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EDUCATION UNDER ENEMY OCCUPATION

in

BELGIUM • **CHINA** • **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

FRANCE • **GREECE** • **LUXEMBOURG**

NETHERLANDS • **NORWAY** • **POLAND**

Bulletin 1945 No. 3

**FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION**

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A collection of papers concerned with the effects of war and enemy occupation on education in nine countries in Europe and the Far East, prepared at the request of the United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. J. W. Studebaker, by the Ministers of Education or their representatives of the respective countries.

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Federal Security Agency • Paul V. McNutt, Administrator

U. S. Office of Education

• John W. Studebaker, Commissioner

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FOREWORD

We in the United States have been spared the severest ravages of war. Yet our good fortune has not made us callous to the sufferings of other nations. Our sympathy and our help have gone out to the victims of Nazi destruction, especially when the victims have been innocent children and youth.

Concerned for the fearful effects of war on children and youth, Americans have frequently asked: Just what has happened to education in enemy-occupied countries? This pamphlet presents a realistic answer to that question, prepared from reports of the Ministers of Education of Allied Governments.

Because education must provide the broad foundation of understanding and good will, of economic, political, and social competency on which alone can be erected the structure of a durable peace, it is imperative that education in the liberated countries be speedily resumed. The pressing importance of that resumption and the ways in which it can be facilitated constitute the theme of this pamphlet.

John H. Studdaker

U. S. Commissioner of Education.

EDUCATION UNDER ENEMY OCCUPATION

INTRODUCTION

AS YET we in the United States have had very little specific and authoritative information from the enemy-occupied countries of Europe and the Far East about what has happened and is happening to the intellectual life of their people. Especially are we without knowledge of what actually is happening to schools and to the education of children and youth either as a result of the war or of the German efforts for the "Nazification" of youth.

Recognizing these limitations in our information and desirous that the citizens of the United States, particularly the youth in our schools and colleges, should be made as fully aware as possible of the situation, the members of the American Education Delegation meeting in London in the spring of 1944, arranged to secure authentic information on the important matters indicated. The delegation referred to was appointed by the Secretary of State of the United States for the purpose of participating with ministers of education, or their representatives, of 17 nations in a conference to be held in London where, as is well known, most of the occupied countries have set up governments in exile.

Among other disclosures, the discussions of the conference made clear "the threat to civilization created by the cold-blooded and considered destruction by the Axis of the educational and cultural resources of great parts of the continents of Europe and Asia; the murder of teachers, artists, scientists, and intellectual leaders; the burning of books; the pillaging and mutilation of works of art; the rifling of archives; and the theft of scientific apparatus." As the chairman of the delegation, Congressman J. William Fulbright,¹ stated in a recent article in EDUCATION FOR VICTORY, "Our Fascist enemies, recognizing the fundamental importance of enlightened citizens to a society of free men, with calculated thoroughness have destroyed the educational resources of great parts of Europe and Asia."

The extent of the destruction cannot as yet be fully reported. Indeed, it is only partially known. However, the American Delegation decided as an initial step to hold itself responsible for collecting and obtaining such authoritative information as is available. The United States Commissioner of Education, a member of the delegation, agreed that such material might well

¹ Now U. S. Senator.

be formulated as a bulletin of the U. S. Office of Education. As such he indicated it would receive wide distribution, especially among school officials and youth in secondary schools and colleges to whom it will make an especially strong appeal.

In accordance with the agreed-upon plan a letter was sent by the Commissioner to the respective ministers of education of the occupied countries then resident in London, or their representatives, requesting a statement from each addressed especially to the interest of young people of the United States of the ages of about 12 to 22 years. Extracts from the letter follow:

The Members of the American Education Delegation desire very much that the citizens of the United States, and particularly the children and young people in our schools and colleges, shall be made as fully aware as possible of the effects of war upon the intellectual life of the occupied countries. Consequently the United States Office of Education, with the cooperation of the Department of State, will publish and distribute widely, especially to secondary schools and colleges, accounts of what has taken place in war-torn countries, not only in destroying the materials with which education is normally carried forward, but likewise in the employment of various means by which psychological warfare is carried on for the purpose of maintaining the conquest through cultivation of the fascist philosophy and even through depraving the minds of the young.

When the statements from the several countries are in proper form, they will be published by the United States Office of Education. This project represents one of the initial steps to be taken in the further development of plans for cooperation with the United Nations.

Responses to the Commissioner's letter were prompt and enthusiastic. As was expected, the exigencies of wartime conditions are such that not all of the reports requested are as yet available. Supplementary accounts from the countries which have not reported may be issued at a later date.

This bulletin, then, is devoted to accounts of what the war and enemy occupation following it have meant to education in 9 of the 11 countries to which requests were addressed. They are presented as nearly as possible in the form in which they were prepared by the respective ministers of education or their representatives. They are, therefore, authentic and official and represent conditions as they were when written, during the early summer of 1944. The U. S. Office of Education presents them to the schools, school officials, and school children and youth of the United States, knowing well their sympathetic interest in their less fortunate fellows who have suffered and are suffering not alone the tragic casualties of war but the still less tolerable, brutal and unnecessary destruction which followed in its wake. The terrors of war they have met with a dauntless valor; the

persecutions of the occupation with a courageous fortitude which has inspired the admiration of youth the world over.

In our secondary schools and colleges these papers will be read as presented for the story they tell, for the style and tone of the authors, for renewed appreciation of the valiant manner in which youth of character meets disaster; but the facts disclosed will lead to further study of the countries involved, of their people, their history, and development socially, economically, and educationally. Perhaps best of all are the understandings which our secondary students will get leading toward a deeper appreciation of the seriousness of the problems involved in making a peace which it is the hope of the world will be permanently maintained, and in the solution of which it will be their high privilege and duty to participate.

The papers from the various countries follow.

YOUTH IN OCCUPIED BELGIUM

Introduction

Four years have passed since the Germans invaded Belgium—long enough to allow us to estimate the effects of the war and of the Nazi occupation on our youth.

We must first of all recognize that the physical and moral conditions inherent in the state of war are more sinister now than in the World War of 1914-18, since total war harnesses to its machine the maximum energies of each nation not only in the industrial and agricultural domain, but also in the spiritual and scientific spheres. Even in those Allied countries like Great Britain which have not suffered invasion, the present war has had more painful repercussions on childhood and adolescence than the last war.

The dearth of scholastic material noticeable here is seriously aggravated in the occupied countries by the fact that Germany abstracts by every means in her power not only what is of use to her war effort, but also to her civil population. We know, for instance, that the lack of coal has closed our schools on Saturdays and Mondays; that, for want of paper, homework has had to be cut down, and that holidays have been prolonged. We have just learned that Allied bombardments have caused the closing of schools in districts of more than 20,000 inhabitants.

The food problem is serious in Belgium and it primarily affects children and young people. Doctors and welfare workers are crying out about the state of health of undernourished young

Belgians who, when they fall ill, cannot receive proper care for lack of medical supplies and nutriment.

Moreover, the present war, ideological in character also, engenders a fanaticism justifying in the eyes of the Nazis and their followers every possible repressive and vexatious measure. This pressure is unceasing and applied universally, but in particular on the nation's youth, for we know the importance attached by the totalitarian countries to the orientation of young people towards their doctrines, and their untiring efforts to this end.

To understand the Belgian situation one must remember that our country is formed of two distinct parts: The larger Northeastern region occupied by the Flemings and the Southwestern by the Walloons. Each of these two groups of the population speaks a different language. The Flemings speak Dutch and the Walloons French. For reasons too lengthy to go into now, the Flemings have had to strive for nearly a century in order to enjoy linguistic and cultural equality in the Belgian community. This problem was practically solved in the period between the two wars, but the invader was not slow to exploit the aftermath of a long and difficult struggle. He relies, therefore, on the Flemish extremists (V.N.V.) on the one hand, and the Walloon fascists (Rexistes), on the other, to help him to carry out his policy of nazification, especially in the field of education. It is among such as these that he recruits his petty Quislings and through them he seeks to divide the country against itself. In this he imitates the Germans of 1914-18.

The Nazis have sought to exploit another phenomenon to be encountered in Belgium's educational system. Catholic education and official (undenominational) education have been at variance with each other in the past, although for many years the "school war" has given way to "school peace." Nevertheless, a certain rivalry, considered by many to be conducive to healthy competition, still exists. Here again the Germans have maneuvered to revive this struggle and to derive profit from the closing of the "Free" University of Brussels which they hoped to incite against the Catholic University of Louvain.

It is comforting to note that the Nazis have achieved little by their efforts to inflame the Walloons against the Flemings and the "free" against the official system of education. Better still, the once opposing camps have joined to present a united front to the enemy, and the University of Louvain has opened wide its doors to the students of the University of Brussels.

General Objective of the Enemy with Respect to Schools

The chief aim of the Germans is obviously the nazification of youth.

In this connection the occupying power uses pressure on the authorities on whom the schools depend, notably by means of the secretary generals who are the heads of the ministerial departments. The important thing is to strike at the teaching corps, eliminating patriots and introducing as far as possible elements favorable to the new order.

To achieve this the Nazis have taken the following steps:

1. The removal of refractory secretary generals and their replacement by partisans of the new order. This done, the latter proceeded to dispossess the towns and communes of their right to appoint professors, teachers, and directors of communal teaching establishments. In Belgium almost all primary schools come under the authority of the Commune. Moreover, the large towns possess secondary, training, technical, and art schools. While nominations for state schools come within the competency of the ministry of education, at present communal teaching appointments are made by the secretary general of the Home Office, a nominee of the Nazis.
2. The elimination, on various pretexts, of the professors and teachers who left the country during the invasion. In fact, it was to get rid of patriotic elements, but only some hundred members of the teaching body were affected by these decrees.
3. The retiring age was reduced from 65 to 60, not only for professors but also for teachers and officials.
4. A German order forbids Jewish professors to teach in schools or universities after the 1st of January, 1942.

In addition, the Germans attempted without much success to organize one sole teaching corporation, under the auspices of UTMI. This organization was created in January 1942 and at the same time the dissolution was announced of the *Fédération Générale des Instituteurs* which, before the war, safeguarded the professional interests of teachers.

These measures had no appreciable effect, however, and the resulting vexation for the collaborationists is expressed in an article appearing in the *Pays Réel* of the 18th of September 1941; it is stated that the schools are centers of sabotage and subversion and that the ideal solution would be to replace the whole teaching corps!

At the end of the second school year of the occupation, things looked no better for the collaborationists, for the newspaper *Volk*

en Staat of the 30th of July 1942 declares that the child members of a national-socialist organization are persistently insulted and forced to leave their school where life is made unbearable for them. This afforded the pretext for creating special schools solely for the children of partisans of the New Order.

To sum up, despite repressive measures, the majority of the teaching corps have admirably resisted the pressure of the Nazis, and many are the teachers and directors condemned for openly preaching resistance to their pupils or refusing to obey the injunctions of the enemy. The same is true of the local authorities. One could cite numbers of burgomasters and aldermen who have been arrested and imprisoned for adopting a similar attitude.

Elimination of Courses or Teaching Content and Substitution of Courses

Generally speaking, it may be said that teaching syllabi have largely remained unaffected by the occupation. Immediately after the invasion of Belgium, the Germans exacted the creation, in the Secretariat General of Education, of a Commission entrusted with the revision of schoolbooks. So much importance did the Germans attach to this question that already on the 20th of October 1940 an impatient Falkenhausen sent a letter enjoining the Commission to wind up its work in 6 weeks. They also demanded the standardization of schoolbooks and their reduction in numbers. In practice, they contented themselves with forcing pupils to tear from their history books the pages relating to the 1914-18 war and to trace the new frontiers in pencil on their atlases.

Steps were also taken to increase the number of hours devoted to the study of German. In the Belgian territory annexed by the Germans, that is to say, in the cantons of Eupen-Malmédy and certain townships of the province of Liége, the use of German was made obligatory and the French tongue suppressed. In the nonannexed Belgian province of Luxemburg, where 26,000 people speak German and 6,000 nothing but German, it was imposed as the principal language in 18 rural townships. In addition, the teaching of German was encouraged throughout the whole system of secondary education.

Despite their efforts, the occupying power could boast little success in this field. On the contrary, it was noticeable that evening classes for adults and private language schools counted more students for English than for German, and the same tendency was evident in correspondence courses.

Imposed Propaganda in Schools

This propaganda is not much in evidence. In exceptional cases, where the local teachers are adherents of the New Order, lectures are given from time to time or a German propaganda film shown.

Faced by defeat within the schools, the Germans tried to reach the pupils outside by divers initiatives, of which the most dangerous was that of sending children to Germany. According to German estimates, the number of children sent in this way to Germany for holiday periods varying from 6 weeks to 2 months, would be about 40,000 to 50,000 for the first three summers of the occupation. Preference was given to the children of legionnaires and of Belgian workmen in Germany. The age of admission was from 10 to 14 years: On their arrival they were directed to the farms of families with known Nazi tendencies. Pro-German organizations promote the recruiting of children and persuade their parents with the argument either that they will be safer or that they will be better nourished than in Belgium. Departures furnish the excuse for lively pro-Nazi demonstrations, garnished with speeches and the distribution of little swastika flags. In Germany nothing is left undone to inculcate Nazi totalitarian principles and to urge the children to express their admiration of and gratitude to their adopted German parents on their return to Belgium.

Creation of Nazi Schools

Since the children of partisans of the New Order were being treated with contempt by their companions, the Germans and the collaborationists decided to open special schools, the more so because of their set-back along the whole line in the attempt to nazify Belgian education. A recent initiative of "La Jeunesse Legionnaire" provides for the creation of schools comprising four primary classes in the big centers. To entice the teaching staff, candidates are promised, in addition to the usual conditions, considerable allowances from the Rexist Party.

For propaganda properly so-called, the "Albrecht Rodenbach School," modeled on the German "Adolf Hitler" schools, was created. The aim of this institution was to educate political leaders who, after 6 weeks, could continue their studies at a university. Shortly after its creation, this school was transferred to Germany (February 1942).

In July 1942, it was decided to extend to Holland and to Flanders the plan known as the "Langemarck," which provided for the education of poor children intended for study in German

universities. A first contingent of 24 Flemish students left for Germany in April 1943.

By virtue of a decree of the Secretary General, the diploma issued by the German secondary school in Brussels is recognized in Belgium, thus opening the doors of Belgian universities to the holder. Few Belgians attend this school which is almost exclusively frequented by young Germans residing in Belgium. In addition, the Quisling organization DEVLAGE has opened two kindergartens and two free primary schools for boys and girls in Antwerp.

Enforced Labor by Children

Children of school age are not affected by forced labor. Only university students and higher school children are obliged to work in Belgian industrial concerns for a minimum of 6 months. This measure came into force at the beginning of 1943. In view of the resistance both of heads of establishments and of the students, the Nazis decided to introduce reprisals against the parents of recalcitrant pupils. Registrations were more numerous and on the 29th of June 1943 the German administration announced that henceforward no one would be admitted to a university or high-school course who had not first completed at least 1 year's forced labor service.

At the beginning of June the Rector of the University of Louvain and the Rector of the University of Ghent were arrested and condemned to 18 months' imprisonment for sabotage of the industrial effort, both having refused to facilitate the recruiting of students.

We are also told that the children themselves are most ingenious in demonstrating their spirit of resistance. They do excellent work in distributing underground newspapers and show remarkable presence of mind in protecting persons "wanted" by the Germans, particularly Allied parachutists. Those students who refuse forced labor endeavor either to join the Maquis or the Allied Forces. Student resistance movements take upon themselves not only to give material aid to their companions, who have been obliged to hide, but even to organize secret courses and examinations for them. It appears that a mere 5 percent of the students favor the New Order.

Effects of the War on the Life of Children and Youth

Privations of every kind and scarcity of medical supplies over a long period have seriously affected the health of little children and of young people. There has been a marked recrudescence of abnormalities and of mental weaknesses (epilepsy, deaf-

muteness, nervous diathesis); of gastro-intestinal affections due principally to the inferior quality food and the impossibility of following a diet; and of tuberculosis. The number of children sent to preventoria is five times greater than before the war. Statistics prove that 44 percent of the 60,448 adolescents of both sexes examined in 1942 were in poor health.

The standard of morality among young people is indubitably lower. The essential causes may be found in the lack of employment, black marketing, promiscuity, and the absence of fathers who are either deported or prisoners. The importance of these statements must not be exaggerated, however, since on the other hand more than 50 percent of the active elements of resistance is recruited from among the young people under 20.

