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Commentary on Pedagogy of the League of Nations

International politics as a lesson topic in the Weimar Republic

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1. Context: Teaching the League of Nations in the Weimar Republic
The World War I is considered to be the ur-catastrophe of the 20th century (“Urkatastrophe des 20. Jahrhunderts”). Its experiences lead to a world-wide movement for peace. Politically, the foundation of the League of Nations, initiated by the American President Wilson in 1920, fulfilled the purpose of maintaining peace by international cooperation and disarmament. Pedagogically, there was the hope of an adequate education of the following generation that ensured their reconciled and pacifistic attitude.

According to this idea, the League of Nations in the post-war era rose to the position of a central pedagogical and civic education topic, which had been discussed intensively in a number of countries. The picture of the pedagogy of the League of Nations was painted by a variety of exchange programmes, in-service courses of teachers, conference simulations, lesson units, and publications.  

In Germany, a liberal democracy was founded for the first time in history after the lost war and the November Revolution of 1918. This, too, was the aim of democratic politicians and teachers to support democratic insights and the capacity to act of the young generation by civic education. Reconciliation of nations and civic education became a part of the basic law. (see appendix 1)

However, the young Weimar Republic – how it was known for in retrospect – faced massive attacks of extremist powers. From the very beginning, their central agitation aimed at the League of Nations, as well as teaching the League of Nations. In Germany, the reason for that rooted in the “national humiliation” for which the League of Nations was blamed for: The Treaty of Versailles, by which the League of Nations was established, accused the German Reich among others of causing the war. As a result, the German Reich was forced to disarm, to make substantial territorial concessions and to pay heavy reparations. Further on, the Treaty exacted the reduction of soldiers up to 100,000. In the eyes of a great number of Germans, the democratic parties were responsible for the Treaty, which made of “our nation and fatherland a morally repugnant, politically disenfranchised, militarily defenseless, territorially mutilated, and economically enchained Reich,” according to the former prevalent opinion (Volkmann 1924, 487).

At the same time, the League of Nations was interpreted as a “League of the major victors”. With regard to Germany, these were blamed for failure and to act against their own principles (see appendix 5). In fact, Germany had been excluded to become a member of the League of Nations until 1926, when the German minister for Foreign Affairs Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929) was able to negotiate the admission of Germany to become a permanent member of the Council.

According to the background of the domestic political controversies on the League of Nations, teaching League of Nations was regarded ambivalently and debated heavily. A lesson’s approach of the League of Nations continues not only a central, national trauma

1 In 1925, according to the topic, the League of Nations itself initiated one of the first world-wide pedagogical-based studies: A survey of all members lead by an international expert committee aimed “to prove the best methods in order to collect the official as well as the unofficial efforts” (Murray 1927, 161), which were used to give young people an understanding of the ideas of worldwide cooperation, disarmament, and collective peace security.


but it was necessary to have an analysis of the fundamental self-conception of the young democracy.

After Germany’s admission of the League of Nations, democratic politicians such as the Prussian minister of Education Carl Heinrich Becker tried again to establish a pacificist pedagogy of the League of Nations including an understanding among nations at schools. They supported the work at schools by regulations, teachers’ in-service courses (see among others Hasselmann 1930, Wilmanns 1931), studies of class books (see school books and the League of Nations 1930), and advice for teachers. Moreover, teachers themselves gave their view on the topic in more than 200 articles in teachers’ journals, in a Working Pool of the Pedagogy of the League of Nations, and discussed methodological-didactic questions of their teaching practice.

2. The lesson draft
The presented lesson draft by Konrad Götz could be read as a part of this dispute.

Götz worked as a teacher at an elementary school for girls only in Berlin-Pankow. Since he was born in 1889, he studied and taught from 1912 on during the Kaiserreich. He is a member of a generation which experienced World War I and warmongering at school from 1914 till 1918. There is no evidence if or how he himself had been a soldier in the war or how his political attitude was in the post-war years.

