

of the Western powers. Any program they offer in this distress and uncertainty assumes unnatural clarity and acceptance. If the actual example of Russian administration in the East Zone were not so close at hand, there is little doubt that the Communists would have secured almost unimpeded control of the situation in the plants.

FUTURE LEADERSHIP

The democratic union leaders who now stand at the heads of practically all the unions are a continuation of the pre-Hitler trade union tradition in Germany. But since most of them got their training in the Weimar years, a great majority of them are old men. Their skill, their democratic convictions and their long experience cannot be easily set aside. But the decisive point will arrive when the present democratic trade union leaders are too old to carry on the work they are now doing.

The natural succession would be from the ranks of lesser responsibility - the works councillors, and local union leadership - to the industrial unions and Land federations.

An education program within the trade unions must aim to train new leadership of a high quality, and at the same time reach into shops with a program of mass education of the rank and file.

Workers' education in this sense is technical training for specific vocations within the labor movement, but it is more than that. It must also give workers a point of view about life and politics - not necessarily a dogmatic explanation of life - but rather a way of life. This combination of way of living and goal of living is democratic - it is not possible to subordinate means to ends as the Communist does without violating the democratic philosophy itself.

The German labor movement has a long educational tradition, and a long democratic tradition. It is important that the unions with all possible encouragement from Military Government once more revitalize the tradition - not just reinstitute the former program, but adapt it to the problems of union organization and the needs of union members today.

2. LABOR EDUCATION

The background against which one fills in the story of workers' education in Germany is the public school education of the worker and his place in German society. Essentially, this position has not changed since Bismarck introduced free public education through the first six school years. The schools under the Kaiser were organized to provide a literature, but intellectually limited, highly disciplined working class. All the school reforms which have been introduced since have not changed this basic requirement.

The child of a German worker in 1947 still goes to school only until he is fourteen years old, and is then apprenticed at a few marks a month usually for three years, during which he receives one day's schooling a week in subjects closely related to his trade education. The chief educational influences which play upon him are those inherent in an apprentice relationship to a skilled workman -- at best a paternalism, at worst three years of enslavement and exploitation. The positive values which inhere in this relationship are a pride in craftsmanship and a deeply ingrained work-discipline.

The trade union and the labor party historically became the educational agencies which influenced the further development of the worker as a rational and cultural being.

When labor had something to say about the reorganization of the state under the Weimar constitution, it is interesting that the fundamental organization of the schools was not changed, but that the pattern of elementary school-apprenticeship-vocational school-union education program remained essentially what it was. To be sure, the elementary school was strengthened, and a somewhat broader educational program through the 8th school year was set up; the vocational school curriculum included citizenship, and the trade union schools were greatly extended and in many cases got direct and indirect state support. And the whole position of the unions and of organized workers in the state was set down and greatly strengthened by law, perhaps as the surest guarantee against the anti-labor laws which had previously existed.

So far as youth was concerned, the labor movement aimed to set up as extensive a welfare and protective program as possible and much of this was even extended and strengthened under the Nazis because they too saw in youth the strength and bulwark of the future state. The Nazis however completely wrecked the unions and with them their educational program which had been the one free, non-state controlled element in the education development of a young worker.

The problems of workers' education today begin in the public school but are felt in every kind of educational undertaking which is available to workers or which they organize.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

One serious charge of which the Nazis were guilty was a persistent breaking down of the educational opportunities for youth. Military service, air raid service, "voluntary" or "emergency" work, the year's labor service, etc. all represented interruptions or complete breaking off of school and apprenticeship. Today the general experience is that young people are not able to meet the former standards for the journeymen's examinations either in theoretical or practical subjects.

Many older Germans maintain their self-respect, and have, as one of the few positive values left to them in the post-war period, the knowledge that they are good craftsmen and disciplined (honest, industrious, thrifty, conscientious) citizens. This pride in craftsmanship tends to become almost an end in itself when the ultimate values are blurred, when all programs are frustrated.

The result of this combination of unquestioned tradition and of the general breakdown has been that both youth and older workers see as an immediate need the restoration of the means of becoming skilled craftsmen. The need has been raised to a national goal: what Germany needs are skilled and industrious workers; we are willing to work; give us the opportunity and we will somehow pull Germany back on its feet.

There is likewise a sizable proportion of serious minded youth who see that all Germany is poor, that terrific manual tasks need to be accomplished, who believe that at least the immediate solution lies in work and more work, and that the lesson to be drawn from this analysis is to become a skilled worker. This group of youth in the vocational schools asks for more hours of study, more advanced materials, evening courses, available shops where they can get experience not offered with one master.