Destruction of Buildings and Equipment

The war has naturally been responsible for the destruction of a great number of buildings, among them many schools, first of all during the campaign of May 1940 and then in the Allied bombardments. It is to be feared that destruction will continue on a large scale should the second front operate on our territory. The destruction of the library of Louvain University is held to have been premeditated, on the grounds that each of its 900,000 volumes bore a stamp representing a German setting a lighted brand to the halls of the university. The Germans, hoping to exonerate themselves, set up a commission to ascertain the true authors of this outrage, but the university authorities refused to take part in it, holding suspect the precautions taken by the Germans to forbid Belgians access to the ruins of the library, and convinced that they had arranged to "frame" the English.

Special Effects on Types of Schools

(a) *Elementary schools.*—It has already been explained how the Germans tried, by a whole series of legislative or administrative measures to form a teaching corps imbued with the principles of the New Order and how, with this in view, the Nazi-appointed Secretary General of the Home Office decreed that appointments to local teaching staffs would no longer be made by local authorities but by him.

To circumvent these regulations, parents transferred their children to schools unbesmirched by Nazi influence, which necessitated the setting up of new classes. To put a stop to this, the Germans forbade the opening of new schools or of new classes in the existing schools, except by special license from the German military authority.

(b) *Secondary and vocational schools.*—Secondary education has suffered least from the occupation, for it partially escapes the influence of the Secretary Generals. We have no information about technical and trade schools, but we do know that they suffer principally from the lack of equipment and raw material.

(c) *Universities.*—The German plan of action against the universities comprises the following points:

1. Nomination of German delegates
2. Suppression of the courses of certain professors
3. Attempt to transform the University of Brussels into a purely Flemish establishment
4. Appointment of German professors and facilities for Belgian professors to lecture in German universities
5. Nomination of collaborationist professors
6. Introduction of forced labor for the students

In spite of their undoubted resources for bringing pressure to bear, the Germans met with scant success. Everywhere divergences of opinion disappeared and a blessed unity emerged. Professors and students adopted every available means of showing their hostility towards the professors appointed by the enemy. Clandestine newspapers and underground movements flourish in every university center. On the 25th of January 1941 the University of Brussels suspended its lectures as a protest against the appointment of professors by the Nazis. The latter promptly ordered the reopening of the university, but only three professors obeyed, and the Germans proceeded to arrest the members of the governing body, including the Rector and the heads of the different faculties. However, in spite of conciliatory efforts on the part of the Secretary Generals, they persisted in their refusal to collaborate with traitors, and the Germans then decided upon the closing of the university. The professors were deprived of their salaries and forbidden access to the laboratories and libraries. As for the 3,000 students, they were welcomed in the other universities, chiefly in Louvain.

The attitude of the University of Brussels had considerable repercussions on the spirit of resistance all over the country. The Catholic University of Louvain, protected by the Church and under the direct control of the Vatican, was less subjected to interference. The Nazis refrained from appointing a delegate and contented themselves with exacting the resignation of a small number of professors.

Collaborationist newspapers accuse the university authorities not only of helping students to avoid forced labor, but of accepting

young people whose sole aim in enrolling is to defeat German measures.

Libraries

On the 13th of August 1940, the Germans ordered the withdrawal from all libraries, both private and public, of anti-German books and proscribed their sale. The librarians were made personally responsible for any breach of these regulations. We are unaware of the extent to which these measures were applied.

Conclusion

To sum up, it may be claimed that the strength of the Nazis has availed them little in their struggle for domination over the youth of Belgium. Threats, privations, and reprisals have served but to nourish the spirit of resistance which has spread like a flame through our schools and universities—a flame which will leap into vigorous life when the day of liberation dawns for our country.

EDUCATION IN OCCUPIED CHINA¹

The Japanese campaign in China, as well as in other occupied territories, is not confined to military conquest and political and economic domination. It consists also of a carefully prepared program of psychological warfare, aiming at the cultivation, among the people conquered, of a state of mind which will accept Japanese domination.

"Asia for the Asiatics" is the slogan of the Japanese drive. Every effort is made to convince the people in occupied territories that it was the white men who brought all the woes to the otherwise happy people of the East. Thus, a "white bogey" is set up to scare the people of Asia into the arms of Japan. Western penetration during the past century is described in vivid terms. The break-down of Eastern culture due to the impact is emphasized. The evils that have come about, whether political, economic, or social, are attributed to the arrival of westerners, especially the British and the Americans. Eastern nations had come, one after another, under the domination of the West. Japan was the first to free herself from this disaster, and to espouse the cause of the Asiatics. She alone has now the power to oppose the westerners. It is, therefore, her natural role to deliver the rest of the race from enslavement. This, according to the Japanese, is the real meaning of the present war. It is Japan's sacred duty to drive every white man from Asia, and take

¹ Owing to the fact that knowledge of conditions in China is extremely limited, this account is admittedly inadequate as a description of true conditions. However, it is believed desirable to include it with a hope that a more complete description may be obtainable later.

the lead in creating the so-called "Co-prosperity Sphere" of East Asia. In this sphere, Asiatic countries will work for their mutual prosperity, under the Japanese, of course. Their combined strength will keep the whites out. Asia is rich in resources and manpower. If only its peoples will accept Japanese leadership, the dominance of the yellow race is assured. On the other hand, however, any attempt to build up Chinese national consciousness is discouraged, for Chinese nationalism, the Japanese know too well, is incompatible with Japanese domination.

This is the gist of Japan's psychological warfare in China. It is based on the keynote of racial consciousness, and directed against the white people as a whole. In carrying it out, it is necessary for her to offset the educational influence of the Chinese Government. This is done, first, by destroying the educational institutions that were so important in building up the Chinese national spirit and in directing the anti-Japanese movement all over the country. Thus, as soon as the Japanese started their offensive, they set out to destroy systematically the institutions of higher learning. In the first stage of the war, the grounds and buildings of 91 out of a total of 108 pre-war colleges and universities were either occupied or damaged by the enemy. Among them, 14 were razed to the ground. Even the colleges and universities situated far away in the interior have not escaped aerial bombing. Just before the war, the number of students in colleges and universities totaled 41,922. The faculty numbered 7,560, and the staff, 4,290. Roughly, 20,000 students and 2,000 faculty and staff members were driven away from their institutions. Thousands of them fled to the interior to join the schools that had been reestablished there, while others were forced by circumstances to remain in schools under Japanese control. The trek of Chinese students for hundreds of miles before the advance of the enemy is an epic that will always be remembered. Most of the universities and colleges that were formerly situated in the coastal area have now been reestablished in the interior. Assistance is given to all those who are able to escape from the occupied areas.

The Japanese program of destruction was, of course, not confined to the institutions of higher learning. The destruction of professional schools, primary schools, middle schools, and kindergartens was even more disastrous, for they included a vastly greater number of students than the universities. Moreover, the middle schools were the source from which the universities drew their students and the movement of mass education its

teachers. As it is of the utmost importance to wipe out illiteracy and raise the general level of education in the country before a true democratic government could be established, the Chinese Government devoted much attention before the war to their achievement. In 1933, the Government laid down a 5-year program to begin in the fall of 1933 and to conclude in the fall of 1938. During this period, a program for the establishment of the 1-year primary school system was to be launched, so that by the end of the period, at least 40 percent of the children of school age would have received 1 year's primary school education. Then, from 1938 to 1942, the system of the 2-year primary school education would be established so that by the fall of 1942, at least 80 percent of school age children would have received a 2-year school education. This program was so successfully carried out before the war that by 1936 the number of school children had reached 21,435,354. But with the outbreak of the war, the program received a most serious blow. Most of the schools in the occupied territories were closed down, while in those under Japanese control any form of education that tends to build up the Chinese national spirit is suppressed.

"Social education," that is, education outside of schools for the benefit of the literate or otherwise, was also greatly affected by the war. "Social education" in China includes such educational enterprises as the museums, public libraries, institutions for people's education, educational cinema and theater, public athletic centers, etc. It was estimated that there were 2,118 libraries, 835 "institutions for people's education," and 96 museums in the areas occupied by the Japanese in the first year of the war. Most of these institutions in the larger cities situated along the lines of communication have been either burned down or looted.

Having completed their work of destruction, the Japanese began to unfold their program of psychological warfare. This is done by two methods. In the first place, the so-called "New People's Association" was established to take charge of social propaganda. This Association organizes parades, meetings, and other activities to enlist support for the new regime. The people are told that the Chinese and the Japanese should cooperate in bringing about the "Co-prosperity Sphere of East Asia"; that "Asia is for the Asiatics"; that Britain and America are China's greatest enemies; and that the Chinese Government at Chungking is merely the tool of the British and American imperialists. It is, therefore, the duty of every Chinese to support the regime

which cooperates with the Japanese and to denounce the Chungking Government.

In the second place, all schools in occupied territories are converted into propaganda agencies. In these schools, nothing but textbooks revised by the puppet government are used. Geography and history texts are revised in such a way that Japan's conquests are presented in the most favorable light. Not only are the three Eastern Provinces of Manchuria marked off from the rest of China, but the four provinces in North China are included in the puppet state of "Manchukuo" which the Japanese created after their conquest of Manchuria. In history textbooks, Japan is represented as the defender of China against the West. Cooperation between China, Japan, and "Manchuko" is stressed. The history of the "Mukden Incident" when Japan began her conquest of Manchuria is so distorted that the Chinese Government was represented as the instigator and, therefore, the aggressor. The national movement of China, which achieved national unity under the National Government at Nanking, is removed from all textbooks. In short, anything that touches upon the upbuilding of Chinese national consciousness is suppressed. The teaching of English is discouraged. Japanese is compulsory in all schools.

This educational program, of course, calls for a large number of teachers who are willing to carry out the Japanese propaganda. Much effort is, therefore, given to the training of the teaching staff. Some of them have been sent to Japan for their education. These are given important jobs upon their return.

Has this propaganda been effective in winning the Chinese to the Japanese cause? As far as Chinese youth are concerned, the influence has been very slight. Japan has been China's major enemy for such a long time that no amount of indoctrination can change the people's beliefs. By far the majority of the people still look to Chungking for national salvation. They still regard the British and the Americans as China's allies, and are waiting for the day when Japan will collapse in total defeat. To them, the Japanese efforts are nothing but propaganda. The children are, however, more at the mercy of the new schools. They have had little background of the old education and are given little chance of seeing the truth. However, even here the Japanese have not been entirely successful. The teachers they employ have not always been the willing tools of the conquerors. They are often able to slip in grains of the truth to counter the Japanese propaganda. As to the common people, the arrogance and the

oppression of the Japanese have completely alienated their sympathy. Verbal propaganda can hardly convince them of the rightness of Japan's cause.

EFFECTS OF WAR UPON THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

State of Schools in the So-called "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia"

Geographically, Czechoslovakia might be described as a Slav island in the midst of a German sea. The thousand years' history of the Czech people consisted of a continual struggle for survival against the far greater numbers of Germans who surrounded them on three sides. This conflict was always present, even if it were subject to the ebb and flow resulting from the general constellation of forces on the European Continent.

The present war marks the latest attempt of the Germans to include the historical lands of the Czechoslovak Republic, i.e., Bohemia and Moravia, within their "Lebensraum" and to Germanize and to absorb the population into what must be called "the Fourth German Reich." (The conception of the Third Reich which, as Hitler boasted, contained only territories inhabited by purely German population, was destroyed by Hitler himself when the occupation of Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939, included for the first time a non-German population in the "Reich.")

Consequently, ever since the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Germans have tried to subordinate the entire life of the country to the needs of Germany. This process was accentuated by the war and is most marked in the educational system. The German aim is to reduce the entire population of Czechoslovakia (which has been justly known as one with the highest educational standard on the European Continent) to the level of well-trained tools for their German masters. "A nation of slaves must have no leaders" was the German motto. Therefore, at the first opportunity, they closed all Czech universities, and introduced such changes in all other schools as would serve their aims.

Infant Schools

The number of infant schools in Bohemia and Moravia seems to have been somewhat increased under the German occupation. In particular, numerous "crèches" for children under 6 have been opened. This is explained not by the consideration of the occupying power for the well-being of the Czech children, but merely

by the German intention to enable the mothers to work in German war factories.

There are no exact data about the number of infant schools and crèches in the "Protectorate." There are also almost no reports about organizational changes. It is only from the numerous reports of the opening of new crèches in various towns and villages that we can deduce the increase in the number of these institutions.

There are certain reports that voluntary workers from among German girls who are liable for auxiliary war services are being used as nurses and teachers in Czech crèches. This proves that even in these schools for the youngest children education is streamlined according to the wishes of the "Protectors." These girls send reports on their work and their observations on the Czech milieu in which they live, directly to the office of the "Reich Protector." According to the report which appeared in the "Lidove Noviny" (Czechoslovak daily published in Brno) of March 20, 1942, Heydrich (who held the post of "Protector" of Bohemia and Moravia until his assassination May 27, 1942) received a group of these girls in a solemn audience to hear their reports and to thank them for their work.

In the same way, Czech girls, members of the "National Unity Youth" (a collaborationist organization) are used for control in infant schools and crèches. It seems that the need for these auxiliary workers is caused by the lack of properly trained personnel. Their employment in this manner also follows the new lines of girls' education towards family and motherhood.

Primary Schools

The impact of the occupation upon the Czech schools was first shown in the primary schools by the gradual introduction of the German language. German was at first taught as an optional subject from the third year onwards and only where at least 12 pupils asked for it. During the school year of 1940-41, a Government decree (No. 394, dated Sept. 20, 1940) introduced German as a compulsory subject beginning with the first year of primary school. The same decree abolished the teaching of civics in primary schools.

Instruction in German in Czech schools is controlled by special German school inspectors. They are also responsible for organizing German courses for teachers in Czech primary schools. In 1942 there were some 300 such courses.

German aims are also served by compulsory physical education which was introduced in all schools by Government Decree

(No. 341, dated Sept. 15, 1940). Control of physical training is in the hands of special inspectors of schools. They must see to it that teachers of physical training are selected from among specially "trustworthy" persons. These teachers are representatives of the political regime among the teaching personnel and are at the same time political exponents and organizers of activities of the "Curatorium" for Education of Youth (the chief Quisling organization in the "Protectorate"). Selected individuals are sent to attend special courses in Germany and then act as instructors in the holiday courses of physical education organized by pedagogical institutes. German inspectors appointed by the Czech Ministry of Education are, however, confidants of the office of the "Reichs Protector."

From the beginning of the school year 1941-42, further steps have been taken to adapt the Czech educational system to that of the German Reich. The Government Decree No. 300, dated August 14, 1941, concerning the new organization of Czech primary schools and high schools stipulated that "Czech primary schools will be organized so as to allow the fulfillment of compulsory schooling in its entirety." On the basis of this Government Decree, 8-year primary schools (instead of former 5-year primary schools) were created, and high schools thus became schools for selected pupils. The result was that instead of former high schools there remained only primary schools in the majority of localities.

In these new primary schools German is taught throughout. In the first and second year 4 hours weekly are devoted to instruction in German; in the third, fourth, and fifth year, 7 hours weekly; in the sixth, seventh, and eighth year, 6 hours weekly. The necessary periods are available through reducing the time given formerly to religion, Czech, and history. In the first 2 years the teaching of German is carried out by methods suitable to that stage of the child's development; there is no reading and no writing.

On February 24, 1942, a report concerning the arrangements aiming at better results in instruction of German was published in the *Lidove Noviny*. According to this report, the number of pupils in a class for the purposes of teaching German is reduced to a maximum of 36.

The increase in school hours caused by the division of large classes into smaller ones for instruction in German showed also the necessity for new teachers. Consequently, the Czech Ministry of Education canceled the ban on appointment of new teachers

and issued directives for their nomination. Those temporary teachers who are capable of teaching German will become assistant teachers. In this same category will be admitted teachers who were dismissed from their posts without fault of their own. New teachers may not be appointed unless they have a secondary-school-leaving certificate (certificate of maturity) and unless they have passed an examination in German with good results. In each case priority is given to married teachers with children. If necessary, teachers who have reached the retiring age may remain in employment provided that they have passed an examination in German. Retired teachers may be reappointed under the same conditions.

It was promised in the Czech press, in June 1942, that as a result of these changes, out of some 7,000 unemployed teachers, about 4,000 would be placed during the school year of 1942-43.