The very short, almost inconspicuous report of his lesson unit is presented by Götz in the so-called Pädagogische Warte – a German contemporary, and well-known pedagogical journal for teachers with a circulation of 12,000 (1927). Götz impresses in terms of subject-matter didactics by a highly demanding concept.

The course of the lessons could be divided into four major phases:
(1) Preparation of the World War I in order to understand it as the genuine situation for the foundation of the League of Nations
(2) Development of the functions and goals of a League of Nations
(3) Analysis of the factual mission of the League of Nations and its “beneficial impact”
(4) Preparation of the League of Nation’s limits concerning single state’s sovereignty

2.1 Methodology I: problem-based genetic knowledge of institutions
If we compare those lesson drafts, which were published in German teachers’ journals on the League of Nations in the 1920s, we notice that a fact-oriented, positivistic teaching of knowledge prevails. The focus lies in particular on historical developments and organizations’ structures concerning the Covenant of the League of Nations (see exemplified appendix 4).

According to our case example, how does knowledge of institutions take shape?

In the first phase of the lesson unit, the female pupils visualize the devastating threat of the war. With the help of different teaching aids (as follows) the learners develop an intensive, complex picture of what might follow the war and what impact the war had by the so-called activity school form. By this, the pupils are able to work on a problem-based awareness, which lead “noble-minded and high-ranked personalities” after 1918 to their action-motivated “fundamental idea”.

Götz uses this visualization in order to shift the focus of his pupils to the genuine situation of the historical development of the human kind. He leaves it to pupils which idea they get about it: “Now, I told the children, that noble-minded and high-ranked personalities of belligerent and neutral nations discussed the above-mentioned fundamental ideas.”

Instead of introducing the League of Nations as a given “answer” to the ur-catastrophe of the 20th century, he let his pupils think of a solution themselves. On the basis of a developed understanding of the problem and recognized question “How can wars be prevented?” the learners invent the idea and mission of a League of Nations themselves. The students reconstructed the institution League of Nations and percei-
ved its meaningfulness. This meaningfulness and the insight of social functions that immanently appeared are put into practice by the genetic method: “Studying it in process of formation makes much that is too complex to be directly grasped open to comprehension” (Dewey 1916/1997, 214).

In the process of learning, Götz is able to bridge the cognitive distance that 14-year-old students from Berlin have compared to an elusive international organization. The learners get access to the institution by linking their own experiences to it: “The girls talked about their experiences that it was not allowed to carry sticks during demonstrations. As a result, they concluded that the nations must not have any weapons. Ergo 1: Disarmament.” Building analogies – how this happens here – is considered to be a fundamental strategy to understand the world. With regard to a social science point-of-view, it is critical to link micro-, meso-, and macrocosms with each other because this might lead to misjudgments. For instance, the students’ argumentation misjudges the difference between a domestic demonstration and an international conflict, which misses a superior, powerful state authority. The chosen analogy helps to understand the League of Nations. At the same time misconceptions can be made visible and can be edited in the classroom.

2.2 Methodology II: Knowledge of Institutions “at work”

After having worked out the basic principles and the mission of the League of Nations, the students analyze the de facto work of the League and its impact. In a third phase they analyze current cases, of which are reported in newspapers. Instead of dealing with abstract structures and the Covenant of the League of Nations only, Götz shifts the focus towards the content and the process of the organization’s goals. The working institution is the center of the analysis – knowledge of institutions “at work”.

Therefore, according to this method, the process and mission become alive, which would not be the case if they had dealt with the Covenant purely. The students are able to learn that the idea of the League of Nations does not necessarily represent the de facto work. With regard to the Weimar discussion the relationship between the idea and reality of the League of Nations becomes of prime importance. However, in particular right-wing conservatives criticize teaching the League of Nations because young people are presented an unbalanced positive image of the idea League of Nations, which does not represent reality at all and must lead into disappointments (see among others appendix 6). Thus, “it is always easy to fascinate the girls for an ideal, if you regard it on the one hand without any condition, and on the other to reject reality” (Hasselmann 1930, 60). However, the productive analysis of ideal and reality, of the performance and limits of the League of Nations contributes to the learners’ political ability to judge, according to Götz.

