“Ich Bin Deutscher”

The Effects of Political and Historical Education on German Youth Identity

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INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM

“It is not necessarily the good ideas which make the greatest impact.”
- Ernest Gellner

“Wer die Jugend hat, hat die Zukunft!”
- SED slogan

What is a nation? Why is it important that a nation survives through time? How does its survival impact the nations surrounding it and the global community as a whole? A nation state is a geographical area surrounded by physical borders and boundaries. It is the land on which a nation lives. A nation is comprised of the group of people that share a sense of solidarity, be it by blood line, religious or cultural customs or an ideological belief structure. There are nations that have no nation state, like the Roma of central Europe or the Jews before 1948 when the nation state of Israel was established. Those nations that do have a physical nation state in which to live share an intimate link between their own sense of identity and the soil on which they live. Ernest Gellner, author of the book Nations and Nationalism argues that a nation state that wishes to survive the test of time must engineer an education system which actively constructs a national identity in the minds of its youth. If this identity is not constructed by the time these youth become active members of society than the intimate link between the nation and the nation state will be lost and the nation state cannot survive. The youth of a nation grow up to form a collective society that keeps the nation state running. While every state requires a set of physical elements (like a government, borders, economy etc.) that keep it functional, it is not enough for a nation to know how to operate its state; it must have a reason for why it does so. For example, an 18-year-old male who joins the military of his nation state, might be doing it to pay for college or gain work experience. In order for him to wage war on another nation state, however, he requires more than the

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2 8 Translated “He who has the youth has the future!”
tools of war. He also requires a constructed ideology in which he believes that his contribution is beneficial for his nation as a whole not just the state. He must believe that by fighting in the war he is serving his country and his people simultaneously. Likewise, the citizens of a nation state that chooses not to have a military must believe that their pacifism is a beneficial virtue of their nation that is contributing to the global community as a whole. The answer to 'why a nation state should survive' must be engrained in the ideology of its citizens, in order for the state to survive through time.3

Natural born citizens are not inculcated with national identity when they are adults. They are instructed in it when they first become citizens; when they are children. This establishes a fundamental link between education and national identity. In my home country, the United States, the public school system teaches us aspects of national identity as young as the first grade. I remember going to see a play about the life of George Washington when I was seven, in which I learned the story of the cherry tree. In this play, I was taught that George Washington as a child could never tell a lie. In such simple terms, the children attending the play were made to believe that the founding fathers of their nation state were persons of great virtue, a virtue which they themselves should embrace. By being truthful I was sharing in the same virtue as George Washington and thus was imbuing myself with a small part of what I thought was expected of me as a young citizen of the United States. Education is the fundamental means by which nations instruct their youngest citizens in developing a national ideology. As Gellner explains, “National ideology suffers from pervasive false consciousness. Its myths invert reality: it claims to defend folk culture while in fact it is forging a high culture; it claims to protect an old folk society while in fact helping to build up an anonymous mass society.” 4 In other words, education must engage in historical myth building, which draws upon legends and tales from the cultural history of the geographical area that the nation state currently occupies, in order to build a specific historical ideology.

3 I should note here that I am not interested in an ethical value system regarding whether a nation state should or should not exist. This thesis is about what a nation state and a nation (in this case the nation of Germans living in the nation state of Germany) must do to exist.

4 Gellner 124
that defines that nation. Through this process the historical myth of the nation state and subsequently the necessity of its survival as a member of the global community are enshrined in the minds of its citizens when they are still young. The East German Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands expressed significant foresight when they proclaimed in a campaign slogan, “He who has the youth has the future!”

The word that I have chosen to represent this concept is Märchen. The closest translation in English would be “tale.” I use this word because the process which Gellner is advocating is not as strong as mythology, in which entire histories are created and exist in a quasi religious realm. Neither is it as weak as historical narrative in which a series of facts are strung together to create a simple recounting of events. Rather, this process involves embellishing history into a tale of virtue that is intimately linked with the concept of the nation. Sometimes the characters in the story are completely fictional set in a historical setting, while sometimes only the stories are fictional but the characters are real. The important thing is that the tales are centered on some virtue or moral that the nation wishes to inculcate into the minds of its youth. Another example, in the United States, would be the historical narrative about the colonization of Massachusetts by the pilgrims. This tale, however, is first told to children as the “first” thanksgiving in which pilgrims and colonists sat down peacefully together for a feast. The subsequent genocide of Native Americans is glossed over and translated into a peaceful story of friendship and cooperation. This process of converting history into Märchen for children is done by nations around the world to create citizens that are loyal to their nation and subsequently their nation state for ideological reasons. I have consolidated the above definitions and comments from Gellner into the phrase "Top-down Märchen building" which I will use for the remainder of the thesis. I have called it this because the type of Märchen that I wish to discuss are always implemented by state leaders at the

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Translated * "United Party of Germany" They were the political party in power in East Germany during the Cold War when Germany was split in two and East Germany was a soviet satellite. From now on they will be referred to as the SED.
top of a nation's structure, such as the board of education or a council of government officials and are told to the regular citizens of the nation for ideological instruction.

What happens, however, when the Märchen of a nation reaches such extreme points that teaching ideology reaches dangerous levels of indoctrination? What happens when the subsequent created ideology becomes hostile to neighboring nations? What must its citizens do when the previous identity of the nation is threatened by the policies of an extreme leader? Is it possible to change the ideology of a nation to such a degree that it ceases to be the same nation? Once the leaders that sought to change the nation, leave power, how does the nation construct a new identity?

**Education in Germany and the Problem of German Nationalism**

The various leadership entities in the history of the German nation state, like any other country, engaged in Märchen building throughout the 19th and 20th centuries when the state was first establishing itself as a powerful entity in central Europe. The consolidation of the German empire into the nation state of "Germany" occurred in 1871, when the multitudes of German principalities consolidated into a single nation and made themselves known to the world as such by establishing a nation state. In this, Germany followed a pattern that had already taken hold in other areas of Europe, such as Great Britain and France. The nations that were forming modern nation states were defining themselves by their differences from each other. Much of the buildup of tensions that erupted into the First World War was a result of the obsession with nationalism and imperial expansion that exploded onto the European scene. The picture to the left shows a populist caricature of those times. It depicts Kaiser Wilhelm II walking past Marianne, the symbol of the French Revolution, dressed as a prostitute and John Bull,

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6 Reference Answers http://wpcontent.answers.com/wikipedia/commons/5/5e/Germany_GB_France.gif Accessed 0310/10
the symbol of Great Britain, looking like her procurer. This type of nationalism existed all over Europe until the outbreak of World War I.

Although World War I officially broke out in August of 1914, it could have started during any number of small border skirmishes that had been occurring throughout Europe since the beginning of the 20th C. Newborn nation states were defining the purpose of their existence by comparing themselves to similar nation states and differentiating themselves from others. This led to a complex network of treaties and alliances across the European continent and colonial network, the largest of which being the Triple Entente which was an alliance between the United Kingdom, France and Russia. The skirmish that did ultimately lead to war occurred in Sarajevo, which is now the capital of Bosnia but was then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated by Serbian separatists who wanted their own Slavic nation state, independent of the Austro–Hungarian empire. The Austrian Imperial military responded by sending troops to occupy the Serbian province to which the Russian Czar responded by coming to the defense of the Slavs while retaining Russian influence in the Balkans. Due to its alliance with the Austro–Hungarian empire, the German government declared war on the Russians to which the English and French governments honored their treaty with Russia and declared war on the axis powers. The war became global when neighboring countries of European colonies invaded other neighboring countries of European colonies, causing the conflict to stretch from Nicaragua to New Zealand. The Russians exited the war in 1917 with the overthrow of the Czar after the October revolution, leaving the German military to fight the French, English and United States soldiers on the Western front. The Allies of England and France eventually won the war over Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire.

8 Mommsen 79-94
In other words World War I was caused by a series of newly born nation states exhibiting uncontrolled nationalism due to lack of any previous experience with a war of this magnitude. After the end of World War I, however, the major nations that had been involved met at Versailles, France, where the victors placed the sole blame for the war on the nation of Germany, resulting in severe reparation requirements. This came as a shock to most Germans, as the majority believed that they had been fighting a defensive war. The reparations and subsequent French occupation of parts of the Rhineland sparked anger in the German people. At this point, the German nationalist right used a new wave of Märchen-building, to fabricate the "Dolchstoßlegende"\(^9\). Using the fact that the socialist and central parties had advocated the peace of Versailles, they wove a story of how the German soldiers at the front lines were figuratively stabbed in the back by their own leaders who had sold the whole nation out to the French. This legend would be one of the cornerstones for the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei \(^{10}\) and their leader, Adolph Hitler, to gain power in the 1930s. During the build up to the Second World War, Hitler implanted extreme forms of nationalism, infused with master race ideology, into the school system by rewriting the Märchen to the level of indoctrination. These new education reforms were a foundational tenant for garnering support at the youth level for the spread of Nazism throughout the world and the establishment of the 3rd Reich. Several years later, the German people found themselves in a second war that encompassed all of Europe and much of the world and brought with it the brutal Holocaust against the Jews, Roma, Homosexuals and mentally handicapped and the persecution of Communists, Catholics and political dissenters. After the war, when Germany was divided into two nations, the West German government made the decision \(^{11}\) based on this tragic history that ideological indoctrination that is the extreme form of Märchen-building would no longer play a role in

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9 Translated "Knife Stab" Literally meaning to stab someone in the back.
10 NSDAP Translated "The Nazi Party"
11 This decision was made in the restructuring of the educational system under American, French and British Occupation between 1945 and 1950. The details will be discussed in a later section.
the German education system. On the other hand, the East German government continued this practice, with a new script, until reunification in 1989.

Now that Germany is unified once again, the federal government is faced with a seemingly impossible task. How does it unify two nations, which have been separate for 45 years, into one, without creating new Märchen that engage in explicitly nationalist rhetoric? Frau Schavan, the current education minister in Germany recently told The Economist, “There is no consensus on the content and goals of education.” While Frau Shavan was speaking about the current education system in a very general sense, I think the question’s pertinence to the teaching of history is worth noting. If Gellner is correct, and the education system of a nation is intimately linked to the survival of that nation state, how can the German nation-state survive without a distinct nationalist rhetoric to teach its youth? Historian Ralf Dahrendorf, puts it this way: “Interest in educational policy in Germany today is of much wider political and social significance, and while changes in the educational system should not be exaggerated, or accepted as a substitute for other kinds of political activity, they are undoubtedly an important lever for changing the structure of German society.” When current youth become the future leaders of Germany, will they see the need to strive to keep it one nation state if they have no loyalty to it?

In this thesis, I am applying the concept of education and nationalism to the nation state of Germany, specifically to how national identity is conceived by German youth between the ages of 14 and 21. I chose this population for two reasons; first Germany has struggled with national identity for almost as long as it has been a nation state. The swinging pendulum of German politics since the 1800s has pushed Germany’s citizens either to extreme nationalist or extreme antinationalist sentiments very quickly, leaving so many interrupted and left over forms of Märchen building in its path that its citizens struggle to find a national identity that is cohesive. Second, the age group which I sampled was born

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12 “Europe’s Engine; Living with a Stronger Germany” The Economist, 13th May 2010, 8-10.
after 1989. This means that none of them personally experienced any of the major shifts in German nationalist rhetoric, i.e. World War I, World War II, the split and subsequent occupation of Germany, the East German/West German tension during the Cold War or the reunification of 1989. As a result these students cannot rely on their own personal experience to develop their own nationalist ideology. It must either come from education or from some other type of new process that does not involve Top-down Märchen building. The goal of this project was to find out if such a process does exist, what it was, and how it relates to the current German education system.

**The Project**

My immersion into German culture was somewhat limited on my first encounter, when I headed to Germany with nothing but a backpack and a passport, during the summer following my freshman year. I remember sitting in European history class learning about the events of World War II and envisioning a “Sound of Music” type background populated by blond haired, blue eyed, children raising their right arm and stiff hand to eye level while simultaneously chanting “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!” (Germany, Germany above all else). However, the Germany that I encountered was filled with immigrants of every type, speaking every language imaginable. The landscape reminded me of a cleaner and more orderly New York City, filled with modern glass walled apartment buildings and sporty cars. Rather than folk music sung by girls with blond braids, the night scene revolved around heavy metal bars, filled with pink haired youth with nose rings, tattoos and Goth clothing. The daytime was saturated with young businessmen in smart suits jumping between subways to reach prestigious office buildings like Deutsche Bank or Volkswagen. Upon leaving Germany I decided that I would need to return and explore this country further, this time hopefully better prepared. I spent the following two years learning the German language and exploring German culture and history. It was during this time that I first became interested in the German education system.
During my explorations I discovered that not only was my own perception of “Germanness” completely confused, but in fact many Germans’ perception of “Germanness” is completely confused. I soon found that asking the question “what does it mean to be German” in Germany would solicit a pantheon of responses vast enough to boggle the mind. This reaction was drawn from a rich and incredibly complex history of Top-down Märchen building that has redefined and re-taught the concept of “Germanness” over and over again since the inception of the German nation state. State sponsored national history has been rewritten during each major governmental transition in German history. These periods did not simply involve editing or redefining history; rather entire history books were destroyed and rewritten. In fact, the German government has attempted to redefine German national identity so often that a single version seems nonexistent. This presents a particular problem for Germany’s youth. Born into a nation with an intensely complex historical background, these students are often told several different versions of the history of German identity, before they have the chance to develop their own concept of “Germanness.” Now, the German nation state is left with a disjointed group of young people who attempt to walk the fine line between “collective guilt” and international renown. This creates a unique identity crisis for Germany’s youth, as these students never lived in a divided Germany, or a Germany whose politics made the international news. That said, they are currently being taught in an education system that refuses to display a distinctly nationalist rhetoric out of fear of the indoctrination period of the Nazis. I was interested in learning how these students handled the phobia of nationalism coming from their government and if, as a result, they gave up the idea of defining “Germanness” or developed some new rhetoric that did not come from the federal government. If my hypothesis was correct and a new form of nationalism is cropping up independently from the Top-down Märchen building model than how would it be different from the governmental attempts at identity formation that have existed in Germany in the past?
Over this past summer I traveled to four different cities in Germany to explore the world of German youth culture, identity and education. I met a plethora of young people willing to share their experiences and perspectives. Each city was filled with very different youth with very different stories. During my studies I learned a lot about what Top-down Märchen building means in Germany, and why it cannot be applied. I also learned, however, that nationalism does exist in Germany but it has taken on a new form that has not been previously implemented in Germany before. The following pages recount that journey through Germany in an attempt to explain this new process and whether or not it is working to help German youth define themselves.

This thesis is two-part in nature. Part is a recounting of my research and my understanding of the current beliefs that German youth hold towards identity formation. The second part is historically archival in nature as I attempt to understand the historical factors that I believe led these youth to this identity. I address both history and research in each chapter in hopes of melding them together into a synthesized understanding of the current trends in modern German youth identity formation.
Nationalist Education: From the Kaiser to the Führer

“Denk ich an Deutschland in der Nacht, dann bin ich um den Schlaf gebracht” – Heinrich Heine

The story of German education begins even before Germany officially became a nation state, when the conglomerate of German speaking lands was still under the rule of the Prussian Empire. The Prussian imperial government exercised significant supervisorial authority when it came to the universities around the empire. High school teachers and university professors worked directly for the government and thus, although educational curricula were largely left up to each individual institution, the Kaiser had a say in how education was taught throughout the empire. Historian Fritz Ringer, comments, “Most high school teachers and all but the lowest ranks of university professors were government employees, and the laws covering the rights and duties of state employees were applied to them. Like other civil servants, they owed a special loyalty to their governments.” This was expressed in the General Code of 1874 which was used in Germany until Hitler’s reforms in the build up to the Second World War. The overall bureaucracy of academia mimicked the chain of authority in the Prussian empire and was intimately linked to it. Professors and teachers who propounded the idea of the Prussian empire as a beneficial entity were rewarded at the highest levels of government. Some were even knighted.

University, however, was a privilege that few Germans experienced in the 19th Century. Most completed their education after eight years of primary school. Little time was paid to the development

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16 Ringer 124
17 Ringer 126-127
of a nationalist ideology at this level. As Ringer explained, there was a stratification of classes in the Prussian empire between those that had merely received “practical education” and those that had gone on to the level of “cultivation.” Nationalist rhetoric was reserved for the upper-class of the German social strata, following the general principal that those that needed to have loyalty the most were those that mattered most. 18 The masses could follow suit but the future leaders and officials needed to have a firm foundation of loyalty to the empire. Even towards the end of the 19th century, the subjects of the Oberschule19, mainly math, science and language, were seen as secondary to the classic philosophical nature of the Gymnasium20 which prepared students for University.21

Teachers at the Gymnasium and University level were state employees whose professional success relied on how closely they aligned themselves with the politics of the empire. The lower classes were restricted to the primary or secondary level schools in which practical education over cultivation was emphasized. Such rapid schooling placed students in the work force so quickly that little time was paid to instilling loyalty to the empire. It was assumed that this teaching would be done in the family setting by oral tradition, passed down from parents to their children. What this resulted in, however, was not only class stratification but a division of loyalty to the Kaiser.

In the middle of the 19th century, the educational councils in the Prussian empire began to change their education policies to encompass a nationalist rhetoric that could reach all citizens. This meant reforming the way nationalism was taught, to cater not only to the high scholars of academia, but also to the masses. This decision had to do with the growing political situation in Europe which required an ever increasing need for loyalty and solidarity as the continent moved towards the nation state model. If the Prussian Imperial government wished to retain the German people in the empire, it needed to convince them that it was to their advantage to do so. The educational ministers

18 Ringer 127-128
19 *translated “secondary high school for people entering apprenticeship”
20 *translated “primary high school for people entering an academic or professional career”
21 Ringer 129
accomplished this by taking advantage of the growing possibility of a Europe wide war by incorporating aspects of modern warfare into the Märchen of children's literature.

Between 1834 and 1838 a major shift occurred in children’s literature in the Prussian empire. The popular fairy tales like “the musicians of Bremen” and “Rapunzel” were replaced with literature that focused on more modern innovations, like technology. The military nature of the Prussians began to shift the emphasis on education from the nuclear family, to form a direct bond between the youth and the government. Peter Lang, author of *Carpe Mundum: German Youth in the Weimar Republic* comments, “In 1872 Prussia began consolidating education in Germany by secularizing its administration and coordinating school policies with the interests of the state.”

Ironically, this move towards integrating widespread loyalty to the empire actually helped cultivate nationalist sentiment for the idea of a German nation state. During the transition from the Prussian empire to the creation of the German nation state in 1871, Top-down Märchen building from the grammar school through the University, became exponentially more important because nationalist sentiment on a grand scale was needed to hold the newly formed country together. The German lands were no longer held together by the imperial military force of the Prussians but rather by feelings of nationalism in which German citizens voluntarily participated. Nationalist rhetoric was essential to make this experiment as successful as it had become in France and Great Britain.

Article 122 of the Weimar Constitution detailed the “Shund and Smutz” laws which were a series of censorship regulations designed to ban certain types of literature from education and culture. Although at first these laws mainly censored literature that did not conform with the protestant ethic of the day, like pornography or dirty language, by the 1920s the Shund and Smutz laws were being more widely interpreted to include political censorship of any literature that did not express a pro-nationalist

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22 Lang, Peter *Carpe Mundum: German Youth Culture of the Weimar Republic* Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang GmbH 2007. 64
23 Lang 67
sentiment. Children’s fairytales were rewritten to combine the Nordic splendor of Germany’s ancient past with the technological innovation of its future, all encased in a warlike sense of nationalism. Traditional fairytale literature was replaced with more nationalist literature like *Der Wehrwolf*. Lang explains, “Although *Der Wehrwolf* (1910), *Die Biene Maja* (1912) and *Die Wanderer Zwischen Beiden Welten* (1917) predate the Weimar Republic, these narratives nevertheless played an important role in Weimar culture by justifying and, indeed, sanctifying war in general, and thereby legitimizing the brutal mass destruction of World War I in particular.”

Rather than relying on the nuclear family to educate children, the German government began instigating programs which spoke directly to German youth without going through the parents. This policy caused an explosion of youth groups to pop up all over the country and prepped the field for the Hitler youth in the 1930s. *Der Wehrwolf* was actually incorporated into the standard grammar school curriculum and gained enough popularity to be the inspiration for a youth club known as the *Wehrwolf* association.

At the same time, German history books were being rewritten by the education ministers of the Weimar Republic to portray the outcome of World War I in a very different light. Rather than seeing the war as a defeat, children’s literature was rewritten to portray it as one stop in the road to Germany’s “ultimate purpose,” a quest which had begun during the time of the ancient Germanic tribes and would

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24 Lang 65  
25 * Translated “The Werewolf” although it is also a play on the term for the German Army. This was a very popular book by Hermann Löns that became an instant classic. It was about a peasant revolt in a German farming community in the 17th C. The protagonist adopted a flag against the occupying forces called the Wolfsangel which later became a popular Germanic runic on S.S. uniforms. Hitler also named one of his bases on the front Der Wehrwolf, thus drawing a direct correlation to the story and the fight against the allies.  
26 *translated “the Bee named Maja”  
27 *translated “the wanderer between two worlds”  
28 Lang 94  
29 Lang 109
continue indefinitely\textsuperscript{30}. Lang explains that there was, “an unprecedented 'brutalization of German Politics' during the Weimar republic. The popular literature of Weimar youth indicates that they had undergone a thorough education towards this brutality.”\textsuperscript{31} Periodicals began to be produced that catered directly to youth. \textit{Das Pfennig Magazin}, a magazine publication solely for children, shifted emphasis from poetry and fairytales to more practical topics like nature, geography, science and technology. \textsuperscript{32} Since these magazines were developed for mass consumption they were accessible to all German children regardless of their education level or social status. Nationalism had now been commercialized, breaking down the Old Prussian barrier between practicality and cultivation. The concept became very popular and by the mid 1920s, pleasure reading and school literature, in terms of subject matter, had become increasingly synonymous. Periodicals for children were attached as addendums to adult newspapers that covered the same content in an easier to understand format. For example, \textit{Hanz Kunterbunt} was a popular children’s periodical in Leipzig which was sold along with the newspaper \textit{Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten}.\textsuperscript{33}

The youth movement of the 1920s had two major impacts on German youth. First, it shifted youth ideology from a focus on childhood, (the nuclear family, fairytales etc.) to a focus on young adulthood (youth movements to whom the government spoke directly.) Second, it shifted popular youth topics from virtuous morality tales, couched in the colorful world of the Märchen\textsuperscript{34} to a technological, scientific imagination couched in the ever-growing nationalist movement. Although the tales remained fictional, they were made more realistic. The Story of Little Red Riding Hood for example was used by the communist resistance movement to teach children Communist ideals. Instead of living in the deep

\textsuperscript{30} This was a historical reference to the battle of Teutoburg forest in 9 A.D. in which the Germanic tribes defeated the invading roman army thus stopping the Roman Empire at the border of future Germany. The Romans never tried to conquer the Germans again. The wall, which signaled the end of the empire, still stands in Frankfurt.

\textsuperscript{31} Lang 111
\textsuperscript{32} Lang 155
\textsuperscript{33} Lang 157
\textsuperscript{34} *Translated „Fairytales“
dark woods, Little Red Riding Hood’s grandmother lives at "Schwieger Strasse thirteen, ground floor." Instead of the brave hunter which comes and saves Little Red Riding Hood from the belly of the wolf, the grandmother eats the wolf, the hunter and her granddaughter in one afternoon. The moral is clearly that with capitalism comes greed and gluttony and that if the country were communist, grandmothers would not behave in this way. Lang comments, “By the 1920’s German children’s publications no longer needed to resort to Märchen in order to elicit awe and wonder in nature. The wonders of science had by the 1920s presented more than enough new inspiration for the child’s imagination. Which...added the immediacy of real life developments.” The Cover of Hans Dominik’s Das Buch der Physik best illustrates this simultaneous appeal to ancient Nordic mysticism and the future might of German technology. The cover depicts a herd of ghostlike white horses stampeding across a cloud from the heavens over a beautiful landscape of German conifer forests and fields, cut down the middle by a pair of high voltage power lines.

Books aimed at young boys began to combine the concept of passing from boyhood to manhood, with the idea of military service. Many World War I veterans began writing their memoirs to help propagate this philosophy. Lang explains, “In educating young readers for war, most authors recounted their own spiritual development, their Bildung from youths to men. The memoirs of World War I...repeatedly emphasized the “innere Wandlung” (internal transformation), “the Erziehung zur Persönlichkeit” (education of character), which together took a green soldier as a youth and made him a man.” As a result of the educational shifts of the Weimar republic, the ground was ripe for a leader

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36 Zipes 47-52
37 Lang 198
38 * Translated “The Book of Physics”
39 Lang 208
40 Lang 109
who would seize upon the opportunity to flex Germany’s new found military confidence in the theater of a second world war.

**The ‘Wandervogel’ and the Rise of Hitler**

Synonymous with the shift in children’s literature was the growth of youth organizations. These were primarily set up as after school programs that would be intimately linked with the school system in the years to come. They focused on the major themes predominant in literature during the Weimar Republic—Nordic ancestry, science, technology and nature. One of the more popular clubs was called the ‘Wandervogel’ founded in 1881. Originally, the Wandervogel was formed as a protest to the Prussian style military obsession that had been popular in Germany in the lead up to World War I. The group emphasized a harkening back to nature, characterized by “youth leading youth.” Wandervogel troops would often go on long nature hikes and excursions in an effort to forgo the “values of the time” and get back to the soil of the Fatherland. In the 1920s the “strolling scholar” rhetoric of the group began to take on a more military feel as the widespread sentiment that Germany had been cheated in the treaty of Versailles, propagated by the “Dolchstoßlegende,” began to reach the youth. Wandervogel troops now began to incorporate flags, banners, fifes and drums, while members wore uniforms, complete with badges, much like the boy scouts. Wandervogel uniforms incorporated badges of ancient Nordic runic symbols including the sideways Z and double slash of the *Wehrwolf* and the more popular swastika. Members of each troop were no longer lead by other youth but were rather organized around a central adult leader or “Führer.” Members began addressing themselves using “Heil!” a strategy that Hitler would later adopt as the Nazi party salute thus drawing a direct link

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41 * Translated “Bird of Passage”
43 Lepage 13
44 Lepage 92
between the youth organization and his new vision for Germany.\footnote{Lepage 13} For members whose fathers had been killed in World War I, the group Führer became especially important as a father figure. The idea of the “pure German Spirit” that the Wandervogel had originally tried to return to was now translated into the nationalist ideology of the German Fatherland. By the 1930s, the Wandervogel began to fall apart as its various troops began representing different and often contradictory political movements. Some joined the communist party, but the majority joined right wing extremist groups that became prime breeding grounds for cultivating loyalty to the ultimate Führer.

Hitler seized upon the idea of the Wandervogel as a way to educate a generation of German youth along Nazi party lines. He appealed to the idea of the German’s connection to the soil of the fatherland and explained that the treaty of Versailles had made a scapegoat out of a nation destined for greatness because of the glory of its ancient past. The only way to protect the Fatherland was to defend it by force. For all of those young girls and boys who had lost their fathers in an unjust war against the German people, he, would take care of them. The idea of the Führer is much more than a leader. For many German youth, living in a fatherless nation, Adolph Hitler was their father, he was Germany. The nationalist rhetoric, now embedded in the world of Märchen, was proving successful for Hitler.