Colonel Moravec, Minister of Education, and chief Quisling, announced on May 25, 1943, that the reform of primary schools and high schools provided work for 7,000 teachers who until then had no chance of getting a post. According to Moravec's speech, there were in the "Protectorate" at the beginning of the school year 1943-44, altogether 5,500 primary Czech schools, with 15,500 classes and 18,800 teachers. It is difficult to judge from these figures whether the number of primary schools has increased or decreased in relation to the number of children of school age.

In 1937, there were in Czechoslovakia, 10,422 Czech primary schools, but these were at most 5-year schools. There were then 1,228,064 Czech and Slovak children in primary schools. Today, however, there are no data about the number of children in primary schools in Bohemia and Moravia. Moreover, the figure for Czech primary schools in Czechoslovakia in 1937 included Czech schools in Sudetenland, occupied by Germany in September 1938, as well as Slovak schools in Slovakia. Further, it must be borne in mind that the present 8-year primary schools replace in many cases Czech high schools of which there were 1,482 in the entire Czechoslovak Republic in 1937. The above-mentioned decree reducing the size of classes for teaching German to 36 probably required the creation of more classes. It seems that in some places the decree caused the establishment of new schools.

It is perhaps true to say that, so far, the Germans have not closed Czech schools in purely Czech districts, but they have done so in all places where there is a German minority, even if this minority is artificially created by new German colonization. In

this case Czech schools are being closed in order to force Czech parents to send their children to German schools created for the German minority.

High Schools (Central Schools)

The Government Decree No. 300, dated August 14, 1941, stipulates "Czech high school is a school for selected pupils. It is a 4-year school and follows upon the fourth year of the primary school." A later decree altered the name from "High School" to "Chief School" (or Central School) in order to correspond to the same type of school in the German Reich, the "Hauptschule."

The Central School is attended by children who have passed the fourth year of primary school with good results, especially in German language, and who are recommended by the director of the primary school. Parents who wish to send their children to the Central School must submit an application before May 15, accompanied by a birth certificate and a proof of Aryan descent. The school administration must rigidly observe the principle that no more than 85 percent of the children terminating their fourth year of primary school may be admitted to the Central School. Among the conditions for admission is physical fitness and oral and written examination in German and in arithmetic. No Jews are admitted to the Central School.

In 1942, special 1-year courses, called class IV A, were created in the Central Schools. These are intended for children who have completed 8 years of primary school. They receive in these courses special instruction for entry into technical schools. So far about 66 percent of the Central Schools have these courses: 513 in Bohemia and 278 in Moravia. In 1942 there were in these courses in the "Protectorate," 28,238 pupils (including 11,257 girls). Conditions of entry are: Good results in the primary school and a recommendation from the director of the primary school.

In 1937, there were in Czechoslovakia, 1,482 high schools (above fifth grade under old regime before occupation, and not equivalent to the Central Schools) with Czech or Slovak language of instruction. According to the pronouncement of Colonel Moravec, "there were, in 1942, in the 'Protectorate,' 1,213 high schools, but in 1943 only 1,080 central schools with 7,200 classes and 12,900 teachers." It is clear, therefore, that the number of post-primary central schools is gradually being reduced, chiefly because completion of the compulsory school attendance period is made fully possible in 8-year primary schools.

There are no detailed reports about the curriculum of the Central Schools in the "Protectorate." However, it is possible to judge from newspaper articles and occasional broadcasts, that the German language forms the core of instruction, as well as history of the German Reich, German geography, Nazi ideology, and Nazi conception of state. Mathematics and physics also receive special attention.

The Central School prepares pupils for entry into technical schools and for practical life. Central School education is now required for all the trades and employers refuse pupils with primary education only and require school-leaving certificate from a Central School or from special courses (IV A) mentioned above.

The Czech population in Bohemia and Moravia regard these reforms with suspicion and disfavor, for they see in it a German attempt at reducing them all to the level of the proletariat. This, indeed, is the German aim.

Secondary Schools

Secondary schools are, since the German occupation, schools for selected pupils, just like the new Central Schools. Already since 1941, a violent campaign against secondary schools has been carried on in the Czech press based on the assumption that Czechoslovakia had too many young men with secondary school education and not enough places for them. Consequently the "Government of the Protectorate" introduced far-reaching "reforms" reducing the great variety of secondary schools of the Czechoslovak Republic to three types: "Real Schools" (instruction chiefly in sciences and modern languages); "Real Gymnasia" (instruction in sciences, one modern language, and Latin); "Classical Gymnasia" (instruction in sciences, Latin, and Greek).

The proclaimed principle ruling the reforms of secondary education was: "Everybody to such place for which he is fitted by his aptitude." The aim was to reduce the number of applicants for clerical jobs and increase those who intend to enter trades and industry. This tendency was further manifested by the establishment of a number of new technical schools.

There are no data available by which to judge the damage done to Czechoslovak secondary schools by German occupation. The administration carefully refrains from publishing any figures. The only facts known are that all secondary schools for girls established by religious orders have been closed, and that no additional classes may be opened in existing secondary schools in large towns.

Equally, there are no data concerning the number of professors in secondary schools. For 5 years there were no graduates of the Czech universities which have been closed by Germans since November 1939. All professors of Jewish descent were dismissed. The age limit was lowered to 56. In the case of professors who, during the first World War fought in the "Czechoslovak Legions," the age limit was lowered to 45. Many patriotic professors were sent to concentration camps or summarily dismissed.

During 1941 and 1942 all directors and professors of secondary schools were obliged to pass an examination in German. Those who failed in this examination, either because of inadequate knowledge of German or because of political reasons, were dismissed.

From the above-mentioned facts it is possible to estimate that the number of secondary schools in Bohemia and Moravia was reduced by about a half.

Speaking about secondary schools in the "Protectorate," Colonel Moravec declared on May 11, 1942, "It is reasonable to assume that our country will be more industrialized. Therefore, we must expand technical schools at the cost of secondary schools. In 1941 we had 11,000 graduates from secondary schools whereas we need only 5,000. Until recently there was one technical school to three secondary schools. Our ministry aims at changing this state of affairs to two technical schools to every single secondary school." It seems, however, that this change in relation of numbers will be reached through indiscriminate closing of secondary schools rather than through the increase of technical schools.

Since the beginning of the school year 1940-41 a new curriculum has been introduced into the Czech secondary schools in order to bring them into line with schools in the German Reich. The chief aim is thorough instruction in German. In lower grades German is taught for 6 hours a week, in higher grades 5 hours. Four hours are allotted to physical education except in the last 2 grades where 3 hours are allotted to it. An examination in German takes place at the end of each school year, and unless the pupils pass this examination, they are not allowed to proceed to the next grade. On the other hand, Czech language and Czech history are taught only 4 hours weekly. Teaching of civics has been abolished.

The curriculum is arranged according to Nazi ideology and devoted to the propaganda of German greatness. All textbooks have been rewritten with this aim in mind, especially in history,

geography, and Czech language and literature. Special prominence is given to the so-called "Heimatkunde" ("Fatherlandlore") which consists of lives of important Nazi leaders, history of the Nazi movement, the Nazi concept of state, etc.

According to the new regulations, the "secondary-school-leaving examination (maturity examination) comprises six subjects: German language, geography, and history (all three must be passed in German); Czech language and literature, and two other subjects (in Czech). The chairman of the examination board must be a German and the examination is carried out in the presence of a German school inspector. Jews are excluded from secondary schools. A student in secondary or technical school must spend at least 9 weeks during his vacation in some kind of war work. He has only 2 weeks free.

Teachers Colleges

Since 1939, for 2 years no new students were admitted into teachers colleges. However, a Government Decree, No. 320, dated August 11, 1941, introduced a new organization of teachers colleges. They became residential institutions. Studies now last 5 years. The curriculum consists of the following subjects: Physical education; German language; "Heimatkunde" (Fatherlandlore); Czech language; history; geography; mathematics; physics; chemistry; zoology; pedagogy; didactics; teaching methods; practical exercises in teaching; artistic education; singing; music; school legislation; agriculture and horticulture; handwork; and, in the first year only, religious instruction.

The Germans have established new German teachers colleges in Czech cities. Students are drawn chiefly from the German-speaking districts of Bohemia. Just as in the case of secondary schools, there is a complete lack of any data concerning the number of teachers colleges and their students. It seems that the figures are purposely withheld.

Technical Schools

From the press campaign and from various pronouncements of the so-called "Protectorate Authorities" it is clear that technical schools are favored to the detriment of secondary schools. Everything is done to create interest in them. In 1940 and 1941, several Government decrees gave a number of technical schools the right of conferring apprenticeship papers. In this way, numbers of boys could, after 2 years' schooling, enter trades or industry as qualified workers.

The majority of the higher technical schools have established

special 2-year courses for secondary school graduates who cannot find clerical jobs and wish to be re-educated for trades or industry. The technical schools organize frequent competitions with prizes for the best work done by the students.

This particular stress upon technical education has two causes: The German "Protectors" wish so to direct Czech youth that it becomes a source of able workers for industry in the Reich and in the "Protectorate"; secondly, they wish to replace the Czech qualified workers and technicians who were conscripted for industrial work in Germany.

In spite of the fact that the press in the "Protectorate" tries to create interest in technical schools, no data have been published. This indicates that the real situation is much worse than is openly admitted. One thing is certain, however, that everything is being done to re-educate the graduates of secondary schools for trades and industries, the universities having been forcibly closed. Everywhere the youth of the nation are being forced to accept inferior positions in all professions resulting from their status as members of a "protected" nation.

Universities

Czech universities were closed by the Germans in November 1939 for 3 years and have remained closed ever since. Thus Czech youth is completely deprived of university studies. The only exceptions are a few individual students, chosen from among those who have accepted the new regime. They are sent to German universities in the Reich, chiefly to high technical schools or to faculties of medicine. The conditions are: Graduation from secondary school with honors, perfect knowledge of German, Aryan descent, and perfect health. No women are accepted. However, the Germans have kept open the German University of Prague. They transferred to it all rights and privileges as well as some of the property of the Charles University. There are no indications as to whether any Czech students are studying there.

Dr. Hacha, President of the "Protectorate," founded several scholarships for the purpose of sending Czech students to German universities.

Organizational Changes in School Administration

The Ministry of Education in Prague, under Colonel Moravec, is gradually and systematically deprived of direct contact with the national educational system. Provincial education authorities have been abolished although the salaries of their

personnel are still included in the budget of the Ministry of Education.

A Government decree of April 6, 1943, abolished all district education boards and created instead an educational section at each district office. A District Office is an instrument of the Central Government. All control and administration of primary and high (central) schools which until now was performed by the Ministry of Education was transferred directly to the District Offices. It is thus the political and not the educational officials who decide all matters concerning primary and central schools.

Textbooks

The supply of textbooks is a sore problem in all schools in the "Protectorate," especially in the secondary schools. Old textbooks have been abolished. The preparation of new textbooks to be substituted for those now in use in the Reich based on Nazi ideology is slow. Many schools use temporary, multigraphed textbooks.

Textbooks on Czech history and Czech literature have been greatly changed. All mention of works by Karel Capek and by all interned or murdered authors (such as the poet Nezval, the novelist Vancura, etc.) have been suppressed. Of certain other authors some works are admitted, others forbidden. In 1943, in the German pedagogical institute in Prague, an exhibition of textbooks for Czech schools was organized and all directors of Czech secondary and normal schools were asked to attend.

Conclusions

From the foregoing description of the situation in occupied Czechoslovakia emerge several important points:

1. It is clear that the German "protectors" intend to allow the Czechoslovak population only the minimum of education consistent with the position of inferiority to which the Czechs have been relegated by the Germans.
2. Wherever there has been any apparent improvement in the educational system in occupied Czechoslovakia, it has proved to be only a camouflage to hide the real interest of the Germans.
3. The German war machine has gradually drawn larger numbers of Czechoslovaks, including young people, within its orbit. They are forced to work under conditions in which they are both intellectually and physically deteriorating.
4. The population of Czechoslovakia, especially the children and young people, are subjected to a terrible moral tension. For, in order to preserve their very lives they have to hide their feel-

ings while the oppressors are constantly in their midst. This situation will very likely result in a great increase in mental cases.

5. The occupation of Czechoslovakia and its inclusion into the German "Lebensraum" has resulted in gradual and continuous deterioration in every aspect of life in the country.

EDUCATION IN FRANCE DURING THE WAR

General Objective of the Enemy

It was in the intention of the enemy to "nazify" the personnel and the syllabi of the schools and the universities. Without either closing or suppressing them, he wanted to make use of them in order to promote a policy of "collaboration," that is to say to support by every means the German propaganda.

This policy has been made possible by the participation of the Government of Vichy which has acted as a docile agent of the enemy's domination.

The Ministers of National Education who succeeded each other in Vichy have striven to realize by means of education the so-called "Révolution Nationale," which aimed at bringing about, in France, the revival of the importance of the family, of labor, and of complete devotion to the country. In fact, their work consisted in seconding the enemy's action while trying to develop in the minds of the young people a new hatred for the Anglo-Saxon democracies and admiration for nazism. The minds of the French youth were to be drawn to the idea of abandoning their intellectual liberty, of submitting in complete obedience to a hierarchical state, and, finally, of adopting the mystical attitude towards the Leader. Thus was Fascism to be established.

On the 13th June, 1942, Abel Bonnard, Minister of National Education, wrote that "the French conscience, until then either egoistically retired within itself or chimerically extended as far as a boundless universalism, must adapt itself to continental values," meaning those of a German Europe. He himself set the example in attending a lecture given by the Ministerialrat (Ministerial Counselor), Dr. Ulroft of Berlin, on the pedagogical methods of the IIIrd Reich. On the 30th May, 1942, he wrote in the newspaper *Paris-Soir*: "This Descartes has for too long been considered as the best representative of the French genius: he must now be thrown out of the window."

Naturally, Vichy started by adopting anti-semitic measures, setting aside or revoking Jewish professors and teachers, restricting the quota of Jewish students in the universities to 3 percent and of Jewish pupils in the schools to 7 percent. Meanwhile,

Vichy tried to gain the support of the Catholic church, granting both moral and material advantages to the private schools controlled by the Church. Not only were the religious orders allowed to resume their teaching which had been forbidden by the III^d Republic, but, moreover, the Government encouraged it by financial grants. The will to destroy the existing legislation on education thus manifested itself.

Similarly, Vichy endeavoured to make of our secondary teaching a purely classical teaching, intended for the youth of the middle class alone. It re-established in the secondary schools the fees that the Republic had abolished, and it introduced them as well in the newly created "modern colleges" which were to replace the post-primary schools. What we knew as "lycées," henceforth were only those secondary schools in which Greek and Latin were taught, so as to give their pupils a feeling of superiority towards those of their comrades who were educated in colleges. As the men of Vichy proclaimed their intention to favor peasantry, the children of peasant families were to attend, in special schools, courses different from those intended for the population of the towns. In fact, their idea was to render the mingling of social classes still more difficult.

As early as 1940, the French youth had to go through a training in labor camps called "Chantiers de Jeunesse"; it was a training for the Fascist spirit as well as physical training. In January 1943 it was made compulsory for all students to belong to a union controlled by Government appointees.

In applying measures such as these, the ministers of Pétain endeavored to destroy liberty, to outroot democracy, and either to revive a feudal society or to make way for a dictatorship. They were supported in reaching their aims by the invader's military forces, and could not help but realize that all their actions favored the enemy's interests and that they worked for the maintenance of their own servitude.

Destruction of Buildings and Equipment

It is naturally quite impossible, with the partial information that reaches us, to give even a rough idea as to how far the destruction is extended, and above all, to try and forecast that which may occur before the liberation. In 1939, France possessed some 80,000 primary schools, 500 post-primary schools, 550 secondary schools, and 16 universities, not to mention private schools. But, out of the 72,000 buildings that, at the beginning of 1944, Vichy numbered as having been destroyed, how many schools were included? We can only give a few examples: We

know, that among others, the important college of Beauvais, north of Paris; that of Morlaix, in Brittany; and one of the big "lycées" of Le Havre have been destroyed. A number of schools at Calais, Boulogne, Dieppe, St. Nazaire, and Nantes have also been subjected to destruction. During the last phase of the war, even if France is not going to be changed into a battlefield, we must be prepared for the fact that but a small number of the schools situated in proximity to the sea will be left untouched. More than 6,000 such schools are to be found on the coast between the Belgian frontier and the south of Brittany.

Still more numerous will be the schools made useless by the destruction of their equipment. To this class belong all those—and how numerous—which have had to shelter the occupying forces. We shall only point out that in Marseilles alone, as soon as they arrived in November 1942, the Germans seized more than half of the school buildings.