This is one emphasis the German trade unions are giving to education right now. It is given a special direction by a number of temporary factors in the present economic situation. Veterans are coming back to work whose apprenticeship was interrupted or never really got under way. What is to be done with and for the 19 or 20 year old worker who wants to become a skilled worker? Veterans are back who have not had a chance to practice their skills for six or more years. How can they be given opportunities to catch up and refresh their training? Many women are now entering the labor market who have to reckon with the necessity of earning their own and their children's living permanently. Where can they be trained or re-trained for available jobs?

A whole new area of jobs has opened up with the occupation forces. On 30 June 1947, 288,000 indigenous persons were employed by the Military Government and military units in the U. S. Zone, or 6.1 percent of the total number employed in the Zone. About 20 percent of those employed were in clerical and professional occupations. Where and how can people study languages so as to make themselves eligible as employees of the Americans, British, French or Russians?

Vocational schools themselves were not always practical schools in Germany. Some of them do not have shops. Moreover, many of them were bombed out. In the past, some, but not many of them, held evening courses for adults.

The pressure from union members and from workers, generally coming from the sources and motivations indicated here, has put the unions actively into

the field of vocational education. Partly because they want to insure good training in the crafts, partly because they can reach unorganized or uninterested workers through vocational courses, partly because a real need exists which is not (and perhaps for the time being cannot) be met by the school; the unions themselves are spending a great deal of time and effort on strictly vocational courses.

The unions and military government ought to scrutinize this development from a number of important points of view: Is this vocational training meeting real needs of the labor market? Should and could, public educational agencies -- vocational schools or Fachschulen or Volkshochschulen handle this kind of training as we or better? Granted that the unions are justified in using vocational training as a means of demonstrating the unions' keen interest in a pressing educational problem, should it continue to be an important union function? Can the unions show their interest in the whole problem in an advisory capacity to public vocational education and in school reform by working on local school boards and advisor committees?

YOUTH GROUPS

Trade unions have been included in the list of organizations which can set up their own youth groups. Their special interest in youth groups is in working youth whom they want to reach with a consciousness of their position in society as workers. Trade union youth groups necessarily carry many of the same program that other groups do because all young people are interested in sports, music, singing, dramatics, clubs, hikes, trips. But the special feature of these groups is to ground these young people in the significance and purpose of the labor movement and to prepare them for future leadership in this field.

Historically labor youth groups in Germany have sought to give their young people in some degree a general education, something which it was taken for granted they had missed as worker children. In conscious opposition to the position taken by society in general that culture was a monopoly of the educationally and financially privileged, labor wanted to awaken appetite for the arts and to feed that appetite. Before '33 there was a movement among workers to develop a workers' culture - labor dramatics, music, art, etc., as well as to make available to workers the classic German art forms.

While this movement rose from a real need and a real isolation of workers from the main intellectual stream in Germany, it tended to increase the isolation of workers and their hostility to other classes and groups. By accepting the universities as a monopoly of the upper classes and by offering a distinct working class culture to workers, labor tended to be cut off from other sections of society, and no intercourse between the many levels and interests of society, cultural and economic, was possible.

Today, the attempts which are being made in certain cities to establish a Kulturring or to organize a cultural section of the unions is in this tradition, stimulated by the dire need of hungry and weary people to have some genuine artistic pleasures: theatre, opera, music, lectures, etc.

But so far as youth was concerned, a good deal of the labor-cultural tradition was literally burned out. Union youth leaders today complain that young people do not know how to sing, and that song books with notes are almost unobtainable. Hitler Youth songs are banned. Hitler Youth in many cases took over folk songs or labor songs and gave them their own content, so that today they cannot be sung without the Hitler connotations. And the songs which were not useful to the Nazis were erased, so that young people do not know them.

More fundamental perhaps for the present situation is that youth is traditionless in every respect. They do not know what has been going on in the rest of the world; they have distorted ideas about Germany's economic capacity, its economic importance to the rest of the world, the capacity or motives of the rest of the world to aid Germany, etc. To begin working with young workers today means to begin at the very beginning whether it is on economic fundamentals, history, purpose and scope of the labor movement, the meaning of democratic practice, the role and potentialities of the individual, or the art of Germany and other countries.

This task is made infinitely more difficult because of acute shortages of such educational aids as books, charts, statistical tables, histories, reports of trade union conventions, novels, biographies, and references on other countries.