According to Lepage, “The main purpose of the Hitler Jugend was to inculcate discipline and good order in general and to submit young people to strict national socialist schooling.” \footnote{Lepage 83} While the Weimar republic had achieved stability by the late 1920s the stock market crash on Wall Street in 1929 hit Germanys’ fragile economy with a devastating blow. Adolph Hitler jumped in with a series of brilliant economic policies which significantly helped pull Germany out of the post war economic slump. Using his economic policy success to win the support of the people Hitler used the Märchen to win the support of the children. He had found his edge to start a revolution throughout Germany which elevated him to the chancellorship. His seemingly righteous anger combined with powerful rhetoric made his speeches
popular among Germany’s youth. Lepage explains, “Hitler’s national socialism came to power as the party of youth; it’s cult of youth was pronounced and Hitler never lost opportunities to declare that his movement was a revolt of the coming generations against all that was old, senile and rotten with decay.” On July 14th 1933 Hitler was proclaimed Führer of Germany, a title which suited his youth following quite nicely.

However, almost a decade before Hitler was declared Führer he knew that if he held the minds of Germany’s youth he held the key to establishing his 1,000 year Reich. In March 1922 an announcement was placed in the Völkischer Beobachter by a young man named Gustav Adolf Lenk, inviting all “nationalist-socialist- minded youth, between ages 14 and 18, regardless of their social class, whose heart suffered under the pitiful conditions of Germany, who wanted to fight the Jewish enemy, shame and suffering, and who wished to serve the cause of the Fatherlands” to join the Hitler Youth. Lenk had been too young to join the Nazi party, when it was first establishing itself in 1918 and wanted a way to join the movement as a teenager. The result was the creation of the Jugendbund der NSDAP which allowed Hitler to absorb the Wandervogel along with hundreds of other youth organizations into the Hitler Jugend. Popularity for the youth movement grew exponentially. Membership rose from 1,200 members in 1923 to 99,586 in 1932 to 1.2 million in 1934 and continued to grow until the end of the war.

Although it was never mandatory to join in order to attend school, the HJ became such an integral part of the education system in the 1930s that students who did not join found it difficult to succeed academically. Consider the following examples; by 1934 the HJ had absorbed 800,000 members of protestant youth groups around the country. Catholic groups became more of a problem because

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47 Lepage 18
48 Lepage 20
49 Lepage 22
50 Lepage 22
51 Lepage 23-24
Hitler had a signed contract with Pope Pius XI until the pope’s death (which occurred in 1939), banning political interference with Catholic organizations. Hitler got around this agreement by dissolving all catholic youth groups in 1936. If they wouldn’t join the HJ, then they couldn’t meet at all.\textsuperscript{52} Jewish students were harassed incessantly at school and eventually banned from attending public educational institutions altogether. Youth were first recruited into the HJ using various forms of enticement such as uniforms with knives and drums as well as aggressive advertising campaigns such as posters placed on street corners that said “your friends are in, why aren’t you?”\textsuperscript{53} Finally, by 1939, recruitment into the HJ became virtually compulsory for any youth that wished to succeed academically in Germany. Parents who withheld their children from the organization could be subjected to heavy fines and other pressures.\textsuperscript{54} Thus by 1939 the HJ had become a major aspect of education in Germany. Boys were required to register on their 10\textsuperscript{th} birthday after passing a “racial purity” medical exam. They would then participate in various levels of the HJ from the age of ten in the Deutsches Jungvolk\textsuperscript{55} to full military service at the age of twenty-one.\textsuperscript{56} Girls followed a similar track. They registered with the Jungmädelbund on their 10\textsuperscript{th} birthday and remained till they were 14 when they entered the Bund deutscher Mädel. Girls were taught traditional roles like babysitting and cooking, as Hitler believed that the primary role of the female was “to give birth to healthy racially pure “Aryan” baby boys.”\textsuperscript{57} In the BdM, girls were taught the three K’s as the key to leading a good life; Kinder, Kirche, Küche.\textsuperscript{58}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{52} Lepage 31
\textsuperscript{53} Lepage 32
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid
\textsuperscript{55} * Translated “German young people”
\textsuperscript{56} Lepage 34-36
\textsuperscript{57} Lepage 38
\textsuperscript{58} * Translated “Children, Church, Kitchen”
\end{flushleft}
Coupled with these extracurricular programs were a series of school reforms that further propounded Nazi ideology. In 1933, Hitler began a series of reforms known as Gleichschaltung, that incorporated HJ ideology into every aspect of the school system. Hitler’s educational advisor, Wilhelm Bernard Rust, immediately fired all Jewish teachers as well as any other teachers who refused to toe party lines and required all remaining instructors to register for the Nationalsozialistischelehrersbund to retain their teaching license. Pictures of Hitler and the Nazi flag hung in every classroom. Training camps were set up all over the country to train new teachers in the NSDAP curriculum. Lepage explains, “By 1939 the 41 NSLB training camps had prepared 215,000 members for their educational tasks- these being spirit of militarism, paganism, anti-Semitism and the cult of the perfect “Aryan” racial type- by means of ideological instruction, propaganda courses, conferences, group travel, paramilitary physical training, and field sports.” These camps were meant for incoming teachers of standard subjects. Special training programs were implemented for the Reichslehre. As with the HJ, the teaching curricula for these courses emphasized military preparation for the boys and motherhood training for the girls. Since girls were taught not to go on to University but rather to start producing Aryan babies as soon as possible, a typical high school level semester for a female student consisted of German, History, Singing, race study, domestic science, ideology, eugenics and health. For the boys this meant a heavy increase in sport. Boys attended five mandatory physical training sessions a week as physical ability was often emphasized over academic achievement. Students who were physically disabled or out-of-shape were often prohibited from attending higher education levels.

The one thing that was retained for both sexes was the complete lack of parental involvement as Lepage notes; “Young people who became teenagers after 1936 had no memories of the pre-Nazi

59 * Translated “The Nazi Teachers League”
60 Lepage 90
61 Ibid
62 * Translated “Teachers specifically trained to teach Nazi Ideology”
63 Lepage 91
64 Ibid
days and went through a schooling process steeped in National Socialism...” 65 Corporal punishment was reintroduced in the school system. Religious literature and non-allied foreign history was abolished in some cases and severely reduced in others. Germany’s history was rewritten to depict the Weimar period as a bad and wasteful time from which Hitler saved the nation. Each student was given a Schwertworte, which was a condensed copy of Nazi dogma to memorize. Students also studied a subject called “Deutschekunde” which was a combination of German history and Nazi ideology rewritten as ancient legend. 66 Even math books were rewritten by Adolf Dorner to encase computational concepts in the context of war. Consider the following grammar school level math problem, “An airplane flies at a rate of 240 km/h to a place at a distance of 210 km in order to drop a bomb. When may it be expected to return if the dropping of the bomb takes 7.5 minutes?” 67

Changes were just as drastic at the university level. Hitler once noted a gross vulgarization of Nietzsche when he said, “Knowledge was only an aid to life, not central to it.” 68 University professors had to cut back significantly on the academic rigor of their curricula due to the exorbitant amount of time that students were required to spend at Nazi training camps. Students were required to register with the Nazi Students League to be eligible to attend university. As a result university applications dropped significantly in the 1930s as more and more students entered apprenticeship programs instead or remained in the military. The NSDAP created a judicial board known as the “youth protection chamber” which was supposed to shield students from teachers who would give them bad grades for skipping class to attend Nazi youth rallies. If a teacher punished a student for missing class to attend a Nazi rally or taught a lesson plan that was not in line with Nazi thought the teacher could be reported by

65 Lepage 83  
66 Lepage 92  
67 Lepage 92  
68 Lepage 83
the student to the Jugenschutzkammer for prosecution. Many teachers ended up in concentration camps by this process. 69

In summary, Hitler's ideology translated the idea of Märchen building in the German school system to the level of indoctrination. His master race ideology had penetrated every subject from history to mathematics. Education became a tool to further the cause of the war and the ultimate thousand-year reign of the Third Reich. He who has the youth has the future!

As history tells us, however, the Third Reich did not survive as the Axis powers lost the Second World War. Allied troops stormed the beach at Normandy and Hitler was found in a burned out bunker, with his own bullet in his head. After the death grip that the Nazi party had on Germany had finally been broken, the daunting task of figuring out what to do with the country awaited.

When the allied powers divided up Germany into occupation zones it became clear that the top-down Märchen building model had been carried to such extreme levels of indoctrination that the country had literally been broken. The education system would need a complete overhaul. However, the French, British, and Americans handled education reform in a different way than the Russians. They also taught the history of the Nazi period to German children in a different way than the Russians. The ultimate result was the division of Germany into East Germany and West Germany, two distinctly different nation states. While both planned to restructure the education system to purify it of Nazi ideology, they took two completely different roads. Fifty years later these differences in approach to education reform are prevalent in the current German education system. They affect how German students view their history, their country and themselves. The four cities that I picked to survey were strategically located geographically to show these differences. Frankfurt was in the American zone of occupation which I used to survey southwest German youth. Leipzig was under Russian occupation which I used to survey East German youth. Hamburg was under British occupation which I used to

69 Lepage 94
survey northwest German youth. Berlin was divided between all four zones. The confusions regarding history and national identity, evidenced in the Berlin interviews and surveys, serve as a microcosm for the problems in the education system that I discovered throughout greater Germany.70

A MICROCOSM OF GERMANY

“Good Morning, ladies and Gentlemen, we hope that you have had a pleasant flight over the Atlantic. Our flight attendants are turning on the cabin lights and will soon be serving coffee. We will be landing in approximately 35 minutes. On behalf of our crew, welcome to Germany.”71

I have never been able to sleep on international flights. I am too anxious to get there. When I finally heard the pilot announce our descent into Germany, I sipped excitedly on my coffee and watched the sleepy cabin come to life around me. Somewhere amid the hustle and bustle of mothers taking their children to the bathroom and businessmen retying their ties I overheard a man and a women talking behind me. Both were Americans, with family living in Germany. As they conversed about their past experiences, the women mentioned that much of her time in Germany had been spent in Berlin. The man inquired, “How is Berlin? I haven’t been since the wall fell.” The women responded, “It hasn’t changed at all.”72 I smiled to myself as I thought about this misguided statement. Few cities in the world have changed as much over the same time period as Berlin.

Several weeks later, when my research was under full swing, I traveled by train to Berlin to conduct interviews. Aside from being the country’s capital, Berlin encapsulates the identity crisis that is evidenced throughout Germany. At the end of World War II, during the Potsdam conference of 1945, Germany was split up into four zones of occupation which then became consolidated into two a few years later as the Cold War broke out.73 The Soviet Union was coming into being and stretching its arms as far into Europe as possible. Winston Churchill’s famous “Iron Curtain” was falling across Eastern

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70 I sent request letters to schools in the former French zone but was unable to get a reply.
71 Journal Notes
72 Journal Notes from May 18th 2009
Europe and the British, French and American forces banded together to oppose Stalin’s reforms in the East. Nowhere in Europe was this stark contrast between East and West becoming more obvious than in Berlin. It was a city divided, representing a country that had literally been drawn and quartered. Geographically, Berlin as a whole lay within the Russian zone of Occupation, making West Berlin a tiny island of the West in a sea of East German territory.

The former nation state of Germany went from being simply occupied to becoming two distinct nations: Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR) and Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD). As the border became more and more difficult to cross, East Germans flooded into the West by any means that they could find. While in most of Germany the line was drawn using barbwire fences and miles upon miles of uninhabitable thick conifer forests, Berlin did not have this option. On August 13th 1961 the GDR built a wall through the center of the city. The wall went through the middle of buildings, and cut across streets and through parks. From August of 1961 until November of 1989, when it was finally torn down during reunification, the wall was a testament to a broken Germany, a Germany that had been so torn apart by Allied forces in response to the atrocities of World War II that it no longer existed as a unitary nation state.

During the reunification in 1989, Berlin, after being two cities for almost 30 years crashed together again. All of the internal conflicts and struggles that came with German reunification as a whole were intensified in Berlin.

Given Berlin’s unique position in the greater context of my study I decided that this would be an excellent place to start my analysis of the school system’s attempts at ridding itself of Top- down Märchen building and possible alternative forms of a unitary nationalist attitude.

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74 The German Democratic Republic (The GDR) East Germany (It is called the DDR above because in German the phrase is the Deutsche Demokratische Republik. I will use the English acronym from here on.
75 The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) West Germany
When a voice came over the train’s intercom, announcing that we were entering Berlin I was astonished at the sheer massiveness of the city. Overtime the city had encompassed several smaller towns to form a massive metropolis of government and cultural symbols. As I had scheduled all of my trips to the gymnasiuems in the mornings, I had each afternoon to walk around with my translator and take notes. In one day we walked from the Reichstag\footnote{Translated “Government Complex”} to the Berlin Zoo, a seven-mile trip on foot, and had still seen barely a third of greater Berlin. Western Berlin reminded me of the Mall in Washington, with Government buildings interspersed between museums, sports centers and cultural sites.

Berlin was built to be a capital and is modeled after other great capitals such as Paris, London and D.C. The line from the Reichstag to the Siegessäule\footnote{Translated “Angel Statue”} directly mimics the line in Paris from the Arc de Triomphe to the Eiffel tower. Until the rise of the Prussian empire, when it became the capital, it was a small backwater town in the countryside of the northeastern Holy Roman Empire. Since the capital was moved from Bonn to Berlin, after the reunification, the German government has funneled enormous efforts into making it the face of the country to the International community. Every major league soccer event takes place in the city, despite the fact that a Berlin team has yet to win the soccer championship. The Berlin team is also the only soccer team that uses state funding to buy players. The government section of the capital looks very new, as it is only about 15 years old. Berlin simultaneously flaunts its history in some parts and hides it in others. The city is home to the state opera and other cultural icons like the Center of World Cultures, however, it has also retained historical icons like the holocaust memorial, pieces of the old wall, and the Brandenburg gate. This, combined with a local population comprised of people from both the former East and the former West living together in one place, has led to a city that often does not know how to present its history as a unified narrative. In this way Berlin is a microcosm of Germany. I wanted to see if this cultural and historical confusion would translate to education.
How did the youth of Berlin think of themselves as Berliners and what did this have to do with their greater identity as German? I hoped my interviews in Gymnasiums in Berlin would help me answer this question.

I conducted my research in a school in Schöneberg in the western part of the city. The gymnasium was a large white-washed stone building on a busy street in the former western part of Berlin. It was a four-story building with a stone columned entrance. We later learned that it used to be a hospital during World War II and was turned into a school under allied occupation. The building was very well kept with polished blue tiled floors lining wooden walls that wrapped around stone staircases. Historical photographs of the buildings hospital days hung in the corridors. The teacher we met, named Herr Engler, was the head of the English department and the first elderly teacher to respond to our survey. He had flowing white hair, a gray mustache and a jolly persona. His 12th grade English class was comprised of 8 German students and 3 visiting American high school seniors from Pittsburgh, doing a three-week educational tour abroad. Herr Engler apologized for the small number, explaining that most students in the school chose to take Russian instead of English. This was interesting as historically students in West Germany learned German and English while students in East Germany learned German and Russian. Schöneberg was in former West Berlin yet the majority of the students preferred to study Russian instead of English. The students were very interested in the survey and spent a little over half an hour filling it out. When they were finished I pulled out two students, a male and a female, to be interviewed.

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79 I thought his general age was noteworthy since I am talking about young people. It was interesting that the teachers who responded to our survey were overwhelmingly young. The teachers who wrote back, telling us that our survey was “too political” or “too controversial” were all older. This means that the older generations are still too nervous to talk about historical periods in Germany like World War II while young teachers think it is an important topic to discuss with their classes. This confirmed my belief that there is more widespread nationalist sentiment in Germany in the younger generations than the older ones.

80 I did not include the surveys from the American students in my data.
The following is an in-depth look at the interviews that I conducted in Berlin. I have also compared the answers given by the interviewees with the surveys from their classmates. The purpose of the survey was to understand how German youth identify themselves by understanding how they view their national history.
Berlin Interviews

My first five survey questions were designed as general knowledge questions to find out the approximate level of education that students had received. Based on the standard school curricula at the Gymnasium level, I assumed that all students would answer the first five correctly. The students were interviewed separately. The female student is identified as FS1 while the male student is identified as T.M. The first questions were the following:

1. Name three countries that border Germany.
2. What was the German currency before the Euro?
3. Name five political parties in Germany.
   a. FS1: FDP, CDU, SPD, The Greens, NPD
   b. T.M: SPD, CDU, Gruene (The Greens), FDP, Die Linke
4. Who came first the Greeks or the Romans?
5. Who postulated the Evolutions Theory?

Both students gave correct answers to all of the above questions; however, I have specifically listed political parties in the order that they gave them. Concerning fiscal policy, the parties fall as follows from right to left: FDP, CSU, CDU, Gruene, SPD, and Die Linke. From right to left on an ideological and social perspective they fall: NPD, CSU, CDU, FDP, SPD, Gruene, Die Linke, and KPD. In other words political division was already evident in these first few answers. The female student listed very right wing parties’ in her list, even mentioning the NPD, which is made up of the remnants of the Nazi party, while the male student listed more leftist parties. The Greeks or Romans question and the Evolution's theory question were both asked to ascertain the general level of historical knowledge that the students possessed. The next seven questions were specifically about city verses country knowledge and personal data.

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81 The female student did not wish to be identified and is referred to as FS1 for “Female Student 1.” The male student did wish to be identified and is referred to by his initials, T.M.
82 See Glossary for names and explanations of parties.
83 KPD are the communists although they are forbidden now in Germany. NPD does not have a fiscal policy. The full names of the parties can be found in the glossary.
6. Name three cities in the old states.
7. Name one prime minister from the old states and one from the new states.
8. Name three sports teams with which you personally identify.
9. Do you read a daily newspaper? If so which one?
10. What type of news do you follow on a regular basis?
11. Which city is the seat of the German stock exchange?
12. Which city is called the Venice of the North?
13. What religion are you?

These questions were to test the student’s knowledge of greater Germany to see if they identified more by their city, their state or their country. It was also to see how much they knew about political, economic and cultural aspects of Germany outside of their individual city. Former West Germany is now known as “the old states” while former East Germany is known as “the new states.”

We asked students in Berlin to name cities in the old states because, although Berlin was split between East and West, geographically the whole city lay in the East. The female student successfully listed three cities in former Western Germany but the male student listed three cities in former East Germany, demonstrating his lack of knowledge about the split. However, both students could successfully name a prime minister from both the East and the West of Germany.

Both students were very interested in sports. When asked to give three sports teams with which they personally identify, the female student listed teams that were local to Berlin. The male student however, listed the Dallas Mavericks. This is an interesting choice because one of the star players on the Dallas Mavericks is Dirk Nowitzki, a German national who is an icon in the sports world in Germany.

When asked what newspaper they read both students responded “Der Tagesspiegel” which is the local paper in Berlin. When they did follow international news, it usually pertained to sports. However, both

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84 The former DDR is now referred to as “the New States” because they joined the BRD after the reunification of 1989, not the other way around. They adopted the BRD form of government, a capitalist economy and Bonn as the original capital until the transfer to Berlin. The DDR was completely dissolved. Therefore the BRD is comprised of the “Old States” which originally made up West Germany while East Germany, formerly the DDR, is now called the “New States” since 1989.
students knew that Frankfurt am Main is the seat of the German stock exchange. In short, while the
student’s interest in nationwide politics and economics was scattered the students did seem to have an
interest in German sports. This was also evident in the answers given by their classmates which will be
discussed further down.

The next five questions pertained to the student’s general knowledge of German history.

15. In which countries have you traveled?
16. Have you ever been to a city in the “old states?”
17. In which of the following cities would you like to live?
18. List the three worst events in German history, in your opinion.
19. With which of the following do you mostly identify with: City, State or Country?

I asked question 15 to find out whether students who live in the former Eastern Germany
vacation more in the former Eastern bloc or in the West and vice versa. The female student listed Great
Britain, France, Portugal, Austria, Poland, USA, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Columbia, Chile, Greece and Italy. Of
all of the countries that she had visited only Poland was from the former Eastern bloc. Likewise, the
male student had visited Austria, the Czech Republic, Holland, Belgium, France, England, Italy, Spain and
the USA. Once again the Czech Republic was the only former Eastern bloc country in which he had ever
been. When asked if they had ever been to the old states the female student listed 6 West German cities
that she had visited. On the other hand the male student listed three cities that were only in the new
states, again, showing his lack of knowledge about the split.

However, when asked which three cities in which they would like to live in the future, the
female student listed Leipzig, Dresden and Rostock, all of which are in the former East. The male student
listed Karlsruhe, Köln and Dresden; two in the West and one in the East. We can conclude from this
section that while neither student had extensive exposure to former Eastern Germany their preferences
for future living did not seem to indicate any particular bias towards the East or the West. They seemed
comfortable talking about all parts equally.
The purpose of the three worst events question was to see how students would interpret what the survey meant; either the three worst events committed by the German government or the three worst events committed towards the German people. The female student listed World War I, World War II and the Berlin Wall, showing that she approached the question from a “collective guilt” perspective and thought about what the German government had done in history. The male student, however, listed causes and effects of these events rather than the actual event; National Socialism, the Financial Crisis of 1929 and the 1968 student protests. These answers were a collection of acknowledgements towards bad moments in the German government’s history as well as international factors that affected the German people, like world economics and the Cold War. Finally, when asked by which they identified the female student said that she identified by city (Berlin) while the male student said that he identified by country. The female students answer was the one I expected since most Berliners that I encountered seemed proud to identify themselves by the capital city. I was surprised by the male students’ answer, however, in that he did not seem to have any problem with the statement “I am proud to be a German.” This was not an answer I received very often from the older generations in Germany as most associated national pride with the “collective guilt” associated with Germany’s past. Therefore, it was intriguing to see this youth simply state it without any hesitation or caveat.

The next set of questions pertained to the student’s political knowledge and opinions.

20. Please give definitions for the following political forms: Democracy, Socialism, and Dictatorship.
21. Which of these systems do you think would work best for Greece? For Germany? For Cuba?
22. Which of the following people do you think was most influential in German history? Karl Marx, Marlene Dietrich, Konrad Adenauer, Nikita Chruschtschow, Winston Churchill, Walter Ulbricht.
23. Why did you pick this person?
24. Please sing the national anthem.
25. What do you know about the history of the national anthem?
26. Where do you think it is appropriate to play the national anthem?
27. Where do you think it is appropriate to hang the German flag?
28. Who wrote the text of the national anthem?
29. Who wrote the melody?
30. What is the first sentence of the German constitution?
The definitions that I was using as a baseline were short versions of those given in the Oxford English dictionary. In general terms I was defining Democracy as “Government by the people...that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole.”\(^{85}\) I was defining Socialism as “Collective ownership and regulation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange... state intervention in the running of the economy.”\(^{86}\) My definition for Dictatorship was simply “Absolute authority”\(^{87}\) of one person over the people. Both students gave answers to question twenty that were fairly in line with the ones above. Both also agreed that democracy was best for both Greece and Germany. However, when asked about Cuba, both students agreed that socialism, not democracy, was working best for Cuba. \(^{88}\) Considering Berlin’s own history with communism I was surprised that neither student thought the situation Cuba was a problem.

For question twenty-two, both students put Karl Marx as the most influential man in German history. However, the male student also put Konrad Adenauer. For this question, I purposefully picked three people from the Cold War, one from the Nazi time, two vastly different chancellors and one cultural icon, because I wanted to see the types of genres that students would associate with political influence in Germany. Konrad Adenauer is a very important figure in German history. He was the first chancellor of West Germany after World War II who was responsible for implementing the economic recovery package that jump started West Germany from economic ruin back to a major economic world power. He famously declared that Germany would not pay reparations to France for World War II in a speech that he made in France to an all-French crowd. He petitioned the allies to re-allow Germany to have a standing army, claiming that they could never be a major world player without it. When he was the mayor of Bonn in World War II, he refused to allow Hitler to give a speech in the city. As chancellor

\(^{87}\) The Oxford - English Dictionary [http://dictionary.oed.com](http://dictionary.oed.com) Accessed 03/12/10
\(^{88}\) Interview conducted in Berlin
he established a stable democracy in Germany as well as a pension system, which is still operating in Germany today. He is often known as “The Father of the new Germany.” Adenauer was openly critical of the GDR, claiming at one point that the socialists had fled out of fear from the Nazis. In the post Nazi era, when whispering the name “Germany” was considered too nationalistic, Adenauer displayed a bravado and national pride that, though controversial, took amazing strides towards reunifying the nation. Students who marked him as the most significant person in German history make a positive statement about German nationalism.

Karl Marx on the other hand was an author. While he died before any of his ideas were realized, his book, The Communist Manifesto was used as a founding tenant of the spread of worldwide communism, including the Soviet Union of which the GDR was a satellite. This question again relied on the students to interpret. Some gave the name of the person that they thought did the most to promote the idea of Germany while others listed the person that they thought affected Germany the most, in either a good or a bad way. T.M.’s answer explains the dual possibilities of this question, “Karl Marx was an idealist, Adenauer was a more respectable person, a chancellor who did a lot, but had less ideas than Karl Marx.”

The tune to the German national anthem was originally written under the name “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser” by Joseph Hayden. The text was later written by Hoffman von Fallersleben, who gave it the title “Das Lied der Deutschen.” This became the official anthem in 1922 when it was established by President Ebert of the Weimar republic. The song officially consists of three stanzas which are listed in the Glossary. While national anthems can mean vastly different things for different nation states, it is important to note that the German national anthem was written at a time when the German lands were pushing to form their own nation state, and separate themselves from the Prussian Empire. Thus

89 Interview Notes
90 *Translated "God Save Franz the Emperor"
91 *Translated "The Song of The Germans"
92 http://german.about.com/library/blmus_deutschland.htm Accessed 10/30/09
its original meaning to the German people is virtually identical to the meaning of the "Star Spangled Banner" to United States citizens, which was also written during a crucial move from colony to nation state.

During the Nazi era, Hitler placed most emphasis on the first verse which was often the only stanza sung at official events. Due to the controversial lyrics, especially the opening line “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles”, the first stanza was banned at the end of World War II. The second verse was also banned in the 1960’s because the feminist movement in Germany believed that grouping German women with German wine was more chauvinistic than nationalistic. Today, Germans are left with the third stanza as their official national anthem. Unlike in the United States where the anthem is played before almost every sporting event, the German anthem is only played at national political ceremonies and international sports events. Even when two German soccer teams square off, the anthem will not be played. The anthem is never played in school. Students learn the anthem once in music class with more emphasis on history and interpretation than actual words. Attention is given to the parts of the anthem that are no longer sung and why. Consequently, the little exposure that German students have to their anthem is usually more critical than nationalistic in nature. The result is a nation of young people who often do not know their country’s anthem, while those who do are often very critical of it. 

Both of the Berlin students, however, were able to sing the officially recognized third verse of the national anthem although the male student struggled to remember the chorus and neither student was certain of the author and composer. When asked about the appropriateness of the anthem and the flag the male student said that open displays of nationalism are acceptable as long as they pertain to sporting or political events at the international level. He also did not have a problem with hanging the German flag in public. The female student did not express an open opinion about playing the national

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93 Interview notes, students in Frankfurt and Leipzig
anthem although she did note that she rarely heard it played in Germany. She felt that the flag should only be hung in “places of government, like parliament, but nowhere else.”

The German national flag is almost as controversial as the national anthem. The first flag to fly over geographical Germany, for over a thousand years before the inception of the nation state, was the flag of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nations. This had a solid gold background with a heraldic marshal black eagle in the center. The modern color scheme is a result of the feudal protests, after the Napoleonic wars, as the motto explains, “Aus der Schwärze der Knechtschaft durch blutige Schlachten ans goldene Licht der Freiheit.” The colors of the German flag represent the struggle out of oppression to a more democratic freedom. The ironic point is that, every time these colors have flown over Germany the nation has been at peace. The flag was black, white and red under Prussian rule.