The abstract insights of the League of Nations are learned through exemplified cases. That is why the lessons pay attention to current politics instead of dealing with historical, closed events of the class book. Civic education helps to understand the present. The abstract – for instance the insights of the beneficial impact of the League of Nations – can be visible in the concrete of the day.

In this process, it is not only about presenting the political dimensions of the League of Nations such as conferences on disarmament and arbitration. Moreover, it is about choosing economic, social, and cultural aspects, which could clearly display the transnational cooperation and its impact on peace concerning all social areas.

Götz cleverly chooses examples from the surrounding environment of young people such as the then popular intercontinental flights which fascinated them enormously. The student’s collection of suitable cases becomes a search of the political represented by the apparently un-political. The girls realize, that e.g. international sport events have a beneficial political impact on a “nation-binding sense” and on “cultural achievements”. The 8th graders are able to perceive themselves and their everyday life in Berlin as participation of an already then existing worldwide network.

3. Methodology III: Media-based re-representation of the world in the classroom

How do we offer students parts of the social world in the classroom as a tangible experience? How does an idea of the world work of a working League of Nations be conceived? In the 1920s media such as radio or film did not have a significant influence of everyday life. Therefore, students have little visual experiences of the World War I or the League of Nations, to which teachers might refer back. Moreover, abstract political-social processes and institutions are difficult to become “aware” in general.9

Generally, Götz concentrates in his lesson unit on the idea to make the reconstruction of the world itself the subject matter in the lesson. The female students are able to reconstruct the World War I and the League of Nations’ goals on the basis of different experiences of their social reality independently.

The media, which Götz introduces, impress by their variety; however, they serve highly functional re-

9 With regard to the medium film, this was discussed to be adequate to convey the image of the League of Nations at school in the 1920s. Wilson (1930) provides different films on the League of Nations and discusses empirical research results on their perception: It is “very demanding to show a peace conference than a cavalry attack in film; and it is even more demanding to present a successful performance of a friendly, international cooperation.” (Wilson 1930, 784)
reasons: visual media such as “photographies, paintings, sketches”; books, newspaper articles and reports; sources such as list of casualties and ego-docu-
ments, for instance letters and diary extracts. Inevi-
tably, the different media provide a multi-perspective perception of the subject matter: From various point of views, for instance patriotic newspaper reports, personal experiences of the simple soldier or of the anxious wife, in artistic dressing up or social-critical novels, a picture is created from the war, which in-
cludes social and individual opinions apart from go-

governmental and political statements. Therefore, we
are able to reconstruct a collective conscience of the
World War I without favoring a given way of percep-
tion. Commentaries in newspapers might judge a spe-
cific decision of the League of Nations differently.
Contradictions and various ways of interpretations
become transparent. Students are able to question
supposed hard facts. The media are never a neutral
source of information – Götz’ lessons show how they
constitute the perception of the world.

At the same time a multi-perspective representa-
tion is able to discuss party-political topics, which are
judged highly controversial, in a neutral way. Götz
himself does not provide any specific point-of-view
but openly displays the social controversy by diffe-
rent sources. Thus as a teacher, he stays neutral. By as-
certaining and organizing different perspectives and
information systematically with social scientific me-
thods (statistics), the students learn to see politics
and society. Complexity, controversy, and insecuri-
ties are perceived to be crucial characteristics of a mo-
dern, pluralistic democracy. Constructions of the
world are clearly visible.

The teacher abstains from pre-constructing the
world’s observation. It is not the aim to provide didac-
tically proportioned and evened contents from class
books. Moreover, the learners are asked to bring mate-
rials to school, which their everyday life offers and ha-
ve an influence on their impressions. For this purpose,
Götz uses the personal, family-based experiences of
his students – politics matters to me. Mummy’s letter
to Daddy, the microcosm of their own family history
relates to the macrocosm surrounding them.

