⁹¹ Following the conference Professor Dodds, after the AUT Executive had contacted university representatives in Allied countries, suggested to the Control Commission that a Commission of Enquiry should be established representing the Union Française Universitaire, the AUT, and the Vice-Chancellors' Committee. In the event both the French organisation and the British Vice-Chancellors did not take up the suggestion, but the germ of the idea which was to be developed by the Control Office later in the year had been created.

In the event the critical mood of the AUT Report was probably its main strength. Its criticisms, together with the recommendation to establish a commission of enquiry, were taken seriously by the Control Office and were followed a year later by the wide and urgent discussion and activity which Birley's setting up of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform stimulated.

90 There was not, however, always complete support among British academics for the immediate resumption of contact with German universities. Professor W.H. Bruford reports that at the first post-war conference of University Teachers of German held in Oxford in September 1945 many present were not yet prepared to welcome the help of native German speakers as assistants in their departments. (W.H. Bruford: Some German Memories, 1911-1961 (Bithell Memorial Lecture 1979) London 1980, p.31.)

91 Harold Perkin: Key Profession, The History of the Association of University Teachers, London 1969, p.154. The Paris conference was attended also by representatives from Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Holland, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, the USA, the USSR, and Yugoslavia.

CHAPTER SIX

The Gutachten zur Hochschulreform of 1948

[Royal commissions and committees of inquiry] secure respite and delay; they appease excited critics or calm public anxieties; they may be held to confer by their work and membership some legitimacy on future action, and they can even be regarded as engaging in consultation and negotiation in the complex business of hammering out viable policies.¹

1. The setting up of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform²

The clearest documentary evidence - and evidence which provides a direct link with the AUT Report - for the proposal to set up a University Commission is contained in an undated and unsigned paper in the Foreign Office files.³ The document in question speaks of the urgent need for reform in the universities of the Zone, a view held by the Educational Adviser and by 'all' control officers concerned with the universities, and supported by the AUT delegation. The author of the paper identified six main reforms which were felt to be necessary:

- (a) the enlargement of the Senate and Faculty Councils to include a higher percentage of the younger non-professorial staff and thus to increase their influence and diminish that of the aged;

1 Nevil Johnson, letter to The Times, 30.4.81.

2 Some of the material in this section has appeared in: David Phillips: 'Britische Initiative zur Hochschulreform in Deutschland: Zur Vorgeschichte und Entstehung des "Gutachtens zur Hochschulreform" von 1948', a contribution to Umerziehung und Wiederaufbau. Die Bildungspolitik der Besatzungsmächte in Deutschland und Österreich, ed. Manfred Heinemann, Stuttgart 1981 (pp.172-189). The original English version (prepared for the Bielefeld conference of 1979) has appeared in Compare, 12/2, 1982 ('British Influences on University Reform Proposals in Germany after the War').

3 'Appendix A to RECO/P(47)11', obviously produced during 1947 (PRO: FO945-265).

- (b) the establishment of an Association of University Teachers;
- (c) the promulgation of new regulations, both for the Doctor's degrees and admission as lecturers;
- (d) the introduction of the system of "block grants" with special provision for increasing the salaries and security of tenure of lecturers and assistants and thus making them more independent of the professors;
- (e) the introduction of new courses of study, possibility of new faculties - social science, pedagogy, etc.;
- (f) the establishment of a Standing Advisory Committee on Universities in each Land, consisting of representatives of the universities, the Ministry, other branches of education, e.g. Adult Education and Secondary Schools, the political parties, certain public bodies such as trade unions and the professional associations.

The paper goes on to express doubt about any university being reformed by edict - the Control Commission was in any case no longer able to proceed in such a fashion - but 'the elderly professors who rule the German universities' and whose power would be reduced if such proposals were introduced would be unlikely to adopt them. It was suggested, therefore, that 'the more progressive Germans themselves' should produce the proposals, that public interest in the question of reform should be aroused, and that a 'definite set of recommendations for reform' should be set on record: this could be achieved by the setting-up of a Commission of Inquiry which would report to the Commander-in-Chief 'on the extent to which [the universities] are making their full contribution to the establishment of a sound democratic society and education in Germany' and on the measures that might be taken to increase such contribution. The parallel with the British tradition of Royal Commissions is again drawn; the Commission would have to be seen to have been established by the highest authority, no German government would risk the opposition to reform proposals that would ensue. Birley was later to make much of the fact that the members of the Studienausschuß

were nominated by the Military Governor in person. The Foreign Office document believed this to be necessary for two reasons:

- (a) the members any German authority would nominate would be likely to be just those persons whose influence we wish to diminish;
- (b) persons nominated by the German authorities would be unlikely to make the progressive recommendations we consider necessary in view of the considerable political influence enjoyed by the Universities themselves.

'Six or eight' members were proposed, including one from Britain and one from a neutral country, but it had not been decided whether the non-German members would be full members or 'assessors'. At this stage it was envisaged that the American authorities might have wished to be associated with the idea, so that the inquiry (with similar membership from the American Zone) could cover the two zones. Secrecy was to be maintained since 'opposition, which may well be considerable, could be mobilised in advance'.

Here, then, is the blueprint for the establishment of the Studienausschuß, and many echoes of this paper are to be found in the detailed documentation preceding the first meeting of the Commission: the terms of reference outlined by Birley and Robertson to the eventual members of the Commission were almost identical to those in this preliminary document.

When Ernest Bevin met the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals in November 1947 to discuss the question of assistance to German universities the nature of the British connection was seen to be crucial; at this stage Birley saw the setting-up of the University Commission as an opportunity to bring British influence to bear:

We must find a really good person from this country to help with it because it will make a big difference.⁴

Birley had decided to establish a German University Commission because it was becoming increasingly clear that the only type of initiative in the university field that would have any chance of success would be one that involved German experts: the reception of the AUT Report had shown that the criticism of outsiders would serve only to exacerbate the problems he considered in need of urgent attention. The importance of this view is underlined by the immediate reaction of one of the members when he was approached to join the Commission. In his diary entry for 16 January 1948 Prälat Dr Grosche of Cologne noted:

Es wird mir mitgeteilt, daß ich in die Kommission zur Vorbereitung der Universitätsreform hineingewählt werden soll. Ich habe Bedenken die Wahl anzunehmen, wenn es sich um eine englische Kommission handelt, werde es aber tun, wenn es im Interesse unserer Universitäten ist. Jedenfalls werde ich mich gegen jeden Versuch wehren, den Universitäten ihre Autonomie zu nehmen und diese geistige Republik in ihrem Wesen anzutasten.⁵

On 26 January Birley wrote to Dr Henry Everling, the Director General of the Großeinkaufs-Gesellschaft Deutscher Konsumgenossenschaften in Hamburg, inviting him to become Chairman of the University Commission,

4 PRO: FO945-275.

5 Nachlaß Grosche, Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln (AEK). Grosche felt let down by the British in the early months of the occupation. Stephen Spender called on him in Cologne in the summer of 1945 and reports him as saying: 'I must admit that I am disappointed with your occupation. I listened to the BBC before the end of the war, and I saw your leaflets. In your propaganda - which I took to be different from that of Goebbels - you always insisted that you stood for freedom of self-expression and for discrimination between the Nazis and the anti-Nazis in Germany. Yet you have not fulfilled your promises. Of course, I didn't expect the Occupation to be anything but hard, but I did expect that you would support intellectual freedom, that you would bring an atmosphere of liberty, of idealism and of vital new ideas to us.' (Stephen Spender: European Witness, London n.d., p.55).

the members of which were to be nominated by the Military Governor in person. There would be eight members (in the event there were eleven plus a full-time secretary), including one British representative and one from a neutral country. Birley stressed that the Commission would be independent; its task would be to examine the universities' contribution to the future democratic development of Germany and to look at how this contribution might be increased. Suggestions for reform might be made which, if carried out, would increase the contribution of the universities to public life. The Commission was to report to the Military Governor within six months. Birley regarded the setting-up of the Commission as of crucial importance. In his letter to Everling he wrote:

Ich glaube, daß diese Kommission zu einem Wendepunkt in der Geschichte der deutschen Erziehung führen könnte. Ihre Einsetzung ist ein Beweis für unsere Annahme, daß Deutschland selbst die Reform seines Erziehungssystems vornehmen muß.⁶

Senator Landahl of Hamburg⁷ wrote to Everling from his sick-bed in early February urging him to accept the appointment, which had been agreed by the various Kultusminister of the Zone. Two days later Birley wrote again to Everling expressing his delight at his acceptance and naming five of the Commission members.⁸ They were: The distinguished classicist Professor Bruno Snell of Hamburg,⁹ Professor Otto Gruber of the Technische Hochschule in Aachen, Professor Friedrich Drenckhahn, Direktor of the Pädagogische Hochschule in Kiel, Professor Katharina Petersen of the Kultusministerium for Niedersachsen, and Prälat Dr

6 WRK BG-Archiv (8:F4). (= Archive of the Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz, Fiche 8).

7 Landahl had suggested Everling's name to Birley.

8 Letter of 4 February 1948 (WRK BG-Archiv 8:F2).

9 Professor Dodds had described Snell as 'the finest and most courageous German I have met' (Letter to his wife of 10.1.47, in Dodds Papers).

Robert Grosche, Stadtdechant of Cologne and a member of the University's Kuratorium. Birley indicated his intention to appoint a young professor and representatives from the Protestant Church and the trade unions.

The Military Governor wrote a formal letter of appointment to Everling on 29 April (eight days after the Commission had held its first meeting!) in which he reiterated the terms of reference outlined by Birley:

Specifically, I am asking the commission to examine the contribution which the Universities and Colleges are now making to the development of a democratic society and education in Germany and to submit to me any recommendations it may see fit¹⁰ as to ways in which this contribution might be increased.

The deadline for the submission of a report was to be 31 October 1948.

On 22 January Birley sent a lengthy letter to the Rektoren of all universities and institutions of equivalent rank in the British Zone, explaining why the Commission was being established and how it might fulfil its tasks. Some of the problems facing the universities were mentioned: the relationship with the State and the Land, financing, the admission of students and the mutual recognition of qualifications in different parts of Germany. He described the British procedure whereby in the event of such problems needing discussion the Head of State can appoint a Royal Commission, and was anxious to emphasise the independence of such a body:

Der Hauptwesenszug eines solchen Ausschusses ist es, daß er in keiner Weise eine politische oder gesetzgebende oder richterliche Körperschaft ist und daß er von jeder staatlichen, gemeindlichen politischen oder sonstigen Autorität unabhängig ist.¹¹

And, having described the proposed membership of the Commission, he was at pains to underline the precise role of the non-German members:

¹⁰ WRK BG-Archiv (8:D9).

¹¹ WRK BG-Archiv (1:A6-8).

Die britischen und neutralen Mitglieder werden keinerlei Verbindung mit der Besatzungsmacht haben und es wird von ihnen in keiner Weise erwartet, daß sie deren amtlichen Ansichten oder Politik vertreten. Sie sind in jeder Beziehung den anderen Mitgliedern des Ausschusses gleichgestellt. Sie sollen die aufgeklärteste und reifste akademische Ansicht in Europa vertreten, und man hofft, daß ihr Einfluß dazu beitragen wird, den Ausschuß wirklich international zu machen, die deutschen Hochschulen enger mit Europa zu verknüpfen und das europäische Universitätsleben näher an Deutschland heranzubringen.

Birley insisted that the only aim of the Commission would be to support the universities in their task: it would be a mistake to see it as 'ein Werkzeug der Politik der Besatzungsmacht oder als ein Mittel zu deren Unterrichtung'; the Commission could indeed produce suggestions opposed to the Military Government's view:

In solchem Falle werden wir sie als ein Ausdruck der besten Weisheit der akademischen Welt in Europa über eine Angelegenheit von vitaler Bedeutung für uns alle annehmen.

The news that the Commission was being established was widely welcomed. One particular response is worthy of mention: the Chairman of the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund, the young Helmut Schmidt, wrote to Everling welcoming his appointment and indicating the socialist students' attitude to university reform:

Wir halten eine Reformierung der Universität für eine der dringendsten Notwendigkeiten auf dem Felde der deutschen Kulturpolitik - gleichzeitig wohl eine der am schwierigsten zu lösenden Fragen, dies allein schon wegen der ungemein starken konservativen Elemente in den Universitäten selbst, die sich einer fortschrittlichen Entwicklung mit aller Kraft widersetzen werden.¹²

The reference to strong conservative elements in the universities has a familiar ring: it echoes the views of the AUT delegation and is a Leitmotiv in reform discussions generally.

12 WRK BG-Archiv (8:E2).

The two foreign members of the Commission were Lord Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and Professor Jean Rudolf von Salis of the Technische Universität in Zürich. Lindsay, who was in his last year at Oxford and deeply involved in the founding of the University College of North Staffordshire at Keele (whose first Principal he became in the following year) was nearly seventy and not in good health.¹³ His first inclination was to refuse (pressure of work prevented his attending the first meeting) but, as he reported in his farewell speech to the Commission:

[Ich habe] mir gedacht, wenn sich irgendeine Arbeit lohnt, so sei es doch diese. Und dann bin ich eben zu dem Ergebnis gekommen: verdammt nochmal, ich muß die Arbeit doch übernehmen.¹⁴

The additional members were Dr Joachim Beckmann (representing the Protestant Church),¹⁵ Dr Franz Theunert (representing the trade Union movement)¹⁶ and Professor Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker of the University of Göttingen. Birley had intended to include a representative from Berlin and, after negotiations with the Soviet authorities, approached two individuals, who both declined.¹⁷ Weizsäcker took some considerable persuading before he agreed to join the Commission,¹⁸ and the full part he played in its deliberations did not begin until the sixth meeting (31 August - 2 September), by which stage Everling was confidently predicting a unanimous report.

¹³ He died at Keele in 1952.

¹⁴ WRK BG-Archiv (26:C2).

¹⁵ Beckmann was Oberkirchenrat and Dozent in Düsseldorf and later (from 1958) Präses of the Protestant Church in the Rheinland.

¹⁶ Theunert was at this time Lektor in the trade union Bund-Verlag.

¹⁷ One of the possible Berlin representatives Birley had in mind was Professor Stroux, Director of the Institut für Altertumskunde.

¹⁸ He was eventually persuaded to join by Geoffrey Bird, University Officer in Göttingen, and wrote to Everling accepting the invitation on 15.7.48 WRK BG-Archiv (4:B3).

The eventual membership of the Commission thus covered - with remarkable but perspicacious balance - all interested parties: the Chairman was a respected and courageous leader of an important organisation and a well-known member of the SPD (not unimportant, since it was considered that an SPD man would be more receptive to reform); the Trade Unions (and through them the interests of the Volkshochschulen and adult education generally) were represented; elder statesman Lindsay had his counterpart in the young and rapidly rising Weizsäcker, who was also the only scientist on the Commission; the Pädagogische and Technische Hochschulen had their interests covered; the Protestant and Catholic Churches were represented by two distinguished members who worked together in complete harmony; the choice of Professor von Salis, who had wide contacts in Europe, was well known through his wartime broadcasts and was equally at home in French and German speaking countries, was inspired; and Professor Petersen, a key figure with wide experience in the Kultusministerium of Niedersachsen,¹⁹ was considerably more than the token woman member. The Secretary, Dr Walter Reimers, had been released from his judicial duties in Hamburg and ran the Commission's affairs with smooth and thorough efficiency, as well as contributing to its deliberations in his own right.

The extent to which the members were intended to represent the institutions and bodies to which they belonged was left open, though Birley did make it clear to Grosche that while it was important that the Churches should be represented it was hoped too that their representatives would not so much reflect institutional views as the results

¹⁹ Professor Petersen was Director of Primary and Intermediate Education in the Kultusministerium.

of their own experiences and independent judgement.²⁰ Birley also stressed the Commission's right to express its views with complete freedom and underlined its independence, an independence guaranteed, he said, by the fact that the Military Governor was appointing the members personally. Professor von Salis recalls Birley telling him that the inclusion of a Swiss representative was a 'Garant der Freiheit'.²¹ This kind of assurance was very important to allay the natural fears (of the kind Grosche had confided to his diary) that the Commission might be an instrument of the Military Government. Birley took pains to make it clear that the two foreign representatives would be full members of the Commission in all senses except one: they would have no voting rights.²²

20 Letter of 31.1.48 from Birley to Grosche (AEK, Nachlaß Grosche).

21 J.R. von Salis: Grenzüberschreitungen - ein Lebensbericht zweiter Teil, Zürich 1978, p.316.

22 Since the Commission never had occasion to vote on any issue this limitation remained academic. There is, however, no documentary evidence to suggest that voting rights were denied to Lindsay and von Salis, or voluntarily waived by them: in fact, the opposite is implied (see, for example, Policy Instruction No. 19, quoted in full below). Birley insists that the two foreign members did not have voting rights (interview of 23.7.79 and correspondence of 31.7.79 and 11.8.79). There is clearly scope for considerable confusion here, since the documentary evidence and Birley's recollection are in direct conflict. But a solution is possible. What probably happened was that when von Salis and Lindsay actually joined the Commission their voting right was waived 'at their own wish as non-Germans as well as because it seemed the appropriate arrangement to [Birley] and the other British people directly concerned and to the German members'. (Letter of 7.8.79 from T.R.M. Creighton to Birley.) At all events it seems to have been made clear to von Salis and Lindsay that it would have been inappropriate for them to vote. As Birley puts it: 'I do not think that there was any doubt that neither Lindsay nor von Salis would have voted, if there had been a division of opinion' (Letter to me of 11.8.79).

Drenckhahn, in 1948 Direktor of the Pädagogische Hochschule in Kiel, must be seen as a surprising choice. He was apparently regarded as the obvious representative of the Pädagogische Hochschulen, and he certainly approached the work of the Commission with considerable enthusiasm, even if his actual contribution was not particularly important. Lindsay wrote to his wife from Hamburg during one of the Commission's meetings:

After dinner Drenckhahn came up to my room. He has written some more papers, unburdening his soul of the obvious at great length, but he is a dear, so kind and modest.²³

Drenckhahn held Lindsay in great awe; Berta Humphrey, who (then Berta Hochberger) acted as Lindsay's interpreter, remembers him saying 'Der Hochadel kommt!' as Lindsay approached them.²⁴ But Drenckhahn's record under National Socialism, which clearly was not known to the authorities, or to other members of the Commission, casts doubt on his suitability.

Kürschners Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender for 1940-41²⁵ lists among his publications the following: Raumlehre in der deutschen Volksschule (1935), 'Volkseigener Rechen- und Raumlehreunterricht' (1935),²⁶ 'Volkseigener Mathematikunterricht' and 'Das Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre vom 15. September 1935 im Lichte der volkswissenschaftlichen Statistik' (1936). These publications, not surprisingly, do not appear in his entry in Kürschner for 1950. In these works of the mid-30s Drenckhahn had developed a National Socialist theory of mathematics teaching²⁷ which would have appalled Birley and

23 Lindsay Papers (University of Keele) L221.

24 Interview of 14.11.81 in Cambridge.

25 Pp. 329-30.

26 A contribution to Friedrich Hiller's Deutsche Erziehung im neuen Staat, Langensalza 1935.

27 For an appraisal of Drenckhahn's contribution to National Socialist mathematics teaching see Elke Nyssen: Schule im Nationalsozialismus, Heidelberg 1979, pp.93-114.

Lindsay and his fellow members of the Commission.²⁸ For Drenckhahn's works were not merely standard academic publications topped and tailed with sops to the prevailing ideology, but fundamental contributions to the development of a branch of National Socialist theory as intellectually absurd as Rassenkunde. One quotation, from an article in which he quotes Krieck, the theorist of the National Socialist university, with evident approval, will suffice to indicate the extent of Drenckhahn's involvement with Nazi ideology:

In der "natürlichen" (ungezwungenen) Schau oder Auffassung oder Erkenntnis dieser [mathematischen] Wahrheiten... treten tiefgreifende Unterschiede zutage. Sie ist bei uns Deutschen anders als bei den Franzosen und wieder anders als bei den Juden. [...]

Ersteres, nämlich Allgemeingültigkeit der Mathematik, ist bedingt durch den rationalen Charakter der mathematischen Wahrheiten, letzteres, nämlich Eigenart der Auffassung der Mathematik, über die erkennende Persönlichkeit hinausreichend durch Zugehörigkeit zu einem Volk (Rasse) und Teilhaben an dessen Schicksal.²⁹

It is clear that Drenckhahn was belastet to a degree which ought to have precluded his participation in the Commission's work.

28 In March 1949 Drenckhahn's post as Director and Professor in Kiel was dissolved. When Lindsay learnt of the Land Government's decision to 'turn out' Drenckhahn he wrote 'hardly [believing] it to be possible' and offering what help he could, but doubted whether at this stage interference from the British would be welcome (letter of 22.4.49, Lindsay Papers, L225). Drenckhahn spoke in his reply (6.5.49, L225) of having had to reckon with this decision since the previous year: 'Nun haben sie schließlich in dem Gesetz zur Sicherung der Finanzen die Möglichkeit gefunden, mich loszuwerden.' He was immediately posted to a chair at the Pädagogische Hochschule in Flensburg. Apparently his treatment at the hands of the Land authorities was deplored by the students at Kiel, their leaders writing on his behalf (and to his surprise) to the Minister.

29 'Volkseigener Rechen- und Raumlehreunterricht', in Hiller, op. cit., p.342. Drenckhahn's paper in Deutsche Mathematik 1/6 1936, 'Das Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre....' deals with one of the three notorious anti-semitic Nuremberg Laws of 15 September 1935. In it he expounds statistical methods to show the measure and rate of 'Rassenvermischung' and 'Rassenentmischung'. The paper counts as much as a contribution to Rassenkunde as to statistical method.

With the appointment of all the members except Weizsäcker, the support of the various Kultusminister having been obtained, and explanatory letters having been sent to the universities and other Hochschulen, the Commission was able to start its work in April 1948. Policy Instruction No. 19 dated 22 January 1948, issued by Headquarters of the Control Commission for Germany (British Element), states clearly the precise terms of reference of the Studienausschuß and defines its status:³⁰

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY TO EXAMINE THE
NEED OF REFORMS IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF
UNIVERSITY STATUS IN BRITISH-OCCUPIED GERMANY

1. In view of the Military Governor's particular interest in the well-being and reform of education in the British Zone, and of his desire to promote it, and in view of the integral importance of the Universities in any educational system, he has decided to appoint an independent Commission of Inquiry to report to him upon the Universities and Colleges of University status in British-occupied Germany.
 2. The terms of reference of this Commission will be to investigate the present condition of the Universities and Colleges of University status in the British Zone and the British Sector of Berlin; to report to the Military Governor on the extent to which they are making their full contribution to the democratic development of the German nation, and to recommend any measures which may appear necessary to increase this contribution.
- It will be appointed, and its individual members will be nominated, by the Military Governor.
3. Since the responsibility for educational matters has been handed over to the German Authorities, it is not intended that this Commission should prescribe measures, the adoption of which would be obligatory. But in order that an objective and independent view of the Universities may be presented to the Military Governor and to the German Authorities and public, it is desired that the question should be examined by an authoritative body, representing diverse sections of German opinion along with the impartial viewpoints of observers from other countries.
 4. The composition of the Commission will be as follows:
 - 6 German members
 - 1 British member (who will be a man of standing in the British academic world, and not a member of the Control Commission)
 - 1 Neutral member not of British or German nationality.

³⁰ TH Aachen, Hochschularchiv, Ordner Nr. 1478-I-15, Juni 1948 - Juli 1948, 'Studienausschuß für [sic] Hochschulreform'.

All members will have full and equal voting-rights. The chairman will be nominated from among the German members by the Military Governor.

5. The Commission will have full legal powers to call witnesses and to take evidence.

Its report will be made public.

6. It will be required to present its report within six months of its appointment by the Military Governor.
7. Internal (Reichsmark) expenditure of the Commission will be financed from Zonal funds whilst any external sterling costs will be met in accordance with arrangements to be made separately with the Foreign Office.

In Nordrhein-Westfalen the translation of this 'Policy Instruction' was wrongly headed 'Polizei-Richtlinien', and a correction was issued by the Kultusministerium towards the end of June. Such a slip was particularly unfortunate at a time when great efforts were being made to play down all suggestion of control, imposition and interference.

2. The First Meeting and the Questionnaire

The first meeting was opened by Birley in Hamburg on 21 April 1948.³¹ He pointed out that the Commission would be free in every respect, but he did not envisage its dealing with economic problems or temporary difficulties related to overcrowding. He emphasised that it had no executive power: it could only make suggestions in its report to the Military Governors. He outlined possible procedures for the Commission to adopt, including the distribution of a questionnaire, and then he withdrew and, to the members' surprise, took no further part in the discussions. This first meeting was important inasmuch as it established the working methods of the Commission and

³¹ Lindsay was unable to attend: he was present at all subsequent meetings.

produced a questionnaire which defined the main areas of interest.

The questionnaire, which was sent to the Rektoren of all universities and Technische and Pädagogische Hochschulen in the Zone, as well as to student organisations, prominent individuals and representatives of the Church, and to universities and other institutions in different zones, contained 36 questions under six main headings:³²

Fragen zur Hochschulreform

I. Idee und Aufgabe der Hochschule

1. Halten Sie eine Reform der Hochschule für notwendig und möglich?
2. Wie stellen Sie sich zur Frage der Freiheit von Forschung und Lehre?
3. Wie kann einem Zerfall der Hochschulen in Fachschulen und der damit drohenden Auflösung der Menschenbildung begegnet werden?
4. Meinen Sie, daß auf der Hochschule die Berufsausbildung stärker gepflegt werden soll?
5. Halten Sie die Gliederung der Hochschule in die bisherigen Fakultäten für sachgemäß und ausreichend?
6. Halten Sie eine mehr oder minder enge Verbindung der Hochschulen mit pädagogischen Akademien, künstlerischen Hochschulen und Sozial-Akademien für wünschenswert?
7. Ist die Vereinigung von Lehre und Forschung in der bisherigen Form aufrechtzuerhalten?
8. Wie ist das Zusammenwirken von Lehre, Forschung und Leben über die Grenzen der einzelnen Fakultäten hinaus zu gewährleisten?
9. Haben Sie weitere Bemerkungen zu diesem Abschnitt zu machen?

II. Hochschule und Staat

1. Welche Vorschläge haben Sie zu machen
 - a) zu dem Hochschulmonopol des Staates?
 - b) zum Aufsichtsrecht des Staates und zur Selbstverwaltung der Hochschulen?
 - c) insbesondere zur Aufbringung, Verwaltung und Verwendung der finanziellen Mittel?
 - d) zur rechtlichen Stellung des Lehrkörpers? (Soll der Hochschullehrer Beamter sein? Berufung, Abberufung, Versetzung, Altersgrenze, Emeritierung, Domizilpflicht usw.)

2. Glauben Sie, daß es gut wäre, einen Hochschulrat für jede Hochschule einzusetzen?
3. Haben Sie weitere Bemerkungen zu diesem Abschnitt zu machen?

III. Hochschule und Gesellschaft

1. Wie kann man eine Isolierung der Hochschule gegenüber dem Leben der Gesellschaft verhindern?
2. Befürworten Sie ein engeres Zusammenwirken der Hochschulen mit den großen politischen, kirchlichen und wirtschaftlichen Organisationen?
3. Wie denken Sie sich die Erziehung der Studenten zur verantwortungsvollen Mitarbeit am Staat, an Volk und Menschheit?
4. Haben Sie weitere Bemerkungen zu diesem Abschnitt zu machen?

IV. Hochschul-Verfassung

1. Welche Organe der Hochschul-Verfassung halten Sie für erforderlich?
2. Halten Sie einen Kurator für nötig?
3. Welche Funktion soll dem Rektor zukommen?
4. Haben Sie Vorschläge zu machen über die Stellung, die Zusammensetzung und die Befugnisse des Senats?
5. Haben Sie Vorschläge zu machen über die Zusammensetzung und die Rechte der Fakultäten als Selbstverwaltungskörper und die Stellung der Dekane?
6. Haben Sie Vorschläge zu machen über die Stellung der Dozenten?
7. Soll die Beteiligung der Studentenschaft in der Hochschul-Verfassung zum Ausdruck kommen?
8. Haben Sie weitere Vorschläge zu diesem Abschnitt zu machen?

V. Lehrkörper

1. Welche sachlichen und formellen Voraussetzungen müssen für eine Lehrtätigkeit an einer Hochschule erfüllt werden? Wie stehen Sie insbesondere zur Berufung von Nichthabilitierten in Planstellen?
2. Wie ist der Nachwuchs an Dozenten zu gewinnen und zu sichern?
3. Haben Sie Vorschläge zu machen zur Stellung der wissenschaftlichen Assistenten?
4. Haben Sie weitere Vorschläge zu diesem Abschnitt zu machen?

VI. Studentenschaft

1. Welche Vorschläge machen Sie hinsichtlich des Aufbaues und der Aufgaben der Studentenschaft?
2. Halten Sie es für wünschenswert oder notwendig, daß der Zugang zur Hochschule beschränkt wird (numerus clausus)?