The Weimar Republic readopted the old flag from before the time of Prussian rule from 1919 till 1933. The original Prussian colors were adopted in a new design by Hitler in an attempt to make the German state seem more military and imperial in nature. Hitler explained in Mein Kampf, “the red is the social ideology of the movement; the white is the purity of the Arian race and the black swastika symbolizes the mission of the fight to victory of the Arian people over the dominance of the Jews.” The old flag was adopted again in 1949 and has been the flag of the West and then united Germany ever since. The GDR added the hammer, compass and wheat laurel, all communist symbols, to their version of the flag. The federal flag today has the traditional colors set as the background to the old H.R.E. marshal eagle. This flag cannot be purchased by private citizens. This means that the federal government does not want

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94 Interview Notes
95 Glossary
96 Translated “From the blackness of servitude, through blood red battles, onto the golden light of freedom”
97 See Glossary for pictures of the flags
99 Glossary
100 Glossary
private citizens to fly the more militaristic version of their flag. This is a cautionary note towards nationalism that exists at the federal level.

Very few Germans know this history yet many are incredibly critical of it. The federal government had to pass a law mandating that federal buildings fly the flag on federal holidays because there was such a reluctance to display it. Thus for a student to say it is acceptable for a private citizen to fly the flag is a big step towards nationalism.

Neither student knew the first law of the German constitution, which is "The honor of man is untouchable." The constitution, like the flag and the anthem is a symbol of German nationalism. Lack of knowledge about it shows a disinterest in its importance. This was another example of a general aversion to nationalism in the current school system in Germany.

The final questions specifically pertained to the students understanding of the period in which Germany was divided between East and West and the perceived ramifications of that divide.

31. On what day was Germany officially reunited?
32. On what day each year is the day of reunification celebrated?
33. Who was chancellor during reunification?
34. Name one composer from West Germany and one composer from East Germany.
35. What does the year 1968 mean in your eyes?
36. What happened on the 17th of June 1953?
37. In what year was the wall built and who built it?
39. What is, for you, more important; Freedom or Social Security? Why?

The very last question was an attempt to understand the student’s personal thoughts on a socialist verses democratic state. Germany was officially reunited on November 9th 1989. However, this date is not used to celebrate the “Tag der deutschen Einheit” because it is also the day of “Reichskristallnacht” which was the night in which the Nazi SS broke the windows of Jewish storefronts in the Pre-World War II period. Because of this reference, October 3rd was designated the

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102 * Translated “Day of German Reunification”
103 * Translated “Night of broken glass”
official celebration day. Neither student knew the official day of reunification but both knew that reunification was celebrated annually on the 3rd of October. Both students also knew that Helmut Kohl was Chancellor of West Germany during reunification. The female student, however, could not name a composer from either the East or the West and the male student only knew that Beethoven was from "somewhere in the West". He could not name one from the East.\textsuperscript{104} I expected both students to know the history specifically pertaining to reunification because Berlin was most affected by it. The answers to the composer question, however shows little interest in the cultural impact of Germany as a whole on greater Europe.

The year 1968 was an intense political time in Europe. Student protests, the most famous of which being “the Prague Spring” were spreading throughout the continent. Since protests occurred in both the East and the West, I included this question in the survey because the answer that students gave first indicated which part of Germany they first thought of, either East or West. Both students listed the student protests in the East first.

June 17\textsuperscript{th} 1953 was the date of an intense workers riot in the GDR that was suppressed by the Soviet Union. Once again, knowledge of this particular question demonstrates knowledge about the reality of the situation in the GDR. Both students knew of this event while T.M. even went so far as to explain that the riots were “bloodily put down by, well, what is now Russia.”\textsuperscript{105} Both students also knew that the Wall was built in 1961 although the female student said it was built by the Soviet Union while the male student said it was built by Russia.

My final question was really the crux of my entire questionnaire as I wanted to know where the students stood politically. When asked what was more important to him T.M. said, “Freedom. I think Freedom is the most important thing. I think social security is important, too, without freedom you

\textsuperscript{104} The most famous composer from the East is Bach. I did not restrict answers to the GDR period but rather allowed any composer that was born in the Eastern region of Germany.

\textsuperscript{105} Interview Notes
cannot use it wisely." The female student said, "I thought long and hard, and I think freedom. Social Security is important, but I would rather live free but poor, than secure and caged." I thought these answers were very interesting as both of them were more in favor of freedom over social security. This was a sentiment that I would see echoed heavily in many parts of Germany and opposed in others. Despite all of the interest that the two students had shown in historical aspects associated with the East, like the Russian language and Karl Marx, politically the students still picked freedom over social security.

The rest of the students in the class had similar answers to those given by my interviewees. In some ways the students seemed to be very city oriented, focusing their answers on Berlin as opposed to greater Germany. Only 5 students could successfully list three cities in the old states and only one could list a prime minister from both the East and the West. All of the students showed an interest in sports, however, specifically teams local to Berlin. Hardly any of the students followed news, and those that did confined their interest to local news about Berlin. Only one student said they followed international news on a monthly basis. Five students said that they identified by city while only two identified by their country. However, all the students knew that the Stock Exchange was located in Frankfurt and all of them had traveled extensively in other parts of Germany and Europe.

The students were also split in terms of Western verses Eastern political tendencies. Exactly half of the students had traveled to countries in the former Eastern Bloc while the other half had not. They also expressed interest in living in different cities all over Germany, on both sides of the former border. Only two of the students could sing the national anthem correctly, but none of them knew the first law in the German constitution and none of them knew the correct date of German reunification. All of the students knew the name of the West German chancellor during reunification and six out of eight student’s preferred freedom over social security.

106 Interview notes
107 Interview notes
The issues on which the students were in agreement were the questions about the three worst events in German history as well as the questions about the Wall. Almost all of the students listed the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War as the most terrible events in German history, a trend that I saw repeated in the other cities as well. However, they also listed events that they thought led to these wars. Many listed the 1929 financial crisis and one student simply repeated, “Nationalsozialismus, Nationalsozialismus, Nationalsozialismus.”\textsuperscript{108} Since the Wall did run through the center of Berlin most of the students were well acquainted with the questions about the East/ West divide. All of them knew about the student protests in 1968 and several also listed the founding of the RAF.\textsuperscript{109} Six out of eight students knew about the 1953 protest, as well as the year that the wall built it.

**Berlin Analysis**

My overall conclusion upon leaving Berlin was that the students’ knowledge of German history and politics was sporadic and disjointed. They did not seem to be retaining a single unified narrative about Germany history. Political opinion often did not match the level of political knowledge and historical meta-narratives about Märchen building and the need for nationalism seemed nonexistent.

From the surveys and interviews that I conducted in Berlin I came to understand that there are specific periods in Germany history where historical education has started, stopped and restarted under a different narrative. There are points in the German timeline, specifically when there is a radical change in government, in which national history has been completely rewritten. Examples from the Berlin section would be the rewriting of the Märchen to propound Nazi or communist ideology in the 1920s and the period directly following World War II in which virtually all schoolbooks were completely destroyed and new ones were produced. As the German Ministry of Education no longer advocates Top-down Märchen building in the school system, there is no current historical narrative that is being taught. As a result of the Nazi period, the West German government developed a phobia of Top-down

\textsuperscript{108} Translated “National Socialism” (NSDAP/Nazi Party)
\textsuperscript{109} Translated “The Red Army Faction”
Märchen building, banned nationalist rhetoric in the school system and made it virtually impossible for students to openly express pride towards being German on a national scale. What are left are strings of former Märchen from former time periods. Whatever the Ministry of Education is trying to accomplish, in terms of restraining overtly nationalist rhetoric, they are not providing a successful historical narrative to teach the youth. The Berlin surveys are an introduction to some of the problems in the current school system. Specific problems will be explored in further detail in later chapters.

The students that I interviewed, however, did not have a problem with expressing certain aspects of nationalist sentiment. Since this sentiment is not being expressed by the federal government, there must be another force at work that is causing a resurgence of nationalism. I hoped my theory would become further evident as I continued to interview students in other parts of Germany.
Frankfurt

Education in West Germany 1945-Present

“Wenn die Österreicher von uns Reparationen verlangen sollten, dann werde ich Ihnen die Gebeine Adolf Hitlers schicken.” – Konrad Adenauer

The year was 1945 and the most devastating war of modern history had just come to its close.

Now that the Allies had officially won World War II there was much confusion about what was to be done with the German nation state. President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and General Secretary of the Russian Communist party, Joseph Stalin met at the Yalta Conference to discuss the governance of a post war Germany. Each zone’s duties would include restructuring the economy, investing in extensive architecture plans to rebuild the numerous cities that had been leveled by Allied bombing, as well as reforming the education system to rid it of Nazi propaganda. The Americans occupied the state of Hessen and Bavaria, as well as small parts of Baden-Württemberg and a few port cities in the North. The American military government was headquartered in Frankfurt.

It wasn’t long before the Allied powers began to understand the daunting task of reforming the German education system. Keeping in mind that the previous two reform periods had emphasized

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110 Konrad Adenauer responded to Austria’s intentions to pursue reparations for World War 2 from Germany with the words “When the Austrians start asking for reparations from us, we will send them Adolf Hitler’s bones.” This came as a direct retort to the fact that Adolf Hitler was Austrian and that Austria had joined the Third Reich out of its own accord before the breakout of World War 2. Zitate.net http://zitate.net/autoren/konrad%20adenauer/zitate_2.html Accessed 04/18/10

111 “Potshot” http://www.potshot.ca/pm/uploads/Main/frank.jpeg Accessed 02/17/10
nationalism as the main focus of their social studies curriculums, in order to build confidence in Germany as the superior nation state, the Allies did not wish to encourage an educational reform that would have the same effect in a post-Nazi Germany. In September of 1946, a ten-member commission, headed by George F. Zook, president of the American council on Education, met to discuss possible reforms for the American zone. 112 The decision was to have officials from each Land113 under American occupation draw up a potential reform plan and submit it to U.S. military officials for review. John Gimbel, author of The American Occupation of Germany: Politics and the Military, 1945-1949 explains, 112

They called for equal educational opportunity for all, free tuition, free textbooks and materials, compulsory school attendance from the ages of 6-15 and compulsory part time education from 15-18. OMGUS wanted elementary and secondary schools to be two consecutive levels of education, rather than a double or triple track after the fourth or fifth year that would separate students bound for the professions from those seemingly headed towards jobs requiring low skills. Schools were to emphasize civic responsibility and a democratic way of life, to promote international goodwill...

The result was a two-tiered approach. First, the West German Government readopted the Humboldtian model of education which was originally used in the Prussian empire as many felt that it was an effective way to move away from Top-down Märchen building in the schools. The Humboldt philosophy teaches that the best education style is one that focuses on classical subjects like Latin, Mathematics, Ancient Greek, Grammar, and Eurasian-Ancient History from Egypt to the Romans, as well as subjects needed for technological research like Biology, Physics and Economics. The intention of this teaching style is to generate well educated citizens that produce both prestige and wealth for the state due to their contributions to globally beneficial research and more abstract loyalty to Europe, not Germany in particular.115 Humboldt University still operates today in Berlin.116 Postwar planners hoped

112 Gimbel, John The American occupation of Germany: politics and the military, 1945-1949
113 *Translated “State”
114 Gimbel 241
115 From this point on I will be referring to the Humboldtian style as “pragmatic vs. reflective” education.
that this type of education would focus more on the economy and research rather than politics, in hopes of separating the recent historical period from the German student’s own sense of national identity. This phenomenon, known as *Wirtschaftswunder*, has had its most profound effect on the large cities of the West like Frankfurt and Köln.

After several months of draft proposals the Allied powers were still somewhat dissatisfied with Hessen as it continued to allow part of the state taxes to go towards funding private schools.\(^{117}\) The Allies were very suspicious of private schooling as it was not monitored as closely by the state and they feared that such institutions could keep Nazi ideology alive. In addition, the American forces wanted to reinstate Top-down Märchen building in the schools and simply change the rhetoric so that the tales taught “collective guilt”\(^{118}\) to German students and thus discouraged any form of nationalism. Meanwhile, despite the rapid progress in rebuilding from the bombings, schools were still overcrowded and lacked sufficient materials such as desks, writing boards, and even teachers. The American government did away with supervised self-governance on educational policy and proceeded to directly order a series of reforms in Hessen. Local Hessen officials were able to delay the reforms until 1951 when they finally lost steam and fizzled out. Consequently, an American type elementary school system was never implemented despite the fact that Frankfurt was redesigned in an American style in almost every other aspect. \(^{119}\) The West German government had managed to ban Top-down Märchen building permanently from the school system.

Some emphasis on collective guilt was implanted, however, before the American government released control back to the German government in Bonn. Political Scientist Jan Erk explains, “The Allies

\(^{116}\) Pritchard, Rosalind M.O. “Challenges of Participation in German Higher Education-an East-West Comparison” Edited by Dennis, Mike and Kolinsky, Eva United and Divided: Germany since 1990 New York, Berghahm Books 2004. 110-123

\(^{117}\) Gimbel 241

\(^{118}\) Collective guilt is the idea that each German citizen should feel personally responsible for what happened in the Holocaust and that by saying phrases like “I am proud to be German” they are condoning what happened. It completely melds together the idea of Nazism with Germanness and presents World War II as a black spot on the German people that can never be erased.

\(^{119}\) Gimbel 242
decided to place education under Länder control to prevent the reappearance of totalitarian nationalism and, in due course, to re-educate and de-Nazify the Germans.” A policy statement released in 1947 specifically stated that, “The re-education of the German people is an integral part of policies intended to help develop a democratic form of government and restore a stable and peaceful economy.” The collective guilt mentality was the main policy initiative by the American forces until the end of occupation. This even included censoring, changing and often forbidding newspapers that they believed to be unsympathetic to American occupation. As Gimbel explains, “Americans also worked for school reform and curriculum changes; they tried to convince Germans that they were guilty of past political and moral errors… As a result of these efforts the Frankfurt school system has retained an emphasis on collective guilt from the Nazi era despite the fact that it, along with the state of Hessen was eventually returned to a West German government.

In 1948 Allied occupation of the West gave way to the Bonn republic, democratic self governance by Germans for Germans. The constitution, known as the “Basic Law,” divided West Germany into a series of “Länder” or federal states. Each Land was to maintain significant state sovereignty on many issues. Educational policy was placed under the sovereignty of each individual Land in Article 30 of the Basic Law. The purpose of the Länder was to create a federalist system in Germany and thus diffuse nationalism down to regional pride. This leads to the second way that West German officials moved the nation passed the Nazi era.

120 “Länder” is the German word for States. One way that the Allies decentralized power in the German Government was to give it a federal system. Each state could write its own educational curricula but they would then have to be approved at the federal level before being taught in the schools. It also meant that West Germany could not go to war again unless all of the states individually agreed.


122 Gimbel 246
123 Ibid
124 Gimbel 247
125 Erk 303
Officials placed a heavy emphasis on culture. Each Land’s Minister of Culture participated in a nationwide conference of cultural ministers, headquartered in Bonn. The West German government at the time felt that cultural unity was something that was both vital to the survival of Germany as a nation state as well as something that must be intimately integrated into educational policy. The Minister of Education for the state of Hesse in 1949, Edward Stein, stated, “By their cooperation, the culture ministers have contributed to the purpose of protecting and promoting the unity of the German spiritual life, together with the acknowledgement of the limited distinctiveness of the Länder.”

Officials hoped that by maintaining cultural unity along with a strong federalist attitude towards nationalism they would create a healthier form of national identity.

From this point forward the Federal Ministry of Culture became more and more integrated into West German educational policy while the individual states retained less and less sovereignty over their curriculum. From 1950 to 1964, West Germany began a series of reforms that streamlined state education. The Düsseldorf agreement of 1955 consolidated methods of educational assessment, duration of the study year, academic curricula and student qualification requirements, across the Länder. This agreement was replaced by the Hamburg agreement in 1964, which controlled educational policy even further. Willy Dehnkamp, president of the KMK stated, “Better co-operation between the Bund and the Länder is in the interest of the German youth, German science and research, the German culture and the German nation.” In 1969 the CDU/CSU-SPD coalition created the Federal Ministry of Education. This Ministry still governs educational policy in Germany today. This coalition eventually reestablished the talent based three-tiered educational hierarchical structure, also

126 Erk 303
127 Erk 304
128 Ibid
129 Erk, 306
130 Erk, 305
131 Glossary
still in place in Germany today.\textsuperscript{132} By 1970 the Bund-Länder Commission had been created which officially included the federal government “as a partner” in the council of Ministers of Education from the Länder.\textsuperscript{133} By 1975 the German Educational Council had published over fifty papers detailing the need for the federal government to treat educational policy, from kindergarten to the University level as “one complex whole.” Although the Länder still retained the right to write their own exams and class materials, testing at the major levels would be conducted by the federal government and all educational plans would have to pass through the Ministry of Education for approval.\textsuperscript{134} There was very little opposition in West Germany during these reforms as most West Germans felt that the education reforms were necessary to both overcome the Nazi past as well as differentiate themselves from East Germany.

Thus the system, in which I entered, to interview students, is a complex network of national and state, educational policy. The state of Hessen has jurisdiction over more technical areas like math and science; however the federal ministries of Culture and Education maintain rigid supervision of the history and political curriculums that are taught to the youth in each Land. This does not mean that the federal government tells the states, word for word, what to teach, but each states curriculum must be approved at the federal level before it is taught in the classroom.

\textsuperscript{132} Hagan, Merkens and Boehnke “Delinquency and Disdain: Social Capital and the Control of Right-Wing Extremism among East and West Berlin Youth” 1037

\textsuperscript{133} Erk 308

\textsuperscript{134} Erk 306
The Heart of Germany

It’s so clean. After thirteen hours of flying I stepped off the plane at Frankfurt am Main international airport. As we were shuttled from the plane to the main terminal I saw jets from every nation that I could imagine; Air Singapore, Air France, Air India. I later learned that Frankfurt was the main connector between the Western and Eastern hemispheres, hence the massive international hub. Eventually I found my bags and my host family contact and we headed to the car. The kilometer long walkway, aside from being spotless, was lined with pictures. On the left were great feats of German engineering and progress; giant black and white photos of Lufthansa, BMW, Volkswagen, Deutsche Bank and other economic giants. On the other side were pictures of German history; equally large black and white photos of bombed out cities and German soldiers from several different wars. I was instantly struck by this parallel. I had been in Germany for 10 minutes and I was already presented with this paradox. On one side of the airport, Germany was swelling its chest to proudly show boasts of economic success. On the other it was already bowing its head in reserved silence as it displayed its past.

The Frankfurt skyline reminded me of a smaller but cleaner Manhattan, with skyscrapers and a business atmosphere. My host family lived in Offenbach, a little suburb right outside of Frankfurt. Their two-story condo was encased in glass and located on the top floor of a middleclass apartment building. After dinner we settled down by the tomato garden on their balcony to talk about my project. Our discussion was soon interrupted by shouting from below. My host mom leaned over her balcony and

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136 All of my interviews in all four cities were done between may and July 2009
shook her head in disgust, beckoned me over and pointed down to the kindergarten playground below. There were a group of adults holding liquor bottles in one hand and poorly attempting to hold onto the merry-go-round with the other, as they spun drunkenly in circles. They were rambling something in a thick accent. My host mom shook her head and commented, “Wir haben hier viele probleme mit den Ossis.”

I chose to take my West German youth sample from Frankfurt for several reasons. As the seat of the German stock exchange it is the headquarters of dozens of prominent banks. The Frankfurt train station is the crossing point between the North-South and the East-West rail lines, making it a hub for business and commerce. Frankfurt was built according to the Marshall plan from the ground up and heavily influenced by U.S. architecture. Today, Frankfurt boasts an American skyline as well as several American banks and the economy flows almost simultaneously with the Dow Jones. The city is also home to important aspects of Germany’s cultural heritage. An old Roman city was recently excavated by the cathedral, which was the only building not destroyed in the bombing. The Frankfurt cathedral was the coronation site of the Holy Roman Emperor. It was also the home of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, one of the greatest German authors in world literature. Despite its numerous points of cultural and historical pride, Frankfurt considers itself the Germany of the future as it is very oriented around business and international economic prestige.

As a result of the education reforms explained in the previous section, the current German education system is test and performance oriented. Students take their first round of state administered exams when they are ten years old. Up until this point, students are divided into classrooms based solely on place of residence, and individual talent is not a factor. The Department of Education for each state designs its own exams; however, each exam is approved by the conference of education and cultural

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137 *Translated “We have a lot of problems here with the Easterners”
138 Politically, the state of Hessen is a conservative stronghold and Frankfurt usually votes en bloc along party lines of the CDU/FDP.
secretaries, which is comprised of the Secretary of Education from each state.\textsuperscript{139} This exam determines for which of the three tiers of secondary education the student is eligible; gymnasium, middle school or general school. Both middle and general school only go through the tenth grade. Gymnasium goes through 13\textsuperscript{th} grade and allows students the opportunity to apply for university.\textsuperscript{140} In other words, the career path of a German student can be limited based on an exam that the student takes when they are ten years old.\textsuperscript{141}

Students who do not score well are placed into the lower tiered schools, which allow the students three options upon completion: apprenticeship in a trade profession, a career in the military or entrance into a technical college. Apprenticeships are a combination of schooling and on the job training that prepare students for artisan and craftsman type jobs. All training is practical and there is no room for exploration into any other field, especially history or politics.\textsuperscript{142} It should be noted that 66.6\% of Germany’s population enters the apprenticeship world. Only 33.4\% make it to the Gymnasium level.\textsuperscript{143} The students that I surveyed for this project were all at the Gymnasium level, which is comprised of Germany’s intellectual elite. The little time for contemplating what it means to be German and properly understanding nationalism is left for the upper levels of Gymnasium. Therefore when questions appeared on the survey that these students did not know it should be considered that the apprenticeship population would know even less of this type of information as they never had the opportunity to attend Gymnasium. In terms of my study this means that only 33.4\% of the population even gets the chance to contemplate ideas of nationalism and national unity at the academic level.

\textsuperscript{139}”The Federal Ministry of Education” http://www.bmbf.de/en/index.php Accessed 03/13/10
\textsuperscript{140} There are chances to move up out of middle and general school but this is extremely difficult and is not an avenue that many students pursue.
\textsuperscript{141} *The Economist* 9
\textsuperscript{142} Herausgeber: Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Dokumentations – und Bildungsinformationsdienst, Lennéstr. 6, 53113 Bon, Tel: 0228 501-0.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid
Students who score well enough to enter gymnasium are submitted to a battery of classes during their high school years. Students typically take twelve classes simultaneously each year. A German high school academic schedule for one semester might include German literature and Grammar, English, Latin, French, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Math, Computer Science, History, Sociology, Religious Studies and a choice of graded art or gym. All classes are graded and dropping or changing levels is extremely difficult. For example, gym class is graded by athleticism, not your attempt to be athletic. The semester that gym covers track and field the student must run the 100 meter dash in 11.6 seconds or better (which is two seconds off the world record) to receive an ‘A’ in the class.\textsuperscript{144}

At the end of gymnasium, students write their “Abitur” which is a series of comprehensive exams that decides whether or not they may move onto the university level. The Abitur is made up of five exams and all cumulative grades from the 12\textsuperscript{th} and 13\textsuperscript{th} year of study. Students who do not score well enough will complete their state mandated military service and then enter an apprenticeship.

Students who score well enough on the Abitur will begin classes for their chosen major on their very first day of University. University classrooms leave little room for personalization or discussion. It is not uncommon for 2,000 students to be enrolled in one class with 1,000 in the behemoth sized classroom and the other 1,000 in an adjacent classroom, watching the professor via teleprompter. Grading for these classes is usually dependant on one exam, administered at the end of each semester. Classes are not curved and students who fail more than twice must either switch majors or drop out of the University and enter an apprenticeship.\textsuperscript{145} As a result only 15\% of German citizens receive a University degree.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{146} The Economist 9
The education reforms of the post World War II period transformed the school system from a time of reflection and identity forming to an intensive period of performance and training. Little time or energy is reserved for discussing aspects of national loyalty or citizenship and Top-down Märchen building seems a thing of the past. The German drive for educational excellence, especially in the sciences and engineering, has earned it an international reputation for perfection. According to the Pisa study Germany currently ranks 8th in the world for sciences and 16th for mathematics. What is not mentioned here, however, are those subjects that are slightly more controversial, those subjects directly linked to German national ideology like history and politics.

I was scheduled to interview students at the Helmholtzschule in the center of Frankfurt. My contact, Oliver Knothe, was a very young smartly dressed history teacher, who wore slacks and a business shirt without a tie, loafers and carefully trimmed facial hair. He spoke what German’s refer to as “high German” which is a form of grammatically correct, accent-free speech with a sufficient use of the genitive case. This level of German usually separates Germany’s highly educated class from those who did not attend university. Herr Knothe was very interested in my study and eager to have my translator and me visit his class. His class mimicked their teacher in their mannerisms. All were smartly dressed and already had pen and notebook out, ready to take notes as their teacher plugged in his laptop to begin his PowerPoint presentation. I explained to the class that I would be passing out a survey with German history and political opinion questions and asked them to do the best that they could. The students took the survey very seriously, no one talked or joked around, they treated it like a test, carefully filling in their answers and quietly raising their hand when they were done. They all spoke

147 The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA)
[http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0,2987,en_32252351_32235731_1_1_1_1_1,00.html](http://www.pisa.oecd.org/pages/0,2987,en_32252351_32235731_1_1_1_1_1,00.html) Accessed 02/16/10
fluent English and asked extensive questions. The young man who volunteered to be interviewed was named Felix.\textsuperscript{148}

**Frankfurt Interviews**

Felix sailed through the general knowledge questions with ease, proving his education level.\textsuperscript{149}

Me: *Name three states that border Germany*
Felix: Poland, France and Austria
Me: *What was the German currency before the Euro?*
Felix: The Deutsche Mark
Me: *Name five political parties in Germany*
Felix: CDU, FDP, the Left, SPD, the Greens
Me: *Who came first, the Greeks or the Romans?*
Felix: The Greeks
Me: *Who postulated the evolutionary theory?*
Felix: Charles Darwin
Me: *Name three cities in the new states*
Felix: Dresden, Leipzig, Magdeburg
Me: *Name a prime minister from the old states and a prime minister from the new states*
Felix: Christian Wulff from Niedersachsen and Thuringia is Althaus
Me: *Which city is called “the Venice of the North”?*
Felix: Hamburg\textsuperscript{150}

Note that Felix gave a balanced list of both left and right leaning parties and demonstrated adequate knowledge of "the new states." He knew the names of Prime Ministers from both the East and the West, a question that most of the students I surveyed were unable to answer. I then proceeded to ask Felix the political opinion questions.

Me: *Can you name three sports teams that you identify with?*
Felix: Eintracht and FSV Frankfurt and the German National Soccer Team
Me: *Do you read a newspaper? What kinds of subjects do you follow?*
Felix: We have the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung at home….I mostly follow sports, politics and Economics.
Me: *What is your religion?*
Felix: I am Lutheran protestant

\textsuperscript{148} Felix signed an identity release form saying that he wished to be identified in the study.
\textsuperscript{149} All interviews were done in a mixture of German and English.
Me: What countries have you visited?
Felix: France, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Israel, Turkey, UAE, USA….maybe I forgot some more of them. I was mostly there for vacation.
Me: Were you ever in the new states?
Felix: Yes, in Leipzig when I was very young.
Me: Which of the cities on the survey would you most like to live in?
Felix: Since Frankfurt isn’t one of them, Cologne.

Felix's taste in news told me that he had been well schooled in the pragmatic vs. reflective education system, considering he was only 18 and regularly followed economic developments in the news. The FAZ is known as the most educated paper in Germany. It follows a BBC/ New York Times style with a thick economics section. The part I found more interesting, however, was Felix's interest in sports, specifically the German National Soccer Team. Not only does Felix cheer for teams in his local city but he also shows loyalty to an international symbol of German nationalism. This is significant since many Germans, especially in the older generations would consider this type of nationalism unsettling. I will be discussing the impact of soccer on youth identity in a later section. Felix’s family is Lutheran protestant, which is a classic West German classification as the Lutheran church is taking over Catholicism in popularity in West Germany. Although Felix seemed to have fearlessly roamed about the Arab world for vacation, he had never been to any countries in Eastern Europe. He had never even been to the former Eastern part of his own country, save for a brief trip to the city of Leipzig when he was very young. When asked where he would like to live as an adult Felix expressed a desire to continue residing in West Germany. I moved on to the rest of the political opinion questions.