In fact, a media-didactic reflection – contempora-
ry pedagogy calls it “critical reading” – is set up in
such a lesson unit.

2.4 Contemporary debate: “Achte jedes Man-
nes Vaterland, aber das deinige liebe!”
(“Respect everyman’s fatherland, but
love yours!”)?

The end of the lesson unit may surprise today’s
readers. How is the previous work linked to the con-
clusion “Respect everyman’s fatherland, but love
yours”? Apparently, the national reference – al-
though it adds to the topic of international coopera-
tion – causes a central problem for teaching the
League of Nations in Germany.11

Through the eyes of contemporaries “the whole
talk circulated between two poles: patriotism and ra-
dical pacifism” (Hasselmann 1930, 62). Whereas the o-
ne side proposed “that the term of the fatherland
must be removed completely in order to pave the way
for a real peace between the nations, the other side
opposed and saw “today’s League of Nations as a
kind of holy alliance, which has to be defeated to save
the national state” (s.a.).

Opponents blamed the pacifist pedagogy of the
League of Nations for “hiding itself behind true world,
losing contact to reality, and inventing creative theo-
ries. (...) It aims at an attitude, for which mankind
means everything, but nation nothing, or is only legi-
timate if it serves mankind. Educating for a world’s
spirit, for peace at all costs, for community, brother-
hood, for having love for your enemies, even if this
will be dangerous for the biological-physiological exis-
tence of our nation, which will then be unemployed
and hungry. (...) Social values of tolerance, thought-
fulness, reciprocal acceptance seem to be the fore-
most and single governed values that count to a
pedagogy of the League of Nations. Those are the
foundation of the whole education. The proponents
of such a pacific never-never land may be honest;
however, this does not mean that we need to confront
them with reality directly, for which they might have
lost every sense of proportion.” (Hohmann 1932, 85f.)

Even Götz is not able to solve the tensions within
the relationship between these two competing con-
structions “cosmopolitan” versus “citizen” respective-
ly “world-community” and “people’s community”
(“Volksgemeinschaft”) in his lessons.

In 1933, Germany was affected by those forces
which interpreted their concept of “national commu-
nity” in a totalitarian sense and finally made come
true in Germany. In the same year Germany withdrew
from the League. The attempt to build a democracy
and establish a democratic, political education failed.

3. Use of the lesson draft
in future teacher trainings

11 However, this is not purely a specific German phenomenon ac-
cording to the assessment of the Vice President of the League of Na-
tions Gilbert Murray (1923–1938): “in almost every country we
notice an uncomfortable feeling that other countries might stay
as nationalistic as ever before, although oneself does everything
in order to announce the ideals of the League.” (Murray 1927, 161)

10 For instance, the novel All Quiet on the Western Front by Erich Ma-
ria Remarque (1928) was published as a preprint in the liberal
Vossischen Zeitung for the first until it caused a sensation as a book
in 1929 and since 1930 worldwide as a film by Lewis Milestone.
With regard to teacher education and trainings, the lesson draft may be used as a *whetstone*. It provides a case that offers today’s students’ insights in fundamental questions of subject matter didactics of social sciences. The “alienation” that occurs because of the historical perspective has a productive effect. The defined principles and challenges of the former didactic can be transferred to current cases.