The age problem is acute in the labor movement too. Young teachers are almost unavailable. The generation from 20-35 is very thin in Germany. Hitler Youth training left young people mistrustful of the older generation generally.

The experience in compulsory youth groups under the Nazis has left them with a mistrust of organization. The politicalization of every question and every relationship under the Nazis has made political cynics, especially of the young, for whom the Nazi collapse meant complete disillusionment with the only ideals they knew or were permitted to have.

The older generation in the unions gives a great deal of lipservice to the need for young leadership. But all too often youth is cut off without a word or with its ideas only half expressed, because "you can't know what you're talking about -- you've never had an experience that counts". Or, "You don't know it, but your ideas are still Nazi ideas. Wait until you've had a chance to learn from us how to handle things in a democracy."

Because of the mutual distrust between old and young, youth leaders will have to come from youth.

The labor youth tradition before '33 called for schools lasting 3 to 5 months for young people where labor philosophy, economic and historical background and practical leadership techniques were combined. That kind of fairly thorough schooling is called for today more than ever.

But the organization of a residence school today presents difficulties not just in finding teachers and materials but in providing sufficient food, bedding table ware, light bulbs, coal and note paper to make it bearable for people to come, to say nothing of creating an atmosphere which encourages learning. In some places, the problem is being approached boldly and aggressive and the difficulties somehow overcome. In others, the problems presented seem to be cumbersome to cope with and the unions have not been able to solve them.

The best solution which has been found is to set up short courses, some as short as a weekend or four days, others lasting as long as two to four weeks, where young people get at least a look at a different and bigger world than they have seen before, and where they can begin to understand what the tasks are which face them as young workers.

ADULT EDUCATION

The German Volkshochschule was a liberal answer to a German school system which limited workers to an elementary education. People as people had a right to become acquainted with the main stream of modern and classical thought. The very name of the German adult education institution -- Peoples' Colleges -- carries this idea of giving the people an opportunity to share in the higher intellectual pursuits which were in effect a monopoly of the privileged. The unions, especially in the Weimar Republic, supported the Volkshochschule movement and the labor parties were instrumental in seeing that the schools were supported by the city or state without necessarily becoming part of the public school system.

Out of these evening schools have been reorganized again since the occupation usually on much the same pattern as they had before Hitler. The courses they offer reflect the changed spirit of the present situation -- there is little or no response to courses offered in political and social subjects. Vocational courses on the other hand have to close their registration before the demand is satisfied. However, literature, art, and philosophy offerings get considerable response.

The need for specific functional training in the unions is so great that little energy or interest is left for more general educational interests. Where a close cooperation exists between the unions and the VHS, it usually results in the inclusion of more vocational subjects in the VHS curriculum. Some unions have reached an agreement with the VHS by which the evening school provides space and business management, and the unions provide teachers for specific trade union subjects and aid in recruiting students for all the classes. Most VHS have union representatives on the board of directors. In Hamburg, the union's teachers represent the unions in discussions of curriculum, management, student recruiting, etc.

There is still the possibility in Germany today of keeping open channels between groups and classes of the German population. One of these channels should be the Volkshochschule, partly because a tradition already exists here on which present developments can build; partly because the stark necessities of the present situation press for a coordination of all educational resources; partly because the VHS can provide a center for liberal educational

work with organized and unorganized adults around their special interests and needs.

But the VHS cannot do this alone. Like many other institutions, it takes its direction from the strongest forces within itself. If the trade unions do not actively participate on the Boards of Directors or do not place requests upon the VHS to satisfy their specific needs, the VHS will not be able to do much about meeting those needs. People in Germany today are too hungry, too uncomfortable, find travelling too great an effort, to respond readily to educational opportunities. Either the courses offered must have compelling interest, or an organization like the unions which wants its members to attend must work actively on promotion of the courses, or both. The way is open in most German cities for a close and fruitful cooperation between VHS and trade unions. The next step in most cases is up to the unions to utilize these facilities and opportunities.

WOMEN'S WORK

About 36 percent of the present German working force is women. Their percentage in the total population is higher - about 55 percent according to the census of 29 October 1946.

Many of the women who first went to work during the war have stayed on in the factories and offices because their husbands were killed or are still prisoners. Many more first faced the problem of self-support when they were expelled from the east under the Potsdam agreements to evacuate all Germans from the territories placed under the administration of other nations. Among the refugees from the east and the Sudetenland women and children are in the majority, although the sex ratio is essentially the same as among the population in Germany proper. The refugee groups include, however, a sizable proportion of old men. Many of the women are peasants. Their present employment in the cities is unskilled and semi-skilled labor.