Me: In your opinion what are the three worst events in German history?
Felix: The Holocaust, The Nazi Regime, The First World War and the splitting of Germany into East and West…by the Allies….we probably still suffer from the consequences.
Me: Do you identify with your city? Your state? Or your country?
Felix: My city and my country

Note here that Felix listed four events rather than three in order to list aspects of World War II twice. Likewise, he listed both of these aspects first, before any other event in German history. This is a clear cut example of the shadow of collective guilt that had been implanted into the German education
Felix: Democracy: The ruling of the people. Citizens have the right to help with government. There are direct and indirect democracies. Direct democracies have votes that directly affect laws; indirect democracies have the election of representatives. An example is Germany; I think it has a democracy.

Socialism: The equality of citizens in an equal system is the highest goal, with equal opportunity, and history has shown that socialist states have had a tight control over its citizens that way. I think this is just too close to communism, just like the GDR was. An example is China.

Dictator: The unregulated power of a single person. At the top of a nation is one person who may decide everything he/she wants to, without anybody questioning it. An example is Nazi Germany...

Me: Which system do you think is best for Germany?
Felix: I am convinced the current democracy is best.
Me: Which system do you think is best for Cuba?
Felix: Uh, also for Cuba I think democracy, because it is just the preferred form of state.

Felix gave textbook examples of democracy and dictatorship. He immediately knew that Nazi Germany was a dictatorship but he was less sure about the fact that Germany is currently a Democracy. His weakest definition was that of Socialism, which he likened instantly to former East Germany. When asked about which political system he thought was best he always replied, democracy. I closed my interview with Felix with a series of questions specifically about his knowledge of the East, unification and nationalism.

Me: Which of the people in the survey do you think was most important to German history?
Felix: Konrad Adenauer. He was the first German Chancellor, putting Germany on the right course after World War II.
Me: Please recite the national anthem.
Felix: recited correctly
Me: What do you know of the history of the national anthem?
Felix: I know that the melody was first written for Austria...the anthem was then changed to a German text. There used to be other stanzas like “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles” during the Nazi time and so we don’t sing it anymore.
Me: Where do you think it is appropriate to play the national anthem?
Felix: I think it is nice before big sporting events. I think it gives a nice atmosphere, but it is more tradition and there is no pressing need for it.
Me: Where do you think it is appropriate to hang the German flag?
Felix: I think in foreign countries on German Embassies, for recognition. The German flag symbolizes Germany in part and so we need to have this connection to Germany drawn. It is important for Germany to take an active role.
Me: Who wrote the text?
Felix: I don’t know anymore... I cannot remember his name.
Me: Who wrote the melody?
Felix: Haydn.

Felix listed Konrad Adenauer as the most important person in German history. As has been previously explained this is a significant show of nationalism as was the fact that he could recite the national anthem completely correctly. While he didn't see a "pressing need" to sing the anthem, he did acknowledge that an appropriate place would be in the realm of sports. He was also one of the few students to acknowledge that it is important to recognize the flag as an official symbol of Germany. The final questions that I asked Felix pertained specifically to the events surrounding reunification.

Me: How does the first paragraph of the German constitution begin?
Felix: The honor of a man is untouchable.
Me: On what day was Germany reunited?
Felix: I don’t know exactly.
Me: What day is officially known as the day of German reunification?
Felix: October 3rd
Me: Who was the Chancellor during reunification?
Felix: In the West it came through Helmut Kohl
Me: Please name a composer from both the new and the old states.
Felix: From the West, Herbert Grömemeyer and in the East, Tokyo Hotel.
Me: what does the year 1968 mean in your eyes?
Felix: It was the origin of the ’68 movement. It was based on a seemingly Western police officer killing a peaceful demonstrator. In this year all the impulse, not the movement, started, as stuff started piling up.¹⁵¹
Me: What happened on June 17th 1953?
Felix: I think it was Konrad Adenauer was elected first German Chancellor. It was also the year the last German POW's were returned to Germany. Not this date, but around then.
Me: In what year was the wall built and who built it?

¹⁵¹ Felix said "seemingly Western Police officer" because a week prior to our interview the German police issued an investigative report announcing that it was not in fact a Western police officer that had killed demonstrator Benno Ohnesorg, but it was an East German undercover agent, trying to start a riot.
Felix: The GDR built the wall. First you could step over the borders, and they were only meant to show the divide.
Me: What is for you more important, Freedom or Social Security?
Felix: I think Freedom is just the highest good we have. Social service can always be there, without having freedom, but it is...more important.

Through these questions Felix demonstrated sufficient mastery of the historical facts like the Chancellor during reunification and the first part of the German Constitution. His knowledge of the East was limited, and did not seem to line up with his knowledge of the rest of German history and politics. He could not tell me the correct event from 1953 or when the Wall fell. He also did not know a composer from the East or the year that the Wall was built. He did, however know a contemporary band from the East, Tokyo Hotel. This is not a fact that Felix would have picked up in school but rather through modern German youth culture. The fact that the only thing that Felix knew about the East, from these questions, was a piece of pop-culture intrigued me. I decided to see if this pattern would be repeated in other cities around Germany.

While Felix’s semi-nationalistic answers were rare in other parts of Germany they did seem to reflect the norm among students in Frankfurt. I interviewed another male student, about Felix’s age, at the Ana-Schmidt Schule down the road. His name was Mike. Mike also properly recited the first verse of the national anthem saying, “I think this is a great moment for all people to stand together. But I think you can also hear it (in) private. I see ...German flags in the small Schrebergartens. And I think that most of us in Germany are German so we don’t have to put the German flag in our front yard or garden. So you could do it if you want but that’s it.” Mike also answered the general knowledge questions with ease although he had only vacationed in the Western part of Europe. Aside from a quick drive through the area as a child he had never been to former East Germany. Mike also read the FAZ, with particular attention to sports and politics.

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152 Space is limited in the larger cities in Germany and most families live in apartments. Germans love gardening. As a result of limited space, the Schrebergarten was invented. It is a small plot of land that families can rent outside of the city to garden, barbeque or do other outdoor activities.

153 Interview Notes, Mike
Of the thirty seven students that I surveyed in Frankfurt, almost all of them had travelled to the Middle East and/or Africa, but only twelve of them had ever been to a country in the former Eastern Bloc. Although former East Germany is only a two-hour train ride from Frankfurt, only eighteen of them had ever travelled there. This number includes those that simply drove through, as well as those that had only visited Berlin. Many of the students listed events like the stock market crash of 1929, the flooding of the Elbe or the First and Second World War, as the worst events in German history. Only five students listed the Wall, the Cold War or any aspect of the GDR as one of the worst events in German history. For the rest of the thirty-three surveys, any mention of this time period was simply absent.

Felix's sense of nationalism was prevalent in his class as twenty-two of the students identified by country rather than by city, preferring to call themselves Germans rather than Frankfurters. Likewise, thirteen of them recited the national anthem perfectly. When asked to identify the most influential person in German history, twenty seven of them listed Konrad Adenauer. Given the percentage of students in the class that gave pro-nationalist answers, I decided to talk to some university students at the local Frankfurt am Main University about the concept of national identity in Frankfurt. This is a conversation that I had with a twenty-five year old engineering student, named Phillip.

Me: Do you remember the wall falling?
Phillip: Yeah, but only very vague because I was like four...years old.¹⁵⁴
Me: Do you remember the reaction of your parents when the wall fell?
Phillip: Yeah, they were not happy but relieved that the Wall fell.
Me: So most of what you learned about...the GDR was from your school?
Phillip: At my school and from my parents.
Me: And what was that experience?
Phillip: I don’t know, I took it like any other lesson. I didn’t have much of an emotional connection to it.
Me: Do you see German youth... starting to identify themselves as Germans or do you see it going more local...?
Phillip: No I think they tend to identify themselves more like Germans.
Me...do you feel Germany is a united country now?

¹⁵⁴ Many of the students that I interviewed preferred to speak with me in English. I transcribed the interviews word-for-word so many times there are grammatical mistakes.
Phillip: more or less it is united, or it is united as it can be because there will always be differences and some people will always hold grudges against other people from years past but I think umm after the World cup 2006 we are more or less united.

I also spoke with a local 24 year old history student named Christian. We talked about the Frankfurt students’ perception of nationalism.

Me: Do you remember your parents ever talking about the Wall?
Christian: Umm yeah they didn’t talk about it when I was younger and I didn’t pay attention to it. So if they did talk about it then I didn’t recognize it to be such an important thing.
Me: Did your school express any type of opinion about it?
Christian: Umm it was basically neutral, historical fact, no opinion.
Me: Are people moving towards a more unified way of identifying themselves?
Christian: I would say that most of the people they don’t even care about an identification.
Me: In your opinion, where is it appropriate to play the national anthem?
Christian: I think it’s totally appropriate to play the national anthem….I don’t see a problem…it belongs to the nation, to the history of the nation… It’s just a part of it.
Me: Where do you think it is appropriate to hang the German flag?
Christian: I can’t imagine a place where it isn’t appropriate or where it is a big deal to hang the German flag.

The important thing to note from these two interviews is that students did not appropriate the same level of importance to the reunification of Germany as they did to other periods in German history. For students in the West, East German history is a strange if even relevant part of German history as a whole. On the same note these students found it frustrating that older generations in Germany have reservations about open displays of nationalism. They do not see an issue with openly expressing pride in their nation and they think that more and more young people are beginning to think as they do.

**Frankfurt Analysis**

My time in Frankfurt suggested several things about West German youth. Although Frankfurt was as devastated as any other city after World War II, its position as the seat of the military government of the American zone meant that the city was rebuilt through modern Chicago-style architecture fairly quickly. It quickly built upon its role as the international economic hub of greater Germany. This competitive atmosphere placed a heavy emphasis on pragmatic subjects like math,
science, economics and business; an attitude that is reflected in Frankfurt’s present day youth population, at least the ones at the Gymnasium level.

Students seem to accurately reflect the pragmatic vs. reflective style of education reforms that have been prevalent in West Germany for the last fifty-five years, with particular attention to Germany’s economic place in the world. This particular attention to economic and business success overrides interest in historical and political aspects of Germany, especially the former East. Many do not consider Cold War events to be significant aspects of German history. Few attributed Cold War events to significant historical moments in their surveys and factual knowledge about the period was lacking.

Despite their lack of interest in political and historical education, Frankfurt youth do not see an issue with open acts of nationalism, like hanging the flag or singing the anthem. This is especially prevalent in cultural phenomena like sports games. Several students noted that they routinely cheer for the German National Soccer Team and one of the university students interviewed mentioned the World Cup in 2006 as a great moment in the rebuilding of German nationalism. The success of the city has translated to a much more relaxed feeling about the success of Germany as a whole and thus a much more liberal use of nationalist expression. This is paired with a surge in nationalist culture like sports and music that is most popular among Germany’s youth. I asked my 25 year old translator, who is also from Frankfurt, “So what does Germaness mean to you?” He responded, “Representing Germany in the world as a modern Germany that has a rich tradition in the arts and industry and science and has always been a driving force in Europe, and to represent that well.”

Overall, the view in Frankfurt towards nationalism was surprisingly optimistic, but it did not seem to directly coincide with the education system. It was clear that the Frankfurt school system still retained levels of the "collective guilt" from the Nazi period, and students did not find many forms of nationalist pride in their government. What I was seeing in Frankfurt, however, was the beginning of
my theorized “other” model, which is an alternative to Top-down Märchen building. This is nationalism through culture, a phenomenon that seemed absent among Frankfurt’s older generation, but prevalent in her youth. As I headed into former East Germany I wanted to see if this alternative model was unique to Frankfurt or the beginnings of a broader movement that was sweeping across Germany’s younger generation. I knew that the East had even less experience with pro-nationalist sentiment than the West. If I could find grassroots nationalism in the East than I would know that this model is, in fact, becoming a movement and is not simply a Frankfurt phenomenon.
“Niemand hat die Absicht, eine Mauer zu errichten” – Walter Ulbricht, 1961

When the Allies met to discuss strategies for moving forward with a now four-part Germany, it was clear that the Hitler reforms had transformed the German education system into a breeding ground for Nazi ideology. Every subject and grade level had been affected. This was not a matter of simply editing or adding to textbooks, rather textbooks had to be completely replaced. As has been discussed in the previous historical section, the West moved forward with a semi-autonomous model that focused on a pragmatic vs. reflective education system with significant attention paid to the pre-World War I aspects of culture from each individual Land. This model, however, was not followed in East Germany.

The Allied bombs had not discriminated between schoolhouses and military camps. Carpet bombing and fire storms were standard forms of warfare. The first bomb to fall on Berlin had, in fact, not hit a Nazi headquarters building or rail lines to a concentration camp but, rather, the city zoo, killing its only elephant. School houses across Germany were reduced to smoldering piles of rubble and those that had survived lacked chairs, textbooks, heat and water sources. In Leipzig, for example, as the picture

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156 Rodden, John Textbook Reds: Schoolbooks, Ideology, and Eastern German Identity University Park, PA Pennsylvania State University Press 2006. 1-6


* I could not find a picture of Leipzig, however, Dresden is also in the East and very close to Leipzig geographically. This picture adequately demonstrates my purpose, which was to show the devastating effect of Allied bombs in East Germany.

158 “FOCUS Online Forum” http://bb.focus.de/focus/t=Nutzloses+Wissen-92616 Accessed 01/27/10
above demonstrates, only 20% of the schools had been left standing.\textsuperscript{159} As Nazi teachers were expelled almost immediately from the school system, there was an inherent shortage of people to head the few classrooms that were still semi-functional.\textsuperscript{160}

The original plan for post-war Germany, on which all four Allies had agreed, was called “the four D’s”; demilitarization, deindustrialization, denazification and democratization.\textsuperscript{161} The Russian government’s ultimate goals were somewhat different than those of France, England and the United States, however, as communists were also heavily persecuted in Nazi concentration camps. Rather than pursue democratization, like the Allies in the West, Russia wished to encase their part of Germany in communism. German troops were soon replaced by Soviet troops, ending any hope of demilitarizing the zone and already strained relationships between the Allies soon broke off completely as the world braced itself for the Cold War. Although it was obvious that the Russians were headed in a much different direction than the rest of the Allies in rebuilding Germany, not much attention was paid to it at first. The Soviet Union had not yet presented a threat to the Western world and the Allies were much more worried about the threat of a resurgent Germany. Mary Fulbrook, author of the book \textit{Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-1989} comments, “Even after the formal creation of two separate and opposing nation states in 1949, there were for many years continued rumors about the immediate possibility of another war. Throughout the 1950’s, whether rightly or wrongly, people saw the future of the "German question" as still wide open. This only began to change after the building of the wall.”\textsuperscript{162}

Ties between the Western Allies and the Soviets officially ended when Allied powers responded to the Soviet blockade of Berlin with the yearlong Berlin Airlift from 1946-1947, which supplied a steady flow of food and medicine to the city. In May of 1949, the Allies consolidated their respective sections of

\textsuperscript{160} Rodden, Schoolhouse 31
\textsuperscript{161} Rodden, Schoolhouse 35
\textsuperscript{162} Fulbrook, Mary \textit{Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-1989} New York, Oxford University Press Inc. 1997. 134
Germany into the Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) also known as West Germany. Political officials in
the Soviet Union founded the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (GDR) in October of the same year in
direct response to the founding of the BRD.\footnote{Rodden, Schoolhouse 48} It should be known that the GDR never became officially
engulfed into the Soviet Union but rather maintained autonomy, as a satellite, like many other countries
in the Eastern Bloc. For the next forty years the citizens of East Germany would be pushed in a
completely different political direction than the citizens of West Germany.

Initially, Soviet officials faced the same problem as those of the West in rebuilding Germany’s
schools. They had no materials and basically no teachers. No new textbooks were printed until 1949 and
no new science textbooks were produced until 1951.\footnote{Rodden, Textbook Reds 2-3} This meant that for the first four years of
occupation, education stagnated and the GDR school system fell drastically behind.

Unlike the West, which pursued a combination of pragmatic education and cultural renewal, the
East pursued an entirely different track of educational restructuring, focused mainly on political, as
opposed to national identity. Karl Schmitt, in an article in the \textit{Comparative Education Review} comments
on the development of GDR educational policy,

This is the only highly industrialized country to utilize its educational system to remodel
its entire political, economic and social structure and to give its citizens a new national
identity...the divergent development of two German educational systems constitutes a
gigantic social experiment which permits a close examination of the effects stemming
from entirely different conditions.\footnote{Schmitt, Karl “Education and Politics in the German Democratic Republic” \textit{Comparative Education Review}, Vol. 19, No. 1, Politics/Education (Feb., 1975), pp. 31-50 JSTOR \texttt{www.jstor.org} Accessed 17/09/09}

The West had made several key moves in education to separate the concept of “Germaness”
from political and ideological agendas, choosing instead to focus on culture and economics. They did this
by banning Top- down Märchen building from the school system. The East however, embraced both
politics and ideology in its educational approach. Rather than banning the Märchen they simply changed
the tales to reflect a communist rather than a Nazi ethic. The main purpose of educational reform in the
East was to change the dialogue from race to class. East German students were no longer supposed to contemplate what it meant to be German but rather what it meant to be part of the proletariat. The East set up its own economics program called Aufbau, which focused on producing zero unemployment.\footnote{Borneman, John Belonging in the Two Berlins: Kin, State, Nation Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1992. 202} The pragmatic vs. reflective model was retained in small increments in Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin but by in large it was rejected as a flawed, capitalistic view of economic recovery and thus educationally insignificant. The politics of Marxism-Leninism were a key factor in restructuring the education system and the ideological way that Ulbricht wanted East Germans to start viewing themselves. As John Borneman, author of Belonging in the Two Berlins: Kin, State, and Nation comments, “It was not merely enough to teach objectively- the teaching was supposed to propound Marxism-Leninism, and an active loyalty to the socialist state.”\footnote{Borneman 111} Fulbrook also comments,

A primary aim of the East German regime was to produce good socialist personalities, wholeheartedly committing their energies to the greater good of the community and the socialist state. In contrast to the laissez- faire attitudes of the West capitalist democratic states, the East German regime operated a proactive social psychology, assuming that social engineering could actively change character types, attitudes, and personalities.\footnote{Fulbrook 130}

Hitler’s ideology had infiltrated even the mathematics textbooks, meaning that almost all subjects had to be stopped until new teaching materials were produced. Textbooks also needed to be written in such a way that German politics would swing from the extreme right to the extreme left in a very short time period. The Soviets would soon discover, however, that Hitler’s administration had gone through extensive reforms to educate Germans in the extreme right politics of Nazi ideology. Switching so quickly to the extreme left politics of Communism would require just as much if not more
indoctrination and propagandizing of their own. As Lenin put it, “Communism fits the Germans about as well as a saddle fits a cow.”  

Ironically, the SED turned to the seemingly least likely candidates for the job of educating youth in the new Soviet satellite; the former Hitler youth. The Hitler youth played an interesting role in GDR politics during the first two decades of tumultuous reformation. The generation that was born in the Weimar Republic and pressured into joining the Hitler youth, in World War II, was now entering their early twenties, and became known in the GDR as the “reconstruction generation.” There were, of course, those candidates who had truly believed in the HJ and found the fall of the Third Reich to be a painful and horrible shock. These however were mostly either silenced into submission by fear of the Soviet Union, or fled to the West while the border was still permeable. Those who did not flee, however, were youth who had been forced into the HJ out of parental or educational pressure, those who had secretly harbored deep resentment for the Third Reich and were happy to see it collapse. Many of these were the youth that had been called into actual military service when the Nazis began to lose World War II. The Flakhelfergeneration refers to a whole segment of active Hitler youth whose entire job was to clear debris and dead bodies from the destruction left by the flak guns. Such a job, especially during the ages of thirteen to eighteen had traumatic effects on many members of the HJ. As a result, these young people, now between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, became the main recruiting source for teachers in the GDR. Many saw this opportunity not only as a way to redeem themselves for participation, however involuntary, in the HJ but also as a way to help shape the minds of East Germany’s youngest citizens, now just being born, and in their toddler years. Historian Dorothee

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169 Rodden, Schoolhouse 48
170 The SED was the only political party in power during the GDR period. It was commonly referred to simply as “The Party."
172 Wierling 308
173 Wierling 310
174 Ibid
Wierling in Hamburg comments, “They were the educators of an even younger cohort, untouched by the war, national socialist dictatorship and even capitalism...from the perspective of the authorities, it turned out to be easier to train the young than to cope with the old, whose views had been formed by their experiences in the Weimar Republic.” It must also be understood that at this time, the Wall had not yet been erected and the borders were still open. The SED needed a strong ideology to keep people from fleeing to the West. What stronger educational message could they send than youth teaching youth?

In 1946 a massive recruiting campaign for teachers began in East Germany. The SED wanted eighteen-twenty-five year olds who harbored resentment against their childhood in the Nazi period. All teachers were required to spend one full year studying the communist party, in addition to their subject qualifications, before they would be licensed to teach. Eventually, a direct link was made between the FDJ and the teacher’s league, allowing youth in the FDJ an almost guaranteed job when they finished their education. Professor Wierling comments,

Ironically, the members of the Hitler Youth generation, who themselves had gone through a most painful process of re-education, were now made the main agents of this education for the young. It was they who worked as teachers, headmasters, officials in departments of education, leaders of the Children’s organization Young Pioneers, or functionaries of the Free German Youth...through this educational role in the GDR...they shaped its history. For it was their success or failure that would decide whether the GDR would become [sic] a community of believers or a society held together mainly by force and fear.

Along with the influx of new teachers came the first education reform in 1945 under the first East German Chancellor, Walter Ulbricht, with the support of the first East German President, Wilhelm

175 Wierling 308-313
176 Wierling 314
177 Ibid
178 Wierling 317
179 Frei Deutsche Jugend – Free German Youth
180 Wierling 314
181 Wierling 318
Pieck.\textsuperscript{182} The Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD)\textsuperscript{183} controlled the government and worked directly with officials from the Kremlin in Moscow. Although virtually all of the school subjects needed to be revised, the ones in need of a complete rewrite were biology, linguistics, history and literature.

Under the first education reform, an introduction to socialist literature and history began in the first grade. As Rodden states, “Grammar exercises at all levels of Muttersprache\textsuperscript{184} mix “politics” with “letters.” Lessons on verb usage, sentence structure, and adverbial modifications are treated as opportunities for Weltanschauliche Erziehung\textsuperscript{185}.” For example, second graders were asked to put proper punctuation in sentences like these, “Peter and Ines are proud of their mother. She has become an activist today.”\textsuperscript{186} Fifth grade grammar exercises went something like this, “Use the substantive in sentences! Write: “In the DDR ______ is being built up.”\textsuperscript{187} Ideology was included into linguistics in the ninth and tenth grades such as, “Put the adverbs in the blank! [1945] Anglo-American bombers ________ dropped their death cargoes on German cities and residential areas...”\textsuperscript{188}

The subject of history was also revamped to give GDR children their own historical heroes in politics and literature. Hitler, Himmler and Goebels were replaced with Stalin, Thälmann, Ulbricht and Pieck. Darwin was replaced by Bertolt Brecht, Marx, Lenin and Rosa Luxembour. The Hitler youth were replaced by the Thälmann\textsuperscript{189} Young Pioneers in 1948\textsuperscript{190}, and 5\textsuperscript{th} graders sang their allegiance at the start of each school day, just as in the days of the Third Reich, \textsuperscript{191}

\begin{footnotesize}
182 Rodden Schoolhouse 44
183 Translated “Communist Party of Germany”
184 Translated “Mother’s Tongue”
185 Translated “Open World View” Rodden, Textbook Reds 21
186 Wierling 23
187 Wierling 22
188 Wierling 33
189 Ernst Thälmann was the leader of the KPD during the Weimar republic and World War II. He was an outspoken Communist and heavily persecuted under the Hitler regime. Hitler had him executed at Buchenwald in 1944. He was instantly canonized by communist parties around the globe and heavily used by the Soviets to garner communist support.
190 Wierling 318
191 Wierling 37
\end{footnotesize}
Thälmann lives in all railways, which travel over the fields, Thälmann lives in all ovens, which just yesterday were without fire, Thälmann lives in all waves of feeling, that stimulate the love of peace in the people, that announce the truth that spread optimism, until they can stretch and straighten their backs.192

Indoctrination continued through the university level. By 1947, the universities were filled with required classes like “Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism”, “Political Economy”, and “History of the Soviet Union”.193 Those who did not attend university had the option of participation literally in “building socialism.” Many of East Germany’s cities had been destroyed by carpet bombing in the war and the SED was trying to change the entire economic system around Aufbau. In order to do this a large quantity of skilled workers, specializing in heavy industry was needed. This option was integrated into the first education reform as a noble choice for strong young men who did not wish to attend college.194

During my research I stumbled across an actual copy of a children's history book from the GDR. It was a one-year textbook that covered the period 1818 – 1918 in world history. The cover was simply labeled “Geschichte”195 and had a black and red picture of a crowd of workers standing outside of a government fence looking at a list of job postings. The inside of the front cover was full of drawings of heavy industry like the early gas motor, locomotives, and large steel machinery. Despite the fact that it was a world history book, the only subject covered was the evolution and spread of communism from England to Russia. The book began with the carpet maker’s revolution in England in 1844, followed directly after by the biographies of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, then a series of global maps showing the spread of the communist party, revolution in France, Austria, Hungary and Berlin. The 1849 to 1870 period is titled “The future capitalistic development and the strengthening of the international worker movement” The next chapter was the workers revolution in Russia which was immediately followed by

192 Rodden, Textbook 37
193 Rodden, Schoolhouse 60
194 Wierling 316
195 *Translated "History"
the final chapter, “The first World War to the beginning of the grand socialist October revolution.” From this book students got the impression that the only thing that had happened between 1818 and 1918 was the spread of worldwide communism. Two pages were dedicated to World War I while eighteen pages were given to Lenin as the leader of the Russian workers.

By 1952 the GDR Board of Education had managed to all but erase Nazi ideology from the East German school system. Yet, they were still a long way from reaching the communist ideal. It was then that the second education reform, known as the 5-year plan was implemented. This plan had two goals; the first was to mandate military service for all boys in the GDR, in response to a similar mandate implemented by West Germany. With the Cold War picking up, both the United States and the Soviet Union took advantage of the strategic location of Germany to build up their military defenses. Thus, the “demilitarization goal” originally set out by the Allies was reversed and young boys found themselves once again attaching military service to the definition of German manhood.

The West became more and more demonized by the East as the GDR solidified itself as a legitimate Soviet satellite. Fulbrook comments, "...Western Democracy and Nazism were virtually equated, both being seen as opponents of communist rule, and the daubing of swastikas and favorable references to Hitler and Nazism were as common as demands for political freedom and favorable references to Adenauer.”