Aspects, which might be discussed after a detailed and immanent reconstruction of the lesson’s construction, are for instance:

- How do we make today’s international institutions and organizations such as the European Union or the United Nations as a matter of discussion in our lessons, either genetic- or case-oriented? By which means are today’s students able to experience its necessity?
- How do we overcome cognitive distances in terms of global topics? How do we bridge their perceived world to social institutions and international contexts? How do students react to the assumptions / allegation to solidify wrong understandings by analogies?
- How may abstract problems and institutions be experienced by media? How does politics become “visible”? By which means can for instance unemployment, terrorism, globalization, or the European Court of Justice be re-represented in the classroom?
- How do we meet the allegation of a “pacifistic never-never land” in former and today’s lesson units of pedagogy of peace? How are the idealistic aims of a European or World-citizenship on the one hand and the “reality in its ugly guise” on the other related? How are we able to develop didactically the relations between “sermon”, “rhapsody”, and disappointing viewing? (see appendix 6)\(^\text{12}\)
- To what extent do today’s processes of learning relate to national and international perspectives, respectively concepts of a world-citizen or citizen of the state – and what role does an increasing transnational and trans-cultural point of view on social-political conflicts play in the classroom?

4. Perspectives

The era of the Weimar Republic only offers a few lesson analyses (see among others Grammes 1998). A deeper analysis of the historical development the subject-matter based thinking may help to raise fundamental problem-oriented questions, paradigms, concepts, and pragmata of civic education and to solidify self-conception of discipline. Especially in situations of great social changes which affected Germany after 1918, 1945, and 1989, offered the chance to collect important reasons for the genesis of civic education and knowledgeable examples on the basis of “reflective teachers”:\(^\text{13}\)

“The historic laboratory (…) provides the same experimental setup, the performance of an experiment, from which a next generation might learn. In comparison to a computer-based simulation they are able to understand what had lasted centuries in a quick tour.

\(^{12}\) This analysis may trigger a discussion on the issue of party-politics at school. (see Leps 2010 on Case Archive I)

\(^{13}\) JSSE is looking for comparing analyses of phases of democratic and transformative developments after 1918, for instance in the second Polish Republic, the Czechoslovakia, and Austria; in the 1970s and 1980s in Portugal and Spain; after 1989 in the former states of Warsaw Pact in order to place an emphasis on that.
This offers a great opportunity because we are now able to discover, to check, to accept, or to deny ways of application without taking the long run of trial and error of which history tells.” (Gagel 2005,18)

5. Literature


Seidel, Robert. 1919. Erziehung fürs Vaterland oder für die Menschheit? [Education in terms of the fatherland or in terms of human kind?] In: Die neue Erziehung, Vol 1, 7-16.


6. Appendices

Appendix 1: Article 148, German Constitution of 11th August 1919

Article 148

(1) In all schools effort shall be made to develop moral education, civic sentiments, and personal and vocational efficiency in the spirit of the German national character and of international conciliation.

(2) In the instruction in the public schools care shall be taken not to offend the sensibilities of those of contrary opinions.

(3) Civic education and manual training shall be part of the curricula of the schools. Every pupil shall at the end of his obligatory schooling receive a copy of the constitution.

(4) The Reich, the states, and the municipalities shall foster popular education, including people’s institutes.

Appendix 2: Treatment of the League of Nations at school

After Germany has joined the League of Nations it is obligatory for school to include its organization, work and aims in teaching. This has been indicated in the curricula’s regulations for Prussian secondary education, in the rules for Prussian grammar schools, and in the regulations for preparing curricula for high school classes of the Volksschulen ever before.

The character of the League of Nations requires that every lesson on it has to transfer the spirit of dignity of its own nation, of an understanding respect of the foreign nation and of the comprehension that every nation’s development is supported because of the membership of a broad community of all nations.

In order to that this idea has to be dealt with in high school classes of the Volksschulen, in grammar schools, in secondary education, in pedagogical academies, as well as in terms of the education and training of trainee teachers.

Berlin, 28th of May, 1927.

Minister of Science, Arts and National Education.

Becker


Appendix 3: Prussian Regulations, activity teaching

In general, lessons are activity-based. Teachers have to test which of the student’s powers could be developed and increased at school, in particular independency of judgments, disposition, imagination, and will. Therefore in terms of the selection of the subject matter, he should not only concentrate on the teaching itself. The principle of the activity school is based on reciprocal cooperation of the students under the lead of the teacher. It is important to give their work a certain direction, which at the same time represents the students’ character as well as the educational aim of the school. The natural tension between acquisition of secure knowledge, which higher mental activity is based on, and the acquisition of the ability to work independently, which pure knowledge needs to be developed, needs to be bridged. This is the serious and vital mission of the activity school.