The unions have not yet come to real grips with the problem. They need to think through the question of a trade union program in behalf of women. Is present protective legislation for women adequate? How rapidly can the union's program for equal pay for equal work be realized? What position should be taken to the women's demand for Saturday off for shopping and housekeeping? How does the high proportion of women on the labor market affect traditional trade union policy on wages, apprenticeship, retraining, weekly working hours, vacations, etc.?

And then, within the unions themselves, what can be done to activate women so that they begin to carry a greater share of democratic responsibility? What about the election of more women works councillors? What is the function of women's secretariats in the unions? Are special educational programs for women necessary? How can these programs bring women into union work?

Perhaps most important will be the question of the motivation with which the present predominantly male union leadership approaches the whole problem: do women represent a threat to the established male wage standards unless they are unionized? Or are women to be regarded as co-equal workers whose basic needs have not till now received just treatment and consideration?

In approaching this problem in Bavaria and Hesse, special women's departments were set up in the union with full time staff for special work with women. Both Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden union women have had Land-wide conferences for the formulation of a program on women's educational courses, and the Bremen unions have held one course for women. In Bremen, it was reported that it was very difficult to get women from the factory to go to school, and that most of the women who attended were union employees from the union offices.

Some girls participate in most of the youth leaders' courses, but the years of Hitler training when women's voices were not heard have left their imprints here. Girls do not participate vocally in these courses, and probably will not until school and youth group leaders find ways of bringing them into the discussion.

The unions have given directions, in works councillors elections, to include at least one woman as well as one youth representative in the council. It is difficult in most plants to find the woman who is willing to serve. Because they are overburdened with household worries, the women are very willing to leave this kind of work to the men and do not seek office.

That some women do not feel at home in the trade unions' predominantly male atmosphere is evidenced by their participation in the non-political women's committees which are organized all over the zone. The working women here say that they do not mind speaking up among other women, that they often receive only a perfunctory hearing in the unions, that the unions tend to give lip service to the special needs of women in the unions but do not set meetings at times when they can come, or sometimes do not get down to business on the special demands of women -- for instance, on the equal pay for equal work program...

The whole women's movement in Germany is about where the U.S. feminist movement was 30 years ago -- militant, self-conscious, still fighting for basic acceptance of women in the professions and for their equal rights in society. Add to this their official suppression for 12 years, their lack of recent political experience, and the ground is laid for a vigorous minority to lead a feminist movement. The labor movement tends to oppose this development throughout, to maintain that the unions are the only organization ready and able to deal effectively with problems of working women. So far as an outsider can determine there is no reason why these two movements should not complement one another and work closely together -- the women's organizations supporting union demands for working women; working women aiding middle class and professional women in their struggle for equal legal rights. It is another avenue through which the labor movement and a section of the community interested in social progress could join forces.

The present outlook seems to speak against this cooperative development. But unless the unions are able to develop techniques of working with and for their women members on a basis closely related to their psychological and physical needs, they will not have succeeded in reaching the majority of the working population.

TRAINING UNION LEADERS

After the collapse, trade union leadership mostly fell into the hands of the men who had been in office before '33. This was inevitable and occurred whether officers were elected or appointed. No one else was prepared to go into the work. But most of these men are beyond 50, many of them beyond 60. Within five years the unions are likely to face a shortage of adequate leadership unless intensive training is undertaken at once.

Union office however is not popular. Men who are looking for security do not willingly take on a job which may not last for more than the elected year or two. No extra rations are given union leaders although most of them work a 12 to 16 hour day, and are subject to considerable intellectual and physical strain. Under the present circumstances when some of the normal union functions particularly wage negotiations, are restricted, the job can be a thankless one as well.

In a word, training for union office calls for a high degree of idealism, personal sacrifice, understanding of the broad scope of the movement, skill in dealing with thousands of practical details, knowledge of law and of trade union practice, bold attack on problems, willingness to carry responsibility in a thankless and frustrating situation.

A good deal of this training has to be given on the job. Younger men have to be brought into the union offices in a kind of apprenticeship to the experienced leaders. But this normal learning by example and practice, needs to be supplemented by technical schooling in order to speed up the process.

New approaches to problems come from exchange of experience and from the stimulation of group consideration of common problems. A certain stretch of unbroken time and a degree of isolation from daily pressures can produce the objectivity for a whole new attack upon a situation.