The second goal was to give the newly created founding fathers demigod status. Demigods, however, could not exist in a land where God was still allowed. As Karl Marx once said, “Religion is the opium of the masses.” By the 1950’s, the masses needed to answer the call of the Kremlin and there was no room for religion in the new Germany. Thus the subject of religious studies was banned in the 5-year plan and teachers and priests were sent to Stalin’s own version of the concentration camps (which

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196 History textbook printed by the KPD in the DDR. Accessed through the Duke University Library special collections section.
197 Rodden, schoolhouse 66
198 Fulbrook 159
opened in the 1920s), known as the Gulags, for “re-education.” The secularization of the school system had begun some years before in section 2 of the Law for the Democratization of German Schools, which had been in place since 1946 and states, “The education of Children in schools is exclusively the prerogative of the state. Religious instruction is the prerogative of religious associations...” Religion as a whole was forbidden across East Germany. Although Ulbricht would eventually reverse this decision, the Soviet distaste for religion had been stated and religious education was actively discouraged. Today, almost 60 years later, East Germany still contains a large number of youth who identify as atheist. Stalin replaced the celebratory religious period of first communion, during which children were showered with gifts and attention, with Jugendweihe. This mock religious ceremony required children to swear their lives to the state and the party. Although this practice was outlawed after reunification, it has gained a foothold once again in Eastern states, controlled by the political party Die Linke, especially in parts of Brandenburg and Berlin. Hymns were replaced by Party songs, a transition that was sometimes done so badly that the correlation to Christianity is almost laughable. Consider this Young Pioneer song to Thälmann, “Yes, Thälmann you rock of the [working] class. Clear as the source is your word, strong in love and terrifying in hate, Thälmann you continue to live in us...” Children who came from openly religious homes were strongly discriminated against in school and all youth organizations accept the FDJ were banned.

Despite the attention that the school system received during the first few years of GDR politics and the implementation of both education reforms, by 1958 education in the GDR still lagged significantly behind West Europe. It was at this time that Ulbricht, desperate to solve the education

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199 Rodden, Schoolhouse, 71
200 Ibid 92
201 Rodden, Schoolhouse, 87-88
202 Youth Sacrament – Basically it meant coming into manhood or womanhood
203 “Jugendweihe Berlin/ Brandenburg e.V.” http://www.jugendwiehe-Berlin-Brandenburg.de/index.htm Accessed 01/27/10
204 Rodden, Textbook 104
205 Fulbrook 94
question once and for all implemented a third reform that was the most drastic and by far the most successful. The Kremlin was looking for a Soviet satellite in which to launch a massive experiment which centered education on two fundamental ideals: science and sports.

With the Cold War in full swing, both the White House and the Kremlin became fixated on the race to space. Three years later, President John F. Kennedy would stand before Congress and make a promise to the American people to beat the Russians and become the first country to put a man on the moon. The speech was politically timed, since the Russian space program had successfully launched the first man, Yuri Gagarin, into space, 5 weeks prior to the speech, largely as a result of their Polytechnic school system, tested in the 1950s, in the GDR.

The Soviet Union’s interest in space resulted in an immediate need for well-trained scientists. Ulbricht stepped up and volunteered the GDR as a grand experiment in Polytechnics. This third reform raised the professor to student ratio in the universities to 1:5 and offered full tenure posts to a large quantity of already established teachers. The new hires and payment packages associated with tenure required another restructuring of the government budget to allow for the increased costs in education.206 Science, Math and Physics would be implemented in every schoolroom and students from East Germany would lead the way in putting the first man in space. Ulbricht had found his niche. The program was an overwhelming success. The polytechnic style of teaching was soon picked up all over the Eastern Bloc, which surpassed the United States in Math and Science.207 The GDR government pursued this program aggressively, as Rodden explains, “In addition to the Polytechnical school for all children, all teachers were compelled to present their lessons from an atheistic, materialistic perspective. Centralized education control increased...Everything was planned to the minute from East Berlin: Seven minutes to review homework, 30 minutes to explain the new assignment, 5 minutes to

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206 Pritchard 110 - 123
207 Rodden, School house 104
explain administrative details, and so on...208 But the race to be the best in space was coupled with the race to be the best on Earth. This race could be won by achieving dominance in sports, a goal that comprised the second half of the third education reform.

The GDR obsession with the Olympiad is perhaps the idealization of German youth in its purest form. GDR athletes soon achieved cult-like status in the state. With the third education reform GDR parents threw their children into the race for Olympic Gold as passionately as their government pursued the race for space. As Rodden explains,

Top performing 2nd – and 3rd- graders eligible for the sports schools receive a 10-day battery of tests from doctors, psychiatrists, and coaches; computers measure abilities ranging from endurance to lung capacity, after which experts assign children to sports based on their physical aptitudes, regardless of the child’s preferences. Parents must sign releases that grant the state complete charge of their children, whom they may visit twice a month; in exchange for this waiver, savvy parents often extricate special state favors such as bigger apartments.209

The Olympic goal not only placed GDR youth at the center of East German foreign policy, it also linked the youth directly to the Soviet goal of “building socialism” as far into the West as possible. In other words, sport dominance was not used to cultivate nationalist sentiment in the GDR but rather to a loftier ideological goal in the communist world as a whole. Sports teams were given names that emphasized the prowess and work ethic of communists, not Germans. Teams sprung up with names like Lokomotive210 Dynamo211 and Roter Stern.212 Before long, sports had become part of the school system for every child and were integrated with the profession for which the youth were training. For example, youth training to be miners or blacksmiths would participate in weight lifting and wrestling. Sports clubs continued into the working world, organized by profession.213 The GDR drive for athletic success was insatiable. Children, especially girls, were given doses of growth hormone and testosterone to increase

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208 Rodden, School house 105
209 Rodden, Schoolhouse 119
210 Translated “Train”
211 Translated “Power Converter”
212 Translated “Red Star”
213 Rodden, Schoolhouse 120
their athletic ability. Such doping treatments resulted in female athletes with male hormone levels and had detrimental effects on the fertility of many GDR women. The picture above shows a GDR female swimmer who had been given incredibly large amounts of testosterone.

It took the East German government only thirteen years to reach its goal of Olympic fame. At the twentieth Olympiad, held in Munich, the GDR astonished all when they walked away with sixty-six medals, finishing third in the world, just behind the United States at ninety-four and the U.S.S.R at ninety-nine. Given the ratio of competitors to medals, the GDR far outshone any nation on earth, an embarrassing reality for West Germany, where the games were held, whose medal count only reached forty.215 West German citizens stood back and watched as West German instruments played the East German anthem, whose triumphant youth stood proudly in front of the GDR flag216,

“German youth! The best hope of our People is embodied in you. You will become Germany’s new life And the sun, more beautiful than ever, Will shine over Germany Will shine over Germany”217

But even the sound of the anthem and the sight of Olympic gold could not convince all Easterners that the GDR was the pearl of the communist world. Protests against the conversion of East Germany into a communist state had started almost as soon as the GDR had been instated, and

214 “Doping: Ehemalige DDR-Sprinterin lässt Rekorde streichen”
http://www.spiegel.de/sport/sonst/0,1518,673530,00.html Accessed 01/27/10
215 Rodden, Schoolhouse 117
216 Kornelia Enders – 1976 East German Swim team champion. Taken from “Tennis has a Steroid Problem”
217 Ibid
throughout the history of the Cold War they provided a continual reminder of what the Soviet Union was capable of, when its friendly mask was pulled back. The most famous protest in the GDR occurred in 1953, when Russian tanks “painted the town red,” earning the protest the name of “bloody Wednesday,” a hearkening back to “Bloody Sunday” from the days of the Czar.  

By the late 1950’s, student protests, originally only in the universities, had spread across the country. By creating a system with zero unemployment, in which 95% of men and women worked over ten hours a day, Ulbricht had hoped that the state would raise the children, thus minimizing resistance to the communist cause. The protests proved that this was not the case. Many university students soon began to realize that their classes were audited by government officials who often asked them to turn over detailed copies of their homework for “inspection.” Youth members of the JP and PDJ, (the communist version of the Hitler Youth) were rewarded with track suits and other goodies for reporting on their classmates who might be in need of “re-education” to the communist cause. Youth spies in these organizations, now adults, are still facing internal investigation in Germany today as Fulbrook explains, ” In the aftermath of the GDR’s collapse and the opening of the Stasi files, the waves of revelations in the popular press about the extent of Stasi spying on friends and neighbors led to a demonization of all who were in anyway involved with the apparatus of power in the GDR.” New types of concentration camps sprang up around East Germany. These were not extermination camps centered on the obliteration of a specific racial population, but rather work camps centered on the goal of purifying unbelievers through labor. At first the Stasi filled these camps with major political opposition and teachers who strayed from the government-approved teaching curriculum, but as the student protests grew, even young people found themselves being scrutinized by the government.

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218 Rodden, Schoolhouse 70
219 Rodden, Schoolhouse 13
220 Rodden, Schoolhouse 61
221 Rodden, Textbook 112 - 115
222 Fulbrook 21
223 * Staatsicherheitsdienst – Translated “State Security Agency”
Grassroots movements soon began to spread along university campuses and eventually crept into Gymnasiums and often even down to the middle-school level. 224 The workers protest of 1953 was mimicked and repeated, with similar bloody suppressions, across the Eastern Bloc in 1956, 1968, 1980-81 and finally in 1989 which ended in the fall of the Wall.225

The Stasi were soon filling the camps with students. Violations ranged from Pamphleteering, to listening to Western music, to speaking out in class, to being caught reading George Orwell’s 1984, a book which had been expressly forbidden in the GDR.226 As the economic shortcomings of the Soviet political system began to result in food shortages, even the Soviet obsession with space became a source of political contention as students chanted227, “Keine Butter, keine Sahne, aber auf dem Mond, eine rote Fahne!”228 The clear economic shortcomings of the East in relation to the prosperous West became inseparable from the feelings of nationalist loyalty to the GDR state, in which many of its citizens were losing interest.229 As Fulbrook comments, "There was widespread dislike of living in an artificially created, intrusive police state, surrounded by a fortified border, with relatively low standard of living, compared to the affluent Western brother, throughout the history of the GDR."230 Within one year of the start of the protests, 6,000 students had been arrested for participation in anti-communist political movements. The Stasi demonstrated its commitment to root out enemies of the state regardless of age by arresting 800 students under the age of seventeen.231 Other students chose to protest with their feet rather than their voices and flights to the West increased every day.

The issue of depopulation became increasingly problematic since a direct correlation appeared between education level and probability of flight. By 1961 the GDR was losing its best and brightest

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224 Rodden, Schoolhouse 61
225 Fulbrook 177
226 Rodden, Schoolhouse xxiii
227 Rodden, Schoolhouse 114
228 * Translated “No butter, no cream, but a red flag on the moon!” Rodden, Schoolhouse 114
229 Fulbrook 136
230 Fulbrook 15
231 Rodden, Schoolhouse 50
citizens to the West at the rate of 3,000 per day, earning it the name of the “disappearing satellite.” It was clear that something else would be needed, besides communist Märchen to keep GDR citizens in East Germany.

On August 13th 1961, the Grenzgänger woke up early all over Berlin. To them that day was like any other day. They ate breakfast; collected their lunch pails and headed to the border where they would work until evening in West Berlin and then return; but not on that day. On that day their passes were denied as gruff soldiers shuffled them away. All along the divide, large cranes and dirt movers were digging a deep ditch; pouring in cement and inserting large slabs of concrete that had been premade. The Grenzgänger ran home to get their families, called their friends and before long thousands of East Berliners were at the border.

They watched in horror as slab after slab of 4 meter high concrete was erected and cemented into place. Barbed wire was laid on top and automatic firing devices were installed with motion sensors. Soldiers patrolled the grounds, threatening to shoot anyone who made a run for the West. East Berliners watched the faces of their friends and family in West Berlin, looking on in horror till the concrete obstructed their line of sight. They watched as Grenzgänger, school groups and visitors from the East that happened to be in the West that day, turned around at the sight of this monstrosity.

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232 Rodden, Schoolhouse 17, 110
233 Three Thousand Versts of Loneliness
   http://www.sheppardsoftware.com/images/Europe/factfile/Berlin_Wall.jpg
   Accessed 02/16/10
234 *Translated “People who live in the East but have day passes to work in the West.”
choosing to remain in the West forever. East Berlin youth ran through the streets, on which they had protested so many times, screaming “Die Grenze ist geschlossen! Die Grenze ist geschlossen!”

After 16 years of attempted diplomacy, reforms and growing competition in space and on earth, the communist world closed itself off from the West. For most places in central Russia or along the Eastern bloc this news came in the paper or on the evening news. But Berliners saw it with their own eyes as they stood separated now forever from the West not simply by economic or political ideology but by a very real and very deadly wall.

By the 1980’s it was clear that the leadership that had transformed East Germany after World War II, the remnants of the Hitler Youth, was completely out of touch with what was needed to save the GDR from crumbling from the inside out. Fulbrook explains,

The East German economy... was to the insider view visibly creaking and groaning in the 1980s: and the economic leaders...appeared to have no clear formula for its transformation...there was a crucial shift of generations occurring. The political leadership...constituted the generation...whose crucial experiences and outlook had been forged in opposition to Hitler. But forty years after the end of the war, a new generation-those who had been, not exiles or concentration camp inmates, but rather innocent children, often of communist or social democratic families but perhaps equally members of the Hitler Youth organization - were rising towards the peak of their political careers. The gerontocracy at the top began to appear increasingly out of touch, even old fashioned: the anti-fascist battles of yesterday were not the pressing economic and technical issues of today.

For the past forty years the West had been operating on the “Magnet Theory” which was developed under Adenauer and taught that the prosperity of the West would eventually draw such a stark contrast to the frugal living standards of the East that East Germans would consider it foolish to stay and flee at a greater and greater rate. The East would lose population so drastically that Germany would once again become united, simply out of economic need. Adenauer’s policy proved correct as

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235 Translated “The boarder is closed! The boarder is closed!”
236 Rodden, Schoolhouse chapter 111-132
237 Fulbrook 38-39
the “rising generation” in the West sparked the economic boom in the 1950’s and 60’s, widening the gap in living standards to an inescapably obvious contrast between the BRD and the GDR. Ultimately, this theory combined with the harsh political realities of GDR life as well as the infiltration of Western culture lead to the downfall of the GDR. As Jonathan Zatlin, author of the book *The Currency of Socialism: Money and Political Culture in East Germany* comments,

Honecker pursued a strategy of creating the perception of prosperity by raising East German wages beyond what the East German Economy could bear….the growth in East German wages outpaced the gains made in productivity as well as the amount of goods purchased by East Germans. In addition, chronic shortages forced people to save their money, leading to an inflationary overhang of about 6 billion marks by 1988. While the politburo was aware of the inability of the East German economy to last much longer, no one, even the notable economic leader and founding party member Günter Mittag, knew how to quell the rapid inflation and increasing shortages. Eventually, it was its commitment to political ideology that cost the GDR government its own survival. Even when the economy had dipped below the point of recovery, government officials kept raising wages, and inventing jobs to create the illusion of zero unemployment.

Underlying the grandiose economic and political schema that affected all GDR citizens was the influx of Western culture which specifically claimed the loyalty of GDR youth. Music, fashion styles, even haircuts infiltrated underground night clubs and private homes of hundreds of East German teenagers. This blatant inequality in access to pop culture made the disparities in economic prosperity and political freedom even starker in the eyes of the GDR’s youngest citizens. As Wierling comments, “The project of educating youth to identify with socialist ideas and GDR politics, had, in effect, failed. On the contrary, young people had used the widening sphere of activities and expression to loosen their ties to the FDJ and to yield to what the authorities saw as the seductions of the West, namely pop culture, but also

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239 “Europe’s Engine: Living with a Stronger Germany” *The Economist*, 13th May 2010, 9
240 Zatlin 170
241 Fulbrook 38
political ideas of liberalism.” By 1989 The GDR was barely a shadow of the rosy communist dream that Ulbricht had set out to create. Frustrated youth stormed the borders at an astonishing rate and even Gorbachev himself advised Honecker to go through a period of Perestroika. A year later the two halves of Germany would come crashing together once again.

East Germany remained closed behind the Wall for twenty-eight years. Although it did eventually come down, this period is still affecting East Germans today. My goal in Leipzig was to see if any of this experience was reflected in the current education system in the East. What would youth who were born, in East Germany, after the Wall had been torn down think about this period of German history?

**EAST GERMANY: SHADOWS OF THE RED EMPIRE**

One week before we were scheduled to head to former East Germany to collect data, I went on a golf outing in Seligenstadt, a small town outside of Frankfurt. As we were teeing up, the PGA professional for the course came by to say hello. My translator commented on our upcoming trip, “We are headed to the East of the Republic.” The man smiled and responded, “Are you sure you don’t need a passport?”

We left for the Eastern part of Germany on the 17th of June. This was significant as it was the 56th anniversary of the workers protest in the GDR in 1953 that was brutally quelled by Soviet tanks. I included this date as one of the questions on my survey. Leipzig should have been a three hour train ride from Frankfurt; however, since the tracks are older leading into the East, it took us about 5 hours to get there. We left on a cloudy, early morning and

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242 Wierling 319
243 *Translated “City of Souls”
the weather stubbornly refused to allow me to let go of my mental stereotypes; it completely personified the West’s attitudes towards the East. The worst thunderstorm I had ever seen in Europe broke out. Rain pounded the sides of the train mercilessly and forked lightning seared the sky. As the train pulled away from Erfurt, the last city on the former Western side of Germany, I was able to see a small glimpse of what rustic Germany, untouched by war, might have looked like. Behind us lay dozens of little towns, sprawled out along the countryside. Ahead of us was nothing but miles upon miles of thick conifer forests. I had never seen forests that thick, trees that large, that blocked so much sunlight. The boughs of each branch locked so tightly with the branches beside it that the forest floor was pitch black. Even the rain did not penetrate the canopy, but instead misted off of the treetops, making it seem like the whole forest was on fire with smoke billowing off of it. There were no towns and no people, only pure, raw nature. It was here on the border region of Germany, that all of the ancient creatures of a much earlier historical period still lived. These were not the woods that had been bombed to pieces and then replanted by the Allies. These were the old woods that had been around since before the Weimar republic. No one walked in these woods by themselves as they were still infested with packs of wolves, wild boars, red deer over 7 feet high, wild bears and Uhus.245 The border region remained free of towns as no one wanted to live in the middle of the tension between the BRD and the GDR. Likewise both the Americans and the Russians had marked off this region as the potential "stoppage zone"246 during the Cold War. It was the buffer between the first and second world. While Berliners had a concrete wall, complete with barbed wire, armed guards and automatic firing devices to keep people from crossing over, the rest of Germany had the forests. This dark and still savage border stood as a testimony to a nation that had been literally ripped in two, and kept apart by an impenetrable barrier.

245 Large Owls, about four feet high with an eight foot wing span. They were responsible for part of the original belief in Vampires.
246 This was a zone, right on the border between East and West Germany, that had strategic value as a nuclear buffer in the case of a military offensive by either Russia or the United States. If the Cold War had broken out into World War III this area would have been nuked by the defending side to ward off an invading army.
The border area, however, did not last forever. After about an hour, towns started to appear again and before long we pulled into the main train station in Leipzig. I chose Leipzig to represent the East section of my thesis for several reasons. If the GDR was thought of as the crown jewel of the communist world, then Leipzig was one of the crown jewels of the GDR. The city had been a major hub for international trade during the middle ages and in the early days of the German nation state it often hosted the German book fair, rivaling Frankfurt as the symbol of German literature and culture. During the Cold War it hosted the Spartakiad, which was the main scouting ground for Olympic recruits to represent the GDR on the world stage. The GDR wanted to promote Leipzig as a symbol of communism at its best. As a result, the city received enormous amounts of government support to build up its infrastructure and keep unemployment at zero, as well as dozens of public relations campaigns to promote its prestige. In terms of quality of life during the Soviet era, Leipzig was not only one of the best cities in East Germany in which to live, but also one of the best cities behind the Iron Curtain in which to live. After reunification, however, the city lost its special status and received the same amount of aid from the West as the rest of the GDR. The unemployment and economic depression that came with the switch to a free market economy hit Leipzig hard and the city has never fully recovered to its former glory days. If I wanted to find students who would be favorable towards the legends of the former GDR period, I knew that Leipzig was the place to look. Likewise, if even in this city I found critics of the GDR that would also tell me something important about the portrayal of the GDR in the minds of its youth.

As soon as we stepped off the train I could tell that the atmosphere was different. While Frankfurt and even Berlin had been filled with immigrants of every nationality and creed, everyone around me there was light skinned. Except for the occasional Russian or Croatian who walked by, most seemed to be ethnically German. I caught a glimpse of the first Neo-Nazis I had seen in Germany and the

248 “Leipziger Messe” http://www.leipzigermesse.de Accessed 01/27/10
249 Rodden, Schoolhouse 119
dress of most people seemed set in the 1980s. The architecture was also different. In many ways the city was beautiful, built in Napoleonic architecture, centered on a cobblestone town square with a giant clock, covered in Greek statues. Small stone churches with delicate domes and renaissance stained glass rose windows, dotted here and there between columned libraries and city parks. In one of the parks stood a massive dark brown stone pyramid called the Völkerschlachtsdenkmal. It is a tribute to the battle of Leipzig in which Napoleon was defeated by a huge conglomeration of peoples who rallied together to weaken him on his return from Russia. Their successful attempts led to his ultimate down fall at Waterloo. It is a city steeped in history and culture.

On the other hand, scattered throughout this beautiful Napoleonic architecture were huge Soviet-style warehouses, made of brick and stone slabs. Most of the glass was broken in the industrial sized windows and spray paint graffiti covered the sides of the walls. Most were old factories that had been abandoned when unemployment skyrocketed in the East after reunification. The apartment buildings were also left over from a Soviet era. The one next to the hotel was the largest apartment building I had seen in Europe. It was hexagon shaped with six apartments on each floor. The five outer apartments each had one window. The inner apartment had none. These brick monstrosities towered over the delicate libraries and churches creating an odd architectural juxtaposition.  

We took a trolley outside of the city center, which dropped us off at the street address for the school in which we were supposed to do interviews. “This can’t be right,” I thought. The street looked like the remnants of an industrial park that was converted into apartment buildings. We walked down an old street that was half asphalt and half cobblestone, cracked through, with sprouts of grass sticking up in tufts. As we turned the corner, we saw another larger building that was reminiscent of the old warehouses in the center of the city. We weren’t sure if this was a school or not but decided to try it out.

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250 Travel journal notes
and found a door on the lower side that was open. We walked down a long dark hallway and up some stairs and finally came out on the main floor to confirm our suspicion that it was, in fact, the school.  

My goal in Leipzig was to use the Helmhotlz- Schule gymnasium as a case study for the impact that GDR history has left on education in East Germany. I wanted to see how much importance these students would attribute to this period and how they felt about German reunification and nationalism. The oldest students that I surveyed were nineteen, the youngest were sixteen, meaning that all of them were born after the reunification of Germany. They had no personal experiences from which to formulate an opinion about the GDR. 

We were immediately greeted by the school secretary who seemed excited we were there and immediately called the teacher, in whose classroom we would be surveying. The teacher was a very kind man in his mid forties named Herr Fiedler and, unlike the young smartly dressed teacher in Frankfurt, he dressed in jeans, a white t-shirt, and sneakers. The students in his classroom fit in perfectly with their teacher. All were casually dressed and had a much more laissez- fair attitude towards the school day than the students that I had surveyed in Frankfurt. We had arrived in the middle of the lunch period and rather than eat in the lunchroom in the basement of the school, these students had elected to eat together in the classroom. Once again, unlike the professionally dressed students in Berlin or Frankfurt, many of these students had multiple facial piercings, gothic clothing, dreadlocks and brightly colored hair. As we explained who we were and how to fill out the survey there was a different kind of energy in the room than I had encountered in previous explorations in the West. The students seemed equally as eager to take the survey and participate in the study, but not so much because they were interested in proving that they knew all of the answers, as much as they wanted to express their opinions. This was evident in the two young women that I interviewed. While much of their factual knowledge was missing,
they were far more opinionated than students that I interviewed in the West. The following is an account of my time with them.

Unlike Felix, my interviewee in Frankfurt, both of these girls preferred to remain anonymous. I will be referring to them as FS1 (female student 1) and FS2 (female student 2). Likewise, most of the Felix interview was conducted in English as it is customary in the West for students to grow up learning both languages. While the Leipzig students had not mastered English on the same level as the Frankfurt students, it is important to note that the parents of the Leipzig students spoke German and Russian, not German and English. Considering that their teacher was their only source to learn English, the students spoke it quite well.252

**Leipzig Interviews**

The following are the students’ answers to the general knowledge questions:

*Me:* Name three states that border Germany.
FS1: France, Poland, Austria
FS2: Poland, Czech Republic, Austria

*Me:* What was the German currency before the Euro?
FS1: Deutsche Mark
FS2: Deutsche Mark

*Me:* Name five political parties in Germany.
FS1: Die Gruene, NPD, CDU, CSU, SPD
FS2: Gruene, SPD, CDU, FDP, PDS

*Me:* Who came first, the Greeks or the Romans?
FS1: The Greeks probably
FS2: Hm...I think the Greeks

*Me:* Who postulated the evolutions theory?
FS1: I don’t know
FS2: Charles Darwin

*Me:* Name three cities in the old states.
FS1: Bonn, Stuttgart, Brussels
FS2: Dresden, Leipzig, Chemitz

*Me:* Name a Prime Minister from the Old States and a Prime Minister from the New States.
FS1: I don’t know either

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252 The interviews were conducted separately; however I have listed them back to back to save space.
FS2: That is hard...um...I don’t know
Me: What is the seat of the German stock exchange?
FS1: I don’t know
FS2: I don’t know

Both correctly answered the first two questions and listed five political parties accurately.

However, while the Western students almost always started their list with a more right leaning and far larger party, the CDU, these two started with Die Gruene or “The Greens,” a smaller, left leaning party, and quite popular in the East. Interestingly, the very next party that FS1 listed was the NPD which is the neo-Nazi party, the most right leaning organization in German politics, which was only elected into state parliament in the East, in the state of Sachsen where Leipzig is located. FS2 gave an equally surprising answer by listing the PDS, which is no longer in existence. The PDS replaced the SED as the communist party in East Germany after the fall of the Soviet Union. The party eventually changed its name to Die Linke, or “The Left.” Today, Die Linke also encompasses the western socialists and is no longer solely representative of eastern politics. In other words, both of these girls immediately thought of two extremes when I mentioned politics: Nazis and Communists.

When asked to list cities in the old states, FS1 answered correctly, listing Bonn, Stuttgart and Brussels\textsuperscript{253} in the West, while FS2 listed Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz, all of which are in the East. This means that the second student did not understand which states are considered new, which are old and why this is the case. It is also important to note that neither one could name Prime Ministers, on either side, nor the seat of the stock exchange which is mentioned every evening on the News. These answers show a general lack of knowledge pertaining to current and historical facts about Germany. The political knowledge that is there is the opposite of what I found in the West, with students aligning themselves on the far left, not the right.

\textsuperscript{253} Brussels was technically incorrect because it is not in Germany; however it was part of the former West which was the main point of the question.
Me: Name three sports teams that you identify with?
FS1: The German National Team
FS2: Nothing
Me: Do you read a newspaper? What kinds of subjects do you follow?
FS1: No, not really
FS2: Die Zeit, FAZ
Me: What is your religion?
FS1: Atheist
FS2: I am very critical towards religion but I am interested in it. Being connected, I would think that you can find something in Christianity, as long as it is not dogmatic.
Me: What countries have you visited?
FS1: Egypt, Poland, France, Austria, well, a few islands...Sri Lanka, Bali, Gran Canary. All were vacation.
FS2: Czech Republic, Poland, Austria, France, Spain, England and the Ukraine. On vacation, and to the Ukraine I went on a humanitarian trip for children.
Me: Were you ever in the Old States?
FS1: Yes in Munich, Hanover and where else...around Hannover a lot. There are a lot of Horse riding tournaments in Hannover.
FS2: I don’t know how this is defined. I guess if it was like it was before the Wall, then of course, I am living in the old states right now.
Me: Which of the cities on the survey would you most like to live in?
FS1: Leipzig, Kiel, Rostock
FS2: Maybe going back to Leipzig, but I want to leave. I like Dresden and maybe Rostock.