Teaching Personnel

We have already pointed out that, as early as 1940, all the Jewish professors and teachers; who constituted an important and valuable part of the teaching personnel, had been dismissed. Some time later, the same happened to free-masons and to many others whose liberal tendencies made them dangerous.

Nothing has been spared to subjugate French education; nothing from the universities where the Deans of the Faculties are no longer elected by their colleagues but chosen by the Government, to the primary schools in which the teachers may no longer rely upon the departmental Councils, formerly elected by the inhabitants, to supervise education.

At the same time, all the professional associations of teachers were suppressed, and with them the famous "Ligue de l'Enseignement" which through its powerful influence on the public had played an illustrious part in the educational reforms adopted by the IIIrd Republic. Lists of dismissed members of the teaching personnel which have been drawn up are far from being complete, but they include the names of eminent scholars, numerous professors of the Sorbonne, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Paris, and the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Lyons. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Caen has been deported into Germany; the Dean of the Faculty of Law of Grenoble has been murdered by Laval's Milice.

However long they may be, the lists of the recognized victims of the Nazi occupation do not render it possible to draw up

statistics which would indicate the total amount, or which would show what proportion of the teaching personnel has been suppressed. But these lists present us with two kinds of information, both of which are of interest. On the one hand, they clearly prove that the Germans' and their followers' only desire was to strike at the heart and at the head of the teaching body. They are also the proof that, as a whole, this body has refused to be subdued; that it is moved by a spirit of indomitable resistance; and that the plans of its enemies were wrecked for the sole reason that, in order to succeed, it would have been necessary to renew the teaching personnel almost in its entirety.

The situation being such, may we conclude that after her liberation France will be able to find the personnel she requires? Some other facts forbid us to do so.

First, we must bear in mind what is taking place in Alsace-Lorraine, the annexation of which by Germany was based on no treaty whatsoever. The State schools there employed more than 7,000 teachers. Many of them have been replaced by Nazis. They have all been compelled to go through a training in Germany. It is probable that similar conditions apply to the northern and eastern regions (Lorraine and part of Champagne) where the Germans are presently striving—by means of collectivist methods controlling agricultural enterprises—to implant German settlers and maybe to northern regions which have been administratively tied up with the occupying authorities of Belgium.

Moreover, the future of the teaching personnel will mostly depend on the fate of the French prisoners among whom are numberless teachers who served in the army as officers and N.C.O.'s. Finally, the sinister policy of mass deportation is threatening to sweep off the members of the teaching personnel. The orders given, on the 21st of March 1944, by the Government of Vichy to the Rectors and Inspectors instruct them to take all measures which would facilitate the transfer to Germany of professors and teachers. Their departure has already been planned and they will be sent away in successive groups constituted by different classes: from those who are bachelors to those who are the heads of large families.

We may rest assured that those who have received such orders will have recourse to every possible means to delay their execution. But, in the near future, they will not be able to avoid the inevitable results that these orders will entail and which will dangerously imperil the future of French education.

Changes in Courses and in Teaching Content

Here again we must put apart the case of Alsace-Lorraine where the teaching of French and in French has been totally prohibited. It is well known that Alsatians cannot, nowadays, utter one word of French without incurring the gravest punishments and that all the inscriptions in French (even in the churchyards) have had to disappear.

In the rest of the country, all the books, especially the textbooks, are submitted to the German censorship that has prohibited a great number of them. Lists of prohibited books, called "OtHO" have been sent to all publishers, compelling them to withdraw from sale the works mentioned in the lists. Others include those which must be immediately destroyed by publishers as well as by private individuals.

One may notice that nearly all the books which were the most useful both for teachers and pupils, for the study and better understanding of modern France, may no more be used. Let us mention the important "Histoire de France" edited by Lavissee which was an indispensable guide to students, and the history textbook, the most widely used among pupils of secondary schools, that of Albert Malet.

Besides, Vichy has altered the syllabi in order to adapt them to fit its ideology. Its chief effort is to make young French people forget the revolution of 1789 and regret that they ever belonged to a democracy, and to bring them back to the Middle Ages. Needless to say that they ought to know nothing about the war of 1914-18. Also the fact that they were invaded, in bygone days, by barbarians, must not be mentioned. Finally, they must be persuaded that all through their history they have been the victim of "Perfidious Albion."

In addition, the Minister of Education has attempted to insert in the syllabi the study of provincial literature and dialects: Provençal, Breton, etc. He thus endeavored to favor the separatist movements backed up by the Nazis whose interest it is to weaken our national unity. Though the teaching of English is still permitted, the Minister took good care, in June 1942, to warn the teachers of English against arousing in their pupils feelings of sympathy towards Great Britain. Meanwhile, the teaching of demography was introduced in secondary schools in April 1943 and, while in the universities many chairs of English and American civilization were suppressed, a chair of "Ethnology" was created in Paris for the purpose of teaching Racial Theories and, still more openly, a special chair of Judaism

was established. This is how education is used as a means of political propaganda which proves to be entirely anti-national.

Since 1940, portraits of the Marshal have been hung on the walls of every school and the wearing of the "francisque gothique" has been encouraged. Students as well as pupils are submitted to frequent searches in order to discover and punish those who carry about tracts or underground newspapers. In short, students and school children are submitted to a systematic enterprise of propaganda which has no relation whatsoever with teaching. What results will this have? We may rest assured that this propaganda is persistently fought against by many of the very people who are entrusted with it. We know that everywhere the teachers have recourse to every possible means of teaching their pupils the very things they have been ordered to conceal from them. This is made possible by the attitude of the pupils themselves who are their teachers' allies, never revealing what is going on in many classrooms, and cleverly grasping the true meaning of what cannot be clearly told. Nevertheless, the influence of such teaching, which has been given for 5 years, is greatly to be feared.

On the other hand, the effect that the general conditions of the war have borne on the life of the French youth must be taken into consideration, for youth finds itself in a state both physically and morally inferior. We shall not enumerate the hardships it has had to endure. Let us mention only the three following facts:

The "Bulletin of Relief in France" edited by the American Friends Service Committee (1942) has ascertained that, in Marseilles, 66 percent of the school children lacked Vitamin C and that, between February and November 1941, 75 of the girls had lost, on the average, 5 pounds of weight. At the lycée of Versailles, it has been ascertained that 90 percent of the pupils have lost from 3 to 14 pounds and their debility has caused the reduction of physical training to 1 hour per week only. At Nice, half of the pupils do not go to school on days when the weather is bad for lack of shoes. Meanwhile, in December 1943, the bombings had caused many schools to close down and efforts were made to resume the interrupted teaching by means of correspondence or broadcasting.

On the other hand, the course of studies suffers from the compulsory labor to which pupils are compelled. It has been necessary to put forward the dates of the examinations so that they might be taken before the end of the studies (Order of 18th April 1943). This applies in the first place to agricultural

labors to which students and pupils are constrained. But graver still is the decision taken the 21st of March 1944, that of establishing a census of all students born between the years 1914 and 1918 with a view to compelling them to accomplish in 2 periods of 1 year each, a compulsory Social Service. This decision took place at the very moment when, as we have said before, other steps were taken in order to prepare the transfer of the teachers to Germany. It is quite clear that the so-called Social Service mentioned above means, in true fact, war work for Germany imposed upon the young people by means of deportation.

Therein lies the menace which is threatening French education nowadays. Until the summer of 1943, the students of the same age as the workers deported to Germany had, generally speaking, obtained the authorization to continue their studies. But since the fall of 1943 these authorizations are but rarely granted. It is a well-known fact that a great number of students had no other recourse than that of hiding in the Maquis.

Special Effects on Types of Schools

The preceding pages will give an outlook on the chief alterations that took place since 1940.

Primary education is weakened, both through the generalized effect of the war on youth (conditions of health) and on the schools (damaged or plundered) and through the suppression of liberty and its evil effects. The tendencies which inspire Vichy's educational policy constitute a still greater danger. It may be said that Vichy is hostile to primary school teaching. It has denounced the "spirit of primary schools" as synonymous with simplism, narrow-mindedness, intolerance, and credulity. It has attacked this "spirit" from all angles. On the one side, it has created a special teaching intended for rural regions (Law of the 15th April 1941), teaching which, under the cover of increasing its practical utility, has reached a lower standard. On the other side, it has reduced the duration of primary schooling by suppressing the post-primary schools. Above all, Vichy is fighting the teachers in the hope of enslaving them, and it has decided to alter the way in which they are henceforth recruited, by suppressing their training colleges and having them all trained in secondary schools.

Vichy seems to favor secondary schools, but only under the condition that they should lose their democratic features. For that purpose, it has re-established the fees, and strives to increase the prestige of a curriculum chiefly based on classical culture. The policy of Vichy aims at separating the bourgeoisie from the

common people. In so doing, it only succeeded in weakening secondary education, while political struggles led Vichy's Government to take steps which considerably lowered the standard of this education. For instance, on the 15th September 1942, it gave the degrees of "Bachelier" to students who had not passed the oral test of the examination but who had volunteered for the "Légion Antibolchevique."

As to universities, it is hard to understand under what conditions they carry on their work. Three of them are closed. The threat of an invasion in the Mediterranean area caused, at the outset of 1944, the Universities of Aix-Marselles and Montpellier to close down. The University of Strasbourg which had been evacuated to Clermont-Ferrand since 1939 was brutally suppressed in 1943. The Nazis invaded the University, arrested all the professors and students, shot at those who were resisting, and killed one professor. In February 1944, 40 students and 15 professors had been sent to Germany.

The life in the other universities seems to be still going on, but it is artificial. The teaching is closely supervised and many teachers, as we have seen, have been dismissed. But what has become of the students? In fact, they may be found either in Germany or in the Maquis where they are enlisted in all the possible forms taken by the resistance movement. The students have, from the outset, played an important part in the history of the resistance movement. The manifestation of the Parisian students on the Champs Elysées was the first public expression of resistance in France. In November 1942 the students of Grenoble manifested strongly against Pétain and during the same year all the associations of Parisian students addressed to the Marshal a letter which expressed devastating criticism of his policy.

In April 1944 the students in the Maquis addressed themselves to the French Committee in Algiers asking that all the results of the examinations taking place in France be cancelled because of the present impossibility of considering them as fair tests. The French Committee of National Liberation has entrusted the University of Algiers, the 17th French university, with the task of acting as trustee of the enslaved universities. The Committee is faced with a vast work of reconstruction. The moral and material losses already suffered may become heavier still before the day of final liberation. However, this task will be made easier by the ever-increasing thirst for freedom, the will for redemption, and the eagerness for work, existing nowadays in schools and universities.

CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN GREECE AND THE POSITION OF PUPILS IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

General Objective of the Enemy

With the occupation of the country, the youth of Greece, whose patriotism has been tested and proved in the fight for freedom, began to undergo the harshest sufferings at the invaders' hands.

Greece was invaded by three enemies: The Italians, the Germans, and the Bulgarians, and parts of her territory were occupied by all three simultaneously. Each occupying power sought to serve its own particular ends, and accordingly applied its own particular system against the Greek people, and especially against the youth of Greece. Thus, the Italians aimed at a permanent occupation of a large area of Greece (principally the Ionian and Aegean Islands) and at the setting up of a form of protectorate over the rest of the country. For that reason the system that they applied was designed to eradicate the national spirit of the Greek population. For example, it was forbidden for any reference to be made, either in the press or in the textbooks, to the achievements of earlier generations, and censorship refused to pass a single word dealing with Greece's struggles for liberation, such as the War of Independence of 1821. The Italian language was made compulsory in the schools, and pamphlets and other literature inculcating and extolling the principles of Fascism were systematically distributed among school children and students.

Conversely, the Germans' aims were of a purely military character. They took over the schools in order to convert them into barracks; they arrested the teachers as being dangerous elements or as being suitable persons to hold as hostages. When student demonstrations occurred, the parents were thrown into prison or concentration camps; on occasion groups of students were mowed down by machine-guns in the streets.

In Macedonia and Thrace the Bulgarians have one purpose in view: The thorough Bulgarization of these provinces, so that the peace conference may be presented with faits accomplis. To this end, all Greek schools have been closed, and the school buildings now house Bulgarian institutions. Countless women and children have been massacred, while others have been forced to flee to the mountains or to other districts in Greece.

The Greek children who still remain in the two provinces are forcibly compelled to attend the Bulgarian schools, where Bulgarian teachers are constantly impressing upon them that

they are Bulgarians by extraction, and that the Greeks are their implacable enemies.

Destruction of Buildings and Equipment

In Athens nearly all the school buildings were taken over by the Germans and Italians, and were converted for the most part into barracks.

The same thing occurred in the provincial towns, and at times even in villages where enemy garrisons were quartered. The schools had to be moved to churches and other buildings wholly unsuited to this purpose. The resultant overcrowding and lack of proper ventilation have been instrumental in the spreading of disease, to which the children had already been prone through lack of proper nourishment. Many parents had in consequence insisted on withdrawing their children even before the schools were officially closed.

The school buildings that were converted into military barracks have suffered great damage; desks have been used as fuel for heating purposes in winter time, and other equipment has either been stolen or been left to deteriorate in the basements.

Nineteen Greek towns, big and small, have been totally destroyed by bombing; the schools have not been spared. But in addition, most of the school buildings in all other towns have been commandeered by the forces of occupation, and to the inevitable deterioration of the building itself must be added the probable total loss of equipment. In fact, by the spring of this year (1944), we find that practically no secondary school buildings are available for their proper function, since an order of the Minister of Education of occupied Greece leaves it to the decision of the local inspector whether or not such schools will open; another order tries to regularize the state of things which has prevailed for some time; as examinations still seem to be taking place, secondary school teachers have organized private courses at their houses, or in premises rented for the purpose.

The official order sanctions this state of affairs; limits the number of students attending any course to 30; ordains that poor and refugee children shall pay no fees; and threatens with punishment the teachers not complying with these conditions. It is not clear whether the teacher's salary is still paid by the State; renting of premises for the purpose is expressly mentioned; time limits for examinations and for repeated tests where students have failed are set, then lengthened; and often attendance at a higher class is allowed before the student has passed into it.

A little more is known of the damage sustained by the uni-

versities and other institutions of university standard. The Athens Polytechnic, i. e., the technical university of Greece, was used for a long time as an Italian hospital. As public notices of entrance and other examinations still appear in the papers, it must be assumed that some of its courses go on, curtailed and makeshift, in other buildings. Since January of this year, it has been used for the housing of raid victims from Piræus. The damage is easy to imagine.

The greatest part of the buildings of the University of Salonika has been turned into a German hospital of tropical diseases. The following laboratories have been stripped of practically all their equipment and collections: The laboratory of inorganic chemistry; that of organic chemistry; that of physical chemistry; two laboratories of physics; the botanical laboratory in which the irreplaceable Macedonian herbarium was destroyed; the mineralogical, zoological, and geological laboratories; the meteorological archives. The Meteorological Station has been turned into a pig sty and its turret into a bar. Many others were partially or totally destroyed. Part of the equipment of these laboratories and of numerous classrooms, as well as copies of paintings, etc., were used as fuel; German soldiers amused themselves by pelting plaster casts and pictures with rotten eggs and tomatoes. Books of the Library of Parliament have been sold in second-hand bookshops. Ancient slabs with classical inscriptions have been used as open-air fireplaces, etc., etc. These instances of vandalism are only those of which we happen to know. They must be multiplied many times, and can serve as an indication of the wholesale destruction of educational institutions either deliberately encouraged or purposely overlooked by the higher authorities of the alleged Kulturvolk.

Teaching Personnel

The teaching personnel as a whole has suffered very much, especially the elementary school teachers. Thousands of them have been put to manual labor, or have been imprisoned for underground activities; a great number have joined the guerillas. Their salaries, already insufficient, have not kept pace with the devaluation of the currency (to between 1/1000-1/10000 of its pre-war value). Only their devotion to their mission for ideological reasons has kept them at their job. They saw their charges faint and die of hunger, and when some food supplies began to come in and school canteens were organized, they took charge and slaved in them. The old Cretan schoolmaster who, before being shot, said calmly: "For 30 years I have taught my pupils to prize

liberty above all; now I shall gladly die for it," is only one of a very large number. In the spring of 1942, many teachers having been dismissed or forced into manual labor, some well-intentioned citizens offered to take charge of the children for part of the day and to teach them the elements. A number of them were sent to concentration camps.

Direct propaganda does not seem to have been addressed to teachers; they were probably found too refractory. Only two instances were known, that of 20 secondary school teachers who were sent for a few weeks to Florence in order to follow a course of Fascist lectures, and of one university professor taking part in a Weimar Course of the Institute of Foreign Scholars. There may, of course, have been a few other isolated cases.