3. Wer soll über die Zulassung zum Studium entscheiden und nach welchen Gesichtspunkten soll die Zulassung erfolgen?
4. Wie stehen Sie zum Maturitätsprinzip?
5. Welche anderen Wege zur Hochschulreife halten Sie für gangbar?
6. Wie stellen Sie sich die Aufstiegsförderung und die soziale Sicherstellung der minderbemittelten Studenten vor?
7. Halten Sie eine praktische Arbeit der Studenten vor dem Studium oder während der ersten Semester für wünschenswert? Wenn ja, für wie lange und in welcher Form?
8. Halten Sie eine Förderung und Sicherung des Frauenstudiums für nötig?
9. Halten Sie irgendwelche Maßnahmen für nötig, um Ungeeignete während des Studiums auszuschalten?
10. Wie kann das Prinzip der Lernfreiheit mit der zweckmäßigen Gestaltung des Studienganges in Einklang gebracht werden?
11. Haben Sie Vorschläge zu machen zur Gestaltung des Studentenlebens außerhalb des Unterrichts?
12. Haben Sie weitere Vorschläge zu diesem Abschnitt zu machen?

Ludwig Raiser, Rektor of Göttingen, reacted with cautious cynicism to this first move of the Commission:

Der von der britischen Militärregierung eingesetzte Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform hat seine Arbeit aufgenommen. Mit einem großen Fragebogen natürlich. Hoffen wir, daß er sich noch auf originellere Wege der Stoffsammlung besinnt. Es steht sonst zu befürchten, daß auch seine Vorschläge sehr wenig originell ausfallen werden. Mit einer Vermehrung der Papierflut, die das Thema "Hochschulreform" überspült, wäre niemandem gedient.³³

And the Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University of Munich wrote:

[Eine reform des Hochschulstudiums] verspricht sich nicht viel von der unaufhörlichen Ausfüllung von Fragebogen.³⁴

In their note accompanying the questionnaire the Commission members declared themselves aware of the importance of their work for

³³ Göttinger Universitäts-Zeitung, 3/12, 1948.

³⁴ WRK BG-Archiv (44:A6).

Germany, and, reflecting Birley's wider European view: 'darüber hinaus für Europa'. The Questionnaire was dated 26 April and responses - from individuals or groups - were asked for at the latest by 10 June, giving scarcely sufficient time for full discussion of the questions before replies could be drafted.³⁵ Despite the fact that the questions were far too wide-ranging and demanded long and well considered responses, these were usually elicited.³⁶ The length at which most respondents were prepared to write is an indicator of the degree of interest the work of the Commission aroused. However, a lack of precision in the formulation of the questions made it difficult for the replies to be properly evaluated: attempts at evaluation were made, but categorisation often proved impossible. Double questions such as:

Halten Sie eine Reform der Hochschule für notwendig und möglich?

and loaded questions such as:

Wie kann einem Zerfall der Hochschulen in Fachschulen und der damit drohenden Auflösung der Menschenbildung begegnet werden?

are too 'unscientific' to elicit clear-cut replies. Often all that could be said of the responses to a given question, when Reimers came to evaluate them, was: 'Hier liegen die verschiedenartigsten Vorschläge vor'.³⁷

³⁵ Many respondents complained of the lack of time allowed for completion of the questionnaire, and a lot of replies were consequently very short. Professor Külz of Frankfurt wrote as follows: 'Es ist ganz unmöglich in dieser Zeit eine ausreichend begründete Antwort zu geben und es scheint mir ein schlechtes Omen für die Hochschulreform, wenn gleich im Anfang bürotechnische Schwierigkeiten die sachliche Erledigung in dieser Weise erschweren' (WRK BG-Archiv 36:G6).

³⁶ The Blaues Gutachten Archive contains 132 identifiable responses to the questionnaire: some are very brief, some deal only with selected questions; the longest reply covers 19 sides. The average length of the responses was nearly five, usually typewritten, sides (actually 4.95).

³⁷ WRK BG-Archiv (17:D11-13).

Moreover, the complex nature of many of the questions meant that they either had to be dealt with at great length (for which there was insufficient time) or inadequately. Ministerialrat a.D. Dr Thyssen of Bonn complained:

Fast jede einzelne der 3 Dutzend Fragen ist hochkompliziert, und Änderungen bestehender Verhältnisse sollten nur auf Grund eingehenden Studiums, keinesfalls durch eine Art von Abstimmung auf Grund dieses Fragebogens vorgeschlagen werden.³⁸

But the most detailed criticism of the Studienausschuß was voiced in the questionnaire returns from Kiel.³⁹ The Senate of the University had met on several occasions to consider the questions posed by the Commission, and the Rektor, Professor Rendtorff, reported three fundamental worries. Firstly, although reform implies organisational changes, it should first and foremost be concerned with the spirit (Geist) of the university:

Eine Erneuerung des Geistes der Universität kann niemals "gemacht" werden, am allerwenigsten durch behördliche Anordnungen, sie kann nur "wachsen".

For this reason the Commission should beware of the limitations of purely organisational change and avoid 'störende Eingriffe':

Gerade in der gegenwärtigen Zeit muß den Universitäten Zeit und Raum gewährt werden zu einem organischen Wachstum und ihre Arbeit gegen Eingriffe von außen sorgfältig geschützt werden.

The Senate would welcome the Commission's support for the freedom and protection of the universities.

Secondly, the membership of the Commission was considered not representative enough of the universities. One sole representative

38 WRK BG-Archiv (37:B14).

39 WRK BG-Archiv (41:D14-E7).

(Weizsäcker had not yet joined) could not stand for, or even give an overview of, the concerns of all areas of the university. The Senate would therefore wish the Commission to include representatives of seven faculties (Theologische, Juristische, Staatswissenschaftliche, Medizinische, Philosophisch-Geisteswissenschaftliche, Philosophisch-Naturwissenschaftliche, and Landwirtschaftliche). This point was taken up in the first response to the questionnaire (Antwort Kiel I):

Wir stehen... auf dem Standpunkt, daß jede Reform unter stärkerer Heranziehung von erfahrenen, mit der Materie wirklich vertrauten Universitätslehrern, vorzubereiten wäre. Es erscheint uns ungeklärt, inwieweit der "Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform" in seiner augenblicklichen Zusammensetzung gewillt und in der Lage ist, eine Verantwortung gegenüber den deutschen Universitäten zu übernehmen.

(This doubt, not unreasonably, is emphasised equally strongly in the second Kiel response.)

Thirdly, the nature of the questionnaire was considered:

Das Verfahren des Fragebogens wird naturgemäß immer an der großen Unvollkommenheit leiden, die sich aus der Aufstückelung des Gesamtproblems in eine Fülle von mehr oder weniger zweifelhaften Einzelfragen ergibt.

The Senate sought an opportunity to respond to the Commission's report, and had submitted a request to the Military Governor for a copy to be sent to them when it was completed.

The second Kiel response (Antwort Kiel II) is highly suspicious of British influence:

Die Einberufung derartiger Studienkommissionen aus Kreisen der breiteren Öffentlichkeit entspricht zwar englischem Brauch. Sie setzt aber naturgemäß auch englische Verhältnisse und vor allem englische Mentalität voraus; die Geschichte hat im großen wie im kleinen zur Genüge gezeigt, wie verhängnisvoll sich jede schematisierende Übertragung fremder Gepflogenheiten und Einrichtungen auf anders geartete organische Lebensformen auswirken muß.

Although the Kiel submissions are tempered with reassurances of support for the Commission's work, there is an underlying recalcitrance implicit in the tone of the responses which seems to confirm the view of Kiel as conservative and backward in its outlook.

3. The Questionnaire Returns

The questionnaire, as we have seen, was cobbled together too quickly to be properly scientific. Birley proposed at the Commission's first meeting that the members should draw up a list of questions to be answered by carefully selected people and suggested that they should be 'möglichst konkret'.⁴⁰ Requests for further reports should follow, before individuals were interviewed in the light of their responses.

By the time of the Commission's fourth meeting (in Bad Rothenfelde, 21-24 June 1948) Reimers could report that of 774 questionnaires sent out only 46 replies had been received.⁴¹ The final total of received responses was approximately 132, and so the percentage response was poor (c.17%). The respondents can be categorised as follows:

⁴⁰ WRK BG-Archiv (16:B13).

⁴¹ WRK BG-Archiv (17:D11).

Universities in the British Zone*	35
Universities in other Zones*	18
<u>Technische Hochschulen</u> in the British Zone*	9
Other types of <u>Hochschule</u> in the British Zone*	16
<u>Technische Hochschulen</u> etc. in other Zones*	4
Student responses*	18
Other groups (Church, professional organisations etc.)*	15
Individuals (outside university), plus anonymous and unidentifiable responses.	17

(* including both group and individual responses.)

Of the 46 returns which Reimers had processed by mid June 28 were in favour of a reform of the universities, while 3 indicated that it was unnecessary. An analysis of the 132 identifiable returns preserved in the Blaues Gutachten archive reveals the following statistics for Question I (1).

I(1) Halten Sie eine Reform der Hochschule für notwendig und möglich?

	Number	%
Yes	96	72.72
No	11	8.33
Equivocal responses	13	9.84
No direct response or no answer at all	12	9.02

Despite the inexactitude of the question the percentage of positive responses is sufficiently high to indicate a large general degree of support for reform of some kind. It must be emphasised, however, that many of the responses contain finely balanced arguments and careful

equivocation, and that this, together with the two-sided question, makes an accurate analysis almost impossible.⁴²

The lengthy comments provided by many respondents are worth detailed consideration and may be divided into broad general categories. An often quoted reason against reform - to take the less positive responses first - was that the time was not right:

Eine Verbesserung ist nur erwünscht; eine radikale Reform der Universität kann in dieser labilen Zeit nur Schaden anrichten (Prof. Behnke, Münster).

Die Zeit für einschneidende "Reformen" scheint mir sehr wenig geeignet zu sein (Prof. Helferich, Bonn).

Für die Hochschulreform im eigentlichen Sinne halte ich die Zeit für völlig ungeeignet (Prof. Külz, Frankfurt).

Die gegenwärtige Zeit in ihrer Zerrissenheit hätte am wenigsten einen Beruf zum Reformieren (Prof. Wegner, Münster).

Suspicion would be aroused, if reforms were introduced, continued

Professor Wegner:

Heute würden sich... besonders viel Verdacht und Abneigung gegen eine jede Reform richten

Professor Veit of Cologne warned against change for the sake of change:

In Zeiten des Umbruchs ist das Bestreben, überall die ändernde Hand anzulegen, weit verbreitet in der Hoffnung, daß Ändern gleich Bessern sein möge.

Veit's reply points to a tendency to use the unpropitious times as an excuse for doing nothing, when the real reason was total satisfaction with the university in its historically evolved form. Many respondents,

⁴² An earlier and less thorough attempt which I made to analyse the replies resulted in different figures, but still showed a clear majority of positive over negative responses to Question I(1). (See Phillips: 'Britische Initiative zur Hochschulreform in Deutschland' (1981), loc. cit., p.184.)

Veit among them, believed that the tradition of the German university was worth preserving:

Die Grundstruktur, in der die deutsche Universität und Wissenschaft groß geworden ist, muß erhalten bleiben (Prorektor, Münster).

Unsere Hochschulen haben ganze Generationen leistungsfähiger und in der ganzen Welt geachteter Wissenschaftler hervorgebracht. Da muß die Hochschule doch gesund gewesen sein. Darum erscheint es notwendig, den "Reformwütigen" als Leitstern den Grundsatz voranzustellen: soviel gesunde Tradition als möglich bewahren und nur soviel ändern als nötig (Albertus-Magnus-Unitas, Bonn).

Jede Hochschule soll ihre Eigenart, ihr historisch bedingtes Lokalkolorit bewahren (Prof. Veit, Cologne).

Professor Rothacker of Bonn wrote nostalgically and at considerable length of the great flowering of the German university in the nineteenth century, when the prime consideration was to attract to vacant chairs the most important researchers of the time. Others mentioned the attraction of the German university to foreigners:

Es sollte versucht werden, die deutschen Hochschulen wieder zu dem Hochstand zu entwickeln, den sie vor 1914 gehabt haben und der für viele Hochschulen des Auslandes, insbesondere auch Amerikas Vorbild und Ziel war und ist (Prof. Helferich, Bonn).

On the other hand, tradition could be seen as stultifying:

Die Universität darf... nicht in traditionsgebundener Überlieferung und in Dogmen erstarren (Prof. Siegmund, Münster).

'On from Weimar' is a catchphrase often associated with German attitudes to education policy generally after the war:

Eine Wiederherstellung der Verhältnisse von vor 1933 dürfte im wesentlichen genügen (Prof. Jung, Bergakademie Clausthal).

Wir halten eine Hochschulreform nur in soweit für nötig, als das Hochschulwesen auf die Form zurückzubringen ist, die es vor 1933 hatte ('Karl-Sonnenschein' Gruppe, Bonn).

Others, however, held no brief for the universities of the Weimar years:

Der Satz "Die Weimarer Republik ist am Stammtisch zugrunde gegangen" läßt sich erweitern durch Hinzufügung: "und in den Fakultäten" (Prof. Linhardt, Münster).

Dr Joachim Beckmann⁴³ based his case for reform on the failure of the universities to resist Nazism:

Die tiefgreifenden Wandlungen der Gegenwart [erfordern] eine Umgestaltung von Institutionen..., die im Dritten Reich sich nicht als widerstandsfähig gegenüber dem die Existenz des Menschen bedrohenden Geist erwiesen haben

Even those who were against reform could still criticise the professors who were part of a tradition which fell prey to the catchphrases of Nazism, professors who

inbezug auf politische Fragen viel zu unorientiert waren und nach einer alten herrschenden Tradition nach 1918 und auch 1933 auf Schlagworte wie "national" usw hereingefallen sind (Prof. Thyssen, Bonn)

Rektor and Senate of the Technische Hochschule in Munich were dismissive of recriminations about the past:

Daß nach jedem größeren politischen Wechsel den Hochschulen vorgeworfen wird, sie hätten versagt, wie 1918, 1933 und 1945, scheint uns nicht viel gegen die Hochschulen zu beweisen

Professor Linhardt of Münster supported his belief in the need for reform with an all-embracing remark concerning past failures and present imponderabilia:

Notwendig wegen der Zustände vor 1933, wegen der Haltung der Hochschulen im Entscheidungsjahr 1933 und hernach, wegen der seit 1945 in drei Jahren erwiesenen Aussichtslosigkeit einer Reform von innen heraus

Such a view contrasts with the British policy of encouraging reform from within, and supports the AUT Delegation's belief that no radical reform would emerge from the universities themselves.

⁴³ Beckmann and Gruber were the only Commission members who completed questionnaires.

Linhardt's stance leads us to those respondents who mentioned the advantages and disadvantages of influence from foreign models. Professor Karl Schiller⁴⁴ and Heinz-Dietrich Ortlieb of Hamburg welcomed outside influence:

Von der Universität und der Hochschullehrerschaft selbst ist die Initiative zu einer ausreichenden Reform nur teilweise zu erwarten. Die von außen kommenden Impulse sind daher auch von besonderer Bedeutung

Professor Külz of Frankfurt thought (faute de mieux, since he was against reform) that 'die englische Verwaltungspraxis..., die keine Gesetze aufhebt' should be followed. Helferich of Bonn warned against foreign approaches:

Was in anderen Ländern historisch geworden ist und deswegen seine innere und äußere Berechtigung hat, kann nicht ohne historische Entwicklung einfach verpflanzt werden

And a student response from Marburg rejected the possible adoption of foreign systems:

Wir lehnen jedoch eine revolutionäre Umgestaltung und einseitige Übernahme eines anderen Hochschulsystems ab

The Bishop of Aachen was equally clear on this issue:

Eine von außen künstlich herangetragene Reform ist abzulehnen

Outsiders could gain a quite erroneous view of the German situation:

Es muß und sollte meines Erachtens aber unter allen Umständen betont werden, daß im Grunde unser Hochschulwesen gesund ist, durchaus nicht starr und verknöchert, wie es von Außenstehenden so gerne propagandistisch verkündet wird (Prof. Veit, Cologne).

⁴⁴ Later (1956-58) Rektor of Hamburg University and Federal Minister of Economics (1966-71) and of Economics and Finance (1971-2).

Those in favour of reform frequently quoted the fact that the universities were indeed 'starr und verknöchert' ('verquickt' was another term used) and that reform was necessary because they had not kept pace with the times:

Weil sie in Lehre und Lehrart vielfach hinter den Erfordernissen des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters zurückgeblieben ist (Studentischer Wanderklub, Marburg).

Da die Hochschule in der alten Form nicht mehr den Anforderungen der Zeit gerecht zu werden vermag (Tierärztliche Hochschule, Hannover)

Ganz generell glaube ich, daß die bisherige Auffassung und das Verhältnis von Lehre, Forschung und Leben durch die heutige geistige und soziale Lage überholt ist und daß wir schon neue Wege gehen müßten (Direktor, Pädagogische Hochschule, Göttingen).

Statt zur Weckung und Pflege der die menschliche Gesellschaft einigenden Kräfte beizutragen, hat [die Hochschule] in einer "splendid isolation" gewirkt (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, Düsseldorf).

And alongside these views was the more general observation of several respondents that all institutions should be open to change, the universities being no exception.

Several respondents mentioned that the university had failed in its educative (as opposed to its teaching) function:

In ihrer Bildungs- und Erziehungsaufgabe haben [die deutschen Universitäten] sich... nicht bewährt; sonst hätten nicht so viele Studenten und Akademiker widerstandslos dem Nationalsozialismus zufallen und auch seitdem keine neue klare Orientierung finden können (Prof. Grundmann, Münster)

Die Hochschule darf nicht einseitig das Fachwissen pflegen, sie muß auch erzieherisch auf die Studenten einwirken (Pädagogische Hochschule, Flensburg).

Eine Reform der Hochschule scheint insofern erwünscht, als unsere Hochschullehrer mehr zwischen als vor den Studenten stehen sollten (Dean of Faculty of Medicine, Munich).

Das Verhältnis zwischen Erziehung und Unterricht an den deutschen Universitäten [hat sich] in den letzten Jahrzehnten grundlegend geändert. Durch den Wegfall der studentischen Verbindungen ist die studentische Selbsterziehung im wesentlichen ausgefallen, und die Universität muß darauf bedacht sein, hier einzutreten (Prof. Gadamer, Frankfurt)

Gadamer went on to warn against far-reaching institutional changes, however, and may be counted among the many who, though open to reform suggestions of a minor kind, were nevertheless either generally sceptical or opposed to radical change:

[Reform] nicht im revolutionären sondern evolutionären Sinn (Evangelisch-Lutherische Landeskirche, Eutin)

Einzelreformen, als Stücke einer langsamen Fortentwicklung, sind zu begrüßen (Prof. Hess, Heidelberg)

Vor wildem Reformierungseifer [ist] zu warnen (Prof. Kranz, Heidelberg)

Von abrupten Sprungen... erwarten wir mehr Schaden als Nutzen (Technische Hochschule, Munich).

Nur bestimmte, organisatorische Veränderungen (Prof. Coing, Frankfurt)

Reformen ändern oft nicht viel an [dem Geist der Hochschule] sie können ihn aber verschlechtern, da durch Reformen mitunter "Geschäftlhuber" in den Vordergrund gedrängt werden. Aus äußeren taktischen Gründen kann es mitunter zweckmäßig sein, etwas "in Reform" zu machen (Prof. Czerny, Frankfurt)

A most important view - and one again reflected in the AUT Report - was that successful university reform would have to imply much wider social reform, and in particular reform of the school system:

Man wird sogar sagen können, daß das Wort "Reform" für das was zu geschehen hat, zu schwach ist, daß vielmehr etwas von Grund auf Neues geschaffen werden muß, wenn unsere Universitäten und Hochschulen von den Auswirkungen jenes Geistes frei werden sollen, der sich seit der Zeit der Aufklärung an ihnen festgesetzt hat (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)

Eine Reform der Hochschule erscheint notwendig zur endgültigen Brechung des Bildungsmonopols bevorzugter Klassen (Sozialistische Studentengruppe, Düsseldorf)

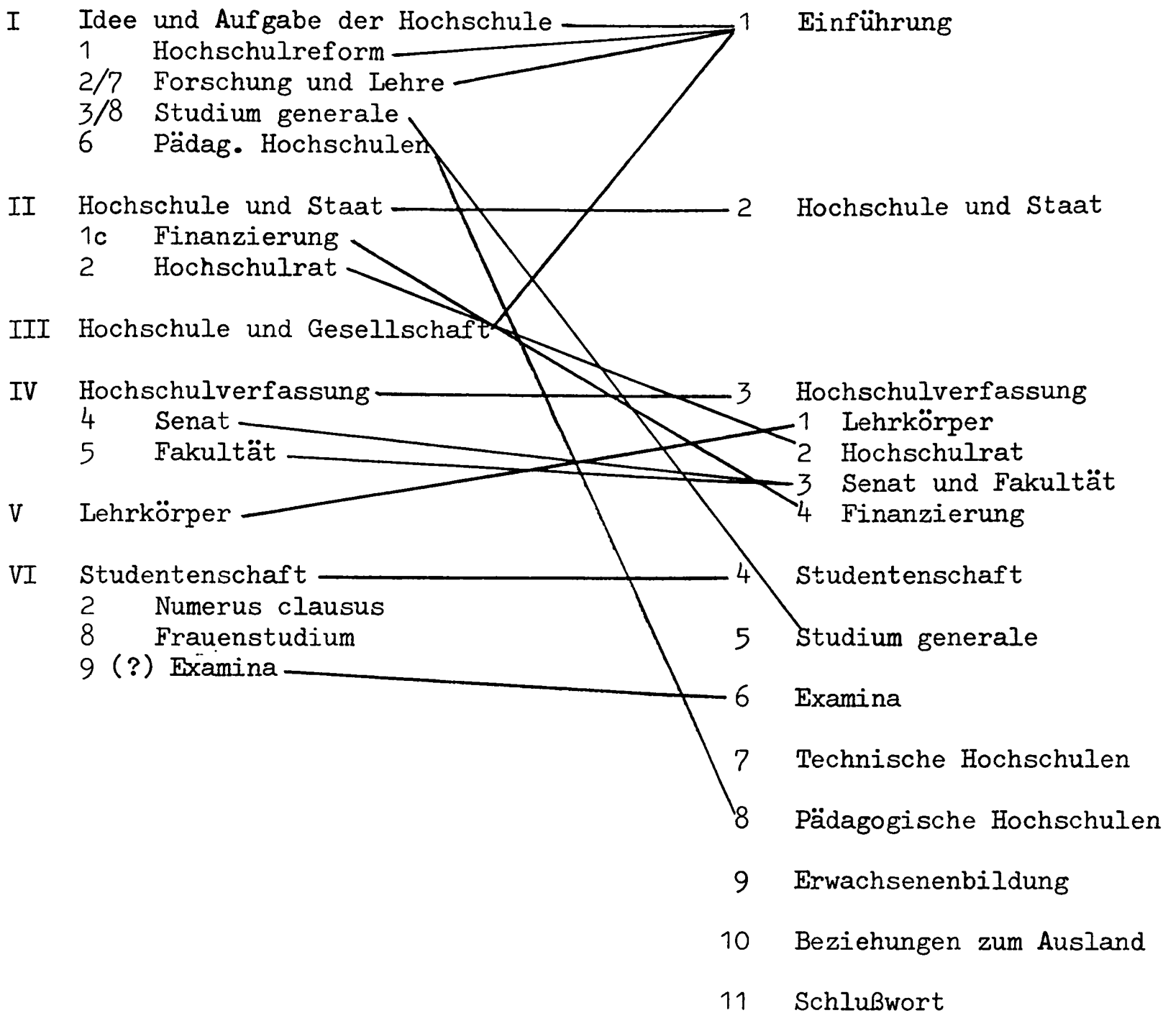
Hochschulreform setzt Neuordnung des ganzen Schulwesens voraus (Prof. Schwippert, Technische Hochschule, Aachen).

Mit dieser Hochschulreform muß eine Neuordnung des höheren Schulwesens verbunden werden (Student response, Marburg)

There was then a very wide range of initial responses to the first question, a question whose answer would determine the general stance adopted in the replies to the remaining more detailed questions. The replies quoted show that both negative and positive reactions were spread across institutions and groups and give some indication of the lively interest the questions aroused among respondents.

The questionnaire served to define the agenda for the Commission's work, and the themes it reflects were to recur throughout the discussions which led to the publication of the Blaues Gutachten. The final report in fact follows very broadly the same shape as the questionnaire, though extra sections are added and one notable area of concern, Frauenstudium, which actually figured quite prominently in the Commission's deliberations, was not given a section of its own in the Gutachten.

The chart on p.271 compares the main questions in the questionnaire with the eventual section headings of the Blaues Gutachten. Pädagogische Hochschulen received prominence as a result of Drenckhahn's participation; the careful representation of a wide range of interested parties on the Commission meant that Technische Hochschulen and Erwachsenenbildung (through Gruber's and Theunert's inclusion respectively) would be given equal prominence, despite there being no specific reference to these subjects in the questionnaire.

Fragen zur HochschulreformBlaues Gutachten

Further discussion of the questionnaire returns will be included as appropriate in later sections dealing with the major themes that emerged during the Commission's work.

4. The Working Methods of the Commission

The Commission's working methods were a model of that democratic procedure which is held to be the cornerstone of enlightened liberal government. The members kept in mind the to them obviously impressive parallel with British Royal Commissions and based much of their work on the taking of evidence. This took many forms: the questionnaire returns enabled them to collect information from a wide variety of respondents; prominent individuals were invited from the UK (mainly) to give evidence directly to the Commission at its plenary meetings; and the members themselves visited all university institutions in the Zone, as well as others in the French and American Zones (Tübingen, Munich, TH Darmstadt) and the Technische Universität in Berlin. During these visits the Commission members usually met the Rektor, the Senate, and representatives of the Dozenten and the student body. Separate meetings were arranged with AStA representatives from all universities in the Zone and with the Kultusminister of the various Länder, as well as with representatives of the German women's organisations and of the Allied educational authorities in all three Western zones. The following is an outline timetable of the Commission's activity, from the first meeting on 21 April to the press conference called on 30 November to launch the Gutachten.

21.4.48	First plenary meeting, Hamburg
28.4.48	Second plenary meeting, Hamburg
18-21.5.48	Third plenary meeting, Rudesheim Evidence from Sir Walter Moberly, Chairman of the University Grants Committee, Professor W.E. Collinson, Professor of German at Liverpool University
21-22.5.48	Visit to Bonn University Evidence from <u>Rektor</u> , Senate, <u>Dozenten</u> , students

- 24-25.5.48 Visit to Cologne University
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
- 28-29.5.48 Visit to Technische Hochschule, Aachen
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
- 21-24.6.48 Fourth plenary meeting, Bad Rothenfelde
Evidence from Professor Courant of New York
- 24-25.6.48 Visit to Münster University
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
- 29-30.6.48 Visit to Göttingen University
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
- 1.7.48 Visit to Forstwissenschaftliche Fakultät of Göttingen University in Hann.-Münden
Evidence from Dean, professors, students
- 2-3.7.48 Visit to Technische Hochschule and Tierärztliche Hochschule, Hannover
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
Conversations with Kultusminister Grimme and Ministerialrat Zierold
- 5.7.48 Visit to Bergbau-Akademie in Clausthal-Zellerfeld
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
- 6.7.48 Visit to Technische Hochschule, Braunschweig
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
Conversations with Kultusminister, Frau Teusch
- 30-31.7.48 Visit to Hamburg University
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
Conversation with Landahl
- 2-5.8.48 Fifth plenary meeting, Hamburg
Evidence from Sir Percy Waterfield, Mr O. Guy Amy Buller, Professor E.M. Butler, the Chairman of the Studentischer Zonenrat, representatives of the AStAs of the British Zone
- 7.8.48 Discussion with representatives of women's organisations
- 9.8.48 Discussion with Senator Landahl, Hamburg, Professors Wenke, Schiller and Ortlieb of Hamburg University, Helmut Schmidt (President of the SDStB)
- 10-11.8.48 Visit to Kiel University
Evidence from Rektor, Senate, Dozenten, students
Discussion with Kultusminister Kuklinski, representatives of the Ministerium für Volksbildung, Kiel

31.8 - 2.9.48	Sixth plenary meeting, Hamburg
13-15.9.48	Visit to Munich University
17-18.9.48	Visit to Tübingen University
24.9.48	Visit to <u>Technische Hochschule</u> , Darmstadt
28-29.9.48	Meeting of sub-committees
30.9 - 2.10.48	Seventh plenary meeting, Hamburg
26-27.10.48	Eighth plenary meeting, Bad Schlangenbad
30.11.48	Press reception, Hamburg

While all this activity was continuing, the individual members of the Commission were drafting papers on the main themes associated with university reform, and these were circulated before the plenary sessions or tabled. Full reports on visits and discussions were also prepared and circulated. In addition the Commission members were provided with copies of relevant publications, among them the AUT Report, Ortega y Gasset's Mission of the University (1946), Löwe's The Universities in Transformation (1940), Jaspers's Die Idee der Universität (1946), 'Bruce Truscott's Red Brick University (1943), the Schwalbacher Richtlinien and the Marburger Hochschulgespräche, and British university handbooks, statutes and charters, as well as copies of the constitutions of German universities.