Even though these students talked extensively about identifying by city and later on were very critical of German nationalism, many of them rooted for the German National Team. There was a solidarity found in sports that was not found in any other area of the survey. Those students who did identify with sports often listed the national team as a team with which they personally connected. I found three more students in this classroom in Leipzig and a student in the neighboring Eastern city of Dresden that listed the German national soccer team as the main sports team for which they cheer.

These girls seemed to have a pretty sporadic interest in news as was echoed in the class. Twenty- two of the students said that they followed news on a daily basis although eighteen of them only followed local news in daily Leipzig papers. Very few seemed interested in news from West Germany or other parts of the EU or the World. Atheism is prevalent in East German youth since most students were born right after the Soviet era when it was difficult to openly practice structured religion.

Twenty of the students listed themselves as non-religious while thirteen were Christians and three were
Buddhists. Like the students in the West, these Eastern students had also traveled to many different corners of the world, but unlike the Western students they had also spent significant time in the former Eastern Bloc, specifically the Czech Republic and the Ukraine. Thirty-one of the thirty-six students in the class said that they had traveled extensively in both the East and the West, including countries that no one had listed in the West such as Russia. It is important to note that they did not express the same aversion to this area of the world as was prevalent in the West.

The confusion with the New and Old states can be seen once again with FS2’s response, claiming that she has been in the old states all along. Twenty-four other students in the classroom had visited the old states while only one had remained in the East. Both FS2 and FS1 showed a preference for cities in the East in which to live as adults. In the classroom, sixteen students listed cities in both the East and the West in which to live while eighteen only listed cities in the East and only one student preferred cities in the West.

From these questions, the students seemed to be very locally oriented. They knew a lot about the East and even other parts of the former Eastern Bloc. Many preferred to remain in the East although I did feel that they did not express the same aversion towards the West that the Western students had expressed towards the East. Much of their ideology was in line with common historical trends from the Soviet era like a prevalence of Atheism. The only time I found a sense of national solidarity was in reference to the German National Team. I used the next few questions to try to pull out some of the students reactions to major historical periods in German history.

Me: In your opinion what are the three worst events in German history?
FS1: Probably the Wall, 1st/2nd World War, and when Hitler went into power.
FS2: A classic, National Socialism, also the 1st World War, and the 30 years war was hard for people back then.
Me: Do you identify with your city, state, or country?
FS1: City
FS2: City, if I have to choose
Me: Please explain to me Democracy, Socialism and Dictatorship.

254 It should be noted that the Western city she mentioned is on the beach. This might have been why she listed it.
FS1: Democracy: For me this is when the people rule, and when there are elections so that the people’s voice is heard. Example is...um...maybe Iraq? No, not really... I don’t know. China?

Socialism: I am not sure what this is. No, I don’t know an example either.

Dictator: A country when just one person decides what happens. A lone ruler. Hitler for example. I have no example for this either.

FS2: Democracy: It means the rule of the people, so it means the people decide along the laws. But it only works if people have the foundation that they would like to decide and don’t just blindly follow along. Example: Germany had a democracy twice but it is difficult to realize.

Socialism: The individuals count for less, but instead everything is one big community, one large group working together. Example: None do.

Dictator: This is the most extreme, as a single person stands on top of the state and the people cannot yet decide as well. It is almost like a father towards a small child. Example: I am not sure, no.

Me: Which of these systems do you think would work best for Greece?

FS1: I guess Democracy.

FS2: Hm, after thinking for a long time, I think the human being becomes more and more independent, so that the Democracy becomes something that will be good for the humans in the future. As long as democracy continues on developing, it is the best form, and the most modern approach to a government.

Me: And for Germany?

FS1: Also Democracy

FS2: The same

Me: And for Cuba?

FS1: I think so as well

FS2: That is hard. I think you have to have a good foundation for a democracy, so that people make their own decisions, that they are not just controlled by the media like in Germany or the U.S. It might be that for Cuba it would be easier to have socialism now, to realize democracy later.

Me: Which of the people on the survey do you think was most important to German history?

FS1: Karl Marx

FS2: Karl Marx

Me: Why?

FS1: I don’t really know a lot about Karl Marx, but I know he just fought a lot for us and Germany.

FS2: He changed the thinking of the people, getting rid of materialism.

I immediately took two things away from the German history question. First, FS1 listed the Wall before she mentioned either of the World Wars. Hardly any of the students in the West mentioned the Wall, but in the East here was a student whose family had been directly impacted by it and thus to her it was a time that was worse for Germany than even the Nazi period. This was the same student who did not list the left in her parties list. FS2 Said, “A classic, National Socialism.” However, later on, when I
asked her to define what Socialism was, she could not. She did not even know that it has very little if anything to do with Hitler’s National Socialist party. This was a tendency I saw repeated throughout the country. Students would list aspects of the Nazi period simply because they felt like it was an expected answer. I wondered how many of them had actually thought it out or if this was another example of the "collective guilt" mentality left over from the days of occupation. All thirty-six students listed some derivation of this, be it “Hitler,” “Nazis,” “The Holocaust,” or “National Socialism.” However, eleven students in Leipzig also listed the GDR and six students listed the Wall, numbers that were unheard of in the West. Although these students never lived behind the Wall, the experience had affected their parents, and their teachers to such an extent that they had developed strong opinions about the period that were not developed in the West. Both students said that they identified more as Leipzigers than as Germans. Twenty-two other students identified by city while only fourteen identified by country. However, this meant that two fifths of the class identified themselves on a national level. I had not expected any student in the East to list country as their main source of identification, so these numbers were surprising to me and went along with the support for the German National Team to show an increase in nationalism in the East that I did not expect.

The political systems question sums up Eastern youth ideology in a nutshell. When asked to define Democracy, Socialism and Dictatorship, FS1 gave generic (though correct) answers for Democracy and Dictatorship. She could not, however, give me a definition for Socialism. This was surprising as it was the system that affected the East the most. She gave very long, political answers, using phrases like “the people woke up” and “None of the goals were realized” though she never mentioned which people or what goals. Likewise, Democracy was the only definition to which she added a warning, speaking more favorably of Socialism and Dictatorship. This was my first clue in the East regarding the impact of different teaching styles in the uniformed history curriculum. My hypothesis was further confirmed in the next question when both students listed Karl Marx as the most influential man in German history. In
the class, sixteen students listed Marx, three listed Nikita Khrushchev and two listed the East German Chancellor Walter Ulbricht. Only thirteen listed Frankfurt’s beloved Konrad Adenauer and one listed Winston Churchill. The communist leaders were clearly taking the lead. When asked why they chose Marx, the girls simply replied that they didn’t know much about him, but he fought a lot for Germany and changed the thinking of people. This was another interesting section in which the students did not have a lot of historical facts but still expressed well defined historical opinions. As none of them lived in the GDR their opinions of communism could only be formed by talking with people who had experienced the GDR, or through education. Many of their opinions seemed tolerable, if not favorable, towards the period and skeptical towards the current state of a unified Germany.

Given these answers, I wanted to see exactly what these eastern students thought of concrete aspects of German nationalism today.

Me: Please sing the German National Hymn
   • Neither student was able to correctly sing the hymn but rather sang a mixture of the correct hymn, the 3rd stanza from the Nazi period and the GDR hymn. For example one student sang, “For this let us fight against my brothers, Germany, Germany above all!” Both expressed extreme distaste for the Hymn.
Me: Do you know the history of the national anthem?
FS1: Not a lot really.
FS2: Nothing.
Me: Who wrote the Text/ Melody?
FS1: I don’t know/ no
FS2: I don’t know/ Hayden
Me: Where do you think it is appropriate to play the national hymn?
FS1: Um well mostly when the German team plays. Other than that just rarely.
FS2: The anthem now I cannot identify with. So I don’t think one should play it, but we are used to it, at like the Olympics or the World Cup.
Me: Where is it appropriate to hang the German Flag?
FS1: Hm...doesn’t it fly over parliament? I guess when Germany plays in soccer tournaments.
FS2: I think that these colors invoke too much nationalism, which is not right anymore, during times of globalization.
Me: How does the first paragraph of the German constitution begin?
FS1: The honor of a man is untouchable
FS2: The honor of a man is untouchable

The lyrics to the East German national anthem are located in the glossary. While neither of the students was able to sing the correct German anthem or tell me much about its history, they both
wanted it changed. Several of the other students in the class mentioned this to me as well, saying that the anthem represents a bad period in German history and thus should not be sung. Yet of the thirty-six students in the class, only one student could correctly recite the text. The others jumbled together parts of the former East anthem listed above with the West anthem as well as the “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles” stanza from the Nazi period. The level of negative emotion that the students expressed against the anthem seemed baseless and misguided as none of them knew the words or history of the correct version. Similar sentiments were felt about the flag. Although it had never flown over Germany during a time of war, the students still felt it had a negative connotation, relating to Germany. Everyone did seem to agree, however, that sporting matches involving the German National Team was the appropriate place to both hang the flag and play the anthem (outside of official state events). Once again, soccer became the sole exception in a room of anti-nationalist sentiment. The final questions were specifically about the students' perception of reunification.

Me: What is the official day of German reunification?
FS1: Oh, when was that? In October? I don’t know! No idea about the year.
FS2: I think October 3rd 1989
Me: Which day is celebrated as the “Day of German Reunification?”
FS1: I really don’t know it
FS2: The same date
Me: Who was Chancellor during reunification?
FS1: I really don’t know it.
FS2: Helmut Kohl
Me: Please name a composer from both the East and the West.
FS1: I don’t know where they are from. I know them, but I don’t know their origins.
FS2: Oh, well classical ones...Bach was in Leipzig so the GDR would fit...other than that, no sorry!
Me: What does the year 1968 mean in your eyes?
FS1: That was when the wall was built I think!
FS2: Some parts of the people woke up and knew that this would not work, and from that the RAF and other groups were founded. This went into the violent and extreme quickly, with the negative blocking out the positive very quickly. None of the goals were realized.
Me: What happened on June 17th 1953?
FS1: No idea...maybe the wall was built then?
FS2: The people riot
Me: In what year was the Wall built and who built it?
FS1: I know I have to decide. I then choose 1968 and the GDR built it.
FS2: 1963, but I don’t know who built it.
Me: What is for you more important, freedom or social security?
*FS1: Freedom. It came more as a gut feeling.*  
*FS2: Definitely freedom, because I am so used to living with money and so I don’t know how it would be to not already have social security. While everyday you realize freedom is not there all the way, in this system, or it is hard to realize it in school and such.*

The “Day of German Reunification,” 1968, and 1953 are all very important dates in the East as they all contained significant historical moments in GDR history. Neither of the girls knew about the original link between the reunification day and the "night of broken glass" which led to the changed date, and only eight students in the class answered the question correctly. The year 1968 was known as the “Prague Spring” when a major student led protest broke out in Czechoslovakia, and was brutally put down by Soviet tanks. It was also the year that the R.A.F. was founded, in the Western part of Germany, which was responsible for numerous terrorist attacks during the 1970’s. Five students listed the Prague Spring while nine students listed more generic answers like “freedom” “revolution” “free love” and “hippies.” The remaining twenty-two students did not associate 1968 with any major historical event. The year 1953 was also significant for the Eastern Bloc; specifically the GDR as there was a workers protest that was also brutally suppressed by military force. “June 17th 1953” is the name of one of the major streets in Berlin that connects the former East to the former West. Again there did not seem to be a large base of knowledge for this event, as only two students in the whole class correctly listed the protest.

I included the question about the Wall in order to see the different responses that students would give as to who built it. Four students correctly identified 1961 as the year that the Wall was built. Twenty-seven students left the “who built it” question blank while four listed the “Russians,” one listed the “SED,” one listed “Erich Honecker,” and one listed “the English”.

The final question was purely political. Going into this project, I had expected students in the West to say that freedom was more important while students in the East would say that Social Security was more important. This would fall in line with the political geography of the country. Interestingly, while the West surveys were split about 60/40 on this question, twenty-nine of the students in the
Leipzig classroom said Freedom. Only two students said social security with six either saying both or neither. Ironically there was a lot more support for social security in the West than in the East.

My overall conclusion upon leaving the school in Leipzig was that students in the East tend to have an interest in Western culture and opportunity as well as very abstract more Western ideas like freedom over social security. At the same time their historical knowledge is lacking while their political views seem much more Eastern and often contain aspects of pure ideology without much factual material to back them up. There is a stark disjoint between the types of answers that the students gave when talking about subjects that they learned in school, verses what they picked up on their own. In the schools subjects like history and politics the students do not seem unified on any level with students in the West. In cultural subjects, however, like music and sports, the students show a surprisingly high level of nationalism. In terms of music, they like bands that are from both the East and the West, while in sports they almost all cheer for the German National team.

I decided to take my observations to a Civil Engineering Post Doctorate in Leipzig, a young woman who had lived through the GDR time period but was still in her twenties and thus had an interesting perspective on youth ideology in the East. These are some of her thoughts.

Me: What is your opinion in general about German nationalism, like singing the anthem, holding the flag, what do you think the feeling is in Germany about nationalism in general?

P.D.: I think this is a very difficult point to say... In Germany I wouldn’t say I am proud to be a German because this is related to nationalism...and like raising the flag or running around with the flag it is not very common because it’s got this relationship to the Hitler time... This is why I think that it is not very shown in public... In the soccer world cup in 2006 the people tried to become very proud... and support the German team. So everyone put the flag on their car; the national flag. And... there was the discussion in politics and in the news, “Is it good that the Germans show the world that they are proud that they are German.” So there was this discussion if the government should limit this because this could be related to the Nazi time which was 70 years ago...

This is a very popular sentiment in the East but also one that is felt in the older generations in the West, where nationalism is more prevalent. I then told the post doctorate about students in Leipzig singing parts of the old GDR hymn...
P.D.: We never sing the national hymn. I think you learn it at school and you learn it in class and I think you should know it. And I am not sure if they teach you about who wrote it or where it comes from. But yeah we never sing it and then with the World Cup I think it became more favored to learn the national hymn. But I would assume that the kids should know it. But in public... I wouldn’t sing our hymn...

While she confirmed that the hymn is granted limited exposure to German students she did not comment on why the students knew part of the old GDR hymn. I could not get anyone from the East to comment on this question. I then asked her about the student’s perception of freedom verses social security in Leipzig.

P.D.: I would agree with the people to say freedom because social security is provided by the German government. This is one point where I recognize how great it is... to live in Europe... especially in Germany. I mean we have a very social system...if you are outside than you recognize how good it is. And I think that freedom is really important, especially that you can travel and go wherever you like...because I think it is good to have the opportunity my parents didn’t have. Up until the unification they (her parents) liked to travel and now my dad said... it’s nice to have this opportunity now. Because we don’t have to worry about the social aspects because already the system works in this way that everything is already protected. I would say right now freedom is more important because you don’t think about the social aspects.

Given these answers I decided to ask her about the hypothesis that I had been formulating regarding the impact of different teaching styles in subjects like history even though the curriculum is standardized.

P.D.: I am pretty sure that teachers from the East teach it in a different way than teachers from the West...in history after reunification there is always too little time so that is why we just learn the important days and we didn’t learn very much about the reunification. Of course we learned how it was to grow up in the East and how the system worked there and who was the president and which kind of government we had at this time but it wasn’t ...we didn’t have so much time to discuss about it because in the 11th and 12th grade we have one semester about the Nazi time. It’s like one whole semester, and the next semester we have all of these exams it’s like a short time, it is a very short period so we don’t discuss so much about this time. But I am sure that the people teach it in a different way and see it in a different way.

There are two important points to be made here. The first is that the Nazi period overshadows so much of German textbook history that it often pushes out important subjects in the surrounding periods, simply because of the limited time in the school year. From 11th through 13th grade, history
which comprises the information for the Abitur\textsuperscript{255}, across the country, is divided into 5 sections; 1) Classic History, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Middle Ages 2) Industrialization, societal change and Communism 3) Revolution worldwide, European diplomacy, social change, World War I and interwar period 4) Lead up to World War II and World War II 5) The Cold War and rebuilding of Germany and select topics\textsuperscript{256}

An entire semester is devoted to World War II while the after war period, the Cold war and the current state of Germany are all squeezed into one last semester which, moreover, is cut short due to the study period for the Abitur. However, the students in the East did express several strong opinions about the GDR period. Thus the issue does not seem to be a lack of time to discuss this period in class but rather how that time is used; mainly to cover facts or ideology.

Since she was old enough to remember when the wall fell I asked her if she had any memories of the GDR period that she would like to share with me. Her answer spoke a lot to my thesis about the juxtaposition of Eastern political ideology with the temptation of Western culture. For example, she had this to say about current political movements in the East.

\textit{P.D.: ...The KPD shows that the people are basically looking for their old regime or old government... I cannot understand this. Why this party becomes so strong because the idea of the Party never changed or this is the continuous party of the SED which was the party of the GDR and then it turned on (into) the PDS and for me I cannot understand this system... I tend to identify more with parties from the West part. But it shows that the people... would like to have this system back... I think that this might be the more shocking part for the people in the West that they see that the people like the government and the people in the East they would like to have the government back... it is weird for these people to see it because I think in the West part it is more the opinion that "we did something good for this part, we changed their system, we spent a lot of money, we support them a lot. We try to improve their economy; after reunification there was a lot of money going to the East. That is the typical point in the West and then the people... vote for their old party and this I think is a conflict.}

Her answer seemed in line with the data that I had collected from the Leipzig school as most of the students listed far left parties first on their survey. What struck me, however, was that this women’s

\textsuperscript{255} The Abitur is a one word term for the series of written finals completed at the end of thirteenth grade. Successful completion of the Abitur determines whether or not a student may continue on to the University level.

\textsuperscript{256} The German Ministry of Education official Website \url{http://www.bmbf.de/en/index.php} Accessed 01/19/10
most prevalent memory from the GDR period was not political or ideological but rather cultural, specifically her inability to get a Mickey Mouse book.

P.D.: I was with my parents. It was a very weird time – everyone who wanted to go across the border had to wait like 8 hours, it was very crowded. I just saw it on TV – the Wall came down in November... In October of ‘88 my Mom’s uncle turned 70, so my mom was asking special permission to go there and visit him... it was obviously a time of not knowing what was going on... But she was there... and she told me that... that it would be nice to share this point of view with my family... And when she came back I was so mad. I was asking for her to bring a Mickey Mouse magazine, and I was so mad because she didn’t bring it. All she brought was like oranges & tangerines & chocolates which was nice, but I was like oh you didn’t give it to me & I don’t get another chance... And when the Wall came down it was so great and we went there & she told me this story & now we were able to visit them & it was more like a good feeling. It was always something was lost. I had some relatives on the West side, and always on Christmas they would send a package of chocolates and very simple things like hot chocolate and olive oil and coffee & maybe washing powder & so on. And we got this package on Christmas and we were so excited to open it & see what was in there... in GDR time everything was limited. You go to a store & you were lucky to know that on this day you could go to a store and get something special like bananas or whatever.

When all of the experiences and memories of her time growing up in the East came to a head, it wasn’t the images of Soviet tanks or her uncle’s stories about being involved in political protests that stuck out in her mind; rather it was that feeling of childhood Jealousy that she could not read Mickey Mouse while children in the West could.

**Leipzig Analysis**

Upon leaving Leipzig I concluded several things about my time with the youth in former East Germany. In terms of historical education, students in Eastern Germany are lacking in basic historical concepts about their nation state. Their inability to consistently answer questions about major events in their nation’s history and the importance of national symbols means that they have not developed an educational understanding of the importance of their nation state to the global community. In addition to this, the students expressed strong political opinions, often critical, about the current state of German affairs. Many of these criticisms were attached to state sponsored national symbols like the flag and the anthem. What little knowledge they did retain about their nation state’s history was linked to criticisms of it. Criticism can be beneficial when it is given constructively towards a ruling organization,
however, these sentiments struck so closely to the fundamental core of the German nation state that I wondered if these students had gained any type of national loyalty from their education system.

Although most of the students’ political answers sided more with the Left, which is normal in the East, the students cultural knowledge did not seem so constricted to regional boundaries. Many of the students listed modern musical bands, which they like, from the West and a significant number of them felt a personal connection with the German national soccer team. Their identity with the team through sports was a nationwide identity with which they had no problems associating. They might not want to sing the national anthem but many seemed proud to stand by other German youth and cheer for the victory of the German team which would in turn be a victory for Germany as a whole, in the World Cup.

My trip to the East made me think extensively about the concept of Märchen building. The Märchen of the Nazi time were horrible. They had unthinkable consequences on World history. It was understandable that the GDR education officials would want to get as far away from these Märchen as possible. In doing so, however, a new round of Märchen was created, the Märchen of the good communist. While these tales were successful in ridding the school system of Nazi ideology, their indoctrinating nature was just as powerful. Now that Germany is reunited and Top-down Märchen building is official banned in the school system there is simply no unified narrative being taught about the GDR to Germany’s youth. As a result the students are left to figure out their national identity for themselves by listening to the competing remnants of old Märchen from a historical time period from before they were born. They hear the Märchen of the necessity for left leaning politics and anti-German pride from older generations in the East. Yet they see for themselves the seductions of Western Germanic culture, itself a type of Märchen and find it interesting. This was what happened to the Post doctorate that I interviewed. While she had grown up hearing the communist version of Little Red Riding
Hood and being taught how to be a good citizen of the GDR she was also exposed to Mickey Mouse who, for a child, is a very real type of Märchen indeed. Perhaps the answer that I was looking for wasn’t the expulsion of Märchen altogether from German life but rather the development of new Märchen surrounding Germanic culture with which both the East and the West could identity.

**Hamburg**

“Kartoffelsuppe finde ich richtig deutsch” – Angela Merkel, 2000

**Germany since the Reunification of 1989**

When Unification did finally come to Germany in 1989 it was not through a series of political deals but rather by means of a mistaken speech, given out on national radio. Between 1945 and 1989 well over three million East Germans had emigrated to the West. In a state that only had seventeen million citizens to begin with, the population decrease was significant and it soon became clear to the government that no amount of Olympic gold medals was going to stop the satellite from bleeding itself to death.\(^\text{259}\) Eva Kolinsky comments,

> “The Basic Law\(^\text{260}\) had included East Germans as would be citizens, and policy throughout the post-war era included immediate financial support, housing and other integration aids to everyone who succeeded in leaving the GDR...Refugees from East

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\(^{257}\) When asked what she defined German culture as, current chancellor Angela Merkel replied in a 2000 interview by “Der Spiegel” “I think potato soup is truly German.” Der Spiegel Online http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-17704568.html Accessed 04/18/10

\(^{258}\) Liberty Tourism Group http://www.liberty-international.org/Public/LIT/CP-GER/img_07_hamburg_01.jpg Accessed 02/23/10

\(^{259}\) Kolinsky, Eva “Meanings of Migration in East Germany and the West German Model” Edited by Dennis, Mike and Kolinsky, Eva United and Divided: Germany since 1990 New York, Berghahn Books 2004. 145 - 176

\(^{260}\) The Basic Law, or "Grundgesetz" in German, was the constitution adopted by West Germany after World War II. After the reunification it was also adopted by East Germany and now stands as the formal German Constitution.
Germany...enhanced the legitimacy of the FRG as the better of the two German states whose democratic political order and market-based economy produced superior living conditions for its population and a higher degree of popular acceptance than the centrally planned top-down model in the east.\textsuperscript{261}

The more the West wrote favorable legislation towards Eastern refugees the more the fights increased in the East. The GDR during the Honecker administration had maintained a strict ban on travel to the West. Immigration to and from the Eastern satellite was simply not allowed. As a result, East Germans were storming the gates of the West German embassy, climbing the iron bars and camping in the courtyard until political asylum was granted, for them, in the West. This behavior was being mimicked up and down the entirety of the Eastern Bloc as the Soviet Union began to crumble. Embassies in Budapest, Warsaw and Prague were reporting similar courtyards filled with Easterners trying to get to the West.\textsuperscript{262} The coalition that replaced Honecker had hoped to put a band-aid on the flights to the West by ushering in a new series of travel laws that would permit East Germans limited and highly restricted travel. On November 9\textsuperscript{th} 1989 the new travel guidelines were read out on East German radio stations across the country. The rules, however, were supposed to go into effect the following morning, under highly supervised and limited conditions. This was not understood and within hours, hundreds of people had stormed the Wall in Berlin, expecting to cross. The border guards, overwhelmed by the number of people and unsure of what was going on finally gave in to the pressure of the crowd and opened the gates.\textsuperscript{263} Hundreds of West Germans were waiting for them on the other side.

Once the floodgates had been opened, it became clear that they would never again be shut. Television stations broadcasted live video feed around the world as Germans on both sides of the wall jumped on the top, tearing off the barbed wire and smashing the concrete with sledgehammers. Once a treaty had been officially reached between Gorbachev and the West German chancellor Helmut Kohl,
the handheld tools were replaced by cranes and bulldozers, and the governments on both sides watched as their two nations became one once again.

What was to follow in the ensuing months and years became known as “Die Abwicklung der ehemaligen DDR.”

The Unwinding of the former GDR presented two problems.

The first was a plan by which the East and West could once again become one nation. This was not an easy task. As Borneman explains,

“Abwicklung means to unwind or unreel...the former GDR is being unwound, set back in a prior time....the GDR as a social formation, with its own unique sets of practices and dispositions, will be unrolled and deconstructed to its thinnest, most unadorned and elementary units; second this orderly and step-by-step unraveling is a final settling of Cold War accounts.”

In other words, the West would not only turn the East into a fully westernized region itself but it also hoped to prove the folly of its communistic undertaking to members of the former GDR. This would meet with mixed reviews in the East in the years to come. The West immediately began funneling enormous amounts of monetary and political resources into the East. As reunification was happening so quickly, there was little time for strategic planning before implementation. Thus the majority of early reunification efforts centered on structuring a Western style economy in the East and somehow incorporating Eastern politics into the Bundestag. Borneman explains,

They (East Germany) sought to rectify the last forty years by recovering what was already achieved in the West. For the West Germans, the revolution served as a confirmation for who they are and what they have. With this compromise in mind, the formal political and economic unity was completed within a year of the autumn revolution.

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265 Borneman 314 “The unwinding of the former GDR”
266 Borneman 315
267 Ibid
Although an economic recovery plan as well as face value political stability had been achieved within six months, it soon became clear that more than a wall had separated Germany. East and West Germans were culturally disjointed, a problem that would leave a reunified Germany stumped for years to come. As Borneman comments, “Within six months of unity, the assumption that a uniform, undifferentiated policy could unify such differently made people proved bankrupt.”

This leads to the second major issue with reunification, which was figuring out how to historically document the GDR. An entire bureau, called the Bendler Behörde, was set up in Berlin to investigate the inner workings of the Stasi and political elite in the GDR. Investigations for Human Rights abuses are still going on in Berlin, today. The primary purpose of documentation at first, however, was to write the GDR into the German history textbooks and thus create an official state version of the events for children to learn in schools. Needless to say, teachers in Dresden would have a far different opinion on the historical period of the GDR than teachers in Köln, and the German congress soon decided that it was not in the best interest of unification efforts to permit each state the freedom to decide its own educational policy under the West German federalist system. Political Scientist Jan Erk explains, “Since the Federal Republic of Germany does not have a federal society, the federal system faced centralist pressures from its non-federal society, especially in demands for uniform national policies.”

Although Germany did have a federal society, which gave each Land the power to right their own educational curricula, over the course of the Cold War, West German educational policy became more and more united as a way of separating themselves from equally uniformed policies in the East. In the months after reunification, the Germans were faced with the opposite problem. They no longer needed a diffusion of political opinion to keep a single totalitarian state from gaining power.