A certain formal respect of regulations has been kept up in regard to university staffs. The faculties and senate have staunchly refused to accept "suggestions" by the puppet ministry as to elections and dismissals; in extreme cases the ministry resorts to the abolition of courses in order to dismiss the dons teaching them. In 1942 there was much talk of the state appointing two committees of three members each to decide on appointments to secondary schools and universities, respectively; it seems unlikely that it has ever materialized. Some professors and lecturers have been dismissed on one pretext or another.

Teaching staffs in schools and colleges have, almost without exception, remained loyal to the idea and cause of Greece's independence. They refuse to carry out the Germans' and Italians' orders in regard to anti-Allied teaching or to disseminate pro-Axis doctrines. In general, their principal care is to kindle the patriotism and sustain the morale of youth. Many of them have been imprisoned or sent to concentration camps.

Elimination of Courses

In the first period of the occupation the schools remained open, but classes were held only in the mornings. In 1943, however, both schools and universities were closed down indefinitely, partly by reason of the widespread epidemics and partly by reason of the recurrent demonstrations in which students and school children took part.

In Athens and other districts where conditions are relatively quiet the teachers give instruction in their own homes, either to individual pupils or to small groups. In the provinces, however, and in the open country, where the guerilla movement is active and the Germans adopt the harshest measures of repression, every trace of an education system has disappeared.

German and Italian schools, both old-established and new, function and spread; often they offer free meals as an inducement to prospective pupils.

Effects of the War on the Lives of Children and Youth

In Greece the effects have been truly appalling. During the first year of the occupation children were dying by the thousands in the streets of Athens for want of food. Subsequently their condition was alleviated through the help given by the Red Cross and other organizations, and through the opening of soup kitchens for school children and students. Nevertheless the undernourishment to which they have been subjected for a continuous period of years has caused serious injury to their health, and many children and youths are now suffering from a pre-tuberculous condition. This is true also of the provincial towns. In the country, on the other hand, the children of the peasants and agricultural workers were somewhat better nourished. During the last year, however, there have been mass murders of children in country districts in reprisal for acts of sabotage or the killing of German soldiers by guerilla organizations, while many thousands of them are roaming the mountains, without proper shelter or food. In whole areas of the Peloponnesus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, systematic destruction has been carried out by Germans, Italians, and Bulgarians, with the result that not a single house now stands.

The enforcement of school attendance has gone by the board, for we read of little peddlers of 9 and 10 driving a hard bargain for anything they can lay their hands on, quick at taking advantage of a situation and at evading the police. The school canteens, by the hundreds, are a steady and beneficent influence; in many boroughs of Athens these canteens have been compelled by circumstances to open on Sundays for the "Children's Sunday Dish." Cleanliness is a problem due to the scarcity of water and the lack of soap and fuel.

The worst effect of the war on the children is the deterioration of their health. Rickets, tuberculosis of the bones, and other diseases of malnutrition are rampant; their incidence has risen anywhere from 800 to 1,000 percent. A notice in an Athens newspaper, recommending the establishment of separate schools for trachoma patients, proves the frequency of that disease. A medical inspector, escaped recently from Greece, mentions in a report that during the winter of 1941-42, when famine was at its worst, perhaps 60 percent of the elementary school children suffered from the swelling disease, which produces the unhealthy

liquid in belly and joints; after the Red Cross supplies began to come regularly, the cases dropped to from 10 to 15 percent, still a very high percentage.

Another effect of the war will probably be a rise of illiteracy, and a host of half-educated youths with school certificates, granted because the puppet government, at whose door the disruption of education must be laid, dares not refuse certificates and diplomas. With the very young, the deficiency can be put right with a vigorous drive immediately after liberation; with the adolescents, it will be a social problem requiring exceptional skill on the part of the education authorities and agencies.

A third effect, which may be turned to good or bad account—depending on those responsible for education after the war—has a double aspect: (a) Children have grown independent of family and of accepted standards. They fend for themselves, defy authority, and think it clever, as it undoubtedly is under the circumstances. (b) On the other hand, children have become used to institutions, impersonal organizations, taking care of them. From all accounts, a spirit of solidarity and mutual aid has also developed among the vagrant and homeless young.

Special Effects and Reaction

Elementary education.—Of all stages of education, the elementary stage seems to be the least dislocated. We know very little about the damage to buildings and equipment, which must be considerable; but the teachers as a body are there, though they have suffered terrible casualties. The school as a center of child welfare, with canteens, leisure-time occupations, provision of clothing, medical care, etc., has come to stay.

Secondary education.—This level of education is the most disrupted of all. Insufficient and, owing to circumstance, inefficient schooling has gone on for almost 4 years. Those who were 10 to 12 years of age in 1940 are now adolescents; they have been granted unmerited promotion—through no fault of their own; have been unable to concentrate on learning, going hungry and being deprived of books and all other helps to education. An organization under the puppet ministry of education, publishing an account of its activities, prides itself on having sent a few hundreds of books, copybooks, and pencils, to a certain province over a period of 3 years. This shows up the deficiencies more than anything else. Those who were 13 to 15 years of age in 1940 are now adults, holders of school-leaving certificates, past

compulsory measures of education. Only voluntary work and the conditions conducive to it can help them.

Special praise is due to the students in Greece. In spite of great hardships and suffering (many of them live on nothing beyond a daily plate of soup and dried vegetables at the soup kitchens), their patriotic spirit remains invincible. In most cases it is they who organize the demonstrations of revolt and place themselves at the head of the processions and meetings of protest in the streets. Frequently they have been machine-gunned or dispersed by bayonet charges, and many of them have been imprisoned. Repeated disturbances on the part of the students have led to the closing of the University of Athens. They continue, however, to congregate in the courtyard of the university and to stage patriotic demonstrations.

The German authorities, assisted by certain Greek Quislings, made an attempt to win over the students to the Nazi ideology. A students' society was formed in connection with the "New European Order." Lectures, classes, and dinners were arranged, but the attempt ended in a miserable failure. The offices of the society were wrecked by the students, while the professor responsible for its organization was roughly handled by them in the streets of Athens.

SCHOOLS IN LUXEMBOURG UNDER ENEMY OCCUPATION

Psychological Warfare

General objective of the enemy with respect to schools.—The general objective of the enemy, with regard to Luxembourg schools, is the complete Germanization of education in the Grand-Duchy. It is necessary to remember that the official language in Luxembourg is—and has been for more than 400 years—French, though the whole population uses for everyday purposes, Letzeburgish (based on Teutonic elements, but having borrowed extensively from the Celtic and French tongues).

The first aim of the Germans was to abolish these two "foreign" languages, for which purpose they had to dispose of the teaching personnel of the Luxembourg educational establishments. Luxembourg, the German invader declared—giving thus a striking example of his ignorance of history—had only temporarily left the German Reich; she was *still* essentially "German" and speaking French or Letzeburgish was but a proof of "separatist" tendencies. (In actual fact, of course, Luxembourg *never* formed part of Germany, although at one time the country

was included in the Holy Roman Empire, when it covered the greater part of Europe.)

The second aim of the German invader was to bring about a complete change in the general outlook of the youth of Luxembourg. He attempted to destroy not only Luxembourg patriotism and national feelings, but also attacked the deeply rooted democratic convictions, the religious thought and the philosophy of the people of the Grand-Duchy—ever opposed to the Nazi maxim that "might is right." For that purpose, the New Order had to eliminate every element likely to contribute to a stiffening of Luxembourg resistance. Lay teachers, clerics, intellectuals, from all spheres of Luxembourg public life, were thus among the first to feel the iron hand of the usurper. As an indication of the Nazi attitude toward education, it may be mentioned that the only Luxembourg Minister who did not manage to escape when the Germans invaded the country and the Government left with their Sovereign, was the Minister of Education; the Germans deported him, with his family, to East Prussia.

Destruction of buildings and equipment.—The entire population of the Grand-Duchy decided to resist, as soon as German aims became apparent. Here it may be recalled that Luxembourg was the first among the many countries occupied by the Germans to go on strike. In August 1942 a general strike was begun after the Nazis had announced the annexation of the country to the Reich and the introduction of compulsory military service. This, of course, entailed German reprisals and among the first 21 persons to be shot were three school teachers. At the same time, many teachers were deported to Germany, while the many children who stayed away from school during the strike were taken away from their parents by the Nazis, who said the latter were "unworthy" to bring up children. The children were sent to Germany and kept there.

Within a few months, however, of their occupation of Luxembourg, the Germans had achieved one of their principal objectives by expelling completely from the schools the clergy, who had played a prominent role in all the educational establishments of this Roman Catholic country. Nuns and monks were driven out and their property confiscated. At an hour's notice, they were bundled into lorries and sent no one knew where.

The Episcopal Seminary was dissolved and the priests were herded into waiting vehicles to be transported to unknown destinations in Belgium or France. Some of the religious establishments and abbays were converted into Adolf Hitler Schools;

others into beer halls for German officers. The purpose of the invader is illustrated by the fact that rare and valuable books of different famous libraries were carried off to Germany after elimination of all literature of a "factitious" character. The famous Benedictine Abbey of Clervaux was entirely looted. A swimming bath was installed in the chapel; bound books from the library were sent off directly to Germany, while those with paper covers were removed to the Luxembourg jail, where imprisoned patriots had to bind them before their dispatch. The St. Sophie School, a secondary school for girls, was treated in the same way, the chapel being transformed into a Hitler Youth gymnasium.

Teaching personnel.—There is a shortage of teachers in Luxembourg, as in all countries at present under the Third Reich. An article in a well-known German newspaper a few months ago enlarged upon the difficulties due to the shortage of trained teachers, caused not only by the calling to the army of those of military age, but by the transfer of large numbers of school teachers to occupied territory (to replace patriots who had been sent to concentration camps and to intensify the nazification of such education as was allowed to continue in the invaded countries). As it was intended that Luxembourg should henceforth form part of the Reich, education was not stopped, as in many other occupied countries, but a concentrated effort was made to turn all the children into "good Germans" by all and every means. All the Luxembourg school books were destroyed and replaced by German textbooks. The use of French was forbidden and only German might be spoken.

All teachers in Luxembourg who were under 50 years of age were sent to Germany to take special courses to familiarize them with the active principles of national socialism, so that they could apply these ideas to their pupils. (These courses included military drill.) Many teachers were sent to work in Germany and had their places taken by Germans. The immediate result of this change-over was not only a falling off in the knowledge of subjects of exact science, but also depravation from the political point of view, the children being handed over, without protection, to these prophets of the "Master Race." Patriots were eliminated from among the teaching personnel. The teachers who were sent to Germany for "re-education" were bullied into some sort of acceptance of neo-German thought. Those who proved unable to grasp the philosophical depths of the Third Reich Idea were declared incapable of being teachers

and transferred to other professions. Only part of the re-educated teachers were allowed to return to Luxembourg. It was officially stated that "no one can be a teacher who has not devoted heart and soul to the Reich and the German cause."

Elimination of courses or teaching content.—The school programs were entirely revised so that practically only the "three R's" (reading, writing, and arithmetic), in addition to the Nazi versions of history and geography, were taught. Instruction is confined to morning school, while the afternoons are devoted to drill, physical culture, and games. Consequently, the standard of education is now very low.

Substitution of courses.—In pre-invasion days, the Luxembourg schools had a very high standard, which has now been completely abandoned. The Nazis have no desire that the mass of the people anywhere should be well educated, for the less educated they are, the more docile subjects they are likely to be. In place of religious instruction, attention is given to music; and instead of pupils devoting part of the school day to science, they spend the time in outdoor occupations such as drill.

Imposed propaganda in schools.—It goes without saying that Nazi propaganda is imposed in all schools. The Gauleiter proclaimed: "Let there be no doubt that in future no boy or girl will be allowed to set foot in any school unless he or she belongs to the Youth of the Fuehrer." The rearranged programs of schools have largely contributed to poison the mind and existence of the children from their early youth with the monstrosities of the racial theory. In the same way, the putting aside of all subjects having no direct attraction for the Nazi regime in favor of others, such as physical culture, has had a surprising effect. The children are now generally healthy, but illiterate.

Effects of the war on the life of children and youth.—Naturally, the fundamental changes in the educational system in Luxembourg have had a profound effect on the children, as have war conditions in general. Food restrictions, for instance, must be taken into account, although it is believed that there has not been a very serious shortage of food in the country. The shorter school hours and the greatly increased time devoted to physical culture and open-air pursuits have naturally had a good effect on the children's health in urban districts. On the other hand, the atmosphere engendered by political troubles—arrests, man-hunts affecting many families, deportations, etc.—is bound to have an effect on the minds of the children, more, perhaps, in big centers than in rural districts, where the Gestapo cannot be

so ubiquitous as in towns or maintain their torture villas, and where the food conditions are better.

Enforced labor by children.—We do not think that this has been so prevalent in Luxembourg as in some other occupied countries, although boys below military age have been obliged to help to man anti-aircraft guns.

Special Effects on Types of Schools

Present state of Luxembourg elementary education.—Political influence, as practiced in the Nazi-controlled schools in Luxembourg, has altered the spirit of our youth. Its effects, however, have greatly varied. In places where German schoolmasters or avowed Luxembourg traitors carried on the teaching, the moral position is worst. In other places it is less alarming and it should be noted that in many cases parents have exercised a modifying influence, to counteract the effect of Nazi teaching.

The thorough knowledge of school subjects, as recognized by Luxembourg, had been reduced, by the end of 1942, by about 42 percent. Members of the teaching staff were already complaining then that the knowledge and ability of all our school children had fallen to such an extent that some of them hardly knew how to read or write.

Secondary and vocational schools.—It is obvious, of course, that the secondary schools must suffer more in comparison than the elementary schools by the reduced standard of education; but what is even more serious is the moral decline, due not only to the lack of religious instruction, but also to the deliberate inculcation of immorality by the Germans. There is also the system of sending boys and girls from the secondary schools to spend a compulsory 6 months in a German so-called "labor" camp, generally with dire results, especially to the girls.

Universities.—There are no universities in Luxembourg, which is a very small country with famous universities such as Paris, Brussels, and Louvain within easy reach.

Libraries.—Most of the libraries in Luxembourg, both public and private, have been thoroughly denuded of all valuable works. The magnificent libraries of the Grand-ducal palaces have been looted and private libraries (especially those belonging to Jews and persons of known anti-Nazi opinions) were ravaged. All rare and interesting books and manuscripts were stolen. French and English books from both public and private libraries were sent to Germany for pulping. The stocks of booksellers were thoroughly "purged." Booksellers were forbidden to sell French and English books, except for scholastic purposes. (To buy an

English dictionary (it is necessary to obtain a special permit.) The only exception was the Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library), where a certain number of French and English books are known to remain, though it is strictly forbidden to lend them out.

The National Library has been completely transformed and purged of all works which did not conform to the Nazi spirit. The Germans replaced a great deal of this material by a mass of rubbish imported from the "Fatherland." In 1940, the number of volumes in this library was 450,000, which by 1943 had increased to 800,000 volumes, and the Nazis boast that this collection has been built up into "one of the biggest and most learned libraries of Western Germany." Apart from the poisonous Nazi "literature" already mentioned, the number of volumes in the National Library was increased by the addition of numerous books brought from public libraries in provincial towns, the latter also being flooded with Nazi books instead.

We know of only one Luxembourg book which has been re-published under Nazi rule: the "Rénert," a comical epic, reminiscent of the famous medieval French poem, "Le Roman de Renard." This poem, which was written 70 years ago by our national poet, Rodange, embodying the various dialects of the country, was re-issued in 1942, but with such cuts and deletions as to make it quite different from the intentions of the poet and the spirit of the original work, as every allusion to national freedom and every satirization of the Germans were eliminated from the text.

Before the invasion, all the schools in Luxembourg possessed libraries, but nothing of any value remains in them and the destruction of all French and foreign books is a particularly severe loss.

To sum up, it is to be feared that when the Germans have been driven out of Luxembourg it will be found that the children will need to be completely re-educated; the mental and moral poison instilled into them by the Nazis driven out; and religious and civic virtues, together with respect for the authority of the home, inculcated.

EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS UNDER THE OCCUPATION

Introduction

In the Netherlands we must differentiate between two periods of the occupation:

(1) The first year after the invasion of May 1940, in which the Germans tried to convince the Dutch that everything would be all right if only: They did not resist; they loyally supported the German war effort; and they considered themselves to be of the same "Germanic" origin as the Germans and therefore prepared to assimilate.