The particular interests of individual Commission members began to emerge during the early meetings. Von Salis prepared a paper on the Swiss university system for the third meeting; for the fourth meeting Snell reported on Universität und Gesellschaft and Lehrkörper und Nachwuchs and on the Marburger Hochschulgespräche of 1946-7 and the Schwalbacher Richtlinien, drawn up in 1947 (see Appendix XI), and Drenckhahn prepared some thoughts on the Pädagogische Hochschulen. Lindsay wrote on the 'Sociological Background of the Modern University

Problem' for the fifth meeting, at which Theunert reported on Hochschule und Gesellschaft - this latter being a paper to which Reimers objected in strong terms. He wrote to Theunert taking exception to phrases like 'alte bourgeoise Kultur', to Theunert's criticism of the Hochschulbeirat (already agreed by the Commission), and to the general tone of the contribution.

The Blaues Gutachten Archive in Bonn reveals that a degree of unity was reached at a very early stage of the Commission's deliberations. Von Salis wrote a report ('Zusammenfassung') on discussions held on the afternoon of 19 May (during the third meeting) which shows that tentative decisions had already been made on some general points which were to find expression in the Gutachten. To some extent the questionnaire had pre-empted the main themes of the report, but these early discussions among the Commission members show that their general stance had been decided before full evidence had been taken. Von Salis reported particularly on Lindsay's views, and quoted Everling as saying: 'Wir müssen unser Gutachten im Sinne von Lord Lindsays Ausführungen abstaten'. These views concerned particularly what was to be advocated under the rubric Studium generale:

Die Aufgabe... , die Umwelt verstehen zu können, kann nur durch die Vermittlung einer allgemeinen Bildung gelöst werden. Heute muß jeder die gesellschaftliche Umwelt, in der er lebt, verstehen können, d.h. soziales Bewußtsein haben.

Specialist vocational training had been pushed too far: the study of philosophy and history would help provide the general education which would inform the training of specialists. What was the function of higher teaching and research? And what determined and justified this function? The answers to these questions would depend on identifying the needs of society. These were very much Lindsay themes, and they were fully aired in the Gutachten.

At the same meeting greater co-operation between institutions of university status was advocated, particularly by Everling. Von Salis pushed for the Commission to be clear - and in agreement - about such fundamental questions before proceeding.

The minutes of the sixth meeting (31 August - 2 September) record the proposed division of labour for the drafting of the various chapters of the Gutachten. Each section/subject was to have a Referent, responsible for the first draft, and each Referent would be assisted by other members who would form with him a sub-committee (Unterausschuß) with responsibility for the final draft. The allocation was as follows:

1.	Einführung	Lindsay	+ Beckmann, Drenckhahn
2.	Idee und Aufgabe der Hochschule	Beckmann	+ Lindsay, Drenckhahn
3.	Hochschule und Gesellschaft	Theunert	+ Beckmann, Grosche
4.	Hochschule und Staat	Snell	+ Von Salis, Petersen
5.	Hochschularten		
	1. Pädag. Hochschulen	Drenckhahn	+ in each case the remaining four members responsible for the section
	2. Universitäten	Weizsäcker	
	3. Techn. Hochschulen	Gruber	
	4. Erwachsenenbildung	Lindsay	
	5. Sozialakademien	Theunert	
6.	Hochschulverfassung		
	1. Hochschulrat	Von Salis	+ in each case the remaining two members responsible for the section
	2. Selbstverwaltungs- körperschaften	Petersen	
	3. Finanzierung	Grosche	
7.	Lehrkörper	Snell	+ Von Salis, Petersen, Grosche
8.	Studentenschaft sowie Frauenstudium	Grosche Petersen	+ Reimers
9.	Beziehungen der Hoch- schule zum Ausland	Petersen	+ Lindsay, Von Salis Weizsäcker
10.	Examensfragen	Drenckhahn	+ Snell, Weizsäcker
11.	Schlußwort	Everling	

In the event changes were made. There was, as we have noted, no 'Frauenstudium' section in the Gutachten, and some chapters were actually drafted by others. The sequence and titles of the various chapters also underwent minor changes. The final editing of the Gutachten was entrusted to a Redaktions-Ausschuß consisting of Reimers, von Salis and Weizsäcker. This trio, then, took responsibility for the final text. Further details of the authorship and genesis of the various chapters is dealt with in Section 5 below. The final chapter divisions and authorship looked like this:

Vorwort		Redaktions-Ausschuß
1	Einführung	Weizsäcker, incorporating material written by Beckmann, who in turn used papers prepared by Lindsay (Beckmann)
A	Das Problem der Hochschulreform	
	(1) Das Ziel des vorliegenden Berichts	
	(2) Notwendigkeit der Reform	
	(3) Möglichkeit der Reform	
B	Hochschule und Gesellschaft	
	(1) Die heutige Gesellschaft	
	(2) Wie muß sich die Hochschule der heutigen Gesellschaft anpassen?	
	(3) Was kann die Hochschule der heutigen Gesellschaft nützen?	
C	(1) Die Idee der Hochschule	
	(2) Freiheit von Forschung und Lehre	
	(3) Die Universität und die anderen Hochschulen	
2	Hochschule und Staat	Snell
3	Hochschulverfassung	Snell Von Salis Petersen Grosche
	1 Lehrkörper	
	2 Hochschulrat	
	3 Senat und Fakultät	
	4 Finanzierung	
4	Studentenschaft	Grosche
5	Studium generale	Weizsäcker
6	Examina	Drenckhahn Redaktions-Ausschuß
7	Technische Hochschulen	Gruber
8	Pädagogische Hochschulen	Drenckhahn
9	Erwachsenenbildung	Lindsay and Theunert
10	Beziehungen zum Ausland	Petersen
11	Schlußwort	Everling

5. The Themes of the Blaues Gutachten

(i) University and State

The relationship between university and state had been a central issue in Hochschulpolitik in Germany. Traditionally universities were state institutions: their funds came from the Land ministries, their professors, who were civil servants (Beamte), were appointed by the Minister - and if all that did not make the position clear, then the office of Kurator served as a reminder of the State's control, since he was a permanent official with an office in the university, acting as a link between the institution and the Ministry.

The experience of the Third Reich had shown how vulnerable the universities could be if state control were not exercised in a way compatible with the university's academic independence. The Nazi experience had also demonstrated the undesirability in the German context of centralised control: the country's only period with a state (Reich) ministry served in the post-war years as a warning against resuming that particular experiment.

The Studienausschuß reported an understandable widespread distrust of the State. Their questions II(1) (a) and (b) ('Welche Vorschläge haben Sie zu machen (a) zu dem Hochschulmonopol des Staates? (b) zum Aufsichtsrat des Staates und zur Selbstverwaltung der Hochschulen?') produced responses ranging from the cautious:

Jede weitere Auflockerung des wissenschaftlich Hochschulmonopols halte ich für falsch, weil erfahrungsgemäß in Deutschland nur die staatliche Hochschule die Gewähr für ein hohes wissenschaftliches Niveau bietet
(Prof. Klauser, Bonn)

to the critical:

Jedes Staatsmonopol innerhalb der Wissenschaft und Kunst ist vom Übel
(Prof. Wickop, TH Hannover)

Ein Hochschulmonopol widerspricht dem Prinzip der Freiheit
von Forschung und Lehre (Christophorus Gruppe der KSG Bonn)

And for such a statement as this there was also the opposite view:

Die Unabhängigkeit von Forschung und Lehre erscheint...
besser gesichert, als wenn die Universität in die
Abhängigkeit privater Interessenverbände gerät
(Dr Ruscheweyh, Präsident des Deutschen Obergerichts für
das Vereinigte Wirtschaftsgebiet)

But most were measured replies advocating a realistic compromise:

erforderlich ist ein behutsames und vertrauensvolles
Miteinander⁴⁵
(Prof. Pietsch, Clausthal)

Beides gegeneinander abzugrenzen^N, ist die Aufgabe
(Prof. Weizel, Bonn)

The following response, from the Rektor of the University of
Erlangen, proposes something on the lines of the British tradition:

Die Hochschulen sollten möglichst weitgehende Selbstverwaltung
unter einem lockeren Aufsichtsrecht des Staates erhalten. Ein
Eingriffsrecht des Staates in die Verwaltung und in das
Finanzgebaren der Universitäten sollte fast völlig ausgeschaltet
werden. Das Berufungsrecht sollte völlig bei den Universitäten
liegen. Der Staat hat die Pflicht, die Universitäten finanziell
zu unterstützen, sollte aber dann die Verwendung dieser Mittel
der Selbstverwaltung der Universität und der Kontrolle von Senat
und Rektor überlassen. Der Staat müßte allerdings in unserer
Zeit das Recht haben, den demokratischen Bestand der Universität
zu sichern (Prof. Brenner)

State supervision, it was felt by some respondents, should extend
only to ensuring parity of teaching between institutions and mutual
recognition of examinations and qualifications. Others saw the
university-state relationship largely as a financial problem. Rothacker
of Bonn saw distinct advantages in the benevolent supervision of an
enlightened state authority:

⁴⁵ This sentence is taken almost verbatim from the pamphlet
Hochschulprobleme von heute (Göttingen 1948) by Ministerialrat
Dr Kurt Zierold, Head of the Universities Section of the
Niedersachsen Kultusministerium (p.14).

Hochschulmonopol des Staates führt zu Politisierung und in unseren Kleinstaaten zu allen Schäden des Partikularismus. Es kommt aber vor, daß die Berufungsvorschläge der Fakultäten das einleitend geforderte Niveau vermissen lassen. Hier kann ein sehr hochgesinnter, über große Personalkenntnisse verfügender, über den Stand der wissenschaftlichen Forschung glänzend unterrichteter, im akademischen Leben wohlerfahrener Ministerialbeamter segensvoll eingreifen: als Repräsentant des gesunden Menschenverstandes wie der Welterfahrenheit.

But such Ministry officials would be rare indeed.

Theodor Litt, also of Bonn, saw the problem in the context of the wider question of present and future styles of government:

Hierzu ist zu sagen, daß es mit diesem Verhältnis nur dann in Ordnung kommen kann, wenn das politische Gesamtleben des deutschen Volkes ein anderes Gesicht angenommen hat. Die Hochschule allein kann es nicht machen. So lange weltanschauliche und parteipolitische Verbohrtheit sich behaupten, wird es in dieser Hinsicht immer neue Schwierigkeiten geben. Unsere Politik muß "weltanschauungsfreier" werden. Die Hochschule kann ihrerseits nur dahin arbeiten, daß das allgemeine Leben in dieser Hinsicht gesunder werde.

Professor Snell drafted the first version of the section on Hochschule und Staat, and his draft was substantially incorporated in the longer final text. The Commission concluded that a break with continental tradition could not be recommended. A Rechtsstaat would wish to further free research and teaching: 'Under healthy conditions the interests of the universities and the State coincide sufficiently, and this would lead to their fruitful co-operation'. Co-operation would and must take the place of the bureaucratic authoritarian tradition. The proposed institution of a Hochschulrat would help in this particular area.

The Gutachten lists four reasons used by the State to justify its regulation of university affairs:

- (1) The State finances the universities and is therefore justified in supervising the use to which its money is put.
- (2) The universities train the State officials. The State must supervise the education of its officials.
- (3) The university teachers are officials.⁴⁶ They are, therefore, subordinate to the superior State authority, albeit to a limited degree.
- (4) The State protects the universities and represents their interests, both to the general public and to Parliament. It is, therefore, entitled to exercise supervision.⁴⁷

The Commission felt under (1) that the universities are better placed to determine the best use of their resources and to draw up their own budget: this would lead to greater responsibility in self-government. Under (2) it was felt that university study should not serve, a priori, as training for a profession.⁴⁸ State examinations should take this into account, and the professoriate should organise them. Under (3) the Commission saw great dangers and recommended exemption from Governmental interference in all academic ('scientific') matters, but at the same time it wanted no change in the State's right to appoint university

⁴⁶ 'Officials' here is the English translation of Beamte, which is usually rendered as 'civil servants'.

⁴⁷ Report, p.15.

⁴⁸ Snell had used Zierold's Hochschulprobleme von heute when preparing his draft. Zierold points out (p.7) that many university teachers had overlooked the sentence in most university statutes which read 'Die Hochschule hat die studierende Jugend zum Eintritt in die verschiedenen Zweige des höheren Staatsdienstes sowie für andere Berufsarten, zu denen eine wissenschaftliche Bildung erforderlich oder nützlich ist, vorzubereiten'. Returns to question I(4) of the Commission's questionnaire ('Meinen Sie, daß auf der Hochschule die Berufsausbildung stärker gepflegt werden soll?') indicated a clear unwillingness for the university to extend its vocational function:

Yes (also inferred):	21.21%
No (also inferred):	46.96%
No answer, or equivocal response:	31.81%

teachers to established posts: 'It has done so because it feels that the sense of responsibility of the Faculty will be increased if it is obliged to discuss appointments with outside authority.' Under (4) it was argued that State supervision should be limited to safeguarding the law: the State should be concerned only to see that its laws were not infringed by the universities. It was necessary for the State's powers in this respect to be exactly defined.

When Snell's draft was discussed at the Commission's sixth meeting Lindsay was worried about the Beamter status of university teachers. Snell had listed as part of his recommendation 3:

Die Hochschullehrer sind Beamte in eingeschränktem Sinne
Lindsay's point had been that if university teachers were to be Beamte,
tout court, then:

es mag in den Kultusministerien Leute geben, die sich bei dem Gedanken finden, daß der Professor nichts anderes ist als ein Beamter, daß also über ihn verfügt werden kann wie über jeden Beamten.⁴⁹

Snell's formulation was consequently changed in the final recommendation (No.4) to:

Diese sind Beamte mit Sonderrechten

- a change of emphasis which substitutes a notion of positive privilege for the negative restriction implied in the original wording. Lindsay's stance on this subject was in line with the general intention to encourage responsibility which informed so much of British policy in educational matters. The university professors had failed in their responsibilities in the past ('Wir haben alle einen Nachholbedarf an

⁴⁹ WRK BG-Archiv (23:G10).

Zivilcourage' said Professor Heinrich Heimpel during the 1955 Schlüter affair⁵⁰): if their privileged status as Beamte were properly recognised there would be less danger of blind subservience to an extremist state authority. We have seen that the professoriate were regarded by all levels of the British Occupation machine as the evil geniuses of the university sphere: to strip them of their power and rights would clearly have replicated in a different style what the Nazis had done. The Commission attempted rightly to capitalise on their Beamte status provided it guaranteed them proper independence as academics who, if their conscience demanded it, 'must oppose the institutions of the State'.

The Commission was clear about vesting authority in the Länder rather than with any centralised ministry. It hoped that students' traditional right to migrate from one university to another would be preserved, that there would be no Land-related chauvinism in such matters. But there would be a need for universities to be kept in touch with each other within a federal system. This would best be achieved through a Committee of Rektoren and Presidents of the proposed Hochschulräte. In addition there would have to be central planning for research - the Commission proposed the establishment of a Research Council (Forschungsrat) to advise those responsible for central financing.

Recommendations (1) and (2) on the rights of the university as a self-governing corporation and on the universities' say in the preparation of their budgets and the provision of a block grant find

50 See Göttingen versus Schlüter (Bulletin of the Committee on Science and Freedom, No.3, August 1955). The Rektor and Senate of Göttingen University resigned on 26 May 1955 in protest at the appointment of Leonhard Schlüter as Kultusminister for Niedersachsen. Schlüter's allegedly Neo-Nazi connections made him unsuitable, they felt, to hold such office. Schlüter himself resigned on 9 June.

expression in the proposal to establish University Councils at each institution. Though this latter recommendation met with resistance, the strengthening of university self-government 'sounded like music', as Der Spiegel (15.1.49) put it, in the ears of university representatives when the subject was debated at the Hamburg Conference in January 1949.

* * * * *

(ii) The University Councils

In retrospect Birley regarded the proposal to establish at each university a Hochschulrat and a Hochschulbeirat as the most important recommendation made by the Studienausschuß.⁵¹ The idea of setting up such councils goes back to the recommendations of the AUT delegation (discussed in Chapter Five). The delegates saw the proposed councils both as a buffer between university and state and as a means of contact between the university and the outside world. This dual purpose is given full expression in the Gutachten:

... the University Council must fulfil two different functions: (a) it should be a link between the university and the general public; (b) it should strengthen the autonomy of the university. It should mediate between the State and the teaching body.

The Gutachten proposes therefore the establishment of two bodies, each with a clearly defined function. The Hochschulbeirat, the Advisory Council, would provide the link between the university and the outside world, and the Hochschulrat would be 'a link between the autonomous university and the State'.

⁵¹ Interview of 23.7.79 in Somerton.

The questionnaire had produced evidence of substantial support for the introduction of a Hochschulrat, with some respondents preferring the institution of a Hochschulbeirat only:

Question II(2) Glauben Sie, daß es gut wäre, einen Hochschulrat für jede Hochschule einzusetzen?

Yes (also inferred):	37.12%	} 41.66%
Yes (Hochschulbeirat only):	4.54%	
No (also inferred):	15.90%	
No answer or equivocal response:	42.42%	

A related question from Section III of the questionnaire ('Hochschule und Gesellschaft') is also of interest, since it may be associated with the spirit behind the Hochschulbeirat. Question III(2) asked: 'Befürworten Sie ein engeres Zusammenwirken der Hochschulen mit den großen politischen, kirchlichen und wirtschaftlichen Organisationen?' The response was as follows:

Yes (also inferred):	40.90%
No (also inferred):	26.51%
No answer or equivocal response:	32.57%

There was then a general willingness among the respondents to develop associations with bodies quite independent of the universities themselves.

The AUT delegates had noted the merits of the Cologne Kuratorium; Dr Grosche was of course a member of that body, and it is referred to again in the Gutachten. One respondent in his questionnaire return saw the Kuratorium as an effectual Hochschulrat:

Das Kuratorium, das wir hier haben und zu dem erfreulicherweise auch die Gewerkschaften hinzugezogen sind, stellt schon den angeregten Hochschulrat dar (Prof. Bühler, Cologne).

Grosche had reported on the nature of the Kuratorium at the Commission's fourth meeting;⁵² its tasks were described as follows:

- (1) to determine the budget;
- (2) to run the financial administration of the university in accordance with the budget;
- (3) to decide on the appropriation of university land;
- (4) to appoint the University Secretary, the Quästor (Finance Officer) and other administrative officials;
- (5) to carry out other university business allotted to it;
- (6) to report and advise on the shape of university teaching.

The spirit of the Cologne Kuratorium was to be reflected in the Commission's final proposals.

The questionnaire responses ranged, inevitably, from the curtly dismissive to the enthusiastic. On the less enthusiastic side were, for example:

Hochschulrat wird durchaus abgelehnt (Prof. Ehrenberg, TH Munich)

es geht auch ohne (Evangelisch-Lutherische Landeskirche, Eutin)

Frage unverständlich (Vereinigung Liberaler Studenten, Marburg)

A suspicious and characteristically conservative response came from the scornful and vitriolic pen of Professor Rothacker:

Ein Hochschulrat ist leicht eine Schwatzbude, ein Spielplatz gefallsüchtiger Dilettanten. Wer das deutsche Hochschulleben und seine immanente Gesetzlichkeit nicht genauestens kennt, wer sich nicht hingebend mit der internationalen Vergleichung und Geschichte der Hochschulen... beschäftigt hat, schweigt besser. Ratschläge bedeutender Persönlichkeiten... sollen hochwillkommen sein... Weltoffenheit ist eine Tugend, die leider vielen Hochschullehrern abgeht. Sind unter diesen allerdings Persönlichkeiten von Rang maßgebend und nicht Majoritäten von Subalternen oder eine bestimmte Sorte von

52 WRK BG- Archiv (17:B11).

"Gschaftlhubern", so bleibt die Hochschule auch von sich aus gesund. Die Ratschläge "reiner" Politiker und ressentimentgeladener, neidischer kleiner Schulmeister sind nur zu oft ein Brechmittel. Außenseiter wirken günstigenfalls bei gutem Willen meist wie Elefanten im Glasladen.

Von Salis analysed the returns for the Commission's fifth meeting⁵³ and identified the widely differing interpretations respondents had put on the whole notion of the Hochschulrat. There were, for example, those who saw it primarily as a consultative council, while others regarded it as a kind of arbitration panel; yet others felt that it should be an administrative organ. The Commission was eventually to decide that the Hochschulrat would have both advisory and supervisory functions, together with the right of initiative, and that it would also be an administrative council.

The Hochschulrat question had been discussed at some length at the Commission's third meeting. Reimer's produced a paper⁵⁴ summarising the conclusions. Briefly, these were:

- (1) that the Hochschulrat should consist of a President plus 6, 8, or 10 honorary working members, the Rektor, and the Kultusminister;
- (2) that the Kultusminister should have no vote;
- (3) that there should be a Secretary, who would be a lawyer and would also have no vote;
- (4) that the President should be chosen on the recommendation of the Senate by the Kultusminister and that he could be re-elected;
- (5) that the remaining members would be chosen half by the Senate and half by the Kultusminister;
- (6) that the Council, chosen 'lediglich aufgrund ihrer Persönlichkeit', would serve for five years;
- (7) that the members could be members of the teaching body or of the state authority and that they could stand for re-election;
- (8) that decisions would be made by vote.

53 WRK BG-Archiv (19:B4-C5).

54 WRK BG-Archiv (17:A12).

This description, formulated at a very early stage in the Commission's work, remained substantially unchanged in the final recommendations, drafted by von Salis. The important changes were that the President should be appointed for life, that the Council should be elected one-third by the Advisory Council, one-third by the Senate and one-third by the Land government, and that a member of the university teaching staff should also be included. It was envisaged that there should be no fewer than three and no more than six honorary members, making a Hochschulrat of between seven and ten members inclusive.⁵⁵

The President 'should maintain an important and independent position comparable with that of a High Court Judge'. He should have free access to the Minister. The Council would be 'the chief organ in the self-government of the university'. The President would have a base in the university and his appointment would obviate the need for the State to appoint a Kurator.⁵⁶ The main administrative offices would be based in the President's Secretariat: 'The President and his Secretariat should guarantee continuity of self-government in the university' - an important consideration in view of the German practice of electing the Rektor for one year of office at a time. The State would retain its supervisory function but day-to-day administration would be beyond its competence once the new body was established.

The main power of the Hochschulrat would be in the realm of finance and in the making of teaching appointments. On the question of

55 Lindsay had suggested that about ten members would be right; he had also expressed doubts about the Rektor being the sole university representative on the Council. His views prevailed in the revised proposal.

56 Question IV(2) of the Commission's questionnaire had asked: 'Halten Sie einen Kurator für nötig?' The responses were as follows:

Yes (also inferred):	26.51%
No (also inferred):	31.06%
No answer or equivocal response:	42.42%

finance, it would be responsible for drawing up the final budget and 'funds granted by Parliament should be put at the disposal of the University Council in the form of a block grant'. This was a bold and radical departure from tradition, too bold for the Land authorities of the time to accept: von Salis considers in retrospect that it was this point alone which made the Commission's report unacceptable.⁵⁷ He remembers still the (inexact) parallel with the UGC's function (it must be recalled that Sir Walter Moberly, as Chairman of the UGC, had addressed the Commission at its fifth meeting) and regards the suggestion as coming principally from Lindsay.

On the question of appointments, the Commission recommended that the Faculties should keep their nomination rights, but that the Hochschulrat should then consider the nominations and either reject them or pass them on to the Ministry with their recommendations. In this particular area the Commission was treading warily, maintaining what it felt to be a strength of the traditional procedure while providing a democratic filtering process which would make it difficult for the State to reject the university's nominations.

The Hochschulbeirat, as an additional (rather than an alternative) body was another new recommendation. The idea of establishing two separate bodies emerged slowly at the fifth meeting, when von Salis realised that the dual function of a University Council could not easily be realised by one body. It was in fact Lindsay who proposed that two bodies be established, though he envisaged, unrealistically, that the Beirat would operate on a Land basis, having responsibility for all the universities in the Land.

57 'Unsere Vorschläge [sind] hauptsächlich an diesem Vorschlag gescheitert: die deutschen Landesregierungen wollten die Finanzen und das Budget der Hochschulen nicht aus ihren Händen geben.'
(Letter to me of 20.11.79.)

The Beirat would act as a link between the university and the public. It would include wide representation from non-political organisations (a strong feeling had emerged in the questionnaire returns and during the Commission's deliberations that party-political organisations should be excluded, despite the objections that would, it was felt, inevitably ensue). The Commission identified one important aim of the Beirat which would help to allay the criticisms levelled against the universities as 'ivory tower' institutions:

One aim would be to bring on to the Council those sections of the community which have habitually criticised the universities and reproached them for their exclusiveness or isolation from public life.

Different institutions would require different Councils, but the Commission recommended the inclusion of representatives from a wide range of bodies, among them the Churches, the Unions, the Chambers of Commerce, and academic professional associations. The City would be represented in the person of the Mayor, the university by the Rektor (who would take the chair), the Prorektor and the Deans of the Faculties, as well as by Dozenten, new-style 'professor-tutors', Assistenten and students. The Kultusminister would be invited to attend.

The main function of the Beirat would be to receive and comment on the University Council's annual report: it would make suggestions to the University Council 'in all matters concerning the university'.

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In terms of the Commission's brief to submit recommendations as to ways in which the universities' contribution to the 'development of a democratic society and education' might be increased, the recommendation to institute both Hochschulräte and Hochschulbeiräte was a crucial

contribution. The envisaged role for each of these bodies was fully in keeping with a policy of responsible democratic (self-) government, a policy which recognised the dangers of State control and sought to minimise them. Reimers recalls⁵⁸ that he felt at the time that the Hochschulbeirat would be accepted, but that the Hochschulrat might be problematic.

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(iii) The Teaching Body

We have seen - indeed, it is a Leitmotiv of reform discussion, that the German full professor, the Ordinarius, had power and status which caused him to be held in considerable awe by Nicht-Ordinarien, students, and public alike. Awe and respect are not of themselves undesirable, but they had helped to maintain the professoriate in a position of complacent and all-powerful superiority. Appointed for life, free to teach what they pleased, surrounded by Dozenten and Assistenten (whose subservience, if not sycophancy, was taken for granted since their future depended on what amounted to their professor's patronage) the professors were impregnable. Weizsäcker believes that at no time in its history had the German university been so dominated by the professors as in the years following the Second World War.⁵⁹ Previously the State had always loomed above them; now, however, people had an understandable horror of the State, and the professors reigned supreme. This meant that those proposing reforms faced an appalling dilemma: since the professoriate would effectively have the

⁵⁸ Interview of 2.6.79 in Hamburg.

⁵⁹ Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker: 'Universität und Gesellschaft', in: Wem nützt die Wissenschaft? (ed. 'Wissenschaft im Dialog') Munich 1981, pp. 87-8.

most powerful voice in any democratic decision-making within the universities it was unlikely that they would accept any proposals which would undermine their authority. As Weizsäcker puts it: 'Wer regiert, wünscht keine Änderungen, das ist normal.' The intransigence of the professoriate was to contribute to the initial failure of the Commission's report.

In my 1981 survey of opinion among surviving University Officers comment was requested on any particular problems created by the professors and the Dozenten. Peter Whitley says that the professors were 'almost by definition reactionary, and entrenched'. James Alldridge described the older professors as very reluctant to listen to any proposals for change or reform - 'a very few did'. 'Many were difficult,' says Harry Beckhough, 'set in their ways, unable to come to terms with the easier, more laissez-faire attitude of the West.' By 1948/9, he reports, there was considerable internal squabbling and in-fighting: 'They also resisted change and tried to keep out anything new.' Caroline Cunningham describes the practical difficulties the professoriate could create:

One outstanding difficulty was that the Faculties are autonomous, so that each Dean and indeed every professor was fighting for his own little empire. Much time was wasted by being asked to forward their particular interests. It was impossible to get them to co-ordinate their demands via the Dean. In order to spend more time with the students I opened a second office which professors were not supposed to enter, but I fought a losing battle. They just pushed the students aside.

She does not seem to have had happier experiences with the Dozenten:

They were a supine lot. Impossible to get them to express an opinion as they stood in fear and/or awe of their professors.

James Alldridge describes the Dozenten as

mostly very much welcoming new ideas, but such was the strict hierarchy in the German university system that many were afraid [for] their posts to show any open acceptance or agreement with such ideas as we suggested.

But the Dozenten on the whole provided more promising material, and it had been British policy to encourage them, Birley's Dozenten Scheme being one example. A dilemma would still exist for the Commission, since the professors were unlikely to accept developments which could pose threats to their position, but at least proposals vis-à-vis the Dozentschaft were not direct attacks on the professoriate.

It is perhaps not surprising in the circumstances that the section on Teaching Staff in the Gutachten should begin with a reassurance to the full professors:

According to German law, university professors on the establishment are officials with special rights. Their position should not be changed. The Commission desires particularly that the position of professor emeritus should be retained. This is in keeping with ancient tradition.

There is even a suggestion that the tenure of the full professors should be lengthened (by how much is not specified) since some professors were advanced in years at the time of their appointment. No changes (apart from those already proposed in connection with the institution of University Councils and a recommendation that outside reports on candidates, and minority reports, should be submitted to the Ministry) were proposed in the making of appointments. The advertising of vacant posts was rejected.