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268 Borneman 315
270 Erk 303-310
Rather, they needed a single united voice on the GDR to help all German citizens understand what a united Germany was and what it was not. It simply could not be left up to the individual decision of each Land. As a result, East German conformity with West German educational policy was required before unification was completed. The West had been gearing up to this for a decade before unification, as Erk comments on the 1978 report issued by the federal government,

According to the report, the close relationship between the school system and industry in Germany made a nationwide comprehensive educational policy necessary. It argued that a constitutional amendment to introduce federal competence would lead to a better balance between the occupational and educational systems, and that the differences among the educational systems of the Länder hindered efficient education in Germany.271

So now Germany was faced with the daunting task of documenting the GDR for the nationwide school system. This was broken into two components: who would teach, and what would be taught.

Unemployment rose sharply in East Germany after reunification. The GDR government had artificially sustained the economy by creating work where there was none to be had. Education was one of the fields in which this was most prevalent. The Eastern universities had an average staff of 5 students to 1 professor and many of these professors taught subjects like Marxism-Leninism which was rendered useless after reunification. As a result, Easterners working in education saw the greatest drop in job security during the early 1990’s. The teachers whose jobs were secure, however, were those in the hard sciences. Thus the 3rd education reform implemented by Ulbricht proved successful as it had earned the GDR an international reputation for science and math. Political science professors, however, were viewed largely with suspicion, as many of them had their PhDs in some form of left leaning political discourse. Language professors suffered job losses as well, as West German educational requirements required foreign language teachers to have spent time abroad. Since GDR citizens were not permitted to travel, many East German language professors had not visited the countries where the language they taught is spoken. These positions were filled by language teachers and political scientists from the West

271 Erk 303-310
who would commute to the East during the workweek. As unemployment increased, many saw this as an unfair standard placed solely on Easterners.\textsuperscript{272} Pritchard explains, “Many schools of education came to be staffed almost entirely by Westerners and the whole syndrome of the Western professor coming east gave rise to general resentment.”\textsuperscript{273} The federal government laid off 2,200 teachers from the East within the first wave of reforms for being “politically unacceptable.”\textsuperscript{274} Although 75\% of the teachers in the former East did retain their positions, this still amounted to a large unemployment problem for people with higher forms of education.\textsuperscript{275}

After the question of who was going to teach the new generation was answered, the question of what was to be taught needed to be answered. The German parliament formed a commission headed by East German SPD member Markus Meckel and CDU Bundestag deputy Rainer Eppelman.\textsuperscript{276} The purpose of the commission was to document the GDR and figure out how to present it historically in German classrooms. The first suggestion was met with somewhat less than unanimous approval. Dennis explains,

The commission’s concluding report which adopted Möller’s analogy between the Third Reich and the GDR, stressed the similarities between the two totalitarian dictatorships as regards the systematic infringement of Human Rights, the persecution of opposition, rule by a single party, an exclusive ideology, modern methods of surveillance and propaganda, and a radical restructuring of society.\textsuperscript{277}

In other words, the commission wanted to compare the GDR government to Hitler’s government during the Nazi period because both were totalitarian and oppressive in nature. The PDS, which viewed itself as the primary advocate for East German identity and historical preservation, quickly boycotted the report, pointing out numerous problems with this analogy. The two most fundamental issues that they had were the fact that the GDR was never focused on race rhetoric like the Nazi regime

\textsuperscript{272} Pritchard 110 -123
\textsuperscript{273} Ibid
\textsuperscript{274} Ibid
\textsuperscript{275} Dennis 17 - 36
\textsuperscript{276} Ibid
\textsuperscript{277} Dennis 25
and the fact that the GDR was a leftist’s government while the Nazis were right wing extremists.²⁷⁸

Opposition politicians in the West quickly shot back by inquiring why, if the GDR was so rosy, did their government find it necessary to construct a giant wall through the middle of Berlin.²⁷⁹ None of this heated dialogue aided in the construction of a beneficial discourse about cultural unity. The final view settled on by both sides was a concept called “Welfare authoritarianism.” Dennis explains, “This kind of approach as totalitarianism helps...to differentiate the GDR of the 1970s and 1980s from the terroristic and murderous Third Reich and the Stalinist USSR, as well as from the violent Stalinist phase of Soviet type dictatorships in the Eastern-European satellite states in the 1950s and the early 1960s.”²⁸⁰ Now that an official written history of the GDR had been documented for German classrooms it is still important to remember that 75% of East German teachers remained in their classrooms. Likewise, West German teachers who had never lived in the GDR were going to teach this period to their students. Needless to say these two versions would not be completely in sync. Now that education had been formally structured, Germany began the long, slow process of rebuilding cultural unity.

This past November, Germany celebrated its twentieth year as a reunified state. For twenty years the German government has been trying to foster unity in both the East and West without retaining any type of Top-down Märchen building model in their school system out of fear from the Nazi period. It has become clear that this approach is not working. State sponsored nationalism seems to be divided strictly along regional lines and does not seem to be fostering national unity or pride. The thing that has been working, to some extent, however, is the renewal of German culture as a form of identity. In my final city, Hamburg, I wanted to see if any of this cultural renewal was coming out in the German school system.

²⁷⁸ Dennis 27
²⁷⁹ Ibid
²⁸⁰ Dennis 29
Culture as an Aspect of Germaness

Hamburg was the most northern city which we visited. We passed through the high woods and black mountains of Northern Hessen and turned North onto the flat plains of Niedersachsen leading to Hamburg. The train seemed to be climbing into the clouds. At times it would not pass over a mountain but rather enter through a dark tunnel that had been blasted through the side. At one point we went through a tunnel engulfing us for almost fifteen minutes of solid blackness; a state which a highly claustrophobic person like me found less than desirable. The train climbed slowly, snaking its massive weight up and up through the mountains and the mist.

After a four-hour ride, we pulled into the main train station in Hamburg. Despite the fact that our trip was in late May, the temperature was in the low sixties. This cold was exacerbated by the wind that howled its way through the city streets, picking up speed in the hollow spice canals that bridged the harbor to the main city.

Hamburg is divided into three major architectural sections; the harbor, the courtyard and the residential areas. Hamburg is home to the second largest harbor in Europe, a fact in which the city takes great pride. Hamburg was founded as a spice a harbor although it expanded its import/export business shortly after the harbor was completed. Giant tankers hauling exotic spices from all over the world were dwarfed only by the brick warehouses poking out of the dark watered canals. Spice had ceased to be the main import into Hamburg harbor decades before our arrival, but the canals and the warehouses remained, giving the harbor an early 19th century look.

The harbor was grandiose but the wind soon left me aching for a hot cup of coffee, which sent us up cobbled streets to the residential and shopping area to find a place to warm up. I commented to my translator that it was odd that I felt so tired, to which he replied that it was natural as it was almost 10:30 pm. I looked up into the sky in astonishment. Judging from the placement of the sun, which had
not yet set, I had expected it to be no later than 6:30 or 7:00; a testament to my unfamiliarity with the latitude.

The residential area was dominated by ivy-covered, light, taupe, stone-walled houses and brick apartments. Hamburg’s history with shipping and trade has brought significant wealth to the city, resulting in a substantial upper class as well as a very well educated, healthy middle class. The residential area was full of little shops of every creed and nation. That evening we ate paella at an authentic Spanish restaurant. Although the herbs and spices of Spain filled the air of the restaurant, the lingering smell of the fish from harbor still came in from the door. It was as if Hamburg had done something very special with this little restaurant; rather than a little piece of Spain inside of Germany, the restaurant seemed more like a little piece of Hamburg. Hamburg was a trade city; it brought all types of international goods and people through its harbor. As a result each of them became a little piece of the city till Hamburg was defined by a single word—trade.

The next day after visiting the school we strolled to the city center. It was here that the city really showed its bravado. Hamburg is centered on a Roman columned town hall complete with stone statues of the city’s founding fathers. However, unlike other major cities like Berlin, these statues were not important figures of lords or politicians but rather merchants. To be a merchant has been historically the highest honor in Hamburg, a position that they had held since before the founding of the German nation state. Unlike other states that were founded basically as mini kingdoms, centered on a castle, Hamburg was centered on trade. A white stone walkway lay at the steps of the city hall and extended through the rest of the city center. Petite canals were cut all the way into this part of the cities interior and white backed swans floated gracefully past the walkway and under the Venetian style bridges connecting the city center to shops and eateries on the other side. 281

281 Journal Notes
In 1265, the city was given a legal document by Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations, called “Barbarossa’s Charter.” This document freed the city from its obligations as a fort for the empire and allowed it to become an independent town, centered on merchants and trade.\(^{282}\) This event is known as “The birthday of the harbor” and is celebrated in Hamburg every year.\(^{283}\) Hamburg’s success in trade continued to grow, when it officially joined the “League of Hanseatic Cities” causing its economic progress to sky rocket.\(^{284}\) By 1912 Hamburg was the 3\(^{rd}\) most important harbor in the world, earning the city the name of “Germany’s Gateway to the World.”\(^{285}\) Both World Wars were catastrophic for the city as trade basically halted due to naval blockades. After World War II, 50% of the residential section, 40% of the shopping areas and 80% of the harbor had been destroyed through Allied bombs. After Hamburg’s surrender on April 3\(^{rd}\) 1945, the city remained in control of the British for some time until a new city council and constitution were created, both of which are still in effect today.\(^{286}\) While reunification in 1990 meant economic downturn for much of Germany, for Hamburg the fall of the Iron Curtain meant they could once again open trade routes to the East. The city quickly took advantage of this situation, causing it to bounce back economically to one of the richest cities in the nation.\(^{287}\) Today, Hamburg is one of only three city-states in the Federal Republic of Germany and maintains ninety-four trade consulates from around the globe.\(^{288}\)

As we continued to walk, I noticed a statue that kept reoccurring in different colors and mediums throughout the city. It was a little man with a tri-cornered hat on his head, carrying a yoke on his shoulder with two buckets of water. When I asked my translator about this, he explained that these

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watermen were very common back in the founding days of the Hanse \(^{289}\) because it was hard to get fresh water so close to the ocean. These men would walk about the city selling ladlefuls of fresh water to thirsty merchants and visitors. Hamburg had adopted the image of this little man as a cultural icon of the city. I paused for a moment, breathing a sigh of relief. After all of my travels, all of the talk about Nazis, a divided Germany, politics and inherent guilt, here was my answer. This was a city that had seen past all of the baggage that German history carried with it and chose to embrace a figure of pure culture from a pre-German state time period to represent the history of their city. This was a symbol that was more than just regional pride, the Hanse contained many cities in Germany and is generally considered an aspect of Germanic heritage by northern Germans. Most importantly, Hamburgers consider the little statue one of their city’s contributions to Germanic heritage as a whole. Even though it is founded in a specific piece of regional history many consider it culturally iconic of Germanic, not just Hamburgian history. It was something that children could connect to “Germanness” that had nothing to do with the World Wars or the Cold War.

Our contact for Hamburg, Frau Voigtsberger, had three history classes for us to survey at the Emilie-Wüstenfeld-Gymnasium. The school was more like a mini campus than a single location, with multiple buildings scattered across a side street. The school melded together a perfect blending of easiness and professionalism. Frau Voigtsberger was young and dressed in a purple cotton dress, high-tops and blue jeans. Many of the teachers wore similar dress although we also saw others in suits or dress shirts and slacks. The students dressed casually and were very polite. Frau Voigtsberger explained to us that she was glad we came, as she had just administered a history exam about several of the

\(^{289}\) The League of Hanseatic Towns

\(^{290}\) “Flickr” [http://farm4.static.flickr.com/3206/3010352463_f2c09aecc5.jpg?v=0](http://farm4.static.flickr.com/3206/3010352463_f2c09aecc5.jpg?v=0) Accessed 03/24/10
questions on our survey and her students scores had been somewhat lacking. All of the students eagerly took the survey. As we stayed two days in Hamburg, we ended up surveying 40 students and conducted 6 interviews. However, for the sake of space, I will focus only on two.

**Hamburg Interviews**

The interviewees from Hamburg were both female.291

*Me: Name three countries that border Germany*

*K.A.: Denmark, Poland, France*

*H.S.: France, Poland, Netherlands*

*Me: What was the German Currency before the Euro?*

*K.A.: Deutsche Mark*

*H.S.: Deutsche Mark*

*Me: Name five actual political parties in Germany*

*K.A.: CDU, CSU, FDP, Die Linke, B'90 die Grünen*

*H.S.: Die Linke, SPD, CDU, die Grünen, FDP*

*Me: Who existed first, the Greeks or the Romans?*

*K.A.: The Greeks*

*H.S.: The Greeks*

*Me: Who postulated the Evolutions Theory?*

*K.A.: Darwin*

*H.S. I think Darwin, but I am not sure.*

The answers to the introduction questions were similar to those given by the students in Frankfurt. Both students possessed adequate knowledge of intro level history and gave a wide political spectrum of parties. Unlike Frankfurt or Leipzig, however, their party lists were perfectly balanced between left and right, showing a broad knowledge of both. Seventy-five percent of their classmates also gave correct answers to the general introduction questions, with eighty-eight percent correctly naming five political parties. Judging from their aptitude in general knowledge, the next set of questions sought to explore their knowledge of German politics further.

*Me: Name three cities in the new states*

*K.A.: Rostock, Leipzig, Dresden*

*H.S.: Leipzig, I am not sure, maybe, Potsdam, Berlin is also a city?*

*Me: Name a Prime Minister from both the new and the old states.*

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291 Interviews were done separately but have been consolidated here to save space. Both were female. The first student wished to be identified and will be called by her initials, K.A. The second wished not to and will be called H.S. for "Hamburg Student."
K.A.: I don’t know that!
H.S.: Wowereit from Berlin, I don’t know from the new ones... but von Beust is from Hamburg.
Me: Name three sports teams with which you personally identify.
K.A.: HSV, St. Pauli, Hamburg Freezers
HS2: HSV, Chelsea, FC Barcelona

The answers regarding the East were a bit shakier but most students did express a general knowledge of the area. In addition to the interviewees fifty-three percent of the class answered this question correctly. Likewise, an astonishing eighty-eight percent could give prime ministers from both the new and the old states. The sports question shows the effect of the West German education reforms regarding local cultural pride. Hamburg has an enormous amount of city pride. Consequently, almost every student in the classroom listed a local team from Hamburg with which they identify. Several students, however, did pair their listings of local teams with a love for the German National Team. Also, H.S. listed Chelsea as one of her favorite teams. Although this is an English team, their second captain is Michael Balack, a German soccer player who has been captain of the German National Team for the past four years. The next questions regarded the student’s interest in national news.

Me: Do you read a newspaper? If so which one?
K.A.: Hamburger Abendblatt
H.S.: The Abendblatt (Hamburger local newspaper)
Me: Which news do you follow on a regular basis?
K.A.: Time Magazine, Tagesschau
H.S.: TV, sometimes the news...Pro 7 (a private station)
Me: What city is known as the “Venice of the North”?
K.A.: Luebeck
HS2: I don’t know
Me: Which religion do you follow?
K.A.: Protestantism
H.S.: I am protestant (Lutheran, German)

The student’s choice in news again showed local orientation with little interest in German politics on a national level. Most of the students in the class identified with local Hamburg papers from which they got their news, with only eight students listing German-wide news sources. Several listened to evening news on the television or radio but again there did not appear to be a wide interest in news
outside of Hamburg. None of the students answered the "Venice of the North" question correctly although it should be known that Hamburg is both in the North and has a canal system running through the city so most students thought that this question referred to their home city. Answers to the religion question were sporadic. The prevalence for atheism in the East was not found in Hamburg, rather a spectrum, ranging from Lutheran to Islam to Greek Orthodox. This type of mosaic can be expected considering the immigration history that comes with Hamburg’s harbor. I asked the next set of questions to ascertain the student’s attitudes towards the East.

Me: In what lands have you visited?
K.A.: U.S.A, Denmark, Spain, Hungary, Austria, Portugal. I went to Denmark on a Volleyball tourney, to the US, because my dad is from there, and Spain and Hungary and Portugal for vacation.
H.S.: Turkey, Tunisia, the US (Chicago), Greece, and Switzerland. I went there with my parents...US and Switzerland were student exchange programs.
Me: Were you ever in the new states?
K.A.: Yes, in Mecklenburg Vorpommen and Saxony
H.S.: Yes, multiple times in Berlin
Me: In which of these cities would you like to live?
K.A.: Cologne or Kiel
H.S.: Kiel and Cologne...Maybe Berlin, if it was a choice.

With the exception of Hungary, neither of these students had been to the former Eastern bloc. This was not evident in the rest of the surveys, however, as sixty-five percent of the class had traveled extensively in the former East. Both students had traveled in the former East part of Germany, however, which was also echoed by seventy-six percent of the class. Both students picked Western cities in which to live, however, fifty percent of the class listed Eastern cities as a possible living choice for the future. Therefore I did not see a general aversion to the East in Hamburg, as I had seen in other parts of West Germany. The next set of questions pertained specifically to German history.

Me: In your opinion, name the three worst events in German history.
K.A.: The Holocaust, the Wall, and RAF terrorism
H.S.: First World War with the Holocaust, the Second World War, and then something smaller...in Rostock they threw Molotov cocktails into a building with immigrants to scare them out of Germany.
Me: Do you identify by your city, state or country?
I expected the students to list something pertaining to the Nazi period; however, I was surprised that the second student listed the Holocaust in World War I. It was as if she really did not know much historical fact about the period but she knew that it was a terrible event and must be listed. This goes back to my previous statement about the saturation of collective guilt in the school system, especially in the West, pertaining to the Nazi period. Ninety-Nine percent of the students in the class listed some aspect of World War II as one of the worst events in German history. However, thirty percent also listed some aspect of a divided Germany, be it the Wall, the Stasi etc. I was surprised that so many students from a Western Germany city had listed aspects of the Cold War. The students in Hamburg did understand the two-tiered meaning of the question with Germany both as the Instigator and the victim.

The next questions pertained to political theory.

Me: Please give definitions to the Following political systems; Democracy, Socialism, Dictatorship.
K.A: Democracy is a form of state in which the powers are split into executive, judicative and legislative. The rulers are elected by the people and certain freedoms are protected, like freedom of speech. For example, Germany.
H.S.: The people have the right to vote, to have a say in policy. There are parties you can elect.
K.A.: Socialism is a form of economy, in which all things belong to the state and are split equally to all people. China is not anymore, but North Korea still is.
H.S.: People are supported by the state, if they need support, like poor people or those unemployed. Or when farmers have a bad year, they get to make sure they can survive. No idea about an example.
K.A.: Dictator: A form of state where there is no freedom of speech/ press and all power is united in one person or party and there is not opposition. I am not sure for an example.
H.S.: Only one person is in power and can decide about everything.
Me: Which would be the best form of government for Greece?
K.A.: I think Democracy is always the way to go.
H.S.: Well, I have the opinion that democracy is good. Never dictatorship...there is nothing good about that. And democracy always contains some socialism.
Me: And for Germany?
K.A.: Also Democracy, it just has to be.
HS2: Also Democracy, it just has to be.
Me: And for Cuba?
K.A.: I think socialism is working ok there, but I don’t know enough about it to say different.
H.S.: Yeah, that was the country I wanted to mention as dictatorship. Also democracy!
The student’s responses for these political definitions demonstrated a well thought through understanding of political systems. I was particularly intrigued by H.S.’s responses that all democracy contains a bit of socialism so by having it you also have the necessary aspects of socialism. She also clearly believed that pure socialism was bad as she thought Cuba was a dictatorship and should contain a democracy. Attitudes in Hamburg were more neutral on these political systems than in any of the other cities in which I interviewed students. I did not get any overly skeptical definitions of socialism as in Frankfurt, or of Democracy as in Leipzig. Since most students mentioned Germany positively when talking about these definitions, I used the next set of questions to see how they felt specifically about German nationalism.

Me: Which of the following people do you think was most influential in German history?
K.A.: Konrad Adenauer: The other ones are too specific, helping only specific group of people. Adenauer is a more general role model.
HS2: Karl Marx: Dietrich is an actress, she does not really do anything for Germany. I like what they do, but it is not important what actresses do. I don’t really know what the other people really did, so I just chose Karl Marx.
Me: Please recite the national Anthem
K.A.: (knew the first three lines)
H.S.: (stopped after the first verse)
Me: what do you know of its history?
K.A.: I know that one of the stanzas was the anthem during the Hitler Germany and is now forbidden, that was the first stanza that started (Deutschland, Deutschland über alles)
H.S.: Nothing, no.
Me: Where do you think it is appropriate to play the national anthem?
K.A.: Sports events, inaugurations, etc.
HS2: Firstly, at sports events. It is good that they are always played there...maybe on national holidays.
Me: Where is it appropriate to hang the German flag?
K.A.: Government buildings, and privately where you want to.
H.S.: Everywhere where you want to. In other countries that is ok, too, and you are not a Nazi just because you do that. I always do it for the World and European Cup (of soccer), and nobody is hurt so it is ok.
Me: Who wrote the text?
K.A.: No idea
H.S.: No idea
Me. Who wrote the Melody?
K.A.: I really don’t know
H.S.: No Idea
Me: How does the first paragraph of the German constitution begin?
K.A.: The honor of a man is untouchable
HS2: I think that all humans are created equal

The answers given in Hamburg for the most influential person in German history were completely surprising as they were polar opposites. K.A. listed the more common West German response, Konrad Adenauer, along with twenty of her classmates. H.S. listed the leftist intellectual Karl Marx, along with eighteen of her classmates. Given the opposing sides, before witnessed in different cities in Germany and now even in the same classroom, I finally confirmed that, at least for those I interviewed, on the abstract level of political theory, Germany was just as divided at the youth level as it was in the older generations. Knowledge about the national anthem was also not a good indicator as neither student was able to recite it correctly. In fact, only three students in the class could do so. What I think is more important, however, is the attitude displayed towards the playing of the national anthem. Note that both girls listed sports events as a perfectly reasonable places to play it. Likewise with the flying of the flag, K.A. believed it was up to the personal discretion of each citizen while H.S. even went so far as to explicitly point out that one is not a Nazi because one chooses to fly the flag. This was a blatant contradiction of the "collective guilt" complex that has haunted the German school system for decades. The next questions pertained to the level of importance that the students attribute to the reunification period.

Me: On what day was Germany reunited?
K.A.: Nine November
H.S.: I don’t know, I think the third of October, but the next question then confused me...I am not sure. It was 1989/1990.
Me: And what day is known as the official day of German reunification?
K.A.: October 3rd
H.S.: October 3rd 1989
Me: Who was chancellor during reunification?
K.A.: Helmut Kohl
H.S.: I really don’t know
Me: Name a composer from both the old and the new states.
K.A.: From Berlin, and the East, die Ärzte,292 from the West Die Prinzen293

292 * Translated "The Doctors"
H.S. Die Ärzte, I think they are from Berlin, then I know Bach... But then... no idea

Only one interviewee knew the date of reunification, as did only fifteen percent of the class. Both, however, knew the annual date of celebration along with sixty-three percent of the class. The annual celebration is something that affects them personally each year, while the actual date is a historical fact to which most did not attribute importance. The same was true with the chancellor, whom only one interviewee and thirty percent of the class answered correctly. Note, however, that when I offered both the interviewees the chance to list pop music bands, they could each give one from the East. They could not give examples of classical composers, who are German historical figures that would be taught in school, despite the fact that Germany has a plethora of musical artists including Beethoven, Hayden and Schubert from the West and Teichmann and Bach from the East. Only fifteen percent of their classmates, who were not giving the option of listing modern day artists, were able to list classical composers from both regions. Stories about composers would be an excellent way to engage in Märchen building to increase nationalism in German schools. The lack of knowledge about them, suggest that this has not been done successfully. The final questions were more about the reunification period as well as some political opinion.

Me: What does the year 1968 mean in your eyes?
K.A.: Student protests, the assassination of Benno Ohnesorg, and a time of turmoil and protest
H.S.: Nothing

293 Translated "The Princes"
294 I understand that the composers mentioned were from a much earlier time, before the GDR existed. However, I made it clear to the students taking the survey that the century did not matter. They could tell me any composer from any time period as long as they were from the East. The fact that the students in the West could not, shows a general lack of cultural knowledge about the East as a whole, not just the GDR period. Pictures and quotes from Bach were everywhere in Leipzig. You could not walk down the street without seeing some reference to him. This makes me wonder if any of the Western students that I surveyed had ever been to Leipzig long enough to explore any of its cultural history. Music class is mandatory in Germany, from 5th through 8th grade where students do learn composers. The question is whether or not the students were interested enough to retain that information.
Me: Do you know what the news said about Benno Ohnesorg?
K.A.: I think they now know that he was not shot by a police officer or something like that.
Me: What happened on June 17\textsuperscript{th} 1953?
K.A.: I don’t know
H.S.: The GDR protests!
Me: In what year was the wall built and who built it?
H.S.: It was built, I guess, end of the 40s, beginning of the 50s. It was built by the countries who made the GDR.
Me: To you what is more important, freedom or social security?
K.A.: Freedom! Because I think that social security makes it too easy for some people and freedom is for me more important, because social security means nothing if I cannot freely think.
H.S.: Freedom! Because freedom is the best, because every person has to be free to enjoy everything that social services can give you.

These last questions again show a general lack of knowledge pertaining to the factual knowledge surrounding important dates in German history. None of the students knew the corrected information about Benno Ohnesorg, and only thirty-eight percent of the students answered correctly on the 1968 question, despite the fact that we took very general answers like "68er generation" or "Revolution." Likewise, every single student except for our interviewee, H.S. answered the 1953 question incorrectly. Both students correctly acknowledged that it was the GDR who built the Wall, although H.S. was unclear of the correct date. Only fifteen percent of the class knew that the Wall was built in 1961 by the GDR. Seventy-eight percent of Hamburg students were in favor of freedom over social security. This was one of the few questions in which the students displayed real opinion, not just a recounting of facts.

**Hamburg Analysis**

The Hamburg students answered a substantial number of history questions correctly. Their knowledge, however, was sporadic and did not show any deeper understanding of how German history

\[295\] Benno Ohnesorg was a West German University student who was part of the 1968 student protests. Up until this past year it has been taught in schools that he was shot by a West German police officer whose attempts to quell the riot got out of hand. It was recently discovered, however, after going through the Stasi files that his death was an assassination from an East German secret Service agent who had been ordered to stir up political turmoil in the West. This news broke on public news channels a week before we went to Hamburg. I wanted to see if teachers were teaching it to their students.
and politics relates directly to them as Germans. Just like the students in Frankfurt they were very attentive to factual knowledge yet offered few opinions on the subjects about which they were speaking. Overall, I did not come away with any sense of national solidarity or strong sense of nationalism from the Hamburg students’ knowledge of history and politics. What I did come away with, however, was support for my theory about regional culture. The Hamburg students displayed an incredible amount of regional pride, in the economic success of their harbor, the geography associated with their Northern location and the mercantile legends of their past, evidenced in the little concrete statues scattered throughout the city. While I did not see distinctly nationalist attitudes towards things like the anthem or the chancellors, I did see a substantial amount of regional pride expressed as an aspect of Germany wide pride, in the minds of the Hamburg youth. Hamburg students took the idea of cultural unity to a level that I had not yet seen before in Germany. If one were to walk by the harbor in Hamburg one would see German flags swaying from bridges, silos and ships. The flag represents Germany as an international trading partner. The harbor becomes a symbol of German pride because it is an integral part of the nexus of global trade. H.S. specifically stated that the flag should be flown, wherever citizens feel like flying it because a German is not a Nazi simply because they express pride in their flag. She noted that she always flies the flag during international events like the World Cup. She arrived at this conclusion because of her own experience with the flag. While the school system was not able to adequately teach her the historical importance of national pride in her flag, she found it herself in her city’s cultural heritage. Likewise, while very few students knew historical cultural knowledge like the names of composers from Germany, many of them told me details about modern bands from both the East and the West. If they did not feel the need to learn the history of East Germany in school it appears that they are at least being exposed to current East German cultural issues through music and lyrical exploration. While my research has shown that Hamburg youth have adopted the West German idea of regional pride very well, the little concrete water statues and flag filled harbors have little to say
to the rest of Germany’s young people. If German youth really are the key to developing a healthy attitude towards nationalism than there must be a mode by which the entire country can express their national pride as one.