This attempt failed.

(2) The last 3 years of the occupation, in which the Germans tried to convince the Dutch that they had the power to break any opposition against the spiritual annexation of Holland by Greater-Germany.

This attempt also failed.

In the following chapters we shall see that the aims of the German enemy with regard to schools were always subordinated to the above-mentioned policy. It will not be possible, however, always to distinguish between (1) and (2), as this survey is intended primarily to show the results.

General Objective of the Enemy

In the first period the enemy tried to interfere as little as possible with schools, provided they followed the general lines of his policy. No schools were closed down, except Leyden University (see p. 50), but they were compelled to admit membership in the "National Youth Storm," the Dutch-Quisling equivalent of the Hitler-Jugend. Since then we have heard a never-ending series of complaints and laments by the "lonely" few Youth Stormers in every school, who were pestered and excommunicated by their fellow-pupils, ignored or made the laughing stock of the rest by their teachers. If they dared make use of their "privileges" to go to school in "uniform," then school life was soon made impossible. Never were they more than 1 percent of the total school population, and even in times of starvation and scarcity of clothes, when many children had to go to school barefoot in wintertime, could the "privileges" of the Youth Storm attract more members than this 1 percent, although they included: Extra food, camping and sports facilities, "splendid" uniforms with riding boots and fur caps, and even weapons for the older set.

Much the same goes for the "Labor Service" and the military service in Quisling and German units, all of which were voluntary in this first period for the over-sixteens, and which entitled the volunteer to an "automatic" matriculation, or school-leaving certificate, instead of the usual stiff examination. Of the few thousand volunteers, most have paid with their lives somewhere on the German front in Russia for their folly.

Schools were also compelled to apply the anti-Jewish Nuremberg-acts. Most of them resisted successfully by retaining their Jewish pupils, but in the second period the general extermination of Dutch Jews included Jewish children in whatever school they were. In the first period the Dutch authorities had to erect special primary and secondary schools for Jews; in the second period these were closed down as the pupils were killed or deported.

In the second period we find much more interference with school life, although always through the Quisling educational authorities, which the Germans had appointed. We give the following instances, many of which will be further discussed in the following pages.

The closing down of all "people's universities"—the highly developed and typically Dutch form of university extension—because these centers of adult education proved to be towers of strength in the spiritual resistance movement.

The interference with the rights of the school boards to appoint their own teachers, in order to build up a national socialist teachers corps. In denominational schools this met with very little success, but in government schools the Nazis succeeded in appointing a number of teachers and in securing certain principal and headmaster posts for Quislings. These, however, were soon boycotted by staff and pupils alike. Most of them had to retire after a long struggle. No attempts were made to appoint Germans.

A number of German schools, however, were started by the occupation authorities, in the first place for the many children of German civil servants and evacuees in Holland, but many attempts, with very little success, were made to catch Dutch pupils. A number of special Dutch schools were started on Nazi principles, for the training of "Youth Storm" leaders, Labor Service leaders, National socialist Welfare Workers, Police, etc. As, however, these schools were only visited by convinced Quislings, they did not harm the younger generations as a whole.

Finally, measures have been taken by the Germans to limit university studies to the very small group of "loyal" students. These measures have led to the closing down of practically all university institutions. (See pages 50-51.)

Destruction of Buildings and Equipment

As far as is known in London, no willful destruction of buildings and equipment has taken place, except in the coastal

zone, where lines of defense have been constructed which often run right through towns. In The Hague, for instance, a belt containing 25,000 houses has been laid bare and every school in this stretch has been completely demolished to make place for anti-tank ditches. The amount of damage, however, which has been done to school buildings and to equipment as a result of the systematic flooding of the western provinces of the Netherlands, after the invasion of the continent had started, cannot even be guessed.

Teaching Personnel

A great number of teachers and professors were among the hostages taken by the Germans from every Dutch town of any importance. All teachers who were in the Netherlands armed forces when war broke out have been taken to Germany as prisoners of war. In 1943 the Germans started a drive to get hold of teachers of military age for forced labor in Germany, but thanks to the steadfast attitude of school boards, who refused, even when threatened, to give any information with regard to their staffs, the results in private schools were very poor. From Government schools, however, where Quisling mayors often had to supply the information, many teachers were driven to the slave market.

As a result of these measures there will be a great shortage of teachers immediately after the war, the more so because many teachers who have been in the "underground" or in Germany are physically so weak that they cannot be called upon in the near future.

Under the heading "teachers" it should be mentioned that the basis of the educational system in the Netherlands before the war was the axiom that it is the right of the parents to decide along which lines their children will be educated. This right had been laid down in the Dutch Constitution in 1917 after years of political struggle, and it was this most cherished paragraph which had always been quoted against attempts by the Government to interfere with the policy of private schools. Thus every attempt of the German occupation authorities to interfere with the appointment or dismissal of teachers or with any other point of policy was always immediately seen in the light of unbearable state interference, long before the more subtle motives for such a move had been discovered. Open resistance against such a move was thus the religious duty of innumerable parents, school boards, and other authorities. More than 600 cases are known

in London, where teachers have been appointed in open defiance of the imposed Nazi regulations. This disregard of Nazi-imposed regulations which were contradictory to the Dutch education acts is typical of the spiritual resistance of the Netherlands. Having to choose between openly suppressing education and tolerating Dutch self-righteousness in matters educational, the Germans have chosen the latter course. This silent triumph of Dutch education should not pass unmentioned.

Elimination and Substitution of Courses

Under this heading we should mention a curious attempt to eliminate *Hebrew* as an optional subject for matriculation in the Dutch grammar schools. These secondary schools—of the same intellectual standard as American colleges—cater to future lawyers, ministers of religion, etc. Of these, future students of theology and others take Hebrew already in the grammar school. The Germans who have been slaughtering Jews by the thousands did not succeed in eliminating Hebrew from non-Jewish schools.

The study of German was introduced as a compulsory new subject in the upper standards of primary schools. As, however, the appointment of special teachers was avoided in most schools, this regulation could be sabotaged on a very large scale. One textbook for the new subject had to be eliminated by the Germans as all the examples it gave proved to be veiled propaganda for the allied cause.

Finally, we must mention the attempts made to eliminate parts of the teaching content from courses like history and geography. Many of these attempts were so petty-minded or stupid that they made the authorities concerned the laughing stock of the educational world: One well-known children's novel was banned because it contained the description of a football match in pre-war days where a Dutch team had beaten a German; while the period of the French occupation of the Netherlands in the days of Napoleon and the war of liberation of 1813 was cancelled in the history syllabus because cunning teachers might compare the French occupation with the present German. In cases, however, where references to the House of Orange or to other real traditional national values of Dutch history were eliminated, the result of these attempts was that pupils used to decorate their rooms with the framed deleted paragraphs as cherished souvenirs of better times. New Nazi subjects like race relations and geopolitics were only introduced in Nazi schools founded during the occupation.

Imposed Propaganda in Schools

Isolated attempts to enforce the use of national socialist posters, for instance, Youth Storm propaganda material, in the schools met with such disastrous results that no further attempts at putting large-scale Nazi propaganda in schools was ever made.

Enforced Labor by Children

No attempts were made to enforce labor by children. The Labor Service year was made compulsory for those students who wished to enter universities and for those young persons who wished to apply for certain jobs like police, civil service, etc.

Effects of the War on the Life of Children and Youth

We do not think that these effects will differ very much in most of the Western European countries. For Holland, many publications deal with this intricate problem. A Dutch authority on the subject is the psychoanalyst, Dr. A. M. Meerloo, whose books, including "Total War and the Human Mind," are well known in the United States.

There are some changes to the good as a result of the oppressions: A stronger developed patriotic feeling, more social unity and less class distinction, and a stronger sense of religious values in many cases. Practically only those few who belong to the less than 1 percent of Quisling families have been affected by totalitarian ideas. But very great damage has been done to the Dutch youth of school-going age. Physically they have suffered from cold, lack of clothes, all kinds of infectious diseases, undernourishment in the case of the well-to-do and of the farmer families, and starvation in the case of the poorer classes of the big towns; all of them suffer from lack of vitamins and of fresh food in general. Moral and spiritual damage, however, is perhaps worse. The beastly sexual morals of many German soldiers did much harm to adolescents, and venereal diseases have spread dangerously.

Many young children have grown completely out of hand, the father being in a camp, a prison, or on forced labor in Germany, and the mother having to go out for work. Religious and welfare organizations have done whatever they could, but with only half-time school hours owing to lack of staff, buildings, fuel, etc., youth could not be kept from the streets and away from temptation. The most difficult problem perhaps lies in the fact that patriotic youths have learned for nearly 5 years that stealing, lying, destroying useful things, and many other normally despicable acts are often necessary and often laudable when performed

for the national cause. Many young minds are completely at a loss with regard to many of these moral values.

Finally—and this goes for the older set—having been cut off from the outside world for such a long time has narrowed the outlook of many students, although at the same time their critical faculties have been sharpened to the utmost, as a natural defense against the constant stream of German propaganda. The traditional critical mind of the Dutch lived up to the occasion.

Special Effects on Universities

In 1940, when the Nazis dismissed the first Jewish professor, Dr. Meyers, a Leyden private-law scholar of world fame, Prof. Cleveringa of the law faculty protested in a famous address attended by the bulk of the students. After he had finished, Gestapo men entered and took him to a concentration camp. Leyden University was forcibly closed and has not been reopened since. Later on it was learned that six other professors had Cleveringa's text in their pockets, in case the Gestapo had pulled him down from the cathedra before he had finished. Leyden had lived up to its traditions of being "Praesidium libertatis." The other universities carried on under great difficulties: Lack of books and of laboratory equipment, arrests of many students, and appointment of a number of new pro-Nazi professors.

There are many complaints in Holland about the attitude of a great number of university professors, who—without being in the least pro-German—did not give their students the necessary backing and moral and practical support in their resistance movements, maintaining that they, as academic workers, had nothing to do with the "outside world" or with "politics," as long as the Germans did not disturb them in their own academic world. Apart from the attitude of all the Leyden professors, however, it must be stated that many professors at other universities have shown great courage in the resistance movement or have given their students all help they could to continue their studies "underground" when sought by the Gestapo.

1943 was going to be the decisive year for university life in Holland. The Germans, needing more slave labor, especially from the intelligentsia, ordered that every student, who wished to continue his academic life, had to sign a "declaration of loyalty," promising that he would, neither by deeds nor by words, participate in any action against the Germans. Those refusing to sign would be taken to Germany for forced labor in the much-bombed war factories of the Reich. Immediately 85 percent of the students refused. The great majority "went underground,"

either to participate in the resistance movement, or to continue their studies with the aid of a number of professors in a clandestine way. Many of them have even passed clandestine examinations which after the war will receive official sanction. A number—mostly under age—signed to satisfy anxious parents, to finish a nearly completed course, or because misguided by the dubious attitude of a rector. (For the last reason, the Technical University of Delft is responsible for nearly half of those who signed.) All who signed will be excluded after the war forever from any university career and from all examinations. These events left the Dutch universities with a few students only: Some pro-Germans, some weaklings, and some "Streber" (a pusher).

Now the professors started to refuse lecturing and, notwithstanding German threats, university life in Holland gradually dwindled down. The Catholic University of Nymegen, the two Economic Universities of Rotterdam and of Tilburg closed down on purpose. Faculties of other universities followed, and at present academic life in Holland has practically come to a standstill. The greatest tragedy befell those thousands of students who refused to sign but who "dived" too late or were found out: They are dragging on their lives as slaves of the Herrenvolk in factories or behind the front. Scores of names of those who died of exhaustion or who were tortured to death or killed outright by the Herrenvolk have reached us in London.* Nowhere in the educational field in Holland has the German boot trampled down so much promising material as among our university students!

Special Effects on Libraries

The burning of "black-listed" books has not taken place in Holland. The Germans contented themselves with the order to all librarians that a number of anti-German or "politically undesirable" books should be locked up in "poison rooms." At the same time school and university libraries were "enriched" with a number of books on Nazi ideology and a number of so-called scientific works on other subjects, giving the Nazi point of view. After the war these books will be carefully kept to enable Dutch scholars to write the history of Nazi falsification of science. Especially in the field of history, a large-scale falsification took place. Books like "Beiträge zur deutsch-niederländischen Verständigung" by the Dutch Quisling of German origin, Dr. Steinmetz, tried to prove that the history of the Netherlands is really a branch of German history and that everything went wrong whenever Dutch and German interests clashed, as in 1648 at the

Peace of Westphalen. These falsifications, however, did not penetrate into the school textbooks and in the libraries trustworthy librarians had a "poison section" of their own in order to warn youthful inexperienced readers. There has not been much willful destruction of libraries in Holland, except by the fighting in 1940 and again in 1944. But thousands of books have been practically destroyed because they were read to pieces during the occupation.

Never has the younger generation been reading and studying to such an extent as during the occupation. Lending figures in libraries have beaten all previous records for fiction just as well as for any type of scientific works. Even the libraries of the universities which were closed down show record lending figures. It can be said that the library in Holland has become one of the most important centers of national regeneration.

Conclusion

The story of Dutch education under the Nazi heel is perhaps less tragic or heroic than in countries like Poland, but it gives a true reflection of the national character, which is calm but stubborn; critical, but acting on principles. When the boards of more than 1,900 out of 2,000 private schools affected by a Nazi order concerning appointments, write an open letter to the authorities, saying that their conscience compels them to disregard this order, this is a proof that average middle-class men in Holland, out of whom these boards are composed, still are prepared to make a stand for that freedom of conscience and of thought, for which their ancestors have given their lives 400 years ago.

EDUCATION IN NORWAY UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION

As soon as the country was fully occupied by enemy troops, i. e., in the spring of 1940, great difficulties began to arise for the schools. Both in the towns and in the country districts the school buildings were often the most suitable places for billeting troops. As a result of this, the regular school curriculum was interrupted until temporary premises had been arranged for the school so that systematic work could again be resumed. But the school work had often to be more or less restricted or adapted according to the conditions in the particular place where the school was housed. In those districts which escaped the billeting of troops the schools were able to continue without any real break, and in some places the schools only stopped for a few days either because the teachers had to report to the defense authorities or

because there was a certain feeling of insecurity throughout the country. A long period, however, elapsed before there was any sign that the occupying power intended to meddle in the educational affairs of the country, or in the organization of the schools, the teaching plans, or the teaching profession, etc. As soon as the school authorities had obtained the necessary premises in lieu of those which had been commandeered, the ordinary school curriculum was carried on almost undisturbed.

Such was the position until September 25, 1940, when Reichskommissar Terboven in a dictatorial command removed the Norwegian Administrative Council and in its place appointed a number of heads of ministry as "commissar councillors." With a few exceptions all these were Nazis as was also the head of the Ministry of Church and Education. After this it was not long before it became clear to all good Norwegians that the schools would soon be in the firing line. True to their Nazi models and to the political "development" into which the schools all over Germany had been forced, the Norwegian Nazis tried to obtain complete control of the schools for the promulgation of Nazi teaching and through this means they hoped to force the Norwegian youth to accept Nazi ideals. All schools were involved, from the humblest elementary school in a remote country district to the university; the technical schools, as well as the secondary schools. For the youth of Norway, that is, those who constituted the country's future, were the men and women who were to form the foundation of "the new Norway." It was, therefore, necessary that the education of these young people should in every detail aim at making them active tools in the service of the ruling state and that all individualistic traits in their minds and characters should be suppressed. The schools must implant in them the right beliefs regarding the perfection of the "Herrenvolk" and its satellites, the inferiority of other nations, and the consequent duty of those other nations to subordinate themselves to their overlords in blind and slavish obedience. It was the teaching profession's highest duty to the State to make this attitude a reality to their pupils. The more willing the teachers were to carry out this task and the more daring the methods they employed in this work, the sooner would "the New Era" win the day in Norway and the country become a worthy part of the "New Europe." The nazification of Norway depended, therefore, on whether the teaching profession was willing to carry out the orders of their new rulers or whether it wished to follow its calling, protect Norwegian youth, maintain freedom of conscience

and the inviolability of the profession, serve truth and right in loyalty and faithfulness to their country and nation.