Snell, who drafted this part of the Gutachten, originally included two separate recommendations as follows:

Besonders wichtig ist die Sorge für den akademischen Nachwuchs [...]

Die Dozenten müssen eine möglichst unabhängige Stellung haben.

The spirit of these recommendations remains in the final version, which links an increase in the number of Diätendozenten with the introduction of new professor-tutors and tutor-lecturers, which measures would help further the cause of the 'akademischer Nachwuchs' in general, but the published recommendation lacks the direct impact of Snell's draft - It is quoted in the original German since the translated version is inadequate:

Durch vermehrte Einrichtung von Diätenstellen für habilitierte Dozenten und durch die Einstellung von Studiendozenten und Studienprofessoren ist einerseits die Förderung des akademischen Nachwuchses, andererseits die Intensivierung und der Ausbau des akademischen Unterrichts anzustreben.

The Dozenten were not then to get the special support they might have expected, despite the Commission's statement that they had 'devoted particular attention' to them. One commentator remarked after the publication of the Gutachten that the Privatdozent (a term which the Commission wanted to see abolished) was 'das Stiefkind des Reformplans'.⁶⁰

The proposal to establish two new kinds of teaching posts was in keeping with the Commission's view that universities had tended to neglect their pedagogic function. To a British observer the German tradition can only appear extraordinarily remote from what is regarded as a fundamental requirement of the function of university staff, namely that they should teach rather than simply lecture. The distinction may be contested by the German professor whose life's work goes into his lecture series. But it is a distinction which shows up a basic weakness in German practice. There had been traditionally very little close contact between the professor and his students: the tutorial was unknown, the small seminar rare. Even the largest faculties in redbrick universities in the UK could boast of personal contact, through teaching,

⁶⁰ Dr Hermann Bollnow in GUZ, 11.3.49.

between staff and students. In Oxford and Cambridge, of course, the one-to-one tutorial had been the base of the university's activity.

The lack of teaching content (in the British sense) in the universities of Germany has several causes, chief among them the sheer size of the institutions (a result of the Abitur granting automatic right of entry to university study) and the German tradition of academic freedom incorporated in the notions of Lehrfreiheit (the professor chooses what he teaches) and Forschung und Lehre (the professor is an active researcher in the field on which he lectures). These traditions were so strong in Germany that there was little hope of the Commission being able to propose changes in the job-specification of either professors or Privatdozenten. The Studienprofessoren and Studiendozenten represented a kind of compromise which was to find support among the student body and to be treated with scorn by the professoriate.

The probable career pattern of the new-style university teacher was described by the Commission in these terms:

He would usually spend the first two to four years as a departmental assistant. He would then apply to the Faculty through his professor for the post of tutor lecturer [Studiendozent]. Such a tutor lecturer would be a salaried but not established teacher. He would have to reckon with the possibility of leaving the university after three years and changing to another profession, but if he made good - that is, if he distinguished himself as a teacher - he would be permanently appointed by the university as an established teacher with the title of professor tutor [Studienprofessor].

The new staff would not have lower status, they could be berufen from one university to another, they might move on to other professions, they would be eligible for full professorships. Their duties would be as follows:

[They] would set the students on the first steps of their academic career by means of study groups. They would also conduct refresher courses and introductory tutorials. They would advise and assist students in assimilating the material offered by professors in their lectures. They would help the students in their studies generally and assess their performance. They would inform the professors about the ability of their pupils. [...] The tutors would be responsible in general for their students' work, and would draw up reports on scholarship and examination candidates.

The parallels with the normal functions of a British university lecturer were quickly noticed by those commenting on the Gutachten after its publication, but not always with approval, since it was argued that the British system depended on the close-knit academic community of the college for success: such conditions did not and could not (at that time) exist in Germany. Ludwig Raiser, though he felt that the Commission's reform proposals should be given a chance, was concerned that the introduction of the new-style posts would endanger

die Einheitlichkeit des von der Forscherpersönlichkeit nicht leicht zu lösenden wissenschaftlichen Unterrichts, und sie gefährdet zugleich die innere Einheit des Lehrkörpers, die die unerläßliche Voraussetzung für die Einheit der Universität als Institution bildet.⁶¹

Lindsay included this recommendation among what he considered to be the four most important to emerge from the Commission's work.⁶²

The Commission wished to broaden the base of the teaching body further by encouraging the appointment of experts from outside the universities with proven teaching and academic abilities: these would be people without the Habilitation (and therefore without the status of university lecturer). The Technische Hochschulen had been used to doing this, and it had proved successful:

61 Die Neue Zeitung (Munich) No.12, January 1949.

62 The Manchester Guardian, 8.12.48.

The governing principle is that the universities should obtain suitable teachers. They should not hold themselves aloof. They must keep in close touch with the academic professions, with industry and practical life generally. Hence candidates who may lack the status of university lecturer should be considered in appointment to professorships.

In summary, the Commission envisaged nine types of university teacher:

1. Full professors (Ordinarien)
2. Professors, established and 'extraordinary' (planmäßige Extraordinarien)
3. Professors, unestablished and 'extraordinary' (außerplanmäßige Extraordinarien)
4. Non-salaried professors (Honorarprofessoren)
5. Lecturers (Dozenten)
6. Professor Tutors (Studienprofessoren/Studiendozenten)
7. Assistant lecturers in foreign languages (Lektoren)
8. Part-time lecturers (Lehrbeauftragte)
9. Departmental assistants (Assistenten)

All but the last three categories would be included in the self-governing body of the university.

The general tenor of these proposals is in keeping with Lindsay's cherished belief in the wider educational (pedagogic) function of the university - a belief shared by another prime mover in British policy towards the German universities, Professor Dodds. There is, however, considerable caution in the recommendations, which are carefully formulated so as not to appear to be a direct attack on the research function of university staff. When Dodds in his Oxford inaugural lecture warned against the specialist forgetting the wider purpose of his studies he was reproached by Maurice Bowra, who said to him 'I see, Dodds, that you have decided to kill research'.⁶³ The German professoriate would have chorused the same response almost to a man.

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63 E. R. Dodds: Missing Persons, London 1977, p.127.

(iv) The Student Body

Section VI of the Commission's questionnaire (Studentenschaft) was the longest of the six parts. The responses susceptible to statistical analysis (again, given the inadequacy of the formulation of the questions) reveal some interesting views. So too does a question from Section IV (Hochschulverfassung), also concerned with the student body. It asked 'Soll die Beteiligung der Studentenschaft in der Hochschulverfassung zum Ausdruck kommen?' The response was as follows:

Yes (also inferred):	50.75%
No (also inferred):	5.30%
No answer or equivocal response:	43.93%

This clear support for recognised student participation in the running of the university (albeit expressed in general terms) seems quite remarkable for the time. One would look in vain for similar support in the late '40s in Britain.

Clear support emerged too for some form of practical work experience prior to or during university study:

Question VI(7): Halten Sie eine praktische Arbeit der Studenten vor dem Studium oder während der ersten Semester für wünschenswert?

Yes (also inferred):	51.51%
No (also inferred):	12.87%
No answer or equivocal response:	35.60%

Answers to this particular question were sometimes confused by the practice (noted in Chapter Three) of requiring students to help with reconstruction work for varying periods before admission. One response was passionate in its condemnation of student labour:

Es ist wirklich nicht schön zu sehen, wenn aus der Gefangenschaft zurückgekehrte, körperlich und geistig ausgehungerte junge Künstler nach langen Jahren furchtbarer Fron 6 Monate lang (vom 5. Mai bis zum 31. Oktober) als Steineschlepper und Speisträger schuften müssen. Wenn eine Gesellschaft die Schuldigen frei herumlaufen läßt, so hat sie nicht das Recht, die um ihre Jugend Betrogenen weiterhin zu demütigen

(Prof. Pankok, Kunstakademie Düsseldorf)

Many respondents qualified their support by insisting that such work would only be necessary in association with the study of certain subjects (medicine, for example). Others felt that, though a good idea in principle, it should not be compulsory.

Question VI(9) asked whether measures should be introduced to weed out students who had demonstrated lack of aptitude for their studies (Halten Sie irgendwelche Maßnahmen für nötig, um Ungeeignete während des Studiums auszuschalten?):

Yes (also inferred):	48.48%
No (also inferred):	18.93%
No answer or equivocal response:	32.57%

Those opposed to such measures being introduced usually wanted the Abitur to be a stiffer hurdle, or they feared the effects of Zwischenprüfungen on students' attitudes. One respondent saw in such moves a threat to academic freedom:

Zur akademischen Freiheit gehört auch das
Recht zum Verbummeln (Prof. Auwers, Clausthal)

Der Grundsatz der Lernfreiheit sollte... davor bewahren
vor den Hochschul-Prüfungen Studenten zu entfernen, die
trotz Maturitätsprüfung die Anforderungen der Hochschule
nicht entsprechen (Dr Bauer, Cologne)

Responses to Question VI(2) on the subject of a Numerus clausus (Halten Sie es für wünschenswert oder notwendig, daß der Zugang zur Hochschule beschränkt wird (numerus clausus)?) are difficult to analyse,

since the question was double-pronged (making answers of 'Yes' and 'No' difficult to categorise) and since the responses usually referred to the need, in the particular circumstances of 1948, to restrict entry, despite a natural repugnance to what was considered an alien practice in German universities. An attempt at statistical analysis reveals roughly one-third in each case responding positively or negatively or not answering/giving an unclear response. But so many shades of opinion were represented that the figures must be very unreliable.

Rothacker replied characteristically:

Der Numerus clausus ist das sicherste Mittel der jeweiligen Machthaber, sich ganze Jahrgänge zu Totfeinden zu machen. Es ist heute ein Verbrechen, 20jährig zu sein

Other important subjects covered in the questionnaire concerned provision for necessitous students, the position of women, and the organisation of student life outside the lecture hall.

Most of these questions found expression in the Commission's recommendations appended to the section on the study body, drafted by Grosche. The respective recommendations were:

1. On student representation: the student body should be 'integrated as an organic part of the university' and students should play a part in university self-government as well as in student welfare organisations.
2. On practical work experience: 'All students should obtain some practical experience connected with their profession either before or during their studies.'
3. On the question of filtering out unsuitable students nothing specific is said, but the Commission states clearly that the Abitur should continue to be the condition for entry, that its standard should be raised, and that other parallel means of entry should be explored (a foreshadow of the zweiter Bildungsweg).
4. On the Numerus clausus: 'The imposition of a numerus clausus could be justified only on the grounds of the shortage of facilities in the universities.'

5. On provision for necessitous students: free tuition at school and university is recommended; a comprehensive system of scholarships should be instituted.
6. On the position of women there is no specific recommendation, but the text refers to the subject in the following unequivocal terms:

The Commission wishes to call attention to the fact that the number of women students is remarkably low. [...] It is in the interests of the academic professions to increase the number of women students in the years to come. The Commission considers it an axiom that everything should be done to foster equality between men and women students. In principle every sphere of academic study should be open to women.

7. On the subject of student organisations there are no fewer than four separate recommendations: student centres should be established; there should be no restriction on students forming groups, corporations and societies; residential accommodation should be provided to further 'a genuine community life'; property belonging to the former corporations should if possible be regained for use in supporting student community life.

The emphasis given to this latter question probably stems from a meeting which Commission members had with student representatives on 3 August 1948 in Hamburg. During this meeting there was discussion on such issues as the Hochschulrat (which was supported), the effect on students of the currency reform, and the neglect of the university's wider educational (erzieherisch) role (it was pointed out by one representative that the old Verbindungen had at least been concerned with personality development....)⁶⁴ But the main discussion had centred on the need for student houses to be established at each university in the Zone, a subject about which the students present at the Hamburg meeting felt very strongly.

On the subject of practical work experience doubts had been expressed during the Commission's discussions. Reimers had produced a paper on 'Die praktische Arbeit der Studenten',⁶⁵ for the fifth meeting,

⁶⁴ WRK BG-Archiv (20:D14-E5).

⁶⁵ WRK BG-Archiv (20:C14-D3).

and had been only lukewarm in his recommendation that four months of practical work should be required before study commenced or during the first two years. Advantages of work experience were seen to be the student's 'sociological understanding' of the working population, an appreciation of the sense and value of manual work, ease of transition into manual occupations at a later date if the need should arise (students would be krisenfest, as Reimers puts it) and the possible value to students in their studies and later occupations. On the other hand such work would take up valuable months when students were most intellectually receptive, there would be a reaction against any sense of compulsion, exceptionally academic students might be held back, and the manual workers themselves might not take kindly to any formal arrangement requiring students to work alongside them. In the event the Commission's very general recommendation represents a reasoned compromise.

Among the minor changes between Grosche's original draft⁶⁶ and the published version may be noted the deletion of a recommendation which read:

Im Lehrbetrieb ist eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit der Durchführung der seminaristischen Methode zuzuwenden.

That this recommendation was dropped is a further indication of the Commission's reluctance to push proposals to the point where an almost automatic negative reaction would result: such a recommendation would be seen by the Ordinarien as an attack on the lectures which were and are the mainstay of their teaching. The spirit of Grosche's deleted recommendation was covered, however, in the arguments supporting the introduction of Studiendozenten and Studienprofessoren, since their role would necessitate teaching methods which would bring them into the close contact with students which the seminar approach encourages.

66 Grosche's various drafts are contained in BG-Archiv (25:A4-E11).

The main import of this section of the Gutachten is, however, the Commission's underlining of the fundamental principle that universities should be accessible to talented young people of all social backgrounds. Lindsay placed the Commission's recommendation on this point at the head of his 'top four' in his Manchester Guardian article of 8 December 1948, and, of course, it was a subject crucial to any proper treatment of the Commission's brief to look at what role the universities might play in a future democratic Germany. The recommendation appears in fact on the first page of the Report proper, as part of the Introduction:

... university education should be made much easier of access to those of insufficient means.

In the Studentenschaft section the point is made in these terms:

The Commission was unanimous that access to higher studies should not depend on wealth. The universities are for the gifted, not the moneyed. There must be provision from public funds to help parents of restricted means if they are not in a position to provide their children with the education befitting their talents. Such parents will by no means be merely those of working class origin. Both now and in the future they will also be of middle class origin and from academic circles.

A 'grants fund' was therefore recommended to assist such students, and elsewhere in the Gutachten a special education tax is suggested which would raise the necessary revenue. Later in the section the subject is touched on again, and the wider context is described:

Facilities must be found for workers' children to ensure that the way to college is open to all gifted students alike, irrespective of origin. The burden of providing such facilities should not fall upon the State alone, but Trade Unions, churches and associations should also be drawn in. A nation that is really democratic in the best sense of the word must foster ability through its own institutions. The co-operative principle must be continually stressed. From this especially, there may be evolved distinctive new ways of assisting the talented.

This was a subject about which the Commission members felt passionately: Lindsay in particular would have held the principle of equality of opportunity particularly dear. We have seen in Chapter Three, however, that even by 1953/4 the percentage of students of working-class origin was less than 5% of the total student body: the Commission's exhortations on this particular subject, fundamental to their conception of the future of university education in Germany, fell on depressingly stony ground.

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(v) Studium Generale

The term Studium generale, as Paulsen reminds us, was originally the designation for a university:

It was so called because, in contrast to the studium particulare or school for the town or province, the university aimed to be a school for the whole of Christendom regardless of national or geographical lines.⁶⁷

Hehlmann⁶⁸ dates the modern usage from about 1949, though it was clearly current in the educational debate long before then. In its modern sense Studium generale describes those courses of a general educational kind (allgemeinbildend) aimed at the non-specialist and with the purpose of providing a wider context to students' studies. The subjects of such courses are usually associated with philosophy, politics, psychology, and the social sciences generally, though other disciplines would not be excluded. A close British parallel would be the philosophy behind the Keele 'Foundation Year' and we shall see in a later section that Lindsay was particularly keen to encourage in Germany a development that

67 Friedrich Paulsen: The German Universities and University Study, London 1906, p.15.

68 Wilhelm Hehlmann: Wörterbuch der Pädagogik, Stuttgart 1971, p.536.

was to be fundamental to the concept of the new University College of North Staffordshire when it opened in 1950.

The notion of a Studium generale was particularly important in post-war reform discussions in Germany for two reasons: it provided one means of tackling the thorny problem of political education, and it helped to some extent to counteract the tendency of universities and individual faculties within them to become what amounted to specialist schools (Fachschulen). This latter tendency was criticised in both the AUT Report and the Blaues Gutachten.

The Commission's questionnaire contained several typically unscientific questions (the replies to which cannot be properly quantified) which explored the possibilities for some kind of more general education and give an indication of the Members' early thoughts on the subject:

- I(3) Wie kann einem Zerfall der Hochschule in Fachschulen und der damit drohenden Auflösung der Menschenbildung begegnet werden?
- I(8) Wie ist das Zusammenwirken von Lehre, Forschung und Leben über die Grenzen der einzelnen Fakultäten hinaus zu gewährleisten?
- III(3) Wie denken Sie sich die Erziehung der Studenten zur verantwortungsvollen Mitarbeit am Staat, an Volk und Menschheit?

Among the respondents' remarks may be quoted the following:

Es ist dafür zu sorgen, daß allgemeinbildende Vorlesungen historischer, geographischer, rechtsphilosophischer, literarischer, sprachlicher, wirtschaftswissenschaftlicher und metaphysischer Art so gehalten werden, daß die Studierenden sie neben den Fachvorlesungen in allen Semestern auch besuchen können. Es ist eine erhebliche vertiefte Allgemeinbildung zu erstreben. Die Kenntnisse dieser Art sind bei vielen Examenskandidaten nach meiner Erfahrung buchstäblich unter dem Nullpunkt.

(Justizrat Prof. Adenauer, Cologne).

Beim Staatsexamen müßten alle Studenten, insbesondere die der philosophischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät, sich durch eine Prüfung in der Philosophie über ihre Allgemeinbildung ausweisen

(Albertus-Magnus-Akademie für Philosophie und Theologie,
Walberberg)

Herabsetzung der Pflichtvorlesungen, wesentliche Verstärkung allgemeinbildender und allgemeinverständlicher Vorlesungen und Aussprachen....

(AStA, Clausthal)

Allgemeinbildung und wissenschaftliche Grundlage muß ... betont werden

(Bistum Aachen)

Professor Rellensmann of Clausthal proposed that there should be a compulsory introductory course in philosophy; Dr Eduard Brenner of Erlangen wanted to see Aufbauvorlesungen, one or two of which should be followed by every student throughout his studies and on which he would be examined:

Darüber hinaus müßten die Professoren die Fächer lehren, die allgemeinbildenden Wert haben, diese in einer Form darbieten, die den Studenten zur Verantwortlichkeit gegenüber Staat, Volk und Menschheit erzieht

The Christophorus-Gruppe der KSG in Bonn proposed something very similar to what the Commission eventually recommended:

Vor dem Fachstudium sollte ein 2-semesteriger allgemeinbildender Kursus eingelegt werden, aus dem heraus sich das Fachstudium aufbaut und der eine solche Substanzanreicherung durch kulturelle Werte gewährleistet, daß sowohl Interesse als auch Verständnis für solche Werte geweckt und erhalten werden

The Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund suggested an 'allgemeine Fakultät' which would enable the first Semesters of university study to be devoted to an introduction to scientific (wissenschaftlich) thought and work: there would also be lectures

die der allgemein-menschlichen Orientierung dienen, insbesondere Ethik, Soziologie und allgemeine geschichtliche Überblicke

Compulsion was often recommended - for example by the Evangelisch-Lutherische Landeskirche, Eutin:

ein grundlegendes Pflichtstudium aller Studierenden in
Religion, Philosophie, Psychologie

and by Dr Gneuss of the SPD in Lübeck:

stärkere Betonung allgemeinbildender Vorlesungen, die
für Hörer aller Fakultäten obligatorisch gemacht werden
müßten

Gneuss also proposed the setting up of compulsory courses in sociology

auf streng wissenschaftlicher Grundlage als Prüfungsfach
für Studierende aller Fakultäten

Professor von Hippel of Cologne proposed 'eine Art Propädeutik'

in welcher jeder Student in die weltanschaulichen
(Theologie, Philosophie, Moral), geschichtlichen
und rechtlichen Grundlagen der europäischen und
Menschheitskultur eingeführt und mit ihnen verbinden
würde

The Norddeutscher Hochschulring in Bonn also proposed an arrangement on
similar lines to that which the Commission was to recommend:

ein- bis zweisemestriges Studium allgemeiner
Bildungsfächer vor Beginn des Fachstudiums und
... Einführung eines Dies academicus für
allgemeine Vorlesungen

There was then a wide degree of support from widely differing
quarters for some kind of broadening of the content of university
courses, and the Commission's recommendations clearly took many of the
suggestions into account.

Despite the fact that the Commission was very much in favour of
some kind of more general education in the universities the subject
seems to have been included as a separate section of the Gutachten only
at the eleventh hour. When the drafting of various chapters was allotted
at the sixth meeting (31 August - 2 September) there was no mention of

a Studium generale section. Weizsäcker drafted a very brief (four paragraph) section,⁶⁹ and there is no surviving early version of the full text as it appears in the published version: the indication is that the Redaktionsausschuß (Reimers, Von Salis, Weizsäcker) realised the omission and put it right just in time. We must assume that the resulting section is the work of Weizsäcker.

The Commission expresses the view that the traditional Vorlesungen für Hörer aller Fakultäten no longer satisfied the needs of students:

a university should express in its corporate body the unity of knowledge and the unity of education. Students today feel strongly the need for a "general education".

'General education', which the Commission defines more precisely as 'a fuller and more thorough study of basic principles', would include such subjects as philosophy, sociology, history, economics and psychology:

Everybody must be socially conscious. Everybody must possess civic and political awareness. Everybody must possess psychological insight.

Teaching staff in the universities should put together a 'comprehensive programme of general education and basic sciences' which would be taught in the first two Semesters of university study, the 13th school year being absorbed into the university. The Commission gives no advice as to how the Studium generale should be organised (Lindsay, in particular, was against being prescriptive), but it mentions with approval recent developments in the broadening of the curriculum in the Medical Faculty at Göttingen and in the Technische Universität in

69 WRK BG-Archiv (45:F11).

Berlin, as well as more radical moves such as the linking of basic studies and student halls of residence at the Tübingen Collegium Leibnizianum.⁷⁰ Education for Citizenship, however, should be given special attention in the Commission's view. Proposed new Chairs in Social Studies and the Commission's envisaged expansion of the teaching body would help considerably with the staffing of Studium generale courses. Beyond the two Semesters of the Studium generale students would be expected to follow general lecture courses, especially in the third and fourth Semesters.

The Studium generale is included among the 'top four' recommendations, and it must be seen as one of the fundamental suggestions in the Gutachten - fundamental because it is a natural concomitant to the Commission's vision of the university as an outward looking, democratic, educative institution. Fundamental too because the criticism of the German university as an ivory tower inhabited by arid specialists with no connections with the real world had to be countered by realistic practical proposals. In the Introduction to the Gutachten we read:

70 On the subject of the Tübingen Collegium Leibnizianum see: Collegium Leibnizianum an der Universität Tübingen. Sein Sinn und seine Bestimmung (Ansprachen und Vorträge), Tübingen 1948 and Gerhard Krüger: Das Leibniz-Kolleg der Universität Tübingen, Tübingen 1949. The institution was opened on 5 February 1948; in his opening speech the Rektor, Theodor Steinbüchel said: 'Wir wollten eine zweisemestrige Schulung, die durchaus nicht ein letztes, aufgepropftes Schuljahr darstellen sollte; wir wollten ein eigenes Jahr, in dem wir dem Abiturienten Idee und Forderung der Universität näherbringen konnten, ein Jahr des Übergangs von der Schule zur Hochschule.' Romano Guardini, who was closely involved with the planning of the Kollegium, saw its foundation as a true contribution to university reform: 'Man spricht heute viel von Hochschulreform. Dabei denkt man, und mit Recht, vor allem an Probleme der Organisation und sozialen Ordnung. Die erschöpfen die Frage aber nicht. Die eigentliche Hochschulreform muß von innen hervorgehen, aus dem Wesen des Geistes und dem Kern des Menschen. Vielleicht bildet eine Unternehmung wie die des akademischen Bildungsjahres einen Ansatz, der tiefer greift als so manche Änderungen, die in der Öffentlichkeit diskutiert werden.'

The universities would be more alive to their lack of coordination with contemporary society if professors and students were in closer touch with practical life and if they had studied the nature of social life as part of their university discipline.

There too is the statement that

[The student] must be made as far as possible not only a useful specialist but also a useful human being.

and an emphasis on Lindsay's conviction that university activity is only justified 'in so far as it renders service to man'.

We must remember too that the Studium generale was envisaged as a means to counteract the totalitarian views instilled in German youth since 1933. At an Educational Conference organised by the Association of University Professors of Allied Countries in Great Britain in May 1943 the need for universities to 'insist on the foundation of an ideal which can be opposed to the totalitarian philosophy' was stressed, and Sir Richard Livingstone, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a prolific writer during the 1940s on all aspects of education, advocated an approach (in the allgemeinbildend sense) which would help in the move towards this 'ideal':

... every student in a University should attend lectures on the influence of science on civilisation, on religion and philosophy. "The University" [Sir Richard] said, "will not make its full contribution to society until all its graduates go into life aware of the problems of individual and social conduct".⁷¹

71 The Function of a University in a Modern Community, Oxford 1943, p. iv.

We shall see that there were to be various attempts to implement the Commission's notion of a Studium generale, in the spirit of Sir Richard Livingstone's suggestion, in several German universities.⁷²

* * * * *

(vi) The Technische and Pädagogische Hochschulen

The term Hochschule is of course generic: the Universität is a type of Hochschule. But to all intents and purposes it is only the Technische Hochschulen which had equivalent status to the Universitäten. The Technische Hochschulen have a long and prestigious tradition, most of them having been founded in the first half of the nineteenth century and all of them having been in some degree instrumental in contributing to the growth of Germany as an industrial nation. They have always had much in common with the universities, the overlapping features being listed in the Gutachten as follows:

1. They have the same type of constitution and organisation.
2. Research and teaching are closely associated.
3. The task of education in its specifically academic character is the same for both.
4. Both have the task of providing a sound professional education.

Despite the common ground, however, the parallel development of the Technische Hochschulen with the universities had resulted in divergence of interest and emphasis. This divergence was greatly deplored by C.H. Becker, the noted Prussian Education Minister of the Weimar years, in his famous essay Gedanken zur Hochschulreform:

72 For a recent discussion of the Studium generale in the post-war period see: Ullrich Schneider: 'Hochschulreform, Studium generale und das Collegium Academicum Heidelberg 1945-1952': in: Bildung und Erziehung, 36/1, March 1983. Cf. also Walther Killy: Studium Generale und Studentisches Gemeinschaftsleben, Berlin 1952, and Friedrich Tenbruck und Wilhelm Treue (eds.): Studium Generale (Bericht über zwei Weilburger Arbeitstagungen), n.d. (1952).

Die Abzweigung der Technischen Hochschulen war ein ungeheurer Fehler. Beide Hochschularten haben durch die Trennung rein materiell, d.h. in bezug auf ihre organisatorische Entwicklung, große Vorteile gehabt; sie sind äußerlich aufgeblüht, aber auf Kosten ihres geistigen Gehalts.⁷³

The universities, Becker felt, were guilty of regarding technology as less academic than their own spheres of interest; the Technische Hochschulen on the other hand could be criticised for specialising too much on the technical side, abandoning the fruitful influence of what he calls 'zwecklose Forschung'.

The Gutachten describes the differences largely in terms of the task, in the Technische Hochschulen, of professional training. There had been an 'over-emphasis' on the vocational character of the Technische Hochschulen:⁷⁴ they

have paid too little attention to the spiritual significance of their work. They have paid no regard to humanistic interests. In the end they came to lose all sense of the basic unity of knowledge which was self-evident to the great engineering generation of the 19th century.

There were, the Commission felt, three ways in which the specialist isolation of the Technische Hochschulen and their neglect of humanistic education could be countered. The existing Faculty of general science could be extended by the addition of disciplines furthering humanistic education: a new Faculty 'of a humanistic-sociological' kind could be added; the Technische Hochschulen could be incorporated as Technical Faculties in the universities.

73 C. H. Becker: Gedanken zur Hochschulreform, Leipzig 1919, pp.5-6.

74 As we have seen in Note 48 above there was a majority view among those expressing a preference in their returns to Question I(4) of the Commission's questionnaire that no further emphasis should be placed on the vocational element of university courses.

The third of these possibilities is rejected on the grounds of its impracticability and because the Technische Hochschulen had enjoyed a long and flourishing tradition of independence. The first possibility is also rejected as a half measure. The Gutachten comes down in favour of the second possibility, the addition of a new Faculty.

The kind of 'humanistic education' the Gutachten envisaged for the Technische Hochschulen had a lot of support. In October 1945 the first Conference of Rectors held at Göttingen revealed the stress they placed on a 'classical' education, particularly the Rectors of the Technische Hochschulen, who insisted that 'the classical secondary school provided perhaps the best preparation for technical specialisation'.⁷⁵ The Gutachten notes that members of the Commission were

deeply impressed by the fact that it was the representatives of the technical universities who laid most stress on the need for a preparatory humanistic education for their students.