Unions today are different structurally and in their political allegiance from those of '33. It is not accidental that when the unions reorganized, they formed into large industrial unions in all the zones working out 14 to 18 large classifications of trades and industries with common problems and needs. Many of the heads or business agents of the unions have not previously worked in the trades they are now administering. Whereas the unions before '33 were organized along political lines and were grouped in four main federations, the unions today in the British and American Zones include all political and religious affiliations.

Military Government law on works councils is written so as to give the unions more responsibility for handling plant problems and controlling conditions in a given industry than they had under the Weimar law. But the Military Government law calls for a different kind of trade union policy in relation to works councils than was known before and for working out new techniques of union-council relationships. Military Government officers are often disappointed that the unions do not show more initiative in exploiting the possibilities for freer action and closer control which the law gives them both explicitly and implicitly.

Many factors work against achieving success here. Chief among them are a shortage of leadership personnel to handle the day to day problems; the tradition in which a great deal of the present leadership grew up; the unavailability of many young new leaders; the shortness of time since the unions were reorganized; uncertainty about the whole economic situation in Germany; uncertainty upon the part of the unions as to the over-all plans which the occupation forces have for Germany; lack of time and opportunity for Military Government and union leaders to come to a common understanding of the problems which face the unions; a desire on the part of Military Government to let the Germans work out their own salvation within the framework of Allied Control Council law. Favorable conditions for this kind of work are not easy to create. But these questions must be dealt with if the unions are not to face a deep crisis within the next few years. With the reestablishment of the Academy of Labor at Frankfurt, an earnest attempt has been made by the unions of all four zones to find gifted, intelligent, active young trade unionists for the two semester course. The advisory committee of the Academy on its part has carefully worked out a broad program of study aimed at giving Academy students, as future labor leaders, a basic education in economics, history, sociology, labor problems, law and political science. On this foundation, coupled with practical experience in the unions and public agencies dealing with labor, leadership can develop.

The Hamburg unions have also worked out a detailed plan with the University of Hamburg for the establishment of an Academy there. A School of Economics has been reestablished at Duesseldorf.

A careful selection of students combined with practical administration of the Academies in the interests of future union leadership can provide a sound core of well-grounded, experienced labor leadership in the age group which the unions so desperately need.

For the present, the first ranks of labor leadership need opportunities for conferences and schooling where they can attack fundamental problems of labor strategy and purpose such as were suggested above.

The lower ranks of union leadership as represented by works councillors, youth leaders, local union officers, etc. are the source from which top leadership normally comes. Schools for these groups are under way or have been planned in all the Laender. Some of the courses are conducted by individual

unions, though only one union, the railroad workers, so far has its own school buildings. Most of the courses are organized by the labor federation for all union officers. The Bavarian unions have been able to set up a residence school at Bernack for training works councillors. Youth leadership schools have been discussed in a previous section. The Hesse unions will shortly open a school for all ranks of local union officers.

Nearly all local federations have some kind of works councillor training of discussion groups. Most of these are taken up with the duties of the councillor in the shop, the laws he has to administer, the grievances he has to handle, etc. Except at the residence schools where there is time for more thorough discussions, there is little opportunity for consideration of the fundamental problems of the works Council Law, and of the councillors' relation to the unions.

3. A DESCRIPTION OF WORKERS' EDUCATION TODAY

Bavaria

1. Youth work: A program for Bavaria was drawn up by the Land Youth Committee of the unions which includes points on general school reform; inclusion of trade union materials in public school curricula; reform of the apprenticeship system, including supervision of conditions by the unions; cooperation with the Volkshochschulen as a means of making up for the low educational standards of the last few years; special attention to work and apprentice problems of girls; and improvement of recreational facilities for youth.

Nuremberg (Leonard Burger). Trade union youth in Nuremberg in December 1945 drew up a program for guiding their activities. Jugendraete have been organized in plants where a substantial number of young people are employed, and youth representatives sit on the works council (Betriebsrat). Discussions and lectures for youth are held in the plants. During the summer of 1946, several camps were organized by the unions and paid for by management. In the summer of 1947, the plan is to accommodate 3,000 children in camps, the union to bear part of the cost. The youth groups are working closely with the district youth committee representing youth organizations of all kinds, and cooperating with the Army GYL groups.

Munich (Ludwig Koch, Willi Gingold). A strong emphasis on Jugendraete in the plants; fortnightly educational meetings on plant time, usually Wednesday afternoons; representation of youth on the Betriebsrat.

Youth Groups: Youth groups are organized in neighborhoods with trade union youth leaders who have received some training at one of the above schools. The groups hold informal discussions, bring in outside speakers when they can, and plan recreational evenings, musicals, and hikes.