The world knows well that the teachers of Norway did not submit to the Nazi demands, but presented a front which has gained them the deepest respect from all the civilized nations. Every attempt to break this front has so far failed. Teachers and pupils have made a solid stand, inspired by the strength and example given them by those teachers who were arrested and sent to Kirkenes. For an account of this event together with the meaning it gained in relation to the whole national struggle in Norway we would refer you to "Norway's Schools in the Battle for Freedom."²

We admire all the more the solidarity both within the ranks of the teachers themselves and between the teachers and their pupils when we realize that the destruction of school buildings by the war and the commandeering of school buildings for other purposes made all discussion of the school situation extremely difficult. All over the country it happened that the classes belonging to one particular school were dispersed in many different directions, often only one class and one teacher remaining at one particular spot. Every meeting between the teachers or their trusted friends had to be carried out secretly. German police and Norwegian N-S formations tried to carry out espionage everywhere and to hinder any organization of the national opposition. But it seems almost as if the difficulties stimulated the teachers and their pupils to a sharper opposition and also to do their best in the ordinary work of the school, although this became a great deal more difficult as a result of the destruction of school equipment and teaching material carried out by the enemy.

From the very beginning both teachers and scholars were conscious that threats hung over their heads for the local party groups tried by such methods of warfare to ingratiate themselves with their leaders in Oslo and establish more firmly their position in the eyes of the local party leaders in their districts. Individual schools were threatened with closing, and the individual teacher with dismissal. And these threats were realized to an ever-increasing extent. If it has proved possible to save most of the schools from being closed, no school escaped frequent and sometimes very long breaks in teaching, in some places caused by local disputes, but over larger areas and in the country as a whole by regulations about "fuel holidays" and the fact that the teachers

² Published by the Royal Norwegian Government's Information Office in Montreal, London, and Washington.

and pupils were more or less forced to take part in seasonal work. Neither was it so easy to keep the work of a school going when the teaching staff of a school or a district might at any moment be weakened by conditional imprisonment or dismissals or the forced removals of the teachers or the taught. Neither the German authorities nor the Norwegian N-S officials seem to have had any consideration for the particular conditions of any particular school, as, for instance, the justifiable interests of a finishing class or the need for experts in any particular line. As early as the autumn of 1940 there were several imprisonments and dismissals. Soon after the New Year 1941 the Director General of the School Department of the Ministry of Education was dismissed from his post and then followed similar incidents in various parts of the country until the great school crisis took place in February 1942.¹ On the whole it may be said that a succession of dismissals took place, involving school directors, headmasters and teachers at the secondary schools, and also elementary school teachers. Furthermore, the legally appointed members of the Main State Advisory Bodies, such as the Councils for Secondary Schools, the Council for Primary Schools and Training Colleges, and the Council of Technical Schools, began to be slowly replaced by "reliable" N-S personnel, generally setting aside the special qualifications which should be necessary in such responsible positions.

With regard to the removal of material required for instruction in particular subjects, it is to be noticed that the new Nazi authorities immediately began to work out great plans for reform, both in the organization of the schools and in teaching. The Ministry of Education was informed at an early date that a great many more professional men, i. e., teachers, were to be drafted into the Ministry in the position of departmental heads and as advisers—a reform which had for long been under discussion and had partly been realized. In the case of the elementary school department they began to appoint school directors for the various "fylker" instead of the dioceses. This also was an idea which was far from new. The reliable non-Nazi directors were dismissed, and a couple of them were imprisoned for a short period. With regard to the curriculum, the new authorities would not, of course, sanction English as a subject in the elementary schools; in the two top classes German was to be taught and became, therefore, the first foreign language in the Norwegian schools. The teaching of sex questions was to be

¹ Ibid.

abolished—with hysterical outbursts in the Quisling press—just as, in this connection, one visualized thorough-going reforms in nature teaching. And as the schools were to be made into an important power-instrument for spreading Nazi ideas, the choice of material in religion, history, and the teaching of the mother tongue had to be fundamentally revised. Anything that smacked of democracy, ideals of humanity, toleration in religion, national and international affairs, and pacifism must all be excluded, and particularly any point of view which cast a favorable light on British history. In their place came National Socialism, the theory of the Herrenvolk and the doctrine that “might is right” were proclaimed purely and simply, and the great and small prophets around the all-powerful German Fuehrer and conqueror of the world spoke their “essentially sound” language to Norwegian youth. But these onsets just bounced off the hard surface of the opposition of the teachers and their pupils. Any new educational books produced by convinced N-S authors were lacking in talent and were often impractical and too crude in their propaganda. With regard to the subject of history which stands in the center of this controversy, it soon became evident that there were no qualified people available. The teachers—who formed themselves into bodies to deal with such questions—protested against the introduction of the new books into the schools, and the pupils themselves and their relations raised, on their side, equally effective protests. Then the authorities had to comfort themselves with the knowledge that Quisling’s picture, as a result of a circular from the Ministry of Education, and under the careful supervision of local N-S (National Socialist) leaders, had been given a place in the schools, although it was often a place which was far from honorable and well hidden from view. On the other hand it was no use trying to introduce the Nazi salute, which the new authorities called “the old Norwegian salute.”

The University and the other higher units of learning, the Technical College in Trondheim, the Commercial College in Bergen, the College of Agriculture at Aas near Oslo and the College of Dentistry and the Veterinary School in Oslo, each is in a class by itself so far as its treatment is considered. In some of them unpleasant episodes took place, for instance, the imprisonment of both students and teachers, the interference in the students’ self-government and their free communal life, chicanery and vexations against the professors. However, on the whole the work was able to continue for a long time undisturbed; when any

new university professor was appointed after the establishment of the Nazi "commissar" committees his lectures were entirely ignored. It was not until the state of emergency in the capital and its surrounding districts in September 1941 that the situation became acute for the University. Then its rector was arrested and taken to a concentration camp (later deported to Germany) and the students' special and joint committees were taken over by Quisling students. But when the state of emergency was raised, the work was able to continue with seeming normality in spite of the fact that many students had chosen to withdraw to their own homes or at any rate keep away from the vicinity of the University.

On the 30th of November 1943 the final blow to the University was struck. There had been a certain feeling of crisis during the whole of the autumn term as a result of the attempts made by the University to regulate the entry of students according to new regulations. These gave the Nazi rector the power to keep away students who were not considered desirable. In their place he took others whose qualifications, perhaps, were a little below the accepted standard. On the 28th of November there was a so-called conflagration—an indisputable provocation to the German Gestapo authorities—a warning that the University had become a focus point of opposition. Two days later the University and all its institutes, as well as the University Library, were occupied by S. S. troops, 1,200 students and 80 professors and other teachers were arrested and taken to a concentration camp together with another party of University lecturers and students who had been arrested earlier, and on the 9th of December 1943 and the 8th of January 1944 boats went to Germany with, in all, about 700 students.

This is how the University of Norway was closed. The College of Dentistry eventually shared the same fate as the University, as it had been incorporated as a separate faculty. As a result of decisions made by the authorities, the Commercial College at Bergen had taken no new students since 1942, so that the College there was also closed to all intents and purposes. Hence, only the Technical College at Trondheim, The College of Agriculture, and the College of the Veterinary Sciences are still functioning.

Finally, it may be mentioned that the larger as well as the smaller so-called "people's libraries" have had a sorrowful setback, particularly distressing in view of their considerable growth during the last few years of the 1930's. Their new books have

been more and more confined to the many-sided propaganda writings of the new "Ministry of Culture and National Information"—and at the same time certain books have been, and are, put on the index and have to be removed. Every encroachment on the purchasing power and the activities of the libraries was felt all the more keenly by the people as the urge to read good books, books on popular science, and professional literature was, owing to the pressure of the war, the black-out, the fettering of the free press and lecturing in general, much greater than in peacetime. There had been an increase in the number of books lent by the libraries as long as they were free from interference and conformity which speaks for itself. We may only hope that the scientific and learned libraries will have been able to hide their greatest treasures against the day when the Germans or the Norwegian Nazi authorities carry out a thorough clearance of certain books and certain authors.

If we want finally to try to create for ourselves a picture of the effects of the war on the various types of schools and teaching we must first of all study external conditions.

The feature that strikes one most strongly in Norwegian schools of the present day is the *state of disrepair*. The plaster on the walls has bad patches as a result of a lack of repair. The wooden buildings are not much better. There may, of course, be great differences between the schools, or rather between district and district, or between municipality and municipality, for it is not the lack of willpower but the lack of material that is the cause of the disrepair. In some places many have been more fortunately placed, but the greater number of schools—not only in the country districts, but in the towns and the so-called built-up areas around the towns—are in a deplorable state. It is no better with the inside of the buildings. The classrooms and the special study rooms look thoroughly miserable and are ugly and cheerless as a result of lack of plastering. From the point of view of the cost of repair, stairs, thresholds, and floors will be the worst. They are so badly worn that in many cases they have to be totally renewed. Where any particular school has at any time been used by the German troops repair has often become a crying need, provided that the Wehrmacht have not themselves looked after the repairing of the premises.

In the towns and in the country districts where the Germans have billeted troops, the best buildings have been commandeered by the occupying power, in many places right from the summer or autumn of 1940. Much—very much—of the school furniture

must have been damaged. It has been especially hard on scientific apparatus and handicraft instruction material. The military have partly destroyed or taken away such things, especially instruments and experimental and laboratory material. Anything which could be called tools has particularly been the object of the troops' most reckless removal or destruction.

What we have been saying concerns elementary schools, secondary (and working-class) schools. With regard to the *People's High Schools* the position on the whole may be characterized by saying that the newest and the best school establishments were commandeered for the Germans or for the use of secret Nazi institutions, while the older, dilapidated, and more modest school premises were left to house a children's school, a parish school, or a people's high school. In certain places it had to give way to a different kind of school, especially the elementary school in that particular place. As far as the Special Schools are concerned, several have been used for other purposes, and several of the best premises have been badly treated as a result of elaborate rearrangement. Otherwise the technical schools have on the whole been able to carry on their work undisturbed. Nevertheless, the technical schools in Oslo have had great difficulties and have had to give up premises for long periods together.

The schools which have suffered most as a result of the commandeering of the school buildings have undoubtedly been the elementary and the secondary schools. This was the case throughout the country, but especially in Oslo and Aker where there were considerable troop concentrations, and where the large German civil servant apparatus and the insatiable demands of the Gestapo for office space and dwelling houses also created great difficulties. In a number of our provincial towns the housing conditions have also been very precarious. Trondheim, Kristiansund, and Stavanger may be mentioned particularly in this connection.

It is unnecessary to examine further the unfortunate results of the heavy difficulties the schools have had to overcome in connection with this lack of space from the point of view of administration, teaching, and health. A single headmaster might have his classes spread out over a wide area in his district and at a number of different places. He is in many cases practically unable to supervise them, and he has often no connection with a class other than through its form master's personal reports. The classes are relegated to premises which were never meant to be used as schools, and were unsuitable in position, and unsatisfac-

tory as regards size and cubic space, light, stair conditions, ventilation, lavatories, etc. In their free time the pupils have often had no place in which to play other than perhaps the pavement in a street with heavy traffic and consequent risks. The fact that many classes are held in private houses means that there is lack of the ordinary teaching material and not enough table space for writing work, no blackboards, and so on.

Nevertheless, education has continued, and, on the whole, has been carried on very well. But certain subjects are in a peculiarly unfortunate position and some have had to be entirely discontinued, others have had to be continued with a reduced time table and shortened hours. The explanation of the fact that all has gone as well as it undoubtedly has is that all parties, not least the pupils themselves, have the will to overcome difficulties and that they carry on the school work in good spirits. The teachers never tire of emphasizing that their great experiences in this dreadful time and the closer touch they have established with their pupils is the power which gives them continually new strength to carry on the work: A solidarity and sympathy of extraordinary strength inspires all the work, reduces the hindrances, and counteracts all that depresses the homes, alarms the parents, and lays daily pressure on the lives of the children themselves. In a word a good "jössing-spirit" is the source of the strength which upholds their school life. Apparently it is also thanks to this spirit that discipline can be maintained in spite of the fact that the children's school day is characterized in so many ways by disorganization.

However, even the best "jössing-spirit" cannot prevent the *effects on the children's health* of the difficult school accommodation. When one reflects that children and young people are certainly that part of the population who are most affected by malnutrition, it becomes obvious that bad school conditions further accent the gravity of the situation. Neither must the facts be ignored that the clothing difficulties have now become acute, boots and shoes particularly are wretched, and the sickness potentiality is thereby increased. In this respect the country is perhaps in the greatest difficulties. Wooden soled shoes introduced in many cases a gait which not only is ugly but actually harmful. The doctors and school doctors with whom I have spoken have acknowledged that it surprises them that the position is not worse than it is, but, they say, our national health has, during these 4 years of war, received a shock and it is impossible to say how long it will take to conquer this fateful fact, regain that which

has been lost, lay a new foundation for the work of national health in those districts of our country which have been badly hit, and restore those whose power of resistance has, during the war, been reduced.

In addition to the factors which have been indicated as influencing the health of the children—too little cubic space per pupil; bad or no ventilation; overcrowding and resulting insufficient cleaning; the small space for free movement during rest periods; bad lighting; difficulties in procuring for the children a correct working position, particularly when writing; the closing of the school baths; etc., others might be mentioned as having in greater or smaller degree an effect on mental hygiene. First of all, the postponement of the time for study to the afternoon—at least every other month as several schools had to be held in the same building—was a particularly unsatisfactory working rhythm. The children's working time becomes difficult to coordinate with that of the home, and for many of the children it is difficult to accustom themselves to do their homework the first thing in the morning instead of in the evening, as usual. Then again it is difficult for them to revert to their ordinary routine when it is their turn to do so. Finally, under such conditions there is altogether too little free time for many of the children, even in some cases none at all. It must also be remembered that the long distance of school from the home, in Oslo often right across the town, shortens the free time which might otherwise be available when the homework is finished. Consider, further, what the black-out means, both in actual danger, particularly for the girls, and its effect on the nerves both of the children and of their parents who feel the responsibility and hence often live in a constant state of anxiety as to what may happen. The interference of the Hird and the S. S. troops in the schools has many a time justified this anxiety.

No one can doubt that wartime has had a bad effect on the school children's mental health. But in this domain it is, of course, a great deal more difficult than in the physical to obtain a reliable picture of the situation. As is always the case with spiritual conditions, much escapes observation, and it is far from an easy matter, even for the sharpest and most discreet observer, to realize the many details which are of interest in clarifying these conditions. On the whole, it may be said, however, that the state of things is better than might have been expected. But this general characteristic must not mislead one to shut one's eyes to the many pupils who have become mentally debilitated under

the various types of strain caused by these 4 years of war, and there are probably few who today have not drawn upon their mental reserves. We must also reckon with the fact that the end of the war will bring a general reaction with not insignificant results. Happily nature has great recuperative powers and this war, like the former world war, has shown what almost incredible powers of adapting themselves human beings possess. Thus an overwhelming number of children and young people as well as people in the other age-groups have saved their mental soundness through all their trials. But how far this number will be reduced by the coming events it is impossible to prophesy. The question as to whether the youth of the country has enough mental reserves to meet the time which still remains before we are freed from the foreign and our own tyrants depends essentially on whether it will be possible to avoid a further deterioration in the food situation which would bring with it a lowering in standards of bodily health. It depends also on whether the schools will be spared any further such deep-rooted and all-embracing crises as those into which the Nazi regime forced them during the first 2 years of the occupation. Neither must we forget that the spiritual state of the young is very dependent upon how far the mental state of the home—and the teaching profession—is sound. And the adults in the home and the teachers in the schools are again dependent on the general conditions in the community and the particular conditions produced by the treatment of our people by the occupation authorities and the conduct of the Germans during the last phase of the occupation.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION IN OCCUPIED POLAND

If Americans want to realize in full the extent of the destruction inflicted on Polish educational life and scientific work, they have to remember that the persecutions in Poland surpass in atrocity and fury anything done by the Nazis in other countries. There are several reasons for this.

First, during the first year of war, Poland was the only occupied country and was therefore submitted to diabolic experiments, which were later to be applied to other countries.

Secondly, all Polish territory was included by the Nazis into their Lebensraum, and consequently from the very beginning the behavior of the German troops and administration was deliberately destructive in order to clear the way for further Nazi conquests in the East.

Thirdly, the western part of Poland was directly incorporated

into the political system of the Reich, and this act of violence, contravening all international laws, meant the total cessation of Polish education and the eradication of Polish culture in these districts.

Fourthly, the occupation of Poland has lasted longer than in any other country, and the attitude of the Nazis has not been moderated by any kind of compromise, as the people of Poland have never surrendered and are still offering active resistance to the enemy everywhere.

Fifthly, the Germans claimed that Polish people were responsible for all the hardships of the war, on the grounds that Poland was the first country which had dared to resist the "peaceful penetration" of the Nazis.