These views were echoed - in connection with the universities - in the questionnaire return from the Landeskirchenamt, Wolfenbüttel:

Bei der Frage der Zulassung zum Studium sollten Abiturienten des humanistischen Gymnasiums bevorzugt werden - Damit würde dem Zerfall der Universität in Fachwissenschaften wirksam entgegengearbeitet.

And a further indication of the Commission's faith in humanistic education is to be found in their recommendation that

Every technical university should co-operate in experiments similar to that started at Aachen for giving gifted working class people who have completed their apprenticeship an opportunity to obtain the entrance certificate to the university by means of a three-year course in humanistic studies.

⁷⁵ As reported in BZR, 1/3, 27.10.45, p.9.

An early blueprint for a new concept of the Technische Hochschulen and their task was provided by the British Military Commander in Berlin during his speech on the occasion of the reopening of the Technische Universität:

... the old technical high school [sic] is dead. In its place there arises a new institution with new aims. The new technical university should teach you that all education, technical and humanistic, is universal. That is to say, it must embrace the whole of man, the whole personality, and its first aim is to produce a whole human being, capable of taking his place responsibly beside his fellows in a community.⁷⁶

There is a whiff of cant about that, but it is not far removed from Lindsay's vision of the task of a university in terms of service to man and development of social understanding.

The section of the Gutachten on Technische Hochschulen was drafted by Otto Gruber of Aachen, after Lindsay the oldest member of the Commission. Gruber was a widely respected architect, a specialist in building construction theory and in medieval architecture and author, among other things, of a little book Vom Rechten Bauen (1947) which had a philosophical breadth far beyond the limits of specialism. It was made available to Commission members. Gruber took his responsibilities as representative of the Technische Hochschulen very seriously, completing the Commission's questionnaire in his own name and taking care to write to the Rectors of all the Technische Hochschulen of the Zone on the subject of the Hochschulrat in the hope that his views would not stand in conflict to theirs.⁷⁷ In his questionnaire return⁷⁸ Gruber defines the aim of any reform measures in the Technische Hochschulen as

⁷⁶ BZR, 1/16, 27.4.46, p.16.

⁷⁷ Gruber's letter is preserved in the archives of the RWTH, Aachen (Ordner 1478-I-15).

⁷⁸ WRK BG-Archiv (36:F6-G5).

der Technik wieder jene sittlichen und im tiefsten Sinn religiösen Bindungen zu geben, ohne die sie rücksichtslos ihre zerstörenden Kräfte entfaltet.

'Allgemeinbildende geisteswissenschaftliche Fächer' should not simply be added to the programmes of students in the Technische Hochschulen but should be 'organically' integrated as compulsory subjects after the Vorexamen - 'und zwar stets unter dem Aspekt des akademisch-humanistisch gebildeten Ingenieurs'. Most important, however, would be the attitudes and abilities in this direction of the teaching staff. They must have the ability:

- (a) die Grenzen [ihres] Fachwissens zu sehen und die Studenten auf diese Grenzen lehrmäßig aufmerksam zu machen, jenseits deren andere nicht mehr ausschließlich rationale Kräfte zur Wirkung kommen, die aus dem Leben selbst wachsen.
- (b) In jedem Fach den Weg zu zeigen, der aus der Fachenge in die weiten Bereiche menschlicher Bindungen führt und [ihr] Fach an die abendländisch-christlichen und allgemein menschlichen Beziehungen anschließt.
- (c) Immer wieder auf die in diesen Bindungen liegende hohe Verantwortung des Ingenieurs als industriellen Führers hinzuweisen.

Gruber therefore advocated not only a reform of the teaching methods in Technische Hochschulen, but also what he terms the Umbesinnung of the teaching staff. This would be difficult to achieve, since the staff were usually recruited from among specialists with practical experience ('"nur" gute Fachleute!' as Gruber puts it). But the track record of the Technische Hochschulen in paying attention to courses with an allgemeinbildend content was on the whole good, certainly better than that of the universities. The Commission members had among them, it must be remembered, Professor von Salis of the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zürich whose breadth of scholarship within the context of a technical institution served as an example to both Technische Hochschulen and universities alike.

A crucial problem facing the Pädagogische Hochschulen was the question of whether (and if so, how) to integrate with the universities.⁷⁹ This was a consideration in the reform discussions which had been given a certain impetus by the declaration in Control Council Directive No.54 of June 1947, 'Basic Principles for the Democratisation of Education in Germany',⁸⁰ to the effect that

All teacher education should take place in a university or in a pedagogical institution of university rank.

The main reason for the inclusion of this particular directive - albeit a 'directive' without much force, since it was promulgated six months after the dereservation of education - was that teacher education in particular had suffered badly under National Socialism, the Nazis having capitalised on the influence the Volksschullehrer had over their pupils and in the local community - it was estimated that Volksschullehrer provided no fewer than 25% of all Nazi Party officials.⁸¹ Otherwise, particularly in the case of the British, the notion would appear to be another case of recommendation of a practice which had not yet been introduced in the Allied country or countries concerned. But, that aside, there was a good prima facie case for reform, if only to introduce some degree of standardisation of provision throughout the Western zones.

In 1948, apart from the emergency short courses to provide extra teachers in the Volksschulen, there were widely differing systems of teaching training in operation in Germany as a whole. In the British Zone there were mostly⁸² two-year courses in Pädagogische Hochschulen or

79 For a concise account of the issue of integration see Hans Stock: Integration der Lehrerausbildung in die Universität - Chance oder Niedergang? Göttingen 1979.

80 See Appendix VII for the full text of the Directive.

81 George Murray: 'The Training of Teachers', in The British in Germany (p.131).

82 In Hamburg exceptionally three-year courses in the Pädagogische Fakultät of the University had been introduced.

Pädagogische Akademien for students with the Reifezeugnis; in the French Zone training took place in the Lehrerbildungsanstalten providing six-year courses end-on to the Volksschule; the American Zone was moving towards three-year courses in Pädagogische Institute; and the Russians had in their zone university courses in Pädagogische Fakultäten. Drenckhahn pointed out in a background paper prepared for the fourth meeting of the Commission⁸³ that teacher education was uneinheitlich as never before, and he argued that a true university education was necessary for every aspiring Volksschullehrer. Why, he asks, should such teachers be denied the kind of opportunities in university education granted without question to those trained to take care of the health of cattle and sheep?

The Commission had explored the possibility of closer association between the universities and other types of Hochschule in Question I(6) of their questionnaire. They asked Halten Sie eine mehr oder minder enge Verbindung der Hochschulen mit pädagogischen Akademien, künstlerischen Hochschulen und Sozial-Akademien für wünschenswert? The returns indicated a clear preference for some kind of closer association between the institutions in question:

Yes (also inferred):	41.66%
No (also inferred): ⁸⁴	21.96%
No answer or equivocal response:	36.36%

The question did not mention, or even imply, integration, and so the Commission's recommendations may not be seen as flying in the face of opinion. Integration was not recommended in the final draft, written by Drenckhahn:

⁸³ WRK BG-Archiv (17G8-18A3).

⁸⁴ The 'No' responses include strongly held views on association with no integration.

At first the most obvious solution seemed to be to establish a teacher training Faculty. But this found no support because the unity and completeness of the training would suffer if it were fitted as a new and alien element into the university.

But the status of training institutions could be raised by 'mehr oder minder enge Verbindung', by their being 'expanded into independent university colleges' ('selbständige Pädagogische Hochschulen') affiliated to universities or Technische Hochschulen and - another reflection of the Commission's philosophy -

it should be borne in mind that all types of teacher training are inter-connected and have the same educational task, whatever may be the school grade for which the teacher is being trained.

In this last connection it was recommended that further investigation should be carried out by a committee of representatives from the universities and Pädagogische Hochschulen. By the middle of February discussions were in full swing; representatives from the eight Pädagogische Hochschulen of Niedersachsen, for example, were meeting for the first time to discuss the Commission's recommendations, which were unanimously welcomed.⁸⁵

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(vii) Adult Education

Foreign models provided some of the impetus for the early development of the adult education movement in Germany. University extension courses on British lines had been organised by German universities in the 1870s and '80s, though after about 1900 the universities tended to

85 Report in the Nordwest-Zeitung, 19.2.49.

distance themselves from such involvement. After the First World War the development of the Volkshochschulen (deriving in form from the renowned Danish Folkehøjskolen⁸⁶) proceeded rapidly as part of the programme of reconstruction. Robert Peers, in his comparative study of adult education, quotes one statement of the aims of the Volkshochschulen which indicates their divorce, indeed alienation, from the universities:

The Volkshochschule will help forward all those who, through knowledge, desire to penetrate to the problem of life which lie behind knowledge. The University (Gelehrten-Hochschule) transforms life into science; the Volkshochschule attempts to re-transform science into life.⁸⁷

But paradoxically, and as with the Workers' Educational Association in Britain, the Volkshochschule courses began to attract more attention from the middle classes than from the workers at whom they were aimed, and there was a consequent change of purpose in the movement. Peers defines four general purposes: education for self-realisation; education for community ends; education 'as an attempt to effect a synthesis between conflicting ideals'; and education to serve current practical needs.⁸⁸ After the Second World War adult education was seen as an area of education urgently in need of revivification as part of the general effort to re-educate and democratise in the wake of Nazi indoctrination.

86 The Folkehojskølen of Denmark date back to 1844 with the opening of the first one of its kind in the town of Rødding. See J.C. Møller and Katherine Watson: Education in Democracy: The Folk High Schools of Denmark, London 1944.

87 Robert Peers: Adult Education: A Comparative Study, London 1958, pp. 295-6.

88 Ibid., p. 297.

We have seen in Chapter Two that Dodds had a high degree of faith in the contribution the working class would make to the reconstruction of Germany. The British were conscious of the fact that the working population, deprived of access to the Volkshochschulen under National Socialism (most institutions had closed) and as cut off from the rest of the world as any other sectors of the population during the thirteen years of Nazi rule, was as keen to learn as those in their formative years. Early in 1946 the Control Commission had asked the British Ministry of Education to send three of His Majesty's Inspectors to Germany to report on adult education in the British Zone and in the British Sector of Berlin. As a result of their visit arrangements were made for German adult educationists to visit the UK and a reciprocal tour for British experts was organised in the summer of 1947. In the report that emerged from these visits⁸⁹ the relationship between the universities and adult education is touched upon and the mutual suspicion noted:

... it is not in the German tradition that [the universities] should be much concerned with popular education. There is even academic hostility to the idea as expressed by the professor who said: "Once you attempt to popularise an academic discipline you are lost to the academic tradition". And on the other hand, at present the adult educationist feels little confidence in, and some horror at, the idea of the typical University teacher or professor trying to enlighten the ordinary citizen.

While doubting that much could be done except in terms of those within the universities who were interested in adult education meeting together in conference, the report concludes:

If the universities could succeed in securing the confidence of the public as exponents of objective, non-partisan knowledge and culture, they might do much to break down the sectionalism that characterises so much of German life and culture.

89 Report on Free Adult Education in the British Zone of Germany and the British Sector of Berlin, London, October 1947 (Copy in Lindsay Archive, University of Keele, L225).

Birley, in his introductory remarks at the first meeting of the Studienausschuß had specifically mentioned the uneasy relationship between the working population and the universities:

Seiner Auffassung nach sei eine Feindseligkeit der Arbeiterschaft gegen die Universität vorhanden, die auf Mißverständnissen beruhe und eine Reflektion der Unfähigkeit der Universität sei, sich einer veränderten Welt anzupassen.⁹⁰

Everling insisted in replying that there had never ^{been} the 'Feindseligkeit' of which Birley spoke, but rather bitterness at having been for the most part excluded from university study. But whatever the cause for the uneasy and uncertain relationship the theme of adult education was to be widely discussed by the Commission, including as it did three members, Everling, Theunert, and Lindsay, to whom the subject was very important.

The recommendations in the Gutachten, based on drafts by Theunert, do not, however, propose any radical developments. Encouragement should be given to experiments in the area of 'liberal social education', extra-mural lectures would be welcomed, refresher courses for graduates should be organised, courses for adults should be organised as a function of a university's social research department, and the Sozialakademien should provide access to the university (much in the way that Ruskin College, Oxford, does) for their gifted students.

We shall return to the subject of adult education when considering Lindsay's role in the Commission. As with the subject of teacher education, the issues raised in the Gutachten were to be followed up by conferences early in 1949.

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(viii) Relations with Other Countries

It was Lindsay's idea to include a section in the Gutachten on Beziehungen zum Ausland. It would have been eccentric not to include something on the subject in view of the importance it had assumed since the very early days of university reconstruction after the war. The section as it eventually appeared was drafted by Katharina Petersen.

Professor Petersen pays tribute to the British Military Government, the Foreign Office, and GER for the early resumption of relations between the universities of the two countries in the form of sponsored visits. The style and philosophy of the Commission is evident in her statement that

One task of the lecturers in the German universities is to awaken and maintain among their students the awareness that science [Wissenschaft] is universal and knows no boundaries of nation, race or creed

and in her hope that

Now that Germany is shattered and impoverished, it must attach a double importance to its university teachers receiving not only a thorough scientific training, but also a broad and free education as human beings, so that they may be capable of passing on enlightened and unprejudiced views.

Exchanges and international conferences should be encouraged and one person in each university should be appointed by the Senate to ensure that such activity is maintained and properly organised. She concludes with the Commission's view that developments to date had been 'very promising'.

It is perhaps in the field of international contact and understanding that the work of the Western Allies in Germany lives on to this

day. By giving formal recognition to its importance the Commission was ensuring that this vital aspect of reconstruction would not be forgotten when the need for it was no longer so obviously apparent.

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(ix) Frauenstudium

The position of women in German universities had always been precarious. It was not until 1871 that the Universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg permitted a few Hörerinnen to attend lectures; the first girls allowed to do so took the Abitur in March 1896; and in 1900 the Land of Baden issued a decree enabling women to matriculate in its universities. Freiburg had five women students in the Winter Semester of 1899/1900 and counts as the first German university to admit women as full students. When the universities of Prussia decided to follow suit in 1908 women had achieved the right to study at all the universities of Germany.⁹¹ There were 80 women students enrolled by 1905; by 1910 the figure had risen to 1,867, and at the outbreak of the First World War the number was 4,126,⁹² a little over 6% of the total student body. Thereafter (their rights being enshrined in the Weimar constitution) the actual percentage of women students increased steadily, reaching a peak of 18.8 in the Winter Semester of 1931/2 and remaining at 18.5 in the Winter Semester of 1932/3.⁹³ Women were not officially admitted to the Dozentur until 1918. Between 1908 and 1933 10,595 gained the doctorate; 54 of them became Dozenten and only 24 achieved the title of Professor.⁹⁴

91 See Kristine von Soden and Gaby Zipfel (eds.): 70 Jahre Frauenstudium. Frauen in der Wissenschaft, Cologne 1979.

92 Figures quoted in Richard J. Evans: The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1933, London/Beverly Hills 1976, p.20.

93 Tables in von Soden and Zipfel, op. cit., p.39 et seq.

94 Ibid., p.25.

Under the Nazis an early law (1933) restricted the number of women students to 10% of the quota of students for each Land, but in fact the 1934 figures show 12.5%, and the law was rescinded in 1935.⁹⁵ Thereafter the numbers of women students showed a steady increase until in the Winter Semester of 1943/4, with the absence of so many men on war service, virtual parity was achieved between the sexes (men: 28,914; women: 28,378).⁹⁶ (See the bar graph on p.325 for the relevant figures from 1932 to 1944).

In the post-war period the number of women in academic posts was remarkably small. Katharina Petersen had asked Reimers to secure from each university and Technische Hochschule figures relating to the number of women students in each faculty and the number of women on the teaching staff. The returns showed the following situation:

Universities in the British Zone Winter Semester 1947/48

Number of women employed as Professors, Dozentinnen,
wissenschaftliche Assistentinnen, Lehrbeauftragte, etc.:

Bonn	5
Cologne	21
Göttingen	31
Hamburg	23
Kiel	22
Münster	Figures not given

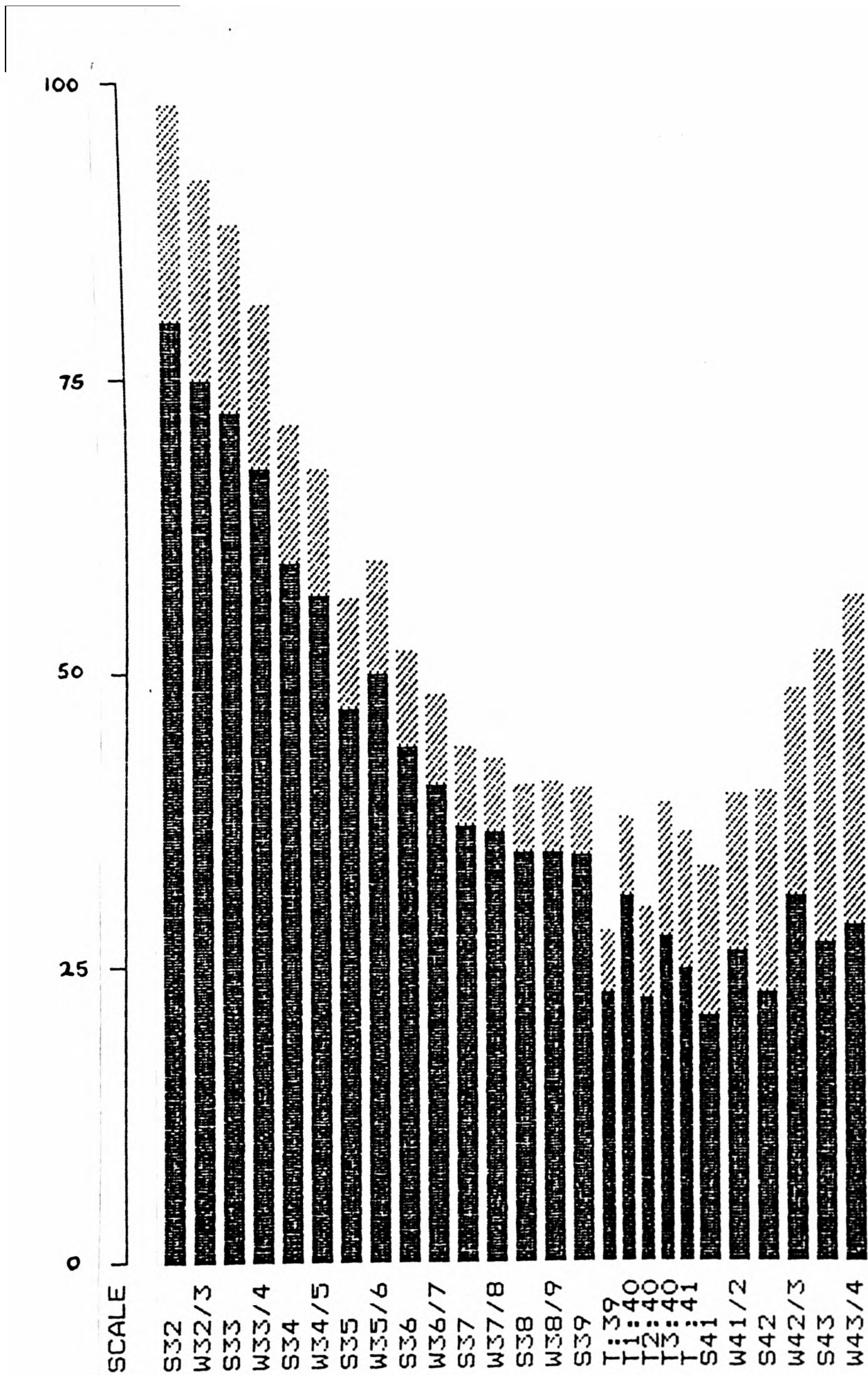
(Statistics supplied by the individual institutions
in response to questions in a letter from Dr Reimers)

Figures for the Technische Hochschulen were virtually insignificant (Hannover: 2; Braunschweig: 8; Aachen 9 - and these figures include six students employed as Hilfskräfte and one Sportlehrerin). There were

95 Jill Stephenson: Women in Nazi Society, London 1975

96 Statistisches Handbuch von Deutschland 1925-1944, Munich 1949.

The population of German Universities. (000's)
 Men: ■ Women: ▨



S : - Summer semester
 W : - Winter semester
 T : - Trimester

at this stage no women ordentliche Professoren in the British Zone. Similarly there were very few women students enrolled in the Technische Hochschulen: Hannover: 35 out of a total student body of 1,313 (2.66%); Braunschweig: 142 out of 1,390 (10.21%); Aachen: 43 out of 1,171 (3.67%). (The higher figure for Braunschweig is probably explained by the fact that it had a naturwissenschaftlich-philosophische Fakultät, Hannover and Aachen having no philosophy faculty as such.) The numbers of women enrolled in the six universities of the Zone were as follows:

Universities in the British Zone

Winter Semester 1947/48

Number of women students enrolled:

Bonn:	1,394	(30.21%)
Cologne:	797	(22.11%)
Göttingen	1,027	(19.15%)
Hamburg:	1,255	(24.28%)
Kiel:	593	(19.45%)
Münster:	997	(26.46%)

In a study of women and access to university in France and Germany Michèle Tournier defines three images of women which may be identified among society's attitudes at any given time.⁹⁷ They are: (a) conservative ('woman is defined in relation to a higher authority'); (b) evolving ('woman is considered a complete human being with the concomitant freedom, but her particular biology endows her with a special psychology and destiny.... "Woman is equal and different"'); (c) progressive ('woman is conceived as an autonomous being... she has the right to be herself with her own characteristics').

The responses to Question VI.8 of the Commission's questionnaire (Halten Sie eine Förderung und Sicherung des Frauenstudiums für nötig?)

97 Michèle Tournier: 'Women and Access to University in France and Germany (1861-1967)', Comparative Education, 9/3, October 1973.

reveal attitudes among the respondents which coincide with each of Tournier's categories. On the 'conservative' side we may quote the following:

Strengste objektive Auslese ist... ratsam! (Universität ist kein Heiratsinstitut) (Bavaria-Bonn)

Das Frauenstudium bedarf... eher einer Eindämmung, da schon allzu viele Mädchen bürgerlicher Kreise zum Studium drängen ohne ernstliches wissenschaftliches oder pädagogisches und berufliches Interesse, nur um einer unverbindlichen, zumeist schönggeistigen 'Bildung' willen

(Prof. Grundmann, Münster)

Vielleicht noch strengere Siebung und Auswahl als bei den Männern notwendig. Es gibt auch heute nicht ganz wenige Studentinnen, die mehr oder weniger offen erklären, sie studierten 'mal nur so' und würden im übrigen möglichst bald heiraten und abschwanken - dies unter dem Zeichen einer geradezu tragischen Zulassungsnot!

(Prof. Kranz, Heidelberg)

Frauen nicht mehr als 30% (Prof. Hoepke, Heidelberg)

Es sind genügend Studentinnen bereits da (die hübschen, häuslichen usw., die im allgemeinen bald weggeheiratet werden, müßten eigentlich höhere Gebühren bezahlen, da die für sie verausgabten Staatsgelder verschleudert sind!) Viel zu viel Studentinnen machen nur darum das Abitur und studieren, weil das heute 'Mode' ist. (Prof. Rothacker, Bonn)⁹⁸

In der Fakultät für Maschinenwesen spielt das Frauenstudium keine Rolle (TH Hannover)

Several respondents whose remarks were conservative in nature actually answered 'yes' to the question posed, and proceeded to qualify their answers in such a way as to indicate that they actually meant 'no'.

98 Rothacker goes on to propose the setting up of 'hervorragende Frauenhochschulen' with the emphasis more on 'bildende' than 'gelehrte Studien' - a notion more in line with Nazi ideology. Dr Franz Thierfelder, freelance author, also reminds us of the Nazi policy against Doppelverdienertum when he proposes that one condition should be imposed on women 'aus volkspolitischen Gründen', namely that when they marry a salaried man they should give up their own profession.

In Tournier's second 'evolving' category we may place the following responses:

Das Frauenstudium ist in den Fächern zu fördern, für die die Frau besondere Eignung aufweist (Bistum Aachen)

Nur bei den Geisteswissenschaften und zu Frauenberufen (AStA, Clausthal)

nach Maßgabe der Eignung in späteren Berufen, also relativ höher in der philosophischen Fakultät als in anderen Fakultäten
Prof. Hess, Heidelberg)

In speziell weiblichen Befufen... (Ripuar-Görres, Bonn)

Some 27.27% of respondents replied affirmatively and enthusiastically:

Ja. Der Antifeminismus steht an deutschen Universitäten schon wieder in höchster Blüte (Dr Behnke, Münster)

der immer noch sehr verbreiteten feindseligen Einstellung gegen das Frauenstudium [muß] begegnet werden (Prof. Wassermann, Clausthal)

Eine Zurücksetzung der Studentin darf in keinem Falle erfolgen (Prof. Coing, Frankfurt)

eine Selbstverständlichkeit (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)

Der Einwand, daß viele Frauen später nicht befufstätig werden, erscheint mir bildungspolitisch haltlos (Prof. Gadamer, Frankfurt)

So lange es noch grundsätzliche Gegner des Frauenstudiums gibt, ja (Prof. Mulert, Kiel)

The question itself, like others in the Commission's questionnaire, was inadequate. Many respondents who replied 'no' (in which category we may place 31.06% of the responses) did so because they considered the positive discrimination implicit in the word Förderung to be inappropriate; Sicherung, on the other hand, was justified in order to counter the undoubted prejudice which existed in some quarters:

Nein. Gute Kräfte haben volle Entfaltungsmöglichkeit (Dr Borchert, Clausthal)

Für eine Förderung des Frauenstudiums kann keinerlei Grund erblickt werden (Prof. Hock, Clausthal)

Besondere Maßnahmen... sind... m.E. unnötig (Prof. Klauser, Bonn)

Keine Förderung, aber Sicherung (KD St.V. Novesia in der KSG Bonn)

Generell ist es nicht zu fördern (Prof. Ehrenberg, TH München)

A meeting held in August between six members of the Commission and representatives of women's organisations in Germany (including the well-known figure of Oberschulrätin Dr Beckmann of Hamburg) discussed this particular question and concluded that though both Sicherung and Förderung were necessary there should nevertheless be no differentiation in the treatment of men and women students, except insofar as single-sex halls of residence should be available, as well as mixed halls.⁹⁹ (On co-education generally the women present were against mixed schools for pupils aged 12-16, otherwise they were in favour.) Most of the discussion was taken up with more general considerations, however, particularly the question of a propaedeutic year and that of the university's task to educate (in the sense of Erziehung) and especially to educate the 'political man' (den politischen Menschen).

On the same day the noted and eccentric British Germanist, Professor E.M. Butler of Cambridge, addressed the Commission at its sixth plenary meeting on the subject of the position of women in British universities and took part in a lengthy discussion on Frauenstudium that followed.¹⁰⁰ Bias was seen to exist mainly in respect to the problems of large numbers of men applicants who had had their studies interrupted by the war and who were given precedence over women, though there was also some more deep-seated antagonism (Drenckhahn mentioned Rothacker in particular). The most striking feature of the discussion is the complacency with which the subject was treated: Elsie

99 Meeting of 7.8.48. Report in BG-Archiv, 15:F13-G1.

100 Verbatim report contained in BG-Archiv 24:E14-F3.

Butler played a fairly passive role, mainly asking questions, and Drenckhahn took the lead in describing the position of women vis-à-vis education in Germany generally. Despite the clear evidence that women, particularly as university teachers, were severely under-represented, no real concern was expressed and no proposals were made for the future. The following exchange indicates the tone of the discussion:

Butler:	Wie weit kommen sie als Dozenten?
Drenckhahn:	Es ist durchaus alles möglich.
Butler:	Werden sie zu diesen Stellungen berufen?
Drenckhahn:	Sie machen denselben Weg, den die Männer gehen. Sie ist Privatdozentin, Extra-Ordinarius oder auch Ordinarius. Zum Beispiel: Emmi Suter, vor 1933 Extra-Ordinarius in Mathematik; Mathilde Ferding für Pädagogik in Jena.
Lindsay:	Wir haben aber keine Dozentinnen gesehen.
Von Salis:	Bei dem Empfang in Hamburg waren fünf anwesend...

Katharina Petersen, who was not present at this meeting, had prepared a paper on Frauenstudium which analysed the information given in response to the questions she had formulated. She concluded that the numbers of women students did not correspond either to the numbers of women students wishing to study or to the role which women had to play in the life of the nation: she saw a European dimension to the problem and felt it to concern not simply a one-sided furtherance of women's interests but also the interests of everybody. Such a view might easily have translated itself into recommendations for the improvement of the position of both women students and teaching staff. It is curious that in the event Professor Petersen allowed the complacency of the meeting to develop into total abandonment of the theme as far as the Commission's final report was concerned. The Gutachten contains no special section on the subject, nor is it treated at length in the

parts of the report dealing with staff and students.¹⁰¹ Asked why the subject was not dealt with in the final report Reimers has said that it was not a problem: in the view of the Commission it was a matter of course ('Das war für uns eigentlich selbstverständlich').¹⁰²

* * * * *

It remains to mention that separate sections of the Gutachten on 'Senate and Faculty' and on 'Finance' largely give effect to measures whose import is covered elsewhere. There is also a section on examinations which proposes the setting-up of a special commission to draw up proposals for the reform of academic examinations. Provision should also be made to allow students at Pädagogische Hochschulen and similar institutions to take the doctorate at Hochschulen with the Promotionsrecht. Independent academic observers should be present during examinations and examinations following particular courses should be conducted by the teaching staff who have taught those courses. The doctorate, which had fallen into disrepute, should have its academic value re-established in those Faculties 'whose teaching is fundamentally based on scientific research'.