**Why Youth Culture is Necessary for National Unity**

“Aus, aus, das Spiel ist aus! Deutschland ist Weltmeister!” – Herbert Zimmermann

Recall from the Frankfurt chapter that one of the reforms implemented by the West German government, after World War II, was to unite the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education into one government body that would be responsible for teaching German history and nationalism in schools. This unification resulted in the two tiered emphasis on pragmatic verses reflective education as well as a heavy emphasis on regional culture. This created a fragmentation problem; however, as regional pride became disjointed from nationalism as the government actively suppressed Top-down Märchen building and discouraged open displays of national pride. While many of the older generations in Germany did not have a problem with this fragmentation, many of Germany’s youth have found it frustrating. The government’s phobia of open nationalist expression as well as their inability to imbue state symbols with nationalist pride, have failed to produce any type of successful sense of unity in the country. Unity, however, is happening anyway, through grassroots movements inspired by youth culture.

This nationalist movement was not founded through official channels of Top-down Märchen building or state sanctioned, politically correct forms of national expression. Young people, like the students I surveyed, were interested in defining their own sense of “Germaness” through culture. This nationalism is characterized by cultural expression, not official state or military channels. However, this

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296 *Radio broadcaster Herbert Zimmermann annotated the end of the 1954 soccer world cup finals with the words “Over, the game is over! Germany is world champion!” Preußische Allgemeine Zeitung [http://www.webarchiv-server.de/pin/archiv04/2704paz49.htm](http://www.webarchiv-server.de/pin/archiv04/2704paz49.htm) Accessed 04/18/10
is a type of nationalism that has not existed for long in Germany and is still in many ways a work in progress. This next section is about the history of nationalist sentiment in Germany during the World Cup and how this event dovetailed into a new version of “Germaness” completely begun and carried on by Germany’s young people.

**The Example of Soccer**

During my interviews and surveys around Germany I was given vastly different opinions about official state forms of nationalism. Students in Frankfurt loved the German flag and the national anthem while students in Leipzig possessed an aversion for them. Students in Berlin believed that the Wall was a significant moment in German history while students in Hamburg hardly spoke about it at all. The one question, however, which received the same level of support in every city, was about sports. While students listed many local and regional teams for which they cheer, there was always a strong support for the German national soccer team. This loyalty is important because the German National Team’s success at the World Cup has closely paralleled important events in German history. Soccer as a cultural icon and modern form of nationalism has been building in Germany for some time and has become instrumental in inspiring unity in Germany.

The year was 1954 and Switzerland hosted the World Cup. World War II had only been over for nine years and Germany was now split in two. West Germany had just gained independence from occupation by Allied powers and had almost no legitimacy on the international stage. The World Cup was West Germany’s first chance to show its face since the end of the Nazi era. For those 9 nine years the country had been rebuilding and trying to reform its economy. Very few resources were available to the team. Surprisingly, despite these heavy disadvantages, the German National Team made it all the way to the final match. They faced the Hungarian national team for the championship. Hungary was heavily favored, having just won the 1952 Olympic Gold for soccer and holding a thirty-one game
winning streak, earning them the name “The Golden Team.”\textsuperscript{297} Hungary had already beaten Germany in the preliminaries eight – two. The Hungarians had a two point lead just six minutes into the game, yet amazingly Germany had tied the game at two-two by the nineteenth minute.\textsuperscript{298} Six minutes before the end, forward Helmut Rahn scored the third goal for Germany, which won the World Cup for the West. It was the first defeat that the Hungarian team had suffered in six years. The win over Hungary allowed West Germans for the first time since the end of World War II a chance to show national pride.\textsuperscript{299} One of the most famous lines in modern West German history was said that day by radio announcer Herbert Zimmerman which was heard on radios across the nation, “Rahn sollte schießen…Rahn schießt…TOR!!!!!”\textsuperscript{300}

Twenty years later in July of 1974, West Germany once again found itself in contention for the World Cup championship. This time they were also the host country, which was another huge honor for the nation. West Germany won the World Cup against the Netherlands, who again was the highly favored opponent.\textsuperscript{301} This moment did much in furthering nationalist pride in the West, however, what was more important to this particular World Cup, was the West’s relationship with the East. West Germany lost one game in the lead up rounds to the final match. This loss was to East Germany one-zero in the first round.\textsuperscript{302} East Germany fell out in the second round to Argentina; while the West went on to win the championship.\textsuperscript{303} Thus the 1974 World Cup was a very divisive moment for Germany as a whole as East Germans felt that they deserved the championship since they had beaten the West in a lower

\textsuperscript{297} “1954 World Cup Switzerland Review” Written by David Hein June 29\textsuperscript{th} 2009 http://internationalsoccer.suite101.com/article.cfm/1954_world_cup_switzerland_review Accessed 02/28/10
\textsuperscript{298} Ibid
\textsuperscript{299} Ibid
\textsuperscript{300} Translated “Rahn should kick….Rahn kicks…GOAL!!!!!!”
\textsuperscript{301} “Previous FIFA World Cups” http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/edition=39/overview.html Accessed 02/28/10
\textsuperscript{302} Ibid
\textsuperscript{303} Ibid
round. Yet as future events would show, although soccer was used as a divisive tool at this moment of history, it would have the opposite effect on Germany in the years to come.

Sixteen years later, in 1990, West and East Germany had officially reunited. Yet their nation was young and standing on very shaky ground in terms of unity. The 1990 World Cup was held in Italy in July, just eight short months after the reunification. The World Cup was hailed as a time for Germany to show its unity to the world. Unfortunately, due to a technicality in the FIFA rules, which dictated that a player must be a member of the country for which he plays for one year before he can play, none of the East German players were permitted to play. Since Germany had only been united for eight months, the East German players sat on the bench. Germany’s win over Argentina did once again make a statement to the world, especially the Soviet world that was collapsing around them. The 1990 World Cup was the last time the national team of the Soviet Union played on the world stage. This victory was somewhat soured for Germany, however. As East Germany watched its players sit out, it was difficult for East Germans to feel that this victory in anyway was for them. This success stood as a testament to the long road that Germans faced before being truly unified again as one nation.

In 2006 Germany once again got the chance to show its face to the world. But this time the nation was more prepared. Germany was again the host nation and this time the German National Team not only boasted players from both the East and the West, but also a plethora of international stars. Yet neither the fact that Germany hosted the Weltmeistershaft nor the fact that they made it all the way to the semi-finals was the most important aspect for German unity. Rather it was the millions of German flags that rained down on the nation, held in the hands and painted on the faces and bodies of

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305 *translated “World Cup” Usually abbreviated WM.
Germany’s youth. International news stations across the world described the people of Germany as “joyous, generous and open minded hosts.”

There was something different about the World Cup in 2006. Despite all of the attempts at suppressing nationalist sentiment from the top-down, government officials found themselves grossly outnumbered by the wave of flag bearing youth that descended on soccer stadiums and sports pubs around the country. The German government had set up a series of “public viewing areas” around the country with large screens for watching the matches. These areas were quickly overrun with Black-red-and gold laden youth. This was in fact the first time in the history of German soccer where the coach demanded that his players sing the anthem. Thousands of fans cheered as the German National Team stood, arms interlinked, singing. The surge of national pride came so quickly and in such abundance that the government did not know how to react. Inenborg Majer-O-Sickey, Professor at New York State University Binghamton lived in Freiburg for 30 years and published a paper on the experience of the 2006 World Cup saying, “In June 2006, black-red-gold mini flags flew from car windows, balconies, baby carriages, people and even dog collars. Transcending generations, class, and ethnicity, everyone seemed to have one.” A journalist for “Der Spiegel,” a popular nationwide news magazine coined the phrase “Germany wears Germany again,” and as Ms. Majer – O’Sickey noted, “Teens and Twenty-something’s painted their torsos and faces with black-red-gold and wore wild synthetic wigs in flag design.” For four weeks open displays of nationalism saturated Germany; everything from bras imprinted with soccer balls, on red, black and gold backgrounds, to toilet paper with opposing team stars imprinted on them to cold cuts with pictures of the national team printed in darker meat.

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307 Ibid
308 Ibid
309 Ibid
310 Ibid
Stadiums were filled in cities across Germany, the most prevalent of which being Berlin, where 69,000 fans wearing national colors filled the arena.\(^\text{311}\)

Economically speaking The World Cup caused a surge throughout Germany. The food industry netted 500 million Euros, German tourism exploded on the international scene, 10,000 trains were put into operation, overall creating 50,000 jobs.\(^\text{313}\) One reporter from the Badische Zeitung noted, “Quite different from the formerly stern allegiance to the fatherland, this patriotism was surprisingly feminine. As never before, many young women publicly demonstrate that they are wild about soccer, they wave the flag like the French Marianne her tricolors or wrapped themselves nakedly in the flag, for the Nazis a horror... They exhibit their emotional highs in sisterly self-irony.”\(^\text{314}\) Ironically, the sudden acceptance of the German flag made it virtually impossible for extremists to use it to slander the national image. As a psychotherapist from Ludwigsburg, Lilo Majer commented, “The fans made it impossible for extremists and hooligans to use the German flag for hyper-patriotic purposes in the way they did before the WM. They disabled it by using it as a party decoration. That is an accomplishment that a hundred laws against extremism could never manage.”\(^\text{315}\) For Germany, 2006 was its coming out moment. It presented a united face to the world that proudly flew the German flag.

But the World Cup in 2006 was not without its problems for Germany. Despite the impressive showing of nationalist pride, only three cities in the East participated in the World Cup; Potsdam hosted

\(^{311}\) Ibid
\(^{313}\) Majer-O’Sickey 86
\(^{314}\) Ibid
\(^{315}\) Majer – O’sickey 92
the Ukrainian team for practices, Leipzig hosted several matches and the finale, on July 9th 2006, was played in Berlin stadium. National concern for a public display of xenophobia led the commission to station most of the main events in the West, coining the colloquial phrase, the “No-Go-Area” for parts of the East. Likewise, many people wondered how much of the sudden surge in flag flying and anthem singing was, in fact, true nationalism or just mob mentality wound up in sports infused pop-culture.

Since 2006, however, many of these fears have been laid aside. There has been no backlash of extremist politics on either the right or the left as a result of the 2006 nationalist surge. In fact quite the opposite has occurred as students now wear the colors of the flag on soccer jerseys to school and many have learned the anthem in preparation for the upcoming 2010 World Cup in South Africa. In other words, this cultural movement gave national government symbols like the flag and the anthem a positive connotation that the Ministry of Education could never achieve. Rather than coming through officials channels from the top-down it started as a grassroots movement at the youth level and worked its way up. The consistent and steady spread of positive energy around the idea of German nationalism, over the past four years, has not given any credence to the idea of a mob mentality but rather the beginnings of a truly grassroots cultural movement. Likewise, the German National Team’s fan base surpasses regional barriers and encompasses East and West German young people alike. Once this initial spark of nationalist unity was ignited it dovetailed into a cultural phenomenon that encompassed German youth from all regions and a plethora of genres. One of these genres is music.

**BEYOND SOCCER**

Note from the surveys that the students had very little knowledge of classical composers from Germany, even though the early lives of composers provide excellent base stories for Top-down Märchen building. Students did, however, have a collective extensive knowledge of modern music that

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316 Majer-O’sickey 93
317 Ibid
covers a series of political topics in Germany. Two of the most famous groups, “Tokio Hotel” and “Rammstein” are both comprised of Easterners. Rammstein, which is now ranked internationally as the best selling German band in history, writes extremely left leaning and politically antagonistic lyrics to their songs, yet they are incredibly popular in both the East and the West. Other bands have seized on the idea of sports nationalism to carry the hype from the World Cup into a permanent place in youth culture.

The band “Sportfreunde Stiller” is an excellent example, with their song “’54, 74, 90, 2010.” This song, which describes Germany’s multiple victories in the World Cup, changed the final date from 2006 to 2010 when Germany lost to Italy in 2006. By using 2010, the song is already declaring victory for Germany in the upcoming World Cup in South Africa. The lyrics are as follows:

54.,74.,90,,2010, ja so stimmen wir alle ein
Mit dem Herz in der Hand und der
Leidenschaft im Bein
Werden Wir Weltmeister sein

54.,74.,90,,2010, yes we all join in
With our heart in hand and passion in our legs
We will be world champions

Wir haben nicht die höchste Spielkultur
Sind nicht gerade filigran
Doch wir haben Träume und Visionen
Und in der Hinterhand ,nen Masterplan.

We don’t have the highest game
Or the best footwork
But we have a dream and a vision
And in our backhand a master plan

Für unsere langen Wege aus der Krise
Und aus der Depression
Lautet die Devise
„Nichts wie raus auf den Fußballthron”

For our long way through the crisis
And through the depression
Then our motto is
“Let’s run out onto the soccer throne!”

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Metro Lyrics  
Accessed 02/28/10
Note in the lyrics the extensive use of the word “our” and other such unifying expressions. Also there is an image of overcoming a series of historical obstacles with words such as “crisis” and “depression.”

The original surge in nationalist culture around the German National Team was a spontaneous movement begun by Germany’s youth. Yet, a huge private industry has developed around this fan base to provide products that openly express nationalism, like soccer balls with flags on them, soccer jerseys and black-red-gold decorations. This convergence between youth culture and the private economy has integrated visual images of nationalism into every day German life. Modern music is also inspired by the youth movement but has developed into a huge commercial industry. This national identity is not only transcending regional boundaries, but it is forming a definition of “Germanness” that has nothing to do with war. These young people have shown that they can develop a national loyalty that is not created by the fictional, politically charged Märchen but rather through the inspiration of eleven real people, completing a very real challenge on a very real world stage.

**Conclusion: The Identity of German Youth**

Ernest Gellner argues that any nation state that hopes to withstand the test of time must formulate an educational policy that actively propounds the necessity of the survival of the nation-state to its youngest citizens. This process, which I have called Top-down Märchen building, is necessary because it draws distinctive ties between the intrinsic value system, traditions and customs of the nation and the physical boundaries that make up the geography of the nation state. It does this by teaching a set of tales, sometimes based on historical figures and sometimes completely fictional which imbue state loyalty into the hearts and minds of the nation’s youth. Theoretically, when the youth grow up and become active members of society,
they will understand their place as citizens of the nation-state and thus be loyal to it. If the
nation does not engage in this practice, than it will rear apathetic youth who do not feel the
need to keep their country intact. Such apathy could cause the nation state to devolve into civil
war, fragment or completely dissolve as it is consumed by more powerful nation-states which
are comprised of loyal citizens. Practically every country in the world has engaged in this
practice of civic education to some extent. The government of my home country, the United
States, does this quite liberally with stories like George Washington and the cherry tree or the
first pilgrim’s feast with the Indians.

When the Prussian empire was evolving into the nation state of Germany, political
officials engaged heavily in this practice, as was common throughout Europe and much of the
world. Top-down Märchen building in the school system and political and literary rhetoric
ignited across Europe, unchecked by any government regulation until nationalist extremism
consumed the beneficial points of the nation state ideology for many of the nation states in
Europe, leading the outbreak of the First World War.

At the end of the First World War, the delegates from each involved nation state met at
Versailles, France and voted to place the sole blame for the war on Germany in the history
books. The imposed reparations and international scorn that came with this decision caused a
surge of anger throughout the nation, which opened the door for a dictator with a
unimaginable agenda to come to power.

Hitler used the Märchen of the Dolchstoßlegende to create an oral, historical retelling of
Germany’s involvement in World War I to make it sound like the German citizens had been sold
out by the socialists. He then took the tale even further to claim that German nationalism was under attack by “impure” inhabitants of the German nation state that did not truly belong to the German nation. This idea pushed the concept of Märchen building in schools to a level of complete indoctrination. The Nazi government propounded the “master race” ideology that led Germany into the Second World War and caused the attempted extermination of the Jews, Homosexuals and Roma as well as the persecution of Catholic and political dissenters who opposed the regime. It must be understood that the Nazi dictatorship was exactly that. All of the extremist policies in Germany, during World War II were implemented by the Nazi party, not the German nation as a whole. Many Germans were horrified at what had happened to their country and were powerless to stop it. By the end of the war the German people had realized the extreme levels to which Märchen building can be taken and had developed a phobia towards incorporating it into the school system. Some other method would be needed to teach Germanic history in the schools.

    After the war the German nation state was split into two countries, the German Democratic Republic in the East and the Federal Republic of Germany in the West. The congressional leadership of each new country rid their respective school systems of Nazi ideology.

    The West German government developed a federal system which diffused educational power into each individual Land. The idea was to make it impossible for any government official to use education to develop extremist politics in West Germany ever again. By combining the Ministry of Culture with the Ministry of Education the government adopted the heavily
American influenced concept of “collective guilt” over the war along with a two pronged plan for educational reform. Each Land would return to the Humboldtian style of education from the Prussian empire which emphasized a pragmatic rather than reflective educational structure by focusing on hard sciences and research oriented study and playing down the importance of teaching students loyalty to the nation state. They would also center cultural pride on a regional rather than national basis, turning nation-state loyalty into regional loyalty. Open displays of nationalism were received with much hostility and the idea of Top-down Märchen building was lost.

The East German government chose not to do away with Top-down Märchen building but rather to change the Märchen to explain World War II as a great communist struggle against tyranny. As in the West an anti-nationalist approach was adopted in which students were no longer supposed to think of themselves as Germans, but rather as part of the proletariat. Very little German culture of any kind was retained and the GDR became a satellite nation state linked closely with the Soviet Union as a mutual partner in the communist world.

For forty-five years Germany remained split into two nation states. Due to the international economic boom of the 1950’s, the free-market economy in the West became increasingly more successful. East German society fell more and more into economic disparity as funds were pumped into international displays of power like world-class Olympians, and an ambitious space program. These programs left less funding for maintaining basic quality of life in the GDR, resulting in food and medicine shortages and eventually a painfully obvious gap in living standards between the East and West. This, combined with brutal government
suppression of political protests led many East German citizens to lose faith in the idea of their nation state and fled for the West. The tide of Easterners fleeing to the West became so great that on November 9th 1989 the Wall came down and within six months Germany was once again a unified nation state. It soon became obvious however, that this unity was only on paper. The German government now needed to adopt a strong unitary policy which explained to German citizens why Germany should once again exist as one nation. If this did not happen, Germany could easily fragment into multiple nations again.

It soon became obvious; however, that reinstating nationalist loyalty in Germany would be extremely difficult. West German policy-makers had used a combination of regional culture and a pragmatic education system to overcome the Nazi past. The older generations were able to educate the youth about a Germany that was not embroiled in war. While this did help rekindle nationalism in the West, this strategy promoted regional rather than national pride. The pragmatic nature of the school system had also withdrawn from emphasizing the importance of nationalism. By 1989 West German students simply did not have a strong concept of national loyalty or an understanding of the necessity of nationalism for the survival of the German nation state.

East Germans fared even worse as they were thrown immediately from the end of World War II into a modern dictatorship. The East Germans subsequently saw even their regional culture all but erased as they were engulfed in the totalitarian politics of the GDR. There was literally one type of beer, labeled “beer” and one type of pickle, labeled “pickle.” There were no South East German wines or North East German sausages. Everything was
generic and cultureless. Since this government lasted for forty-four years, there were no East Germans that personally remembered pre-war Germanic culture. After forty years of brutal world war politics followed immediately by forty-four years of Marxist/Leninist indoctrination the East Germans simply found themselves in a new nation state that relied on regional culture to keep itself together. To East Germans this concept simply did not translate.

While the nation state of Germany remains united today, the German Ministry of Education is still struggling to find an appropriate and successful way to teach German nationalism to Germany’s youth. Since the German government has refused to readopt Top-down Märchen building once again in the school system, out of fear of the Nazi period, and has failed to provide an adequate alternative, German youth are simply not being endowed with nationalist sentiment while they are in school. From my research, however, it is clear that nationalist sentiment does exist in Germany and it is most prevalent in Germany’s youth. If young people are not learning national loyalty in the school system than they must be forming a new type of model, that does not involve Top-down Märchen building.

This new model appears to be centered on culture expressed through modern forms of media. The most clear cut example which seems to have been one of the original jumping off points for this movement is the success of the German National Team in the World Cup. Fan loyalty for the team has translated into open displays of pride in the German nation state as German young people wave the German flag by the thousands, sing the anthem in public and paint themselves in national colors for soccer matches. An entire new market has developed around this resurgent nationalism as industries that make soccer paraphernalia are booming
and other genres, like music are producing bands with politically charged lyrics that are extremely successful in both the East and the West, despite their region of origin.

My conclusion is twofold. First, the educational model, expressed by Ernest Gellner, of Top-down Märchen building and state sanctioned nationalism is not working to unify Germany because the state itself is still afraid of the resurgence of a totalitarian regime. However, to the youth, who have not lived through totalitarianism this “collective guilt” mentality and fear of open displays of nationalism seem ridiculous and frustrating. The youth in turn have started their own cultural renewal which redefines the concept of “Germanness.” While many of them remain critical of official state sanctioned forms of nationalism they express an almost unitary support for the German National Team and have an understanding of the difference between German history and German culture that is not as clearly felt in the older generations.

If the German government wishes to pursue a more successful policy towards a unified Germany in today’s Europe then the Ministry of Education needs to seize on this idea of cultural renewal. The youth are ready as the sports journalist in 2006 claimed, for “Germany to wear Germany again.” The Ministry of Education, combined with the Ministry of Culture, must take advantage of this cultural renewal as a unique and powerful opportunity for Germany to define itself in the history books not as the country of the Holocaust or ground zero in the Cold War but rather as a nation with much to offer Europe, economically, politically and culturally.

It is now 2010 and the World Cup in South Africa is only three months away. The nation state of Germany is prepping the National Team to compete once again on the world stage. The East now shows the face of Michael Balack as captain of the team as well as a handful of other
Eastern born stars. It has been twenty years since Germany won the World Cup as a unified nation yet the nationwide support and positive energy surrounding the team’s departure for South Africa has never been higher. It is not known what the outcome of the 2010 World Cup will be, yet one thing has been shown; soccer inspires nationalism in German youth like no nationally mandated law has been able to do.

February 15th 2010. Germany has once again stepped forward onto the world stage for the Olympic winter games. I watched eagerly from my Chicago hotel room as German David Müller competed in the Men’s luge competition. As he sailed across the ice and over the finish line at over ninety miles an hour dozens of German fans stood in the sidelines cheering and waving flags. His mother however, waived a life size flag with the black, yellow and red stripes in the background. On the front was printed the gold olive branch and mathematical compass. It was the flag of the German Democratic Republic. Mr. Müller is from Sonneberg, Germany, in the former East. He was born in 1982, meaning he was seven years old when the Wall fell and thus could have never competed for the GDR. Yet here was his mother holding up the GDR flag. Moments later Felix Loch flew across the ice just fast enough to beat Müller for the Gold. Loch is from Berchtesgaden in West Germany and was born in 1989, just four months before the fall of the Wall. As he slid into Olympic gold dozens of German flags were raised in admiration of the young athlete. But the women with her East German banner stood silently in the crowd, her flag hidden out of sight.

That night both David and Felix took the stage to receive silver and gold for the nation of Germany. The German anthem played. Finally, a united nation could celebrate athletic victory.
on the international stage. Still, I wondered how many people were watching that awards
ceremony in Germany with different sentiments. How many people saw the East German silver
medalist, standing slightly lower, than the West German gold medalist while the West German
anthem was played to represent both? What did the women with her GDR flag think?

There is no doubt that Germany has made incredible strides in reuniting its youth, since
reunification in 1989. International events like the Olympics, once a time for the wound of a
divided Germany to be made even deeper, now foster opportunities for nationalist growth and
unity. Yet it is still a shaky nationalism that reveals itself to the world. This is evident in the eyes
of Germany’s youth as they speak about their country in surveys and interviews and take the
stage at the medal ceremonies in Vancouver. As the ceremony drew to a close I could not help
but think about the words of the Headmaster I interviewed in Frankfurt. “For three generations
we have been waiting for the Nazis to fade into history. Yet the wound is still as fresh in the
minds of our youth as if it happened yesterday. And this was back in the 1940s! How many
generations will it take for the wound of a divided Germany to heal?”

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320 This is paraphrased, not quoted
Glossary

1. CDU- Christian Democratic Union, Angela Merkel’s Party – center right
2. SPD- Socialist Democratic Party – center left
3. Die Linke – The Left – left wing
5. CSU- Christian Social Union – center-right
6. Piratenpartei – the Pirate Party – mandatory re-vote
7. SED – Socialist Unity Party of Germany- now “Die Linke”
8. KPD – Communist Party of Germany – now forbidden
9. NPD – National Party of Germany
10. Helmut Kohl – Chancellor of West Germany during the reunification of 1989
11. Erich Honecker – Leader of the SED and thus the GDR directly before the reunification
12. Walter Ulbricht – First leader of the Communist party in the GDR
13. Konrad Adenauer – First German Chancellor after World War II
14. Marlene Dietrich- Famous German singer and actress who is often associated with modern Germanic culture

15. Flag of the Holy Roman Empire

16. Original German flag, used today
17. Prussian flag

18. Flag of the Third Reich

19. Flag of the German Democratic Republic

20. Federal service flag, used today only on federal buildings
21. The German National Anthem

Germany, Germany above all,
Above everything in the World,
When always for protection,
We stand together as brothers
From the Maas to the Memel
From the Etsch to the Belt-
Germany, Germany above all
Above all in the world

German women, German loyalty
German wine and German song
Shall retain in the world,
Their old lovely ring
To inspire us to noble deeds
Our whole life long.
German women, German loyalty,
German wine and German song

Unity and law and freedom
For the German Fatherland
Let us all strive for that
In brotherhood with heart and hand!
Unity and law and freedom
Are the foundation for happiness
Bloom in the glow of happiness
Bloom, German Fatherland

Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Über alles in der Welt,
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze
Brüderlich zusammenhält,
Von der Maß bis an die Memel
Von der Etsch bis an den Belt-
Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Über alles in der Welt,

Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue
Deutscher Wein und deutsche Sang
Sollen in der Welt behalten
Ihren alten schönen Klang
Uns zu edler Tat begeistern
Unser ganzes Leben Lang
Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue
Deutscher Wein und deutsche Sang

Einigkeit und Rechts und Freiheit
Für das Deutsche Vaterland!
Danach lasst uns alle streben
Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!
Einigkeit und Rechts und Freiheit
Sind des Glücks Unterpfand;
Blüh’ im Glanze dieses Glücks,
Blühe deutsches Vaterland

22. The lyrics for the East German National anthem were written by Johannes Becher and composed by Hans Eisler. The words are listed below.

Arisen from ruins, and gazing on the future
Let us serve the Good, Germany, United Fatherland
Ancient hopes impel us, and united we urge the prospect on
It will yet pass, that the sun, more beautiful than ever
Shines over Germany, Shines over Germany
Let us plow, let us farm, learn and create as never before
And if we trust to our capacities, a free race will arise
German youth! The best hope of our people is embodied in you
You will become Germany’s new life, and the sun more beautiful than ever
Will shine over Germany, will shine over Germany

http://german.about.com/library/blmus_deutschland.htm  Accessed 10/30/09
Rodden, Schoolhouse 37 * I included this text in the thesis because it embodies an idealization of German youth. Also, students in Leipzig sang portions of it, thinking that it was the real hymn. They must have learned this in school since it is no longer sung in unified Germany.
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Interviews and Surveys conducted at the Sophie Scholl Oberschule in Berlin, Germany
Interviews of University students, Teachers, Post Doctoral Students, and German Citizens conducted at Bars, Cafes and Private Residences around Germany.


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