Sixthly, all attempts to come to an agreement with Polish people and to find a Quisling among them failed and this stubborn relentless resistance augmented the German hatred and destructive spirit.

Seventhly, Poland was a springboard for the military operations of the German Army in Eastern Europe, and, therefore, special efforts were made to suppress the Polish Underground Movement and all educational influences which might indirectly have threatened the Nazis' military operations.

To all these factors there must be added the Nazis' growing fear of revenge and the conclusion that the best way to ensure the safety of the Germans from the just vengeance of the Polish people was to deprive Poland of her fighting spirit and cultural leadership, and to destroy or demoralize her young generation.

Immediately after the occupation of Poland, the Nazi Governor, Frank, declared to the Polish representatives: "In accordance with the will of our Fuehrer, you are to be a society of peasants and workers. We do not need the Polish cultural class, the Reich has plenty of her own." Asked for permission to open some Polish secondary schools, he replied: "The Polish Knechtvolk do not need any education. Primary schools will be more than enough for you. There will not be any higher schools in Poland. Your country must be made an intellectual desert." And he added: "The Polish people are extraordinarily dull if they do not understand that Germans' Lebensraum must mean Polish Todesraum." (Living space—Death space.)

This line was religiously followed by all Nazi elements. While military operations were still in progress, the Germans deliberately bombed many Polish universities and cultural institutions, without any military purpose. Later scientific collections, labora-

tories, and libraries were pillaged and laid waste. In Warsaw, school equipment was thrown out in disorder and partially seized and carried off by the Germans.

It was of sinister significance that the building of the Ministry of Education became at once the seat of the Gestapo, and such buildings as escaped became the offices of the Sicherheits-Polizei (Safety Police), and the students' hostels were turned into police barracks. From the halls which so recently had been serving science and education, orders were issued in the very first week of the occupation abolishing all Polish scientific activities. All academic buildings and cultural institutions were taken over by the Nazis and given to the Germans' administration, or to newly created German schools. As examples may be quoted, the Mining Academy in Kraków, where the offices of the Governor General were installed; the buildings of the Chief School of Architecture, from which 300 chests of books were carried off; the Chief School of Commercial Sciences; and hundreds of secondary schools. Further damage was inflicted on these buildings while they were being hastily emptied to be ready to receive the Army, and ruthlessly adapted to their new use.

In their first frantic haste to put all Polish educational establishments out of action, the Nazis only wanted to smash up everything they found in the schools, even such scientific instruments and books as might have been of use to themselves; this crazy destruction was sometimes evidently against their own interests. But after a year or so the pillage became more systematic. Precious equipment was officially confiscated and sent to Germany under the supervision of German scientists. All educational and artistic museums and collections were submitted to the most ruthless pillage. They were regularly visited by German officials who robbed them of the most valuable objects which they later presented as gifts on various state occasions.

Any attempt by the Polish people to initiate rescue work after the cessation of hostilities was rendered impossible. In most cases the Germans prohibited access of the occupied institutions, confiscated their funds, and refused to afford material or labor for any reconstruction. During 5 years of occupation losses have grown to such an extent that they have created a desperate situation which will require especially strong measures during the period of reconstruction. The damage will, of course, in many cases be irreparable.

As regards libraries, the following is worth noting. In 1940, an order was issued to withdraw from circulation about 3,000

different Polish books. This long list has since reached Great Britain, and it made most interesting reading, showing what the Reich considered as dangerous for their political plans. The list comprised, besides the works of the great patriotic writers of the 19th and 20th centuries, numerous works by English or French writers translated into Polish. For instance, all works of Joseph Conrad were condemned; the whole Polish historical literature was mutilated; and the withdrawal was also ordered of all books dealing with the "incorporated" territories. Even the great Polish astronomer, Nicholas Copernicus, found himself on the index. If an anthology or a collective edition comprised any of the forbidden works, the order was to cut them out. The order was thoroughly carried out, and practically deprived Polish school children of all textbooks, as private possession of these books was also forbidden. The Nazis took advantage of any excuse for destroying libraries of all kinds.

All teachers in Poland have been relentlessly persecuted. Hostages were often chosen from among them, and they were also frequently victims of mass executions. Secret Nazi instructions gave orders to deprive Poland of her intelligentsia by any means available. Teachers of secondary schools were not allowed to continue their work. Special attention was paid to the professors of Polish colleges and universities. Hundreds of them were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Their living conditions were indescribable; every day they were subjected to tortures. They were systematically beaten, and some of them were constantly bleeding from the blows they had received. Priests and professors of Jewish origin were shut up with criminals. In these circumstances there was a heavy death toll among the professors, and it is known that more than 200 died.

We must also take into account that many teachers were killed on the field of battle. The Polish Underground authorities estimate that about 50 percent of all Polish teachers must be considered as lost to the profession. Moreover, there has been no possibility of training young teachers during the war years. Thus Polish schools are facing a very difficult situation in the post-war years.

The problem of the discussion of curriculum changes for Polish schools is much simplified as most of them were closed. All universities and colleges were liquidated. In the "incorporated" districts any tuition in Polish was prohibited. In the so-called "General Gouvernement," teaching was allowed to

* Incorporated into the Reich.

** Eastern Poland with Warsaw as the seat of government.

continue in primary schools, but their curriculum was submitted to many essential changes. History and geography were excluded, and the essential textbook consisted of a periodical containing some trivial information and a lot of propaganda. Every opportunity is seized to emphasize the necessity of working for Germany, and the duty of every Polish child to be a good worker. A few professional schools were founded in strict accordance with German industrial needs. As they afforded in some sort substitutes for secondary education, they were favored by young people. It soon became clear, however, that their chief task was to prepare candidates for labor camps in Germany; many boys and girls met this fate even without passing their final examinations. Thus these schools constituted a trap rather than a means of education.

That the German educational system aimed at the annihilation of Polish cultural influence was clearly evident in western Poland. Nothing was left to chance, and every wheel of the destructive machine cooperated unerringly with the general policy of the Nazis. Parents are compelled to work hard until the late evening. This affords the German authorities an opportunity to protect and mind all children. Boys and girls live in the Nazi atmosphere to which the parents can oppose only a couple of hours spent together at home.

The German teachers do not hesitate to use most abominable methods of spying and provocation. They say, for instance, offering the child sweets, "And what language do you speak at home? Polish, don't you?" The unwary child nods, and the parents are heavily penalized, or are simply sent to the nearest concentration camp. Finally, the child begins to understand the position, and realizes that Polish must be spoken only secretly at home. And so from earliest childhood there appears the urgent need for lying and hypocrisy. German songs, games, playmates—everything injects the poisonous influence into young souls. This robbery of living human creatures is committed most consciously and cynically.

A man wanted by the Gestapo went into hiding, and only paid his family occasional visits. On one of these, he only just escaped the Nazi pursuit. The Gestapo arrested his whole family, consisting of his wife and three children, 7, 5, and 4 years old, respectively. They were pitilessly beaten and terrorized, but, nevertheless, they refused to confess that they had seen their father. The 5-year-old girl asserted that she had forgotten how

her father looked; and the 7-year-old boy, asked many times, answered that the pipe given him by his father was found by him on the street. Finally, the mother was sent to a concentration camp, and all the children were deported into Germany.

This example throws some light on the educational conditions in Poland. Children of Polish Jewry have been treated with special cruelty. During the mass slaughters, they were killed with their parents in steam and gas death chambers, or burned alive, or machine-gunned. In their bestiality, the Germans have surpassed every invention human cruelty could devise. About these children the memorandum of the Polish Underground authorities contains one short sentence: "The Jewish children have been murdered: they have ceased to exist."

The fate of the Polish children is not much better. The regulations of the famous concentration camp in Oswiecim state that children over 12 must be included in the usual working parties of prisoners. Younger children are not admitted to the camp, but simply killed on the spot. The losses among young people are very heavy. A few examples will illustrate the methods applied by the Nazi regime. In September 1939, more than 100 boy scouts were murdered in Bydgoszcz. Before the mass execution took place, the boys sang the Polish national anthem. In the beginning of 1940, one of the windows of the police post in Gdynia was broken. All school children were driven to an open place and beaten with rubber sticks by S. S. men. After that, 10 of them were shot as a warning for the future, and the remainder were deported to Germany. There are hundreds of instances of the same kind available.

The recruitment of school children for forced labor in the Reich deserves special mention. Pupils of trade schools are in special danger, but no other child is secure. A trade school at Gorlica, where the pupils were between the ages of 12 and 16, was surrounded by police during school hours; all contact with teachers and parents was severed. The children were left in the school building without food until the evening, and then transported in lorries to a temporary camp from which, some days later, they were sent to forced labor in Germany. The death rate among them is most alarming. It is difficult to say exactly how many thousands of Polish children have fallen victims of this hideous campaign waged against defenseless human creatures, but the number is undoubtedly very high.

Not content with depriving Polish children and young people of education and cultural entertainment, the Nazis do their best

to corrupt them. Direct methods applied in schools do not bring them much success. For this reason they organize hundreds of shameless shows, and afford every facility for admission. They publish several periodicals with demoralizing contents. They encourage all kinds of gambling by organizing gambling houses and advertising them among young people. They sell alcohol at relatively low prices and allow everybody to buy it. Responsible circles of the Polish nation have offered the strongest possible opposition to these tendencies, but weaker characters are nevertheless influenced, and many a serious problem is being created for the post-war period.

Mass deportations and slaughters often deprive school children of their parents. A more enterprising and independent boy, awaiting in vain the return of his mother, hungry and lonely, finally starts looking for help, and becomes a tramp and then a thief. Often if a child is adopted by strangers, he gets into unsuitable company, gets overburdened by hard work, and is made to beg or peddle. The sight of a child, barefooted and half naked, shivering with cold, kneeling for hours on the wet ground, or selling some such trifles as matches or saccharin is quite usual and profoundly shocking. Sometimes they try to give themselves importance by smoking cheap tobacco or drinking vodka. The number of these vagabond children is growing daily.

The general health of Polish children is also rapidly deteriorating. This is due mostly to prolonged undernourishment. The food allocated to Polish children is much inferior both in quality and quantity to that of the German children, and clearly below any minimum requirement. The complete lack of vitamins is especially harmful. Realizing this grave danger, the Polish voluntary social welfare did its utmost to give children extra food. But in the summer of 1942, German party authorities intervened, issuing a number of orders and prohibitions. All boarding schools were liquidated, and any subsidiary form of extra nourishment for children was categorically forbidden. Welfare institutions had to close down and their medical equipment was greedily snatched up by the German authorities. In 1943 all distribution of food in schools was severely prohibited. Thus all ways of assisting children were closed.

In these appalling conditions, the Polish nation nevertheless continues its stubborn and relentless effort to protect the younger generation. Teachers from every type of school, though hungry and poor, beaten and persecuted, have organized secret classes, where they give their pupils a knowledge of history, geography,

and Polish culture. Even secondary teaching exists in clandestine form. Solemn celebrations of national anniversaries are held, and also concerts and dramatic performances, though the terrible threat of the Nazi agents is always present. Some scientists manage to continue their pre-war activity and even to write new textbooks and prepare them for publication.

Thus all the Germans' efforts have not brought them any decisive success. They have inflicted enormous losses, but have not broken the spirit of resistance, and have not compelled the Polish nation to come to any kind of understanding with the Nazis. The united effort of young people, teachers, and the whole Polish society has given excellent results, and augurs well for the possibilities of effective reconstruction after the cessation of hostilities.

There are about 20 clandestine papers and periodicals for young people in Poland. Naturally these are edited and printed by the young people themselves. It must be stressed that because of the enormous losses among the adult population, youth plays a very active part in all the cultural activities of the Polish Underground Movement.

One of these papers, "Biedronka" (The Ladybird) is the only clandestine paper for children published in occupied Europe. It frequently contains instructions for boys and girls adapted to present conditions in Poland. The copy of January 1944 contains some significant lessons concerning secrecy:

If you are admitted to a secret, or if you learn by accident of something that is going on in your own home, or that is being done by your neighbors against the Germans to regain the freedom of Poland, you should know that you have been admitted to the Great Secret, and you must be silent as a dumb man, for every word you whisper will do harm to your country. Do not try yourself to find out about the clandestine activities of grown-up people, as it is better for children not to know anything about them, so that in the case of misfortune, they can be sure that children will not reveal anything, because they know nothing.

In considering the general situation of primary schools in Poland, we must emphasize that in the western districts incorporated into the Reich, these schools have become German, and have been deprived of all Polish influence. In other parts of Poland, Polish primary education is still in existence, though it has suffered grave losses in equipment and teachers. Their number has varied considerably in accordance with the different decisions of local German authorities whose motives have remained quite unknown. As a result, the number of children attending primary schools is not more than half what it was

before the war: e. g., in Warsaw in 1938 there were 380 elementary schools with 141,000 pupils, while at the beginning of 1941 there were only 175 schools with about 82,000 pupils, though the population of the Polish capital had increased. Changes in curriculum have forbidden the teaching of all subjects having anything to do with Polish history and national culture. The secret teaching of boys and girls cannot be developed on a very large scale, as it would greatly endanger both teachers and children. The privations caused by the war are specially felt in primary schools, and make the work of teachers very difficult. The destruction of the Polish relief system in 1942 was a severe blow, of which the consequences for the pupils of primary schools are most deplorable.

Secondary education for Polish children ceased to exist from the first days of the occupation. Clandestine teaching can replace regular schools only with many essential limitations. Teachers cannot obtain the necessary equipment. They are deprived of textbooks and laboratories. Therefore, though they are doing real miracles, the possibilities are relatively restricted. Naturally only a small percentage of pupils attending secondary schools in pre-war Poland can benefit by this secret education. Owing to insufficient food and the atmosphere of fear and terror, their nerves are strained to the utmost. The rebuilding of the pre-war system of secondary education will present very grave and difficult problems. There will be many young people whose education was interrupted by the war, and who would like to continue their studies. It must, therefore, be presumed that the number of candidates for secondary schools will increase. On the other hand, there will be very few school buildings, no equipment, no libraries, no textbooks, and an insufficient number of teachers.

Trade schools were apparently treated with less brutality. Some of them were even considered to be useful. It soon became evident, however, that their curriculum and organization were adapted exclusively to German needs. Physical work played a prominent part. There were only 2 weeks' holiday, and the only care of the German authorities was to obtain workers for the Nazi industrial machine as quickly as possible. Therefore this form of education must be considered as aimed against the true interests of Polish youth.

All Polish universities and colleges have been closed and a great number of professors sent to concentration camps where more than 200 died from starvation and exposure. Two German institutions are now in existence at Cracow and Poznan, but are

forbidden to Polish students; their purpose is to prepare a German cadre for the combat against Polish national culture.

The whole world of Polish science has been profoundly affected by the destruction of all scientific apparatus. Polish learned societies have been gradually closed, and finally liquidated without exception, their property being confiscated. Poland possessed a large number of private institutions which supported learning, scholars, and scientists, such as the Polish Academy of Science and Learning and the Warsaw Learned Society. Under the occupation they could have had great importance. No scruples deterred the enemy, however, and these purely private institutions were plundered like the rest. Furthermore, all scientists were totally deprived of funds and bank deposits; thus the only means of existence for learned men was the sale of their last possessions and the undertaking of various jobs quite at variance with their qualifications. For instance, a former chancellor and a former dean of Warsaw University, both prominent scientists of world renown, were working as central heating stokers. It is not difficult to imagine what the state of things will be at the end of the war. One of the most important factors to be reckoned with in planning the reconstruction of Poland will be the need of university-trained men and women.

The devastation of Polish libraries is now appalling. The proscription of 3,000 books deprived them of many publications valuable both from the cultural and the educational point of view. The publication of any books, newspapers, periodicals, journals, or music, except those issued by the Nazis, was prohibited, and all supplies of new publications were cut. As relations with foreign countries were broken off, no books arrived from abroad save poisonous German propaganda only fit for immediate destruction.

Besides the big central libraries, about 20,000 small libraries over the whole territory of Poland had to be handed over to the Nazis, who burnt their books or sent them to the paper mills to be pulped. Every kind of collection has been systematically robbed of all objects of greater value. The stocks of Polish books in the bookshops were also pulped.

Certain of the losses suffered by the libraries are irreparable, and their present state is one of the greatest threats to Polish culture. The Polish Underground authorities fully realize this danger, and are planning a vast work of restoration, the success of which will depend in large measure on the extent and shape of international relief afforded to the country.