The Schlußwort of the Gutachten expresses the view that the Commission's aim was not to alleviate current zeitbedingt problems, but to suggest 'fundamental guiding principles for the future'. 'These will need much time', the Report says in a prophetic phrase, 'to be

101 In the section on Teaching Staff there is a statement and accompanying recommendation to the effect that men and women should be treated equally as far as university appointments were concerned, the sole criterion being merit. Concern expressed in the Section on the Student Body has already been noted above.

102 Interview of 2.6.79 in Hamburg.

translated into reality'. And it is emphasised, because not to do so would not have been politic, that the 'utmost attention' was paid to tradition. And in case the philosophical message was not clear enough it is reiterated:

As we see it, the task of the universities is to seek truth and serve mankind; undoubtedly each university belongs to a nation, but it has to accept and carry out tasks which go beyond national boundaries. Pre-occupation with the universal is rightly termed "philosophical". In this sense every science is philosophical. A branch of learning which does not aim at the universal and is therefore not philosophical has, in our view, no rightful place in a university. This conception is one of the dominant concepts in our report. We believe that it is precisely in the universities that set patterns must be avoided. All that can be done there is to prepare the ground so that a free and healthy growth may flourish.

Finally, the Commission members congratulate themselves on having produced a unanimous report, the more remarkable in view of its varied composition:

The fact that we have been able to reach unanimous decisions may prove that the proposals which we make do not need to be artificially invented, but rise logically from the changes in political and economic life of the last decades, by which the universities have been affected no less than the rest of society.

The full recommendations of the Commission are listed in Appendix XIII in the original German. They are given in full in their English translation in Appendix XII, which contains the complete English translation of the Gutachten in facsimile. It did not escape the notice of the commentators that the recommendations number 95 in all, but no attempt was made to assess the significance of the coincidental parallel with Luther's 95 theses nailed to the church door in Wittenberg; had it been Heidelberg the omens might have been more susceptible to interpretation!

6. The Influence of Lord Lindsay¹⁰³

Lindsay's¹⁰⁴ inclusion in the Commission was inspired in many respects. His wide experience in university and public life,¹⁰⁵ and his passion for causes singled him out as a natural representative on the British side. Isaiah Berlin has said of him:

I thought him wrong-headed in some ways but a great public figure - a man of the most unusual moral and psychological power - who had perhaps missed his vocation in being a philosopher at Oxford when he might have been an unforgettable statesman of the highest order and Gladstonian moral significance. What I felt then, and feel now, is that if some enormous injustice were committed in England, as it were a Dreyfus case, and a voice were needed to command immense moral authority, he had such a one and perhaps nobody else in my time did.¹⁰⁶

Maurice Bowra saw him in a similar light:

Lindsay's redeeming virtue, which could not be praised too highly, was that he could rise to big occasions as almost nobody else in Oxford could.¹⁰⁷

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- 103 Some of this material has appeared in David Phillips: 'Lindsay and the German Universities: an Oxford contribution to the post-war reform debate', Oxford Review of Education, 6/1, 1980.
- 104 For information on Lindsay's life and work I have relied heavily on three books: Drusilla Scott: A.D. Lindsay. A Biography (Oxford 1971); W.B. Gallie: A New University. A.D. Lindsay and the Keele Experiment (London 1960) and Sir James Mountford: Keele. An Historical Critique (London 1972). Indispensable for an understanding of Lindsay's place in the history of university relations between Oxford and Germany is Harald Husemann: 'Ein Jahrhundert deutsch-englischer Universitätsbeziehungen' (IZEBF, Heft 9, 1978), a shorter version of which ('Anglo-German Relations in Higher Education') has appeared in The British in Germany.
- 105 In particular his experience as Vice-Chancellor in 1935-38 and his close involvement with reform proposals and other developments in Oxford (notably his support for the introduction of 'Modern Greats', his proposals to the 1922 Commission, his interest in the development of the natural sciences in the University, and his involvement in the founding of Nuffield College).
- 106 Quoted in H.W. Carless Davis: A History of Balliol College (Revised by R.H.C. Davis and Richard Hunt), Oxford 1963, p.266.
- 107 C.M. Bowra: Memories 1898-1939, London 1966, p.345. There have also been less generous views: Anthony Powell describes Lindsay as 'an ambitious politician' whom he found 'unsympathetic as a theorist and a man' (Infants of the Spring, London 1976, p.149).

When he received the invitation Lindsay was at first inclined to refuse, as we have seen, but his decision to accept reflected his wish to 'do something for Germany'. 'Germany is the central problem', he is reported as saying to Amy Buller, 'if I could make some contribution there I would do anything'.¹⁰⁸

Lindsay's part in the Commission's work has been both over- and underestimated. On the British side he has often been wrongly described as its chairman,¹⁰⁹ the Commission's report being referred to as the 'Lindsay Report'; on the German side his influence has been regarded as smaller than that of Weizsäcker and von Salis. The historian of Keele University senses Lindsay's influence:

In reading some parts of the Report one has an odd feeling that they are almost "pure Lindsay". How far he himself had injected his ideas into the Commission it is now impossible to say.¹¹⁰

Since the papers of the Commission survive, however, it is possible through the various minutes, papers and drafts to assess Lindsay's contribution more exactly. We have seen in Section 5 above that Lindsay often intervened to provide ideas which led to some important recommendations and made a considerable impact on the thinking of his fellow Commission members. He did not attend the first meeting of the Commission in Hamburg on 21 April, but thereafter made the strenuous and uncomfortable journey on every necessary occasion, flying from Northolt and trusting himself to the notorious vagaries of the transport arrangements of the Zone for his travels within Germany.

¹⁰⁸ Drusilla Scott, op. cit., p.296.

¹⁰⁹ In Christopher Hill's DNB article on Lindsay, for example. The error is traceable to as far back as a Foreign Office letter of 21.9.48 (PRO: FO371-2181).

¹¹⁰ Sir James Mountford, op. cit., pp. 137-8.

In the minutes of the second meeting, held a week later, Lindsay figures prominently. He proposed that Sir Walter Moberly should be invited to give evidence; so too should Sir Ernest Barker, who had recently been a visiting professor in Cologne. He then went on to talk about Keele (the minutes speak of '[die] Einrichtung einer neuen experimentellen Universität (z.B. Herstellung von Porzellan'!) and about the English university system. Since 1944, he said, there had been a rush for university places; problems of staffing and accommodation had led to concern about the maintenance of standards:

Seiner Meinung nach gebe es zwei Möglichkeiten: entweder würden die alten Examina in der bisherigen Form aufrechterhalten, wodurch eine nicht unbeachtliche Zahl von Studenten das Universitätsziel nicht erreichen würden, oder aber es würden verschiedenartige Institutionen wie in Amerika eingerichtet. Für die letztere Auffassung setze er sich ein.

Als besonderes Problem betrachte er die Frage, wie Forschung und Lehre kombiniert werden sollten. So sei seiner Meinung nach Oxford zwar die beste Universität der Welt, was das Lehren anbetrifft, doch trete ihre Bedeutung hinsichtlich der Forschung zurück.¹¹¹

He talked about the founding of Nuffield College (whose 'laboratory' was to be the 'das gesamte Volk') and outlined the importance of establishing contact between academics and those in practical life in order for work of mutual importance to be done:

Dieses sei in Oxford durchgeführt worden und werde jetzt von allen Universitäten in England befolgt.¹¹²

Thus at this early meeting of the Commission, which seems to have been dominated by Lindsay, several of the ideas with which he is associated were floated: his concept of a new type of university, exemplified in the Keele proposals; his desire to open up the universities to students from a broader range of backgrounds; his wish to

111 Protokoll, 2. Sitzung (WRK BG-Archiv: 16:D1-2).

112 WRK BG-Archiv (16:D2).

maintain strong links between the university and society; and his interest in the relationship between teaching and research (being himself generally scornful of the importance attached to research in university work¹¹³).

The third meeting took place in Rüdesheim in May. By this time Reimers was having considerable practical trouble with the British authorities, and Lindsay brought his influence to bear to make sure that more co-operation was achieved.

At this meeting he associated himself completely with the view that university questions were a matter for the universities, and that there should be no interference from the occupying power:

Die Auffassung der modernen Universität [sei] eigentlich eine deutsche Idee, und es [wäre] ihm ein schauerlicher Gedanke, wenn Engländer, Franzosen und Amerikaner den Deutschen Unterricht über Fragen der Universität geben würden; er sei vielmehr der Auffassung, daß die Deutschen in der Lage sein sollten, der neuen Universität eine neue Aufgabe zu geben.¹¹⁴

He then raised what he regarded as a fundamental question for the Commission: What needs does the community have, and who should have a university education in order that such needs should be fulfilled? The universities, he said, only had a right to exist if the community needed them; and he went on to emphasise that nobody should restrict himself to his own specialist field - instead there was a duty to develop a knowledge and understanding of man and society. This was of course another passion of Lindsay's, here re-emphasised at an early

113 Christopher Hill has described Lindsay's position in these terms: 'He sometimes expressed his hatred of narrow specialisation as a dislike of research, which he regarded as a form of self-indulgence tolerable only if subordinated to the requirements of teaching.' (DNB).

114 WRK BG-Archiv (16:D6).

stage of the Commission's deliberations and soon to find full expression in the Keele experiment. The same point emerged in a discussion about Lehrfreiheit in the fourth meeting, held in Bad Rothenfelde in June:

Lord Lindsay wies darauf hin, daß auch der Lehrer, der ganz ehrlich sei, oft recht einseitig sein könne und daß es erforderlich wäre, daß die Lehrer mit allen Schichten der Bevölkerung in Berührung kämen, um einer solchen Gefahr der Einseitigkeit zu begegnen.¹¹⁵

Further Lindsay themes emerged at the same meeting. In connection with a suggestion that the idea of the university is only properly justified if equal importance is attached both to the 'artes liberales' and the 'artes serviles', and to both education and training, Lindsay underlined the importance of the natural sciences but reiterated his view that the university's task was not simply to produce a society of specialists; in addition it should awaken social understanding. The university must encourage democratic processes in society and involve itself with all levels of the population: consequently it must take over responsibility for adult education. Lindsay had been concerned with adult education since his work as a WEA and university extension tutor dating from the early years of the century, and he had been following in a Balliol tradition handed down from Jowett and particularly reinforced, in Lindsay's case, by his predecessor as Master, A.L. Smith. Problems of adult education (of particular interest to the Commission's trades union representative) loomed large in the Commission's work.

For the fifth meeting Lindsay had produced a paper on 'The Sociological Background of the Modern University Problem'.¹¹⁶ Here

¹¹⁵ WRK BG-Archiv (17:C3).

¹¹⁶ The original English text of this paper survives (WRK BG-Archiv 20: A12-B8).

he argued that two important changes had affected the functions of the university: the technical revolution brought about by the advancement of science, and the social revolution brought about by the progress of democracy. The material progress of society depended both on the standard of scientific research and on its successful permeation into the economic structure:

The spirit of scientific research, its readiness continually to attack new problems, must inspire all classes in the community if that community is to keep a high place in the modern world.

[...]

What matters is that the discoveries of the real originators at the top should get down as quickly as possible through all the various grades of the hierarchy to the workmen at the bench - and that the whole society should be permeated by the spirit to ask whether what has been thought cannot be thought better and what has been done be done better. The whole of this process - not just its very top grades - seems to me to be directly or indirectly the concern of the University on its natural science side. How direct that concern ought to be with all the various grades is a matter of experience and practice, but in principle "adult education" is an instrument like others more ordinarily thought of as part of University work by which the University realises the service of the scientific University to the nation.

In connection with the growth of democracy he argued that 'a country can only be democratic if all its men and women can be active citizens. They can only be that if... social awareness is spread through the whole population'. Lindsay here identified three implications for the universities: (1) all students should be given a general education (this was another favourite theme of Lindsay's, and one which emerged in the Commission's proposal for the institution of a Studium generale and in the Keele Foundation Year); (2) the 'common social life' of students must be provided for: 'Democratic behaviour is learned by living in democratic groups and getting used to democratic responsibility'; (3) 'The University has to see that the knowledge and the culture necessary for self-government is spread right

through the population and therefore liberal and political general adult education is a concern of the University, as much a necessary instrument of a University in a modern democracy as the spreading of scientific knowledge.'

In the discussion which followed the presentation of this paper Lindsay emphasised his fear that specialist scientific (wissenschaftlich) research in the universities was isolating them from ordinary life and from the needs of society. He was also concerned about the university's adopted role in educating certain classes of society to rule, but objections were made here to any suggestion that universities should not exist to train elites. As Dr Grosche, the representative of the Catholic Church, put it:

Daß diese Elite aus dem ganzen Volke herkommt, ist eine andere Frage. Das Ziel muß sein, diese Elite auszubilden.¹¹⁷

Lindsay later said that he regarded the view that 'we are an elite and we are here to educate and train a new elite' as 'evil and sinful'.

But the debate focussed on the fact that the specific problems associated with German universities were a case in themselves - they were related to global problems of the kind Lindsay had outlined in his paper but, it was felt, proposals from the Commission would have to relate more closely to the German situation:

Aber, zum Teufel, warum kann man in Deutschland nicht auch einmal etwas nachahmen, was andere haben. Sie müssen bitte nicht denken, daß alle Engländer so denken wie ich, ich bin durchaus ein Ketzer. Aber wie alle Ketzer halte ich dafür, daß ich recht habe.¹¹⁸

117 WRK BG-Archiv (20:A2).

118 WRK BG-Archiv (20:A4). Berta Humphrey (formerly Hochberger) remembers Lindsay telling her not to keep objecting 'das geht nicht in Deutschland!'. (Interview of 14.11.81 in Cambridge.)

He begged the Commission not to imagine that he was in any way representing the position either of Britain or of the United States, but he wanted to see reform in a wider perspective:

Zweimal ist Deutschland führend gewesen für die Universitäten der ganzen Welt. Wäre es nicht eine unendliche Genugtuung und erregend, wenn Deutschland ein drittes Mal diese Führung übernehmen würde.¹¹⁹

He wanted to be clear about the direction in which reform should go:

Was wir wollen, ist eine wirkliche Gemeinschaft, wirklich menschliche Beziehungen der ganzen Gesellschaft untereinander und es ist ebenso wichtig und auch möglich, daß diese Gesellschaft menschliche Beziehungen in der Universität einführt.¹²⁰

If this point is seen as the most important, he continued, then things will develop by themselves.

For the sixth meeting Lindsay drafted a new and extended version of the paper, now intended as an introduction to the final report. He concluded with five ways in which the universities might contribute to the solution of the political problems of the time:

- (1) by making sure, by means of a grant system, that students from all social classes should have access to university education;
- (2) by giving students a general, as well as a specialist, education, so that they all have a general understanding of their culture;
- (3) by ensuring that the teaching is fired by the spirit of informed discussion characteristic of the best practices of academic research;
- (4) by educating students in practical democracy in having regard to their common social and cultural life;
- (5) by spreading its teaching to the whole community, particularly by taking responsibility for the 'liberal, general political education' of adults.

119 WRK BG-Archiv (20:A4).

120 WRK BG-Archiv (20:A9).

Although Lindsay's paper was not, even in its new form, adopted as the introduction to the final report, the ideas it developed were embodied in the recommendations; they are outlined at the very beginning of the Report:

In practical terms the Commission made unanimously the following proposals:

1. That university education should be made much easier of access to those of insufficient means.
2. That relations should be improved between the universities and all sections of society, and that this could best be brought about by setting up a University Council.

[.....]

4. That a genuine "education" should be fostered, and that the unity of culture should be emphasised by means of a "studium generale".

In addition, among the recommendations relating to the first, introductory, section of the Gutachten appear the following:

- (7) A self-reliant and responsible community life should be encouraged among the students;
- (11) Special attention should be paid to adult education.

Separate chapters in the Gutachten, as we have seen, were devoted to Studium generale, adult education, and, following a suggestion made by Lindsay at the fifth meeting, 'Relations of the Universities with other Countries'.

Lindsay's educational philosophy, which had reached its definitive form at the time of the Commission's work, was the result of many influences and experiences. The concept of the Scottish university with its long democratic tradition played a strong part, so too did the Balliol traditions of, as Lindsay put it 'preparing the governing class to play its part in a classless society', ¹²¹ and furthering the

¹²¹ 'He claimed, and perhaps at times believed, that he was continuing the work of Jowett and providing the world with trained men able to face its problems, but he did not share Jowett's belief in success for its own sake, or emulate his cult of the famous' (Bowra, op. cit., p.345).

cause of adult education; his committed socialism and christianity were equally important, particularly in defining his moral stance on educational issues;¹²² vital too was his belief in teaching: he is described by Christopher Hill as having earned a great reputation at Balliol before 1922 (when he left to become Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow) as 'a tutor who forced even the most reluctant to think for themselves'.¹²³

At Keele in 1951 he admitted to being influenced in most of his ideas about university education by Ortega y Gasset.¹²⁴ Ortega's Mission of the University had been made available to members of the German Commission and Lindsay had quoted it on more than one occasion. Central to Ortega's idea of the university is the importance of culture, 'the system of vital ideas which the age has attained. This is the basic function of the university. This is what the university must be, above all else'. His spirited support of a more general base to university education (not in the sense of half-hearted sops to the notion of 'general culture', which Ortega dismisses as an absurd term, but in the sense of the mediaeval university's study of 'the system of ideas, concerning the world and humanity, which the man of that time possessed') is developed in practical terms:

122 'His central thought... is that to understand any human activity fully in the intellectual sense, we must also in some degree appreciate them [sic] in the moral sense - that is, respond to them, feel their point and purpose, their virtue, be drawn to think and act in defence of them when they are faced with difficulties' (Gallie, op. cit., pp. 30-31).

123 DNB.

124 Gallie, op. cit., p.101.

The man who does not possess the concept of physics (not the science of physics proper, but the vital idea of the world which it has created), and the concept afforded by history and by biology, and the scheme of speculative philosophy, is not an educated man. Unless he should happen to be endowed with exceptional qualities, it is extremely unlikely that such a man will be, in the fullest sense, a good doctor, a good judge, or a good technical expert.

W. B. Gallie¹²⁶ adduces four reasons for Lindsay's rejection of what he calls the 'Manchester view' of university education (i.e. a view that insists, historically, on the primacy of research): (1) it does not further the development of those 'intellectual motives and interests' essential for 'the service of Church and State'; (2) Lindsay had little time for the specialist, tout court; (3) he was no respecter of academic subjects simply because they had traditionally existed as such; and (4) he argued that in practical terms the nation needed not specialists but people with 'an informed sense of moral and political responsibility'.

The German university had built up its strong reputation on the basis of its research. The Humboldtian conception of the university envisaged research as the main duty of the university teacher, but the university was there to promote what Humboldt called the marriage of objective science (objektive Wissenschaft) and subjective (cultural) education (subjektive Bildung):¹²⁷ Humboldt the Neo-Humanist did not intend the kind of specialist emphasis which encouraged the Fachidioten, the narrow 'specialist idiots' whose presence in the universities stifled the initiative of both students and non-professorial staff. His conception of education was much broader - and more unifying. Lindsay,

125 Ortega y Gasset: Mission of the University, London 1946, p.46.

126 Op. cit., pp. 73-77.

127 Wilhelm von Humboldt: 'Über die innere und äußere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin', Werke (Stuttgart 1964) Vol. IV p.255.

though he would have distrusted Humboldt's insistence on the central importance of research (and have pointed out that Humboldt's state examination measures¹²⁸ had resulted in too many constraints on the breadth of university study), had a high opinion of the concept of the university which Humboldt had developed and which had led to the growth in reputation of the German university in the nineteenth century. Lindsay addressed himself to the problem of the boundaries of Lehrfreiheit in a paper for the sixth meeting of the University Commission.¹²⁹ Here he foresaw difficulties in being certain that those appointed to professorships were fit to teach objectively, but after an appointment had been made what the teacher then taught must be a matter between him and his conscience and not a cause for interference from the State.

The section of the Gutachten on 'Freedom of Research and Teaching' is quoted in full by Lady Scott¹³⁰ as a passage which reflects Lindsay's thinking. This particular section was in fact drafted by Dr Beckmann, but it includes reworked material prepared by Lindsay and clearly encompasses the points which Lindsay had made and which formed the basis of a lengthy discussion among the Commission members. It is clear too that Lindsay had a hand in formulating the content of the important introductory sections of the Gutachten.

In addition to his work in drafting discussion papers for the Commission Lindsay played a full part in the official visits arranged to universities and other institutions, and in discussions with representatives of various groups. At a meeting with student

128 Lindsay had expressed his criticism of the German Staatsexamen at an early meeting of the Commission.

129 'Die Grenzen der Lehrfreiheit.' The original English text is not available.

130 Op. cit., pp. 301-2.

representatives he emphasised the need for student hostels to be established, since only then would a healthy development of the student body be possible. Communal residence was important to Lindsay and almost unknown in the context of German universities. At Keele the principle of 'total residence' was to be pursued with great vigour as an essential part of Lindsay's idea of a modern university.¹³¹

During a visit to the University of Kiel in August we find Lindsay firmly defending the suggestion to establish University Councils. Rather than hindering the university's autonomy a University Council would actually strengthen it, he argued, and he recalled that the establishment of the Court of Glasgow University provided the secret of the lively relationship there between the public and the university. The University Council, with its representatives from outside the university, would provide the best means of standing up to the state: if either the university or the state went against the Council's wishes they would ipso facto be going against the public's wishes and must face the consequences. In July he had spoken with the Rektor and other staff of the Technische Hochschule in Braunschweig and had impressed them with his exposition of English and Scottish models of university organisation. He had also visited Göttingen, and taken part in lengthy discussions with Senator Landahl of Hamburg and others in special meetings.

After the Commission had completed its work and the Gutachten had been published Lindsay was invited to attend meetings in Hamburg on adult education at which ways of implementing the proposals were discussed. Bad health prevented his attending on more than one

¹³¹ See Gallie, op. cit., pp. 93-5.

occasion (in May 1949). At that meeting (attended also by Ernest Green, General Secretary of the WEA, and other British representatives from the WEA, the co-operative and trades union movements) Lindsay emphasised¹³² that the 'absolute isolation' of the German universities had resulted in a wide division between the workers and the universities and a mutual distrust which would have to be overcome. Co-operation between the universities and the trades unions and co-operative movements would perhaps provide a solution, as it had in the British experience. If Lindsay had been in better health and not so actively involved in the plans for Keele at that time there is no doubt that he would have played a practical part in furthering the cause of adult education in Germany far beyond his work on the Commission.

Lindsay afterwards felt that the experience of serving on the University Commission had been stimulating and instructive: he added (modestly, since his contribution in this area had been enormous):

We in this country, I at least, have the vaguest ideas of how "the mission" of the universities should be defined. I know something of the difficulties facing the existing ones, and I have my ideas of the things which have to be done in society which only the universities can do. But with that empirical attitude I am ordinarily content, unless something makes it impossible.¹³³

He went on to list the - to him - most important conclusions as (1) that the aim of the university is the pursuit of truth through research and

¹³² 'Protokoll über die Konferenz betr. Fragen der Erwachsenenbildung', Hamburg, 18.5.49 (Lindsay Archive, University of Keele, L225).

¹³³ 'The Commission on German Universities', Universities Quarterly, November 1949, 4/1, p.82.

teaching in the service of man (Lindsay's emphasis);¹³⁴ (2) that a University Council and an Advisory Council should be established at each university; (3) that a Studium generale should be introduced;¹³⁵ (4) that the university's emphasis should be more on teaching ('Lehre und Forschung rather than Forschung und Lehre'). And he could not resist firing a final salvo at research:

... if I had to choose between the American university system with its great variety and its frequent lapses from any standard, and the German with its exclusive occupation with a high standard in research, I should choose the former.¹³⁶

His contribution had been exceptional: the minutes of the various meetings show clearly that he often dominated the proceedings. At the final meeting Everling turned to him first and thanked him for contributing from his wide experience: without it always being noticeable, he added, Lindsay knew how to influence things 'in a good sense'. Professor Gruber of Aachen said that Lindsay had taught the Commission members the best of the spirit of the British university and strengthened them with his ideals and convictions; he remembered too that Lindsay had brought a wide range of English experts to Germany to give evidence.

¹³⁴ Much had been made of this phrase at the sixth meeting, when Lindsay spoke passionately in its defence (it had originated in a paper by Beckmann): he regarded 'the service of man' ('der Dienst an Menschen') as the quintessential task of the university. His contribution to the discussion of this question is taken over almost verbatim in the Report: 'We dissociate ourselves from those conceptions which put, not man, but research in the foremost place. We believe that university activity is justified only in so far as it renders service to man. This service is not restricted to the student who is to be taught, but extends directly or indirectly to the whole people.'

¹³⁵ As with the Keele proposals Lindsay was anxious not to be prescriptive about the content of the Studium generale, believing that it would not be right to give sharply defined guidelines for the year.

¹³⁶ Lindsay, loc. cit., p. 88.

Professor von Salis described him as 'unser bildendes Gewissen'.¹³⁷ Lindsay himself, in an anecdotal final speech, said how much fun he had had, and it is clear that he had been in his element; 'He was the kind of man', it has been said,¹³⁸ 'who needed the big occasion, at least the live occasion, and a real audience, no matter how small an audience, to enable him to give of his best'.

When Birley wrote to thank him he said that Everling had described him as indispensable; Birley added: 'I consider that my securing your help was about the best thing I have done since I came to Germany.' Though Lindsay must not be seen in any respect as an instrument of the Military Government it is clear that his influence on the Commission was profound, and that something of his educational philosophy survived to influence the subsequent development of university education in Germany. His contribution has perhaps best been summed up by Robert Birley:

... as one of the members [of the Commission] said, he made an agreed report possible, or, as another put it, he constantly acted as "our catalyst". As important was the effect of his experience, judgement, and hopefulness on the universities which he visited. No one who was then in the education branch of the Control Commission will forget how encouraging it was that one of the most distinguished and busiest figures in British education should have decided to help us in this way, or how inspiring were the talks we had with him about our work in Germany.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ In his Memoirs von Salis says that in Lindsay he had met 'den geistigen Typus der britischen Labour-Bewegung... Er bezeichnete sich gern als "Franziskaner", denn für sein soziales Denken waren evangelische Botschaft und Sozialismus ein und dasselbe' (J. R. von Salis: Grenzüberschreitungen - ein Lebensbericht zweiter Teil 1939-1978, Zürich 1978, p.327.

¹³⁸ Gallie, op. cit., p. 19.

¹³⁹ The Times, 19.3.52.

7. The Publication of the Gutachten

When the Gutachten appeared the inside of the front cover contained, printed in a rectangular box, the curious admonition:

Als Handschrift gedruckt
Nachdruck, auch im Auszug, verboten.

This warning - remarkable in view of the importance of publicising the Commission's views - did much to hinder the immediate dissemination of the Gutachten's contents.¹⁴⁰ The Commission decided at its eighth and final meeting to add the warning to the first roneoed bound copies, a necessary precaution prior to publication. Its inclusion in the printed version seems to have been an error on the part of the printers, the Printing and Stationery Service of the Control Commission. Robert Harcourt, Staff Officer in the Educational Adviser's Department, wrote a note to Reimers in February 1949 saying:

I hope that you have been able to make it quite clear to all enquirers that the "Verbot" on the cover of the German version is a complete mistake.¹⁴¹

But it had been taken seriously. Karl Jaspers wrote to Reimers from Basel in the same month saying that he intended to produce a revised edition of his important book Die Idee der Universität (long out of print) and intimating that he could only deal with the Gutachten if he could quote extensively from it.¹⁴² Reimers of course confirmed that the warning was a mistake.

¹⁴⁰ Dr Jürgen Fischer feels that much of the propaganda potential of the Report was lost by the inclusion of the warning (Interview of 19.12.78 in Bonn).

¹⁴¹ Note dated 15.2.49, WRK: BG-Archiv (14:E12).

¹⁴² Letter of 9.2.49, WRK: BG-Archiv (32:C9).

There was also considerable concern that few people seemed to be aware that the Gutachten was on sale in bookshops. Reimers wrote in March 1949 to all universities and Technische Hochschulen in the three Western zones to ask them to advertise its availability. To add to the problems, the editorial staff of Die Welt had been informing enquirers¹⁴³ that the Gutachten had only appeared 'im Manuskriptdruck' and could therefore not be ordered. Von Salis reported in June that little attention had been paid to the Gutachten in Switzerland since the warning note had caused it to be treated as a more or less confidential document.¹⁴⁴ The suppliers, the Kommissionsbuchhandlung Erich Vogel of Bielefeld, did all they could to correct the mistaken impressions and, through a specially printed fly-sheet, to advertise the Gutachten's availability ('Die Schrift ist... nicht nur für Dozenten und Studenten von Bedeutung, sondern auch für alle Lehrer und Eltern und jeden, dem das geistige Leben unseres Volkes am Herzen liegt',¹⁴⁵).