The individuality of the subject matter and the mental maturity of the student determine the forms of activity teaching. However, in each and every grade the students need to develop a pragmatic technique of working. The selection of the subject matter is chosen on the basis of applicability concerning certain methods.

The success of an activity school depends on the organization of the work in class in terms of division of tasks and level of cooperation; individual homework of the students has to contribute to the cooperation in class. Reports on the progress of a lesson, on which is reflected afterwards as a form of repetition, have proven to be successful in this sense.

Activity lessons offer the opportunity to clear, deepen, and pursue students’ questions. Aberrances will be avoided, if students are aware of the aim of their working. By this, the cheerful classroom participation is raised, if someone explains at what is aimed and pointed, or even, if they may have an influence on the selection of the subject matter and its aims. In addition, teachers have to discuss wholly planned educational work with mature students.

We are able to develop in particular the students’ working and configuration desire, if we take their individual talents, for instance manual skills, imagination and exploring character, way of articulation and presentation at home and at school into consideration.

If students are lead to become members of a working group on all levels, to work individually on the basis of their own will, they will be able to apply...
working methods to independently chosen subject matters until they achieve higher education. Because of knowing simple scientific working methods they will prove their higher education entrance qualification.

Source: Richtlinien für die Lehrpläne der höheren Schulen Preußens 1925. [Curricula’s regulations of Prussia’s higher education at secondary schools 1925]. Beilage zum Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preußen 1925, Vol. 67, No. 8, 1-96, here: 23.

Appendix 4: draft on the topic “Germany and the League of Nations”

Germany and the League of Nations
a) Formal organization of the League of Nations
1. Members, their rights and responsibilities
2. Council
3. Assembly
4. Secretariat

b) Mission of the League of Nations
1. The violent politics against Germany in the first years
2. Germany’s entry in the League of Nations
3. Economics and cultural successes of the League of Nations


Appendix 5: Repugnance to the League of Nations

[An author sums up the problematic perception of the League of Nations for learners:]

We know that a number of patriotic Germans did not want this entry [to the League of Nations 1926, MB], because of the fact that the League of Nations was intertwined with the Treaty of Versailles, which does not at all breath the spirit of peace and reconciliation. Therefore, the Germans felt a deep sense of repugnance to the League of Nations. Further on, the German nation had to face hard consequences after the first years of the end of the war. We were bitterly disappointed when it came to decisions of the League of Nations concerning Germany. We think of the surrender of Eupen and Malmedy, which were ceded under Belgian pressure to Belgium after a pseudo referendum. We remember painfullly that a valuable part of Oberschlesien was ceded to Poland although everybody talked about the right of self-determination on all channels (the results of the referendum clearly stated that 62% voted for belonging to Germany). We think of the violent politics of France in the province of Saar, to which the League of Nations did not oppose, as well as the League accepted silently that the French occupied the province of Ruhr in 1923, which the English openly confessed to be illegal.


Appendix 6: Between “rhapsody” and “reality of the ugly guise”?

Those who talk about the League of Nations at school, have to know that it generates bitter feelings among our nation because it is considered to be the “executor of peace contracts”, according to the words of Ebers.14 These feelings will not disappear by well-meant statements of justice and love, which shall dominate the trafficking of persons, but in fact, do not. Instead, we have to be afraid of those lessons that appear to be sermons, which message is audible but which we do not want to believe because reality promotes another cruel picture. We set an opposing mood and the joy to criticize among the youth, which

14 Wilmanns quotes Godehard Ebers, Professor of law for the state, administration, nations, and churches at the University of Cologne (1919–1935), who delivered the introductory speech of the course.