Another aspect of the Gutachten's actual publication is worthy of note. We have already seen that when the Studienausschuß was set up Birley had the model of a British Royal Commission very much in mind (and the AUT delegation had used the term in proposing an international educational commission). It is interesting that the Gutachten when it appeared was bound in blue covers (which, of course, has caused it to be known as the Blaues Gutachten): the English translation, produced by the Foreign Office, looks exactly like the 'Blue Books' which contain the recommendations of Royal Commissions.

143 Harry Beckhough had brought this information to light, WRK BG-Archiv (10:A13).

144 Letter to Everling of 4.6.49, WRK BG-Archiv (4:G12).

145 WRK BG-Archiv (10:A14).

A cynical view of Royal Commissions and similar reporting bodies says that when a government does not know the answer to a given problem it can simultaneously buy time and give the impression that something is happening by appointing experts to report on it. By the time their report appears public interest in the issue will have diminished and in any case more time is bought during a protracted period during which the report's findings are considered. With luck a change of government will set the whole process back to square one.

It would be unfair to accuse Birley, and through him General Robertson and the British Government of the time, of such tactics. Despite the fact that little could be done after the dereservation of education, and even less after the establishment of the Federal Republic, there was a genuine belief that it was possible for the German universities to be reformed and that any reform would have to be initiated by the Germans themselves. The AUT Report had been a mistake: negative criticism could have little effect - a blueprint for the future was necessary and preferably one that would command the respect of those most closely concerned by virtue of its coming from an impeccable source. Despite the criticism the Studienausschuß was brilliantly constituted to satisfy the whims and prejudices of most observers. Their report is a remarkable balance between criticism and encouragement, and it deserved, and to some extent still deserves, to be taken seriously as a major reform document. Its immediate impact will be assessed in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Report's Reception

Several people have come to me and said "do please tell your Herr Vater that if these proposals are just submitted for the consideration of the Universities, the Professors will build a solid front of reaction and fight tooth and nail to have them turned down. And they will succeed!" ¹

If only we had followed that report we might have saved ourselves many hectares of broken glass. ²

Following the completion of the Gutachten a press conference was called in Hamburg on 30 November 1948. Everling described the Commission's work and expressed the view that the best service those present could do would be to encourage a wide discussion of the Gutachten in the pages of their journals and newspapers. The first question, perhaps significantly, that Everling was asked concerned the status of the two foreign members,³ but it is unclear whether his statement about their full participation was reassuring or discomfiting to the questioner.

Thereafter widespread reports began to appear in the press.⁴ There is no doubt that the publication of the Gutachten attracted enormous

1 Note to Lindsay from his son (written from Wilton Park). Lindsay Archive, University of Keele, L221.

2 Remark attributed by Robert Birley to Professor Hellmut Becker, formerly Director of the Max Planck Institut für Bildungsforschung in Berlin (The British in Germany, ed. Arthur Hearnden, London 1978, p.58, and interview of 23.7.79 in Somerton).

3 WRK BG-Archiv (26:D1).

4 A large number of press reports were collected by the Commission's secretariat and bound in roneoed form for the members under the title Kritische Äußerungen zum "Gutachten zur Hochschulreform"; copies are preserved in the Library of the Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz in Bonn.

interest, and the press reaction was almost exclusively favourable:

Ein klassisches Dokument der Erziehungswissenschaft...
ein Markstein der Kulturpolitik... [eine helle] Freude....
(Die Welt, 9.12.48)

Das ausgezeichnet geschriebene Gutachten....
(Die Zeit 27.1.49)

Das Gutachten... ist mehr als eine beachtliche und
erfreuliche Diskussionsgrundlage
(Münchener Feuilletondienst, No.6, 28.1.49)

Das Gutachten bildet für die notwendig gewordene Reform...
eine ausgezeichnete Grundlage (Lübecker Nachrichten, 8.3.49)

Diese 95 Thesen können für die Zukunft der deutschen
Wissenschaft und damit für Deutschland ebenso bedeutungsvoll
werden wie die 95 Thesen Luthers (Hamburger Abendblatt, 12.1.49)

Ein Plan von eminenter Bedeutung... der vielleicht bedeutendste
positive Beitrag zur geistigen Renovation
(Deutsche Volkszeitung, 8.1.49)

The Times Educational Supplement of 11.12.48 saw the publication of the Gutachten as an indication of the importance attached by the British occupation authorities to the future role of the universities in Germany. The British Zone Review of 20.12.48 described the Commission's proposals as both practical and revolutionary. The Manchester Guardian of 8.12.48 felt that the Gutachten 'may be an important event in German history if its recommendations are acted upon'. The Times, in an otherwise factual report (of 18.12.48) was constrained to use the word 'revolutionary' in connection with the proposals to establish university councils and provide a block grant. We shall return to examine further press comment.

Reports in the press were given added impetus when the Rektoren and the Kultusminister met in the town hall in Hamburg on 13 January 1949 to discuss the Gutachten and the whole question of university reform with members of the Commission. This important top level gathering was widely reported and seen generally as an earnest of intent.

Senator Landahl was to have chaired the meeting but had fallen ill. His place was taken by Adolf Grimme, now resigned from his post as Kultusminister in Niedersachsen and based in Hamburg as Director of Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk. The meeting was first addressed by Bürgermeister Brauer of Hamburg, who immediately launched into criticism of the proposals to appoint Presidents of the Hochschulrat 'for life' and to provide block grants. On the first issue he pointed out that lack of democracy could only be put right by more democracy; on the second he regarded the word global, in connection with the financing of universities, as 'eine kleine Atombombe' wrapped up in the Gutachten: it could encourage irresponsible decisions. Nor did he approve of the proposal to raise revenue through the imposition of a new tax.

With this inauspicious opening, coupled with Grimme's announcement of Birley's imminent departure for Eton, the Conference began its deliberations. Grimme took pains, however, to make clear the historic nature of the gathering:

Er glaube, daß der heutige Tag in die Geschichte der gesamten deutschen Kulturpolitik eingehe.⁵

The Conference would not be able to make decisions; rather, an exchange of opinion was needed, and the Gutachten could then be discussed by the various Kultusminister in conference and by the Konferenz der Hochschulprofessoren. Grimme put forward four themes from the Gutachten for discussion:

Reform of the teaching body and examinations;
Studium generale;

5 The minutes of the Conference, 'Niederschrift über die Tagung der Kultusminister mit den Rektoren der Hochschulen in Hamburg am 13.1.1949', are available in the Lindsay Archive, L221.

Hochschulbeirat and Hochschulrat;

Senate and Faculty.

Time did not permit discussion of the last theme.

Weizsäcker introduced the first topic and soon encountered criticism of the proposal to introduce Studiendozenten and -professoren. Professor Piloty of the Technische Hochschule in Munich stated:

Bei der Einrichtung von Studienprofessoren sei die Gefahr, daß mit alten Paukern schulmäßig gedrillt würde.

Others were of the opinion that the position of Assistenten and Privatdozenten could be improved to achieve the same results envisaged in the proposal for the new posts. Such posts would endanger the unity of university teaching. This latter point ('Homogenität des Lehrbetriebes'; 'einheitlicher Organismus der Hochschule') was to be reiterated as the strongest argument against the Commission's ideas on a broadening of the teaching body. Professor Geiler of Heidelberg saw the proposal as encouraging Fachstudium:

Gerade in der Demokratie habe die Universität die Aufgabe, an die Berufsbildung zu denken, nicht im Sinne einer Fachausbildung, sondern einer Ausbildung von Persönlichkeiten.

This was not a view that stood in contradiction to the Commission's philosophy: its proposals were designed to encourage precisely that 'Ausbildung von Persönlichkeiten' which could result from close association between teacher and taught on the British model. But Geiler and others clearly thought that the Studiendozenten and -professoren, who would themselves be specialists, would inevitably serve to provide, as it were, more concentrated emphasis on specialist study by sole virtue of their closeness to the students.

At this stage of the proceedings Raiser of Göttingen intervened to add a note of optimism to the largely pessimistic and critical remarks that had characterised the discussion so far. He saw value in the proposed new posts, but wondered why their function could not be assumed by the Privatdozenten and Assistenten. Weizsäcker insisted that the new posts were really another way of looking at the role of the Privatdozent:

Im Grunde genommen sei der Studiendozent nur ein neuer Name für den Privatdozenten, nur mit dem Unterschied, daß er eine Planstelle habe.

But of course the actual proposal in the Gutachten was for the new posts to exist alongside the Dozenten.

Birley, in his record of the Conference⁶ (which often has different emphases from the German minutes), quotes Weizsäcker as saying at this point that some speakers

who opposed the institution of the Studiendozenten on the grounds that they would come between the Professors and the Students [were like] harassed mothers of large families who rejected the offer of some help in the house. He asked the Conference not to quarrel about names, but to concentrate on the principles.

Therein, however, lies the dilemma of most reform discussions. Agreement on principles is easier to achieve than agreement on the details of implementation - and on the latter depends the success of the former. The tragedy of the Gutachten is that it remained a model reform document whose arguments were for the most part sound and whose underlying principles were generally acceptable: it foundered on the detail.

6 'Meeting of Ministers of Education and Rectors of the three Western Zones to consider the Report of the University Commission, Hamburg, 13th January 1949' (Lindsay Archive, L221).

Birley regarded Raiser's intervention as the turning point in the Conference: thereafter supporters were more encouraged to speak.

Grosche introduced discussion of the Studium generale and Grimme expressed the optimistic view that it was probable that the basic idea would attract support - the questions to be considered would then be: where and when should the extra studies take place and who should teach them? Piloty of Munich made an early intervention to oppose the principle of the Studium generale. Perhaps somewhat perversely, Professor Mesmer of Darmstadt saw specialist knowledge as providing the starting point from which to proceed towards more generalised study:

Das Studium generale gehöre... nicht an den Anfang des Studiums, weil erst das Fachwissen den jungen Menschen reif mache, den allgemeinen Fragen näherzutreten.

Gerlach of Munich, while supporting the Commission's proposals, suggested the term Studium humanitatis instead of Studium generale; Grimme liked C.H. Becker's notion of the Philosophicum as introduced in Tübingen. Theodor Litt, present as an observer, recommended a Studium generale alongside specialist study, but the representative from Mainz, Professor Schätzel, reported that his university had successfully introduced (from 1.10.48) a Studium generale at the beginning of students' studies in order to compensate for gaps in the knowledge of Abiturienten. Tellenbach of Freiburg mentioned a frustrated propaedeutic course for Abiturienten, and Prösler of Nuremberg talked of plans initiated there before the appearance of the Gutachten for a Studium generale in the third and fourth Semesters.

Frau Teusch, Kultusminister of Nordrhein-Westfalen, called for more inter-regional coordination. In her view

müsse [das Studium generale]... während des ganzen Hochschulstudiums an die Studenten herangetragen werden, dürfe nicht an Bedingungen und Prüfungen gebunden sein und ja nicht als neues Fach zu den alten Fächern treten.

Vollberg of Hamburg, the student representative present, warned that the Brotstudent would have little time for a dies academicus and the like once his studies were advancing, since there was a widespread need to earn money and time could not be spared. He recommended that a Studium generale should come at the beginning of a student's university career 'als Einführung und um die Studienrichtung festzulegen'.

Geiler of Heidelberg closed the discussion by proposing that the Studium generale should be devised to run during and throughout a student's studies and that there should be differentiation between the individual faculties and disciplines in respect of it.

The general tone of the discussion was, as Grimme had anticipated, in favour of some kind of Studium generale. The views on how it was to be implemented, however, differed widely, with a marginal preference for the Commission's proposal to introduce it in place of the thirteenth school year at the beginning of a university course.

Snell opened the session on the Hochschulrat and -beirat, revealing that the question of their introduction had been the most contentious issue in the Commission's deliberations. Kroll of Cologne welcomed the proposals and reported favourably on the Kölner Kuratorium (Birley in his record says, facetiously, that Kroll referred to Cologne as 'well-nigh perfect'). Professor Böhm of Frankfurt reported a similar arrangement in his university, but the Frankfurt Kuratorium did not fulfil all the functions he would have hoped of it:

Es sei keine Brücke zur Öffentlichkeit und könne nichts an dem bestehenden Ressentiment ändern;

he was himself against the Hochschulrat. Several other speakers opposed the idea, largely on the grounds that the university's autonomy would be lost if it were introduced. And then Raiser made, according to Birley, an 'outstanding' speech. Birley's account of it reads as follows:

Professor Raiser (Göttingen) said that no-one had yet appreciated the revolutionary nature of the proposed Hochschulrat. The German Universities had developed as part of the German Beamtenstaat. This worked as long as it really was a Beamtenstaat, but the experience of thirty years had proved that it was no longer so. We are now in an age of Mass Democracy. The Universities after 1945 felt that the one thing necessary was that they should preserve their autonomy against the State. This was natural, but actually the Universities could not stand alone. The really revolutionary feature of the Hochschulrat was that it would not represent the State, but Society as a whole. In order to find a solution, both sides must be ready to compromise. The Universities should accept the Hochschulrat; the Ministries must surrender political responsibility by accepting the Block Grant. His only doubt was whether they could find strong enough Hochschulräte. The Hochschulrat assumed the existence of a unified society, but Germany had no such society. Nevertheless, in order to preserve their essential freedom, the Universities should welcome the Hochschulrat.

Geiler supported Raiser's view of the question, but suggested that the Rektor should be President of the Hochschulrat. According to Birley's account he described the Hochschulrat as the most important proposal in the Gutachten: 'He said that he advocated this as a necessary compromise on the part of the Universities'. Frau Teusch saw some hope that the Ministers would also be ready to compromise on this issue in the way that Geiler had.

Birley, in his final words, called for

any University or Land which supported the Report [to] go ahead as soon as possible and make the necessary experiments for the revolutionary changes proposed.

He felt that Hamburg, 'least affected by the financial stringencies of the time', could lead the way. Grimme closed the meeting with a somewhat optimistic declaration of the will to reform demonstrated by all present.

At the end of his account of the meeting Birley listed the following 'personal conclusions':

- (1) The whole atmosphere was undoubtedly that of a great occasion. This was partly, but not wholly, due to the fact that it was the first meeting of its kind for the whole of Western Germany. There was no question that the Report was taken seriously. It was on several occasions referred to as an historic document.... It is noteworthy that it was regarded by all as a German Report and there was never a suggestion that it should be looked on as a foreign importation. The dignity of the welcome given by the Senate of Hamburg did much to provide this atmosphere.
- (2) It was not to be expected that such a Conference would lead to any immediate results. Grimme was, to my mind, going too far in his closing remarks. But it was most significant that the only speeches applauded were those which supported the Report.
- (3) To my own surprise, I admit, nearly all the best speeches came from representatives of Universities in the British Zone. I do not know whether they are really more progressive than those in the others. I strongly suspect that our method of dealing with the Universities has given greater confidence to those with a progressive outlook, who were therefore prepared to stand up for their views, while those in the other Zones who had more reactionary views took the lead as is customary in German Universities.
- (4) On the whole, the range of atmosphere, compared with that of University meetings a year ago, seemed to me very noticeable. There was at least a general air of freedom and a readiness to say unpalatable things.
- (5) I was greatly impressed by Professor Geiler, the Rektor of Heidelberg, who seemed to me to be the one man in German Education I have met, besides Dr Grimme, with a real touch of greatness.

- (6) It is now our duty to raise the main points in the Report with the Ministers and Universities to see whether we cannot persuade them to adopt some in the British Zone as soon as possible. The atmosphere is in many ways more favourable than we dared to hope. In particular, we should try to capitalise the good will of Frau Teusch and the Rektor of Göttingen, both of whom spoke with real courage and committed themselves a long way.

There is no doubt that the meeting was of vital importance. The press reported it widely and with some enthusiasm, noting its 'unprecedented' nature. And the delegates left with the intention of keeping the discussion alive and encouraging in some cases the experiments at implementation which Birley had called for.

Before considering some examples of such experiments we must now examine further published reaction in the newspapers and journals.

The press comment was initially almost exclusively enthusiastic, many leading figures in the universities contributing to the debate in the pages of local and national newspapers and in the journals. Some commentators doubted whether the Gutachten went far enough:

Manches scheint begrüßenswert. Aber auch dann zweifeln wir noch daran, ob die Durchführung der Vorschläge genügt, um die Universitäten in ein wirklich lebendiges Verhältnis zum Volk zu setzen oder ihnen gar eine echte gesellschaftsbildende Funktion zu geben
(Neue Ruhr-Zeitung, 28.12.48)

Several saw the Report as a starting-point rather than a blueprint.

Others anticipated opposition:

Es wird interessant sein zu erfahren, wie die westdeutschen Rektoren und Professoren auf das über ihre Institute erstattete Gutachten reagieren werden. Widerspruch und Widerstand sind vorauszusehen
(Tagesspiegel, 18.12.48)

Wehren sich... die Universitäten gegen das Eindringen des neuen Geistes, dann wird die bedauerliche Entfremdung und Isolierung zu der an sich unerwünschten Entwicklung universitätsfremder Bildungszentren führen
(Rheinische Zeitung, 15.12.48)

Theunert, to the annoyance of his fellow Commission members, wrote two strongly worded polemics insisting on the need for change:

[Die Universität] ist in ihrer heutigen Zusammensetzung
das Merkmal eines zu Ende gehenden Kulturabschnitts
(Der Bund, 19.1.49)

This was, of course, precisely the kind of statement the Commission had sought to avoid, since it was bound to antagonise. It played into the hands of the critics.⁷

Among the early criticisms we find Piloty of Munich and Staatsrat Meinzolt of the Bayerisches Kultusministerium declaring themselves against the Hochschulrat on the grounds of the potential influence of 'sachfremde Personen'.⁸ Later, longer articles began to appear, the main targets for criticism (apart from the Hochschulrat) being the Studium generale and the Studiendozenten and -professoren. On the support side Ludwig Raiser, despite some doubts, felt that the nettle of reform would have to be grasped.

Several interest groups submitted statements to the Commission summarising their reactions. Among them may be mentioned the Nordrhein-Westfalen branch of the influential Philologen-Verband which, under its Chairman Dr Erdmann, produced a printed fly-sheet⁹ expressing its pleasure at the degree of coincidence between its views and those of the Commission. A major area of disagreement, however, was the Studium

7 Theunert was in many ways the least impressive intellectually of the Commission members. It is perhaps significant that in the same article he attributes the nineteenth-century reform of the German university to Alexander von Humboldt. His article attracted a counter-blast from the Düsseldorf Industriekurier of 29.1.49: 'Was wir nicht gebrauchen können, sind z.B. Gewerkschafts- oder Konsumvereinsprofessoren'.

8 Die Neue Zeitung (Munich) No. 12, January 1949.

9 WRK BG-Archiv (46:B12-13).

generale; the aims expressed in the Gutachten could only meet with acclaim, but the means of achieving those aims were mistaken. The Philologen-Verband saw a contradiction in the Commission's desire to maintain the importance of the Abitur while seeking to abolish the Oberprima, the class which provided the bridge between school and the freer academic activity of the university. The recommendation of the Philologen-Verband was to encourage compulsory general (allgemeinbildend) lectures (on which students could be examined). That such a widely representative body should by implication accept the remaining proposals of the Gutachten was a considerable break-through for the Commission.

The AStAs of several universities met to list their reactions to the proposals. These were generally a curious mixture of agreement and rejection, with an unexpected faith in tradition.

Further impetus was given to the Report's recommendations by the publication of thirteen recommendations on university reform published by the SPD early in 1949. They are worth listing in full,¹⁰ since they are clearly based on the Commission's ideas:

1. Ein zweisemestriges "Studium generale" ist dem Spezialstudium voranzuschicken. Von dessen erfolgreicher Absolvierung hängt das weitere Studium ab.
2. Der Studiengang ist völlig gebührenfrei. Der Studierende hat Anspruch auf Studienbeihilfe der öffentlichen Hand. Das Studium ist als Arbeit zu werten.
3. Die Rechte der Hochschule als Selbstverwaltungskörperschaft und das Aufsichtsrecht des Staates sind klar gegeneinander abzugrenzen. Bei Berufung der Lehrkräfte macht die Hochschule ihre Vorschläge. Die Berufung selbst erfolgt in letzter Instanz durch die öffentlichen Organe.

10 Text quoted from an article in the Westfälische Rundschau of 3.3.49.

4. Der Lehrkörper der Hochschule ist zu erweitern. Auch Dozenten, die nicht der engeren Universitätslaufbahn entstammen, sollen herangezogen werden, so vor allem Persönlichkeiten aus dem praktischen Leben mit der notwendigen wissenschaftlichen und pädagogischen Eignung.
5. Eine wirtschaftliche Besserstellung des akademischen Nachwuchses ist anzustreben.
6. Um der Erziehungsaufgabe der Hochschule besser gerecht zu werden, ist eine besondere Gruppe von Hochschullehrern zu schaffen, deren Aufgabe die Intensivierung des Unterrichts ist. Der gesamte Unterricht ist durch stärkere Berücksichtigung des Lehrgespräches (Seminare, Übungen usw.) aufzulockern).
7. An den Universitäten ist eine sozialwissenschaftliche Fakultät zu errichten, an den Technischen Hochschulen eine geistes- und gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Fakultät.
8. Für alle Studierenden ist ein verbindlicher Studiengang einzurichten, in dem vor allem Sozialwissenschaften, Geschichte, Philosophie und philosophische Anthropologie zu behandeln sind. Diese sollen sowohl unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Einheit der Wissenschaft und der Einheit der Bildung als auch unter dem Gesichtspunkt des sozialen Verantwortungsbewußtseins vorgetragen werden.
9. In den Selbstverwaltungskörperschaften der Hochschule ist den Nichtordinarien ein stärkeres Mitbestimmungsrecht als bisher zuzugestehen. Als Bindeglied zwischen Hochschule und Öffentlichkeit ist an jeder Hochschule ein Hochschulrat zu errichten, der sich aus Vertretern der Hochschule und des öffentlichen Lebens zusammensetzt und der einen Teil der Selbstverwaltung der Hochschule darstellt.
10. Der Zugang zum Studium ist begabten Menschen aus der praktischen Berufsarbeit weitgehend zu erleichtern. Hierzu sind Sonderkurse einzurichten.
11. Studierende sollen vor oder während des Studiums eine berufsgebundene Tätigkeit ausüben, möglichst im eigenen Fachgebiet.
12. Eine tatkräftige Mitarbeit der Hochschulen an allen Bestrebungen der Erwachsenenbildung ist erforderlich; auch für die Weiterbildung der Alt-Akademiker ist Sorge zu tragen.
13. Die Zusammenarbeit der Hochschulen untereinander sowie die Verbindung mit den Fachschulen und der Oberstufe der Einheitsschule ist enger und organischer zu gestalten.

With the publication of such a programme - in effect a full vindication of the Commission's views - Birley's optimism about the Report's reception seemed fully justified. There was widespread discussion and a lot of activity: even if criticism was occasionally fierce it at least kept the issues alive, and the expectation was that some of the Commission's recommendations would be implemented before long.

And attempts at implementation were indeed soon to come. Dr Josef Hofmann,¹¹ a leading Landtagsabgeordneter in Nordrhein-Westfalen, reported enthusiastically on that Land's determination to be the first to implement some of the Report's ideas (he was careful to use the term Anliegen rather than Vorschläge, since 'better and more practical' measures would have to be tried). Plans were well advanced to introduce a Hochschulrat (with the Rektor as President) and a Hochschulbeirat (which consequently would not need to have the Rektor as Chairman) and to devise a Studium generale which would run concurrently with a student's main studies, the thirteenth school year remaining intact. This had been agreed with the full support of Frau Teusch, at a meeting of the Kulturausschuß of the Landtag on 16 February.¹²

On 21 February Niedersachsen set up a small commission with representatives from the universities and the Ministry to draw up 'concrete' proposals for the introduction of Hochschulbeiräte, the creation of Studiendozenturen, and the incorporation of the Studium generale into the university regulations.

The Pädagogische Hochschulen, as we have seen, were quick to discuss the implications of the Report for their future development. By June 1949 Katharina Petersen could report that most of the criticisms in

11 See Hofmann's article in the CDU Kölnische Rundschau of 4.3.49

12 Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf (WU20 d4).

the Gutachten had already been taken into account. It had been agreed to set up a study commission in order to examine future cooperation and development. The Hamburg Conference had already agreed to establish separate commissions to report on both university and state examinations.

In May 1949 a conference was convened in the GEG headquarters in Hamburg to consider adult education and to set up a commission on the subject. Lindsay and Theunert had been the prime movers in this development, and they had brought together over two dozen representatives from Britain and Germany, including Ernest Green and Fritz Borinski. Among British bodies represented, as we have noted briefly in Chapter Six, were the WEA, the TUC and the Co-operative Movement. It was a most impressive gathering of experts on the subject and serves to indicate the seriousness with which the adult education section of the Gutachten was being treated. The Vorbereitender Ausschuss set up at the May meeting eventually produced a lengthy report¹³ which listed among its recommendations the desire for closer cooperation between the universities and workers' educational organisations and the establishment of adult education commissions in universities (via the hoped-for Hochschulbeiräte). In May 1950 there was a repeat meeting of the group that had convened a year earlier (this time without Lindsay). There was no doubt by this stage that adult education was still high on the agenda for discussion among the various subjects dealt with in the Gutachten and that an optimistic view was being taken of the possibility of future developments.

By June 1949 a Studium generale was being tried at Bonn and extended at the Technische Hochschule in Braunschweig. Meetings had

13 Copies in the Reimers Papers and in the Lindsay Archive (L225).

been held between the Land authorities and the universities to co-ordinate plans for the Studium generale in all universities in the British Zone. In Kiel University, Volkshochschule, trades union and Land authorities had met to discuss cooperation in adult education; similar steps had been taken in Niedersachsen.¹⁴

When the Rektoren of the universities of the western zones met in Tübingen in October 1949 they agreed among other things to include the study of political science in the curriculum of all universities as part of the Studium generale; they agreed too to improve the conditions of the Assistenten and to increase the number of Diätendozenten. The Control Commission saw these developments as 'a desire to move in the direction of the recommendations of the Report of the University Commission'.¹⁵ A similarly optimistic view was taken of developments in the Technische Universität in Berlin. By the Winter Semester of 1949/50 all students were attending Studium generale courses in their first year and professors and students had held joint discussions on the subject:

Such a joint conference is something new in German university education and although no concrete results have yet emerged it is encouraging both that students are putting forward constructive proposals instead of passively accepting the rulings of authority, and that professors are willing to meet the students in such discussions instead of standing aloof in a mantle of dignity. This represents a step in the direction of a more democratic organisation of German university education.¹⁶

14 Monthly Report of the Control Commission for Germany (British Element) 4/6, June 1949.

15 Ibid., 4/11, November 1949. The Rektoren met from 11 to 13 October.

16 Ibid., 5/1, January 1950.

On the subject of the Hochschulbeirat we may quote the example of Hamburg. The Senate of the University approved the vorläufige Ordnung of the Hochschulbeirat on 6 December 1949. Its first meeting was held on 15 June 1950. The new body consisted of 61 members, among them the former Rektor Wolff, Bruno Snell, Adolf Grimme, Everling and Reimers. At the meeting various committees were formed to examine specific problem areas; these included eventually such subjects as the Studium generale, student affairs, legal and organisational questions, the various university subjects, etc. The Control Commission again reported that such activity indicated 'the intention to make the Hochschulbeirat an effective body'.¹⁷ Much of the committee work resulted in action being taken. The Studium generale, for example, was the subject of wide discussion, and Snell (as Rektor by then) announced its introduction in 1952, but only in the watered-down form of a dies academicus on the topic 'Die Verantwortung in der Wissenschaft'.¹⁸ Opportunities would also be available for students in small groups to discuss questions of concern to them with appropriate Dozenten. The Hamburg developments, even if they ultimately failed,¹⁹ clearly fulfilled one expectation held out for the influence of the Gutachten:

17 Op. cit., 5/7, July 1950. The text of the constitution is given as Appendix XVII. (Copy in Reimers Papers).

18 As reported in the Hamburger Freie Presse of 20.2.52.

19 The Hamburg Hochschulbeirat continued its work with a temporary constitution over several years. Reimers soon had doubts about whether it was being run on the lines envisaged in the Gutachten. He eventually became its Chairman, but resigned in March 1958 after disagreements with the then Rektor, Professor Karl Schiller. The Beirat met for the last time in August 1961 when Senator Landahl reviewed the progress that had been made in the 13 committees.

In one respect the work of the Commission had one immediate result and that was to bring the universities and their problems before the public eye, to create an informed public opinion and so to make the reform of the universities possible.²⁰

We have seen that expansion of the social sciences was regarded as an important item on the reform agenda. It had been talked about during C.H. Becker's time as Prussian Minister, and had been advocated in the Gutachten zur Hochschulreform. Following the publication of the Gutachten a meeting was held at the Foreign Office to discuss the furtherance of the social sciences in Germany. Birley chaired it and Lindsay was to have been involved.²¹ The meeting heard of efforts in Germany to support developments in the social sciences in several universities: contacts between interested Germans and national and international social science organisations were encouraged. This meeting - and the involvement of Birley and Lindsay (who was to be kept informed of developments)-was another indicator of the desire to follow up the recommendations of the University Commission and, wherever possible, to encourage practical experiment.

* * * * *

In my 1982 survey of opinion among former University Officers of the British Zone I asked two questions on reform: 'What reforms were in your view necessary in the German universities?' and 'Were these reforms possible in the circumstances prevailing in 1945-49?'

20 Monthly Report of the Control Commission, 5/8, August 1950.

21 The meeting was held on 14 April 1949. Lindsay was unable to attend. (Copies of the minutes are preserved in the Lindsay Archive, L225.)

Geoffrey Carter puts his response in the form of a series of questions:

If one eliminates Nazi philosophy, one asks how far a university should be under central government; how far should it be under the authority of its own seniors; how far should the students have any authority? How far is student authority educative - or does it comprise mainly agitating for the short-term advantage?

Only short-term solutions, he felt, were possible at the time.

Valerie Dundas-Grant mentions the very difficult position of the Assistenten and junior Dozenten: 'the professors held unduly powerful positions'. Caroline Cunningham similarly emphasises the problems relating to non-professorial staff:

I felt that the so-called Assistent was what might be termed a disastrous part of the German university system. These young men were mainly paid by the professor who held a whip hand over their future. They didn't dare express an opinion; if he moved they went with him. Naturally they held the same political views and hence perpetrated a system which even if not Nazi at least was authoritarian. They had of course no security of tenure.

As the possibility of reform, Miss Cunningham's answer is a straight 'No'.

Geoffrey Bird provides a full and appropriately circumspect response: 'The following is a brief summary of the chief reforms I believe I thought necessary:

- (a) to make heads of departments more accessible to their students and the younger Dozenten;
- (b) to further free and open discussion with departments on academic and administrative matters;
- (c) to enlarge the Senate to include representatives of the younger Dozenten;
- (d) to encourage the staff to recognise their responsibilities towards the general education and welfare of the students;
- (e) to increase the staff-student ratio, without which closer relations would not be possible;

- (f) to cause the universities to take a wider interest in outside affairs and to realise their responsibility to society in general;
- (g) to ensure freedom of the universities from political control in academic appointments;
- (h) to foster closer contacts with universities outside Germany.'

He goes on to point out that the University Officers were not personally involved in reform discussions; that was a matter for policy makers at a higher level:

... the higher British educational authorities in the Zone were well aware of all the problems and were in close contact with the more influential Germans, and I doubt whether the UEOs really had much influence on policy - they were mainly concerned with practical everyday matters, and the creation of an atmosphere favourable to reform in their particular university.

Geoffrey Bird is also doubtful about the possibility of reform in the circumstances prevailing:

The universities were at the time mainly preoccupied with re-establishing themselves both materially and educationally. They wanted to create the facilities for teaching and research and the students wanted to get down to their studies. The question of "reform" was therefore limited to the enlightened few who were looking to the future, and trying to formulate their ideas. Generally speaking, an "atmosphere of reform" was created, but reforms were not possible in the short period of four years, though considerable arguments and discussions did take place.

James Alldridge, on the other hand, felt that reforms were possible 'with perseverance and patience and a lot of intensive talk with Germans with whom we had contact'.

Peter Whitley identifies the power of the Ordinarien and the isolated pursuit of Wissenschaft:

I soon recognised the excessive power of the Ordinarien as one more manifestation of the authority/docility syndrome which I had long seen as Germany's besetting, and lethal, weakness. The other main university weakness seemed to be a tendency to divorce Wissenschaft from social and moral responsibility - and, at times, to "bend" it to State pressure.

As to the possibility of reform, he sees the problem not so much in terms of the vicissitudes of the time as in the decision to adopt the particular style which characterised the British approach in Germany:

As things were - too much conservatism/vested interests/vis inertiae for much radical reform. Obviously, we could have effected far more sheer change if we had (a) retained control of Education for longer, and (b) played it dictatorially. But the question is, whether it would have stuck; and, probably rightly, this was not the British way.

Harry Beckhough feels that certain reforms were indeed possible:

It was possible to make a beginning, to open German universities to the outside world - vacation courses, students' halls of residence, new associations, breaking down many of the old academic barriers distancing staff from students.

No major strides but persisting helped penetrate their consciousness and made them eventually experiment and thus taste their new-found freedom of thought and association and progress from there.

Despite Geoffrey Bird's view that the University Officers, pre-occupied as they were with practical matters, could not play much of a part in the formulation of policy, they were nevertheless the people with their finger on the pulse of university affairs in Germany and there is no doubt that their encouragement and persuasion did much to translate the philosophy behind reform policy into practical reality. Harry Beckhough mentions the vacation courses which translated the theory behind the proposals for a Studium generale and the need to establish and further international relations, into local practice. The founding of halls of residence is another example of an enduring feature of British influence and moreover an example

of the successful introduction of an idea which had no tradition in Germany. It was possible to import some 'alien' practices, provided there was not interference in the 'immanente Gesetzlichkeit' of the universities (to use Rothacker's phrase).

Reform of any institution is of course fraught with difficulty. To try to reform whole systems would be foolhardy at any time, particularly when they are foreign systems, rooted in the social and cultural structure of the nation. But in typically pragmatic British style a policy of example, persuasion and encouragement (rather than imposition) was developed, and the University Officers became the vehicles for its implementation. Their work before and after the publication of the Gutachten zur Hochschulreform is still remembered by students and staff with whom they came into contact; their influence was subtle and unobtrusive, but it did much to prepare the ground for the close and positive relationship which exists today between British universities and those of the Federal Republic.

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It is not the purpose of this study to trace the fate of the Commission's recommendations in the various reform measures discussed from time to time in the educational debate in the Federal Republic after 1949. That would be a vast and interesting exercise which would be appropriate for a further full-length study. The relationship of the Gutachten to British policy will be considered in the concluding chapter. To conclude this section on the Report's reception and implementation the views of Dr Jürgen Fischer may be quoted to summarise the position. Dr Fischer was for 26 years General Secretary of the Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz and so uniquely qualified to comment on the post-war

history of reform developments in the German universities. He feels that the spirit at least of the Gutachten has had an important effect: its traces, he writes, are to be found in all the reform proposals which followed it and its spirit must be regarded as important and correct even if it is now forgotten. He has shown that by 1962, of the fourteen basic proposals of what he calls this 'Magna Carta' of university reform ten had been adopted either in full or in part and only one had been totally rejected.²²

What is important in the context of British involvement in educational reconstruction in Germany after the war is that the publication of the Gutachten represented a very positive step, albeit at a late stage in the Occupation, to get things changed. The prospects for reform had not been good; that anything was achieved at all is a tribute to the Commission and its work.

22 Jürgen Fischer: 'Hochschulrevolution oder Hochschulreformen?', Deutsche Universitätszeitung, 1/1962, p.30.

CONCLUSIONS

Occupations, especially long Occupations, are subject, like any other lengthy process, to the law of historical change. They are not static, there is no single statement that can be made that is valid for all stages of them, except that they cause strain for occupied and occupiers alike.¹

At one Four-Power meeting in Berlin... it was suggested that each of the delegates should give his definition of democracy. After listening to the definitions given by his three colleagues the British member remarked that he could only reconcile these divergent conceptions of democracy by defining it as what four Powers could agree to inflict on a fifth.²

We have seen that the University Officers were clearly working to achieve a common purpose, despite the fact that they had been given no proper brief and that no real guidelines existed for the implementation of policy. The question arises as to whether a policy existed at all at the higher levels of the Control machine. The Potsdam paragraph ('German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas') serves as the clearest statement of the rationale behind British policy, but it is unsatisfactory as a policy statement in itself. It gives a sense of direction, but would allow of a multiplicity of individual measures, none of which is directly stated. The paradox (noted in Chapter Four) implicit in any attempt to impose democratic ideas and procedures ^{as} ~~as~~ part of a philosophy which abhors such imposition made it practically and politically unwise to be directly prescriptive about some key aspects of the British approach to the universities and their reform which were nevertheless explicit in discussions and actions taken from the war-time assessment onwards.

1 John Terraine, reviewing Richard Cobb's French and Germans, Germans and French (1983) in the Daily Telegraph, 25.8.83.

2 Russell Hill: Struggle for Germany, London 1947, p.12.

What policy existed would therefore have to rely on advice and persuasion for its implementation. It consisted of encouragement of some of the measures which have recurred throughout this present study: a reduction of the power of the Ordinarien, a corresponding strengthening of the position of the Nicht-Ordinarien, the opening-up of universities to students of all classes, the closer association of universities with the 'outside world', the need to broaden university study to avoid (or compensate for) over-specialisation, the strengthening of social sciences - all of which must be seen against the urgent need in the early years to denazify the teaching staff and the student body. These measures had been identified during the war, but the far-reaching reforms necessary for their implementation were clearly not possible during the early stages of the occupation.

And yet it does not seem possible that the work of the AUT delegates and the members of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform could have been realistically undertaken at an earlier stage. The main difficulty here was Ordinance 57 and the dereservation of education, a move in line with British policy to restore responsibility to the Germans as quickly as possible, but one which was widely condemned by members of Education Branch who could no longer see any long-term prospects for their work, much of which was still in the reconstruction phase and had not moved on to a development stage. Riddy, it seems, was not involved in discussions about dereservation and was not consulted about it. His hostility may be taken for granted.

The work left undone at the end of 1946 could only realistically have been taken forward by the Germans themselves, and that fact was of course fully realised by Robert Birley when he decided to set up the Studienausschuß. The Gutachten covered most of the topics which had

been Leitmotive in British criticism of the universities. But by the time it appeared considerable damage had been done by the AUT Report (the delegation's timing - the members arrived in Germany only three days after Ordinance 57 came into effect - was singularly inept in the circumstances) and with its publication the German universities had, as it were, a trial run in reacting to reform proposals. There can have been little surprise that the professoriate (in particular) reacted with at best muted scepticism to the proposals from this 'German' commission.

There was then a British policy, but it was one that cannot be properly formulated in a series of guidelines. It was a policy that emerged pragmatically and in accordance with the sense of justice (or 'fair play', or benevolent paternalism) which the British, as a colonial nation, were used to assuming when dealing with other countries. It was a policy too of the left: the leading British figures that have dominated in this study - Birley (known at Eton as 'Red Robert') had radical sympathies, and Dodds and Lindsay were both socialists, and they were working under the aegis of a Labour government, albeit one whose leaders (Attlee, Bevin) had little sympathy towards Germany and the Germans. But though a leftish influence is traceable in some of the reform proposals - particularly in higher education - it remained unobtrusive. The British, at all levels, preferred to adopt a low-key approach, to keep, as it were, in the background, to observe and persuade. As the Oxford historian, A.J. Nicholls, has put it:

We... adopted an attitude of pragmatic common sense. Instead of issuing orders, we used persuasion. Instead of talking too much, we listened. Instead of dogmas, we offered personal contact, practical help and working examples.³

3 A.J. Nicholls: 'The British Impact on German Education: a triumph for common sense or a missed opportunity?', Oxford Review of Education, 4/2, 1978.

And this was the approach that was most likely to succeed in higher education, since it was in accord with the best traditions of academic life.

The particular reform proposals examined in Chapter Six do, however, constitute in toto a policy which had been emerging since the discussions in London during the war. It is a policy which became explicit in the AUT Report and was then given a German imprimatur by the publication of the Blaues Gutachten. It is a measure of the skill of Robert Birley that a German Commission with no direct Military Government representation or involvement should produce a series of proposals so consistent with British thinking.

Lindsay, as we have seen, played a full part in the formulation of the Commission's recommendations, but he alone could not have ensured that the proposals would emerge in the form that they took. And here the actual composition of the Commission was crucial: apart from Lindsay there was a 'reliable' representative from a 'neutral' country (von Salis); the socialist interest was represented by the Chairman and by Theunert of the DGB (both of whom, with Lindsay, were ardent enthusiasts for adult education, the development of which had been seen as important since the war-time discussions). The professoriate was, interestingly, not widely represented (the subject of a lot of contemporary criticism): Bruno Snell was a distinguished scholar with an impeccable record during the war, Weizsäcker was known to be non-political. By limiting university representation so severely Birley had ensured that there would not be the kind of opposition expected by the British from the entrenched German professoriate. It was also a canny move to arrange for there to be clear representation of various interest groups. A representative from the Pädagogische Hochschulen

will be happy to agree to measures affecting the universities provided his own interests are covered, so too will spokesmen for the Technische Hochschulen, and, in all probability, the churches. There will be an overt display of wide democratic representation while covertly, as long as individual interests are satisfied, a general compromise emerges.

And so Birley left behind him a report which encapsulated the main features of British policy towards the universities: the encouragement of democratic procedures and representation, the expansion of the teaching staff, the avoidance of over-specialisation, the broadening of the student intake, the development of a sense of social responsibility, the breaking-down of the universities' 'ivory tower' isolation, the encouragement of teaching as well as of research, the promotion of students' rights to a voice in the affairs of their university. It should not pass unnoticed that some of these measures, particularly the last mentioned, were far from common practice in the United Kingdom, and there must be a suspicion at least that Lindsay and others saw Germany as a testing-ground for new ideas which they, as idealists, wished to see introduced in the British system.

By May 1950 the German universities were still regarded by the Foreign Office as 'a particularly hard nut to crack',⁴ but the Blaues Gutachten was seen to have changed the atmosphere to some extent:

Its immediate practical effect was small, but there are signs that in some quarters its basic ideals have sunk in and are re-emerging in the guise of spontaneous German inspiration.

That 'spontaneous inspiration', where it existed, was seen to vindicate the British approach. What Sir Ernest Barker had once called 'gentle

⁴ PRO: FO371-85546. Quoted by Kurt Jürgensen in his contribution to German Universities after the Surrender, ed. David Phillips, Oxford 1983, pp. 48-9.

advice and quiet suasion' was seen to have taken effect: the Blaues Gutachten had, in Birley's words 'made university reform in Germany possible'.⁵ Whether anything would be done to turn the possibility into reality would be a matter for the Germans themselves. Action was seen to have been taken: the recommendations were on the table.

Although Birley had left Germany with the reform agenda established, we must too recall the fact that education had not been a subject that occupied much of the time of the three Western Powers during their discussions at the highest levels. Aside from the initial purging⁶ of Germany the Western Allies were increasingly preoccupied with larger issues of foreign policy, focussing on the potential threat from their fourth Ally and the strategic position of Germany. Against this background it is not surprising that clear policies on less important issues did not emerge, 'officially', as it were, from the highest authorities.

The lack of policy directives transmitted downwards had caused considerable confusion and bitterness. Accusations were made of aimlessness, of 'muddling through', of improvisation in the place of proper planning. In the absence of a clearly stated policy which related to ground-level implementation the officers of the Control Commission locally could only improvise. They might, as some critics

5 Robert Birley: 'Education in the British Zone of Germany', International Affairs XXVI/1, January 1950.

6 Lord Strang reminds us in his memoirs that:

The primary purpose of the occupation was to disarm and demilitarise Germany and to uproot the Nazi party, not to promote Anglo-German friendship or to bring about the economic revival of Germany, though these were laudable objectives which might well be consequentially achieved.

pointed out, behave in the tradition of a colonial power, 'as though they were preparing to establish a benevolent colonial administration in some backward area of Asia or Africa'⁷ or they might, as G.D.H. Cole put it, take the 'line of least resistance'.⁸ The alternative, however, would have been more control, more direct intervention, more autocratic government - and that would have resulted in what has been noted in this study as one of the central paradoxes of the occupation. If a fundamental aim was to encourage the development of Germany along democratic lines, implicitly undemocratic procedures would have to be avoided. In this dilemma lie both the strengths and the weaknesses of the British stance. It demonstrates weakness in that many argued - and still argue today - that short, sharp intervention in a field like higher education would have dealt once and possibly for all with the 'deep-seated disorder' of which the AUT delegates had spoken. But it shows strength inasmuch as it realises that persuasion and advice (which might achieve the same aims in the long run as intervention) are more likely to succeed in a country with different traditions from those of the occupiers and will avoid the inevitable resentment that a firmer policy would engender.

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7 Russell Hill, op. cit., p.11.

8 G.D.H. Cole: The Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-War World, London 1947, pp. 749-50.

Hellmut Becker's recent criticism of British policy⁹ centres on the answers to a series of questions which he poses: 'Was it right to allow the Germans their period of restoration?' 'Was it not possible to start from the unfulfilled reform programmes of the 1920s and make use of the shock of 1945 to make a really substantial advance?' 'Can one exercise complete control as the Military Government did at the time, and still not take some clear stance on the real educational and social controversies?' 'Was it not so, that the decision for decentralisation constituted a clear decision against any radical change?'

On the university question Becker pays tribute to the Blaues Gutachten, believing that if its suggestions had been implemented the troubles of 1968 might have been avoided. He refers to the highly critical OECD report on German education of 1972.¹⁰ And in it are to be found the familiar criticisms of the German universities. 'After 1945,' says the Report,

Universities were restored in much the same form as they had existed before, despite the fact that their structures were authoritarian, particularly within the institutes, and their traditions weakened by their ready acceptance of Nazi ideals and practices.

The list of criticisms is as familiar as it would have been in 1945: the dominance of the Ordinarien, the need to extend educational opportunity and to change governance procedures and teaching styles, lack of social commitment, the absence of a student voice in university affairs.... But there had been, since the Federal Republic was founded,

9 Hellmut Becker: 'Retrospective View from the German Side', in: The British in Germany, ed. Arthur Hearnden, London 1978.

10 OECD: Reviews of National Policies for Education: Germany, Paris 1972.

the famous 'two decades of non-reform',¹¹ not attributable to Allied or British policy but to the conservatism of the new administration, one of the catch phrases of which was 'keine Experimente!'. To accuse the British of sins of omission is to misunderstand their policy and to underestimate the practical problems of the immediate post-war years.

The pragmatism of the British approach has to be seen as the only feasible method of dealing with the complex problems of higher education in the years following Germany's defeat. Pragmatism allows for variation in style and emphasis to suit the changing needs of the times. Denazification, reconstruction, re-education, reform had their appropriate moments without any high authority identifying a time when they might be dominant pre-occupations. The officers 'on the ground' - and we must not underestimate the contribution made by the University Officers in particular - were free to do whatever they could to ensure the future health of the German universities. Their task had been, as one contributor to the 1981 Oxford Symposium put it, 'Demokratie kennend, Demokratie einzuführen':¹² that the universities of the Zone survived and picked up the threads of their former greatness so quickly after their suffering is testimony enough to the British attitude towards them. That reform was so slow to accomplish should come as no surprise, but universities thrive on ideas and ideas there were in plenty to stimulate all those concerned with the institutions which would train the future leaders of the Federal Republic.

11 See Saul B. Robinsohn and J. Caspar Kuhlmann: 'Two Decades of Non-Reform in West German Education', Comparative Education Review, XI/3, October 1967.

12 Professor Johannes Erger of Aachen in his closing remarks. See German Universities after the Surrender, ed. David Phillips, Oxford 1983, p.170.

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Introductory Note

The history of the German universities during the period 1945-1949 has not so far been the subject of any single monograph. Nor have the universities of the British Zone been treated in full-length studies. What literature there is on the period has emerged from the various conferences and symposia that have taken place, beginning, as far as education is concerned, with the conference organised by Arthur Hearnden on the subject of British education policy in early post-war Germany which convened at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Birley. That conference was attended by German scholars and a large number of 'eye-witnesses' with wide experience of the period of educational reconstruction in the British Zone after the war. The conference papers and a summary of the discussions appeared in The British in Germany, edited by Arthur Hearnden (1978). In 1979 Manfred Heinemann organised a larger symposium, held in Bielefeld, on the 'Bildungspolitik der vier Besatzungsmächte in Deutschland'. This meeting, held under the auspices of the Historische Kommission of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft likewise brought together those with direct experience in all three Western Zones and scholars working on aspects of their educational policy. Professor Heinemann later edited the papers of the symposium under the title Umerziehung und Wiederaufbau - Die Bildungspolitik der Besatzungsmächte in Deutschland und Österreich (1981). Further papers appeared in a special issue of the journal Bildung und Erziehung ('Umerziehung und Besatzungspolitik in der US-Zone', Jg. 34, Heft 2, June 1981). In the same year a collection of papers was published by one of the contributors to the Bielefeld symposium, Jérôme Vaillant: La dénazification par les

vainqueurs - La politique culturelle des occupants en Allemagne
1945-1949.

Further conferences, organised by the German Historical Institute, London, in 1982 (Workshop on 'Die britische Deutschland- und Besatzungspolitik als Gegenstand der Forschung') and by the Inter-University History Consortium, London 1983 (on 'The Political Re-education of Germany and her Allies after World War II') have also included discussions of major importance to historians of the educational policies of the post-war years in Germany. There has also been the controversial BBC series produced by Patricia Meehan (Zone of Occupation, first broadcast in the autumn of 1981) which similarly included contributions by important lebende Quellen.

Arthur Hearnden's important book contains illuminating contributions by Robert Birley and George Murray on British policy in the sphere of education in general; in addition there are two articles with direct bearing on the universities of the British Zone. One, by Geoffrey Bird, describes the writer's experiences as University Officer in Göttingen; the other, by Professor Harald Husemann of Osnabrück, deals more widely with the whole subject of Anglo-German relations in higher education over the past hundred years. A paper by A.W.J. Edwards on the Technische Hochschule in Aachen is also of interest, and other papers (on adult education, teacher training, 'German Educational Reconstruction') also impinge on the universities. A controversial paper by Hellmut Becker raises fundamental questions about the nature of the British contribution and suggests that a lot more could have been done to avoid some of the problems which have beset German education since 1949.

The British in Germany provided the starting-point for most of the initiatives which have since followed. Manfred Heinemann's 1979 Bielefeld conference, much broader in scope, was run in the same spirit as the Oxford gathering. The published papers which emerged also deal with the universities as well as with more general aspects of education policy. There is another paper by Geoffrey Bird, and the present writer contributed a piece on the background to the Gutachten zur Hochschulreform. Vaillant's 1981 collection contains an interesting paper by René Cheval on the University of Tübingen. University reform was covered in the 1982 workshop at the German Historical Institute, when Falk Pingel read a paper on the subject. More recently, another special issue of the journal Bildung und Erziehung (Jg. 36, Heft 1, March 1983) on 'Hochschulgeschichte der Nachkriegszeit' has brought together contributors from the USA (James Tent), the Federal Republic (Manfred Heinemann and Ullrich Schneider; Hans-Heinrich Jeschek) and the UK (David Phillips) who provide working papers on the current directions of their research. Particularly important is the article by Manfred Heinemann and Ullrich Schneider on the availability of public records affecting the universities.

The present author's work on the AUT Report on the German Universities (of May 1947) has appeared in the series Studien und Dokumentationen zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Vol. 24 (ed. Christoph Führ and Wolfgang Mitter): David Phillips: Universitätsreform in der britischen Besatzungszone 1945-1948 (Cologne 1983). This book contains the relevant documentation on the AUT Report reproduced in Volume II of the present study.

In most published accounts, however, the universities are not dealt with at great length. In the course of my own research into university reform proposals in the British Zone I had made contact

with several surviving members of Education Branch who had served as University Officers in the Zone. I had corresponded with and interviewed some of them and had circulated a questionnaire to them about their work in Germany. Encouraged by Dr Jürgen Fischer I decided to bring them together with British and German academics for a symposium in Oxford where we could deal with the university problem at an appropriate length. The Symposium convened over three days at St Anthony's College in July 1982. Academics from the Federal Republic and the UK attended, and I was fortunate in persuading thirteen lebende Quellen to participate.

The testimony of eye-witnesses is important in two respects. They can interpret and comment on the documentary material, providing a gloss which can solve problems raised by conflicting evidence, and they can provide that sub-text which reveals what non-official attitudes and opinions really were like. Frequently such comment is no respecter of persons and it can be highly cynical, as several interviews and much correspondence have revealed. Often too contemporary material in the form of private letters and diaries can be as iconoclastic as later reminiscences tend to be. We are fortunate, in the field of contemporary history, to have access to eyewitnesses who can give this vital extra dimension to present-day studies of particular issues. Participants at the Oxford Symposium quickly revealed their unique knowledge of what was happening in the German universities after the war; their discussions have been preserved on tape and a full transcript of the Symposium proceedings has been prepared. The papers of the Symposium (including several contributions by the eye-witnesses and a summary of the discussions) have been published under the title German Universities after the Surrender (ed. David Phillips, 1983).

Two recent German doctoral theses have dealt with education in the British Zone. Pakschies has done some important work on re-education and the schools (Umerziehung in der Britischen Zone 1945-1949) and Halbritter has described the work on textbook revision (Schulreformpolitik in der Britischen Zone von 1945 bis 1949). Both theses have been published by the Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung in Frankfurt in the series Studien und Dokumentationen zur Deutschen Bildungsgeschichte (No.9, 1979 and No.13, 1979 respectively). Mention must also be made of a much quoted earlier piece of research, prepared as a Prüfungsarbeit: Dorothea Blättner's Britische Einwirkungen auf das deutsche Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen von 1945 bis 1949 (1960). This work was one of the first of its kind and has given many a lead to those subsequently working on the subject.

The American Zone has attracted a lot of attention. Bungenstab's 1970 study, Umerziehung zur Demokratie? Re-education-Politik im Bildungswesen der US-Zone 1945-1949 deals in part with the universities. Other studies, Schlander's Reeducation - Ein politisch-pädagogisches Prinzip im Widerstreit der Gruppen (1975) and Lange-Quassowski's Neuordnung oder Restauration? (1979) are more general in their scope. The most recent American study is James Tent's thoroughly researched and highly readable Mission on the Rhine (1982) which also covers the universities and is particularly rich in its exploitation of unpublished archival material, especially in the OMGUS Files.

Apart from Vaillant's book there is little on the French Zone except for F. Roy Willis's 1962 study The French in Germany 1945-1949 and a published German dissertation by Angelika Ruge-Schatz, Umerziehung und Schulpolitik in der französischen Besatzungszone 1945-1949 (1977). Herbert Stallmann's Hochschulzugang in der SBZ/DDR

1945-1959 (1980) provides useful information on the universities of the Russian Zone.

Indispensable for an understanding of the period are Balfour and Mair's book of 1956, Four-Power Control in Germany and Austria 1945-1946, Raymond Ebsworth's Restoring Democracy in Germany (1960) and several contemporary accounts: Education and Society in Modern Germany (1949) by R.H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas, Education in Occupied Germany (1949), edited by Helen Liddell, and W. Friedmann's The Allied Military Government of Germany (1947).

Alongside these latter publications, all of them dating from the period before public records had been released, are a number of contemporary accounts of conditions in Germany and of 'The German Problem' which throw light on problems central to an understanding of education in the British Zone. Chief among such works are Victor Gollancz's famous reports collected in In Darkest Germany (1947). Revealing too are Fenner Brockway's German Diary (1946) and Stephen Spender's European Witness (1946). Other personal accounts such as Ethel Mannin's German Journey (1948) and Heinrich Fraenkel's Farewell to Germany (1959) help to provide the human background to larger events of the time.

Journals and newspapers of the period are an invaluable source. Particularly useful is the British Zone Review, published from 1945 to 1949. The Monthly Report of the Control Commission provides further official comment on events as they occurred. On the German side the Göttinger Universitäts-Zeitung gives national coverage of developments in the German universities.

The main documentary source in the UK is the Public Record Office,

and this study draws heavily on Foreign Office and War Office files now available. The records of the Control Commission itself are not due to be released until the mid-1980s, though some have been made available a little earlier. It is often the case that the Control Office for Germany and Austria, which operated from 1945 to 1947, had copies of important Control Commission documents. The Control Office files, a rich source on the universities of the British Zone, are available as Foreign Office papers. In the Federal Republic I have found the archives of the Land Nordrhein-Westfalen, the largest of the Länder in the British Zone, to contain much useful material on the universities. But the main archival source for the particular subject of this study has been the so-called Blaues Gutachten archive in the library of the Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz in Bonn. Rolf Neuhaus, editor of Dokumente zur Hochschulreform 1945-1959 (1961), traced the papers of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform, with which I am principally concerned, to the basement of the GEG building in Hamburg (Dr Henry Everling, Director General of the GEG, had been the Chairman of the Studienausschuß). Neuhaus was able to acquire the archive of 11 bulky ring files and transfer it to the WRK. It is now further preserved on microfiche. A complete catalogue of the contents of this important archive is given as Appendix XVI.

A further abundant source of papers otherwise unavailable has proved to be the personal archives of leading personalities like Professor Dodds and Lord Lindsay. The Lindsay archive is preserved in the library of the University of Keele; most of the Dodds papers are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but his executors have placed his papers relating to Germany in my possession. I have also had access to the archives of German Educational Reconstruction, the AUT and the

Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals. Several former officers of Education Branch have placed some of their papers at my disposal. In the Federal Republic I have had access to papers in the archive of the Technische Hochschule, Aachen, to the Nachlaß of Prälat Dr Robert Grosche of Cologne, and to the private papers of Dr Walter Reimers, Secretary of the Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform.

Until the Control Commission papers are released our picture of policy-making is bound to be incomplete, but the various documentary sources at present available enable most of the pertinent questions to be answered with reference to authoritative evidence.

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