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Nazi Education in Vienna: The Solidification of Antisemitism and German Nationalism in the Classroom

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Abstract

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Nazi Education in Vienna, Austria:

The Solidification of Antisemitism and German Nationalism in the Classroom

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Abstract:

In contemporary Austrian schools there is an alarming number of students who know little of Austria's involvement in WWII. They see Austria as a victim of Hitler and as a conquered nation. This post-war victimization myth has survived in schools that works to undermine feelings of Austrian responsibility in the days following the Anschluss. However, this victimization myth is threatened by looking at education on the eve of the Anschluss to Nazi policy and Nazi sentiments that had already existed for decades in Austria.

I affirm that I have upheld the highest principles of honesty and integrity in my academic work and have not witnessed a violation of the Honor Code.

On the eve of the Anschluss on March 12th, 1938, one would find little protest of the idea of a united Austria and Germany. When looking at the impact of Nazism on education, it is important to understand the developments of Germanic nationalism in the classroom and deep-rooted antisemitism found in Viennese society. Before 1918, Austrian patriotism and nationalism were focused on the heroes of the Habsburg dynasty, "which represented the whole of the multinational empire" and to a certain level there was no specific Austrian consciousness.[1] However, with the collapse of the Habsburgs things began to change and Austrians felt more German than ever before. Specifically, Viennese schools spoke of German nationalism and Austria as a nation in relation to Germany. In post-WWI Vienna, schools were seen as authoritarian and focused on order, discipline, love of country, and the students' inherent German identity; sentiments that Hitler's policy on education would later share. In addition, Vienna had a long history of antisemitism that touched every aspect of society dating back to medieval times. These racist sentiments that plagued the city would be solidified and executed by a man who spent many of his foundational young adult years learning and developing his own racial ideologies in Vienna.

There is countless literature on the educational policies of the National Socialist German Workers' Party as a whole. However, the impact of Nazi education specifically in Vienna, Austria is overshadowed by larger pan-Germanic sentiments in a post-1938 Nazi world. In order to reveal how the Nazi Party impacted education in Vienna, Austria from 1938 to 1945, the historical background of education, deep-rooted antisemitism and German nationalism in the city must be analyzed. By doing so, the true extent of Nazi policy on Viennese education can be determined. Today, when looking back on the Nazi occupation in Vienna, there is a post-war

[1] Carla Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38," *History of Education Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (1990): 200.

victimization myth that has survived in schools that has worked to undermine feelings of Austrian responsibility in regard to Hitler and the Nazi policy. However, this victimization myth is threatened by comparing and contrasting education prior to the Anschluss to the enforcement of Nazi policy. When looking to synthesize Austrian education and Nazi educational policy, the present work reveal Viennese Nazi education as not simply a complete educational overhaul, but a solidification and centralization of an already antisemitic and German nationalistic system. Both of which go against the post-war victimization myth that has plagued contemporary Austrian schools for decades. However, it is important to note that the majority of analysis regarding Nazi educational impact in Vienna will be built and supported by primary sources from newspapers, school textbooks, and oral histories showing the impact and solidification of antisemitic and nationalistic Nazi education in Vienna.

Author and historian Brigitte Hamann in *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship,* reveals the complex and deep-rooted history of Viennese antisemitism, starting with the medieval dukes of Babenberg.[2] The Austrian Jews were said to be safely protected by the federal authorities, Hamann reveals that even Emperor Franz Joseph I "repeatedly said that all subjects of his large Empire are equally close to his paternal heart," yet, the flood of antisemitism could not be stopped.[3] Not only does this show feelings of antisemitism at the highest political level, but Hamann continues to explain the development of modern antisemitism that grew in the late nineteenth century in Vienna through a man named Georg von Schönerer. Von Schönerer would become one of Hitler's role models, showing the transformations and expansion of Viennese antisemitism.[4] Hamann's work most importantly shows the developing stereotyping of

[2] Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), 325.
[3] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 331.
[4] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 331.

Orthodox Jews in the city, stereotypes and beliefs that would once again later become a part of every German and Austrian child's school curriculum, revealing that Nazi ideology towards the Jews was not a foreign topic or belief. For many, the racist sentiments were not that shocking, and their ideas, thoughts, and beliefs were only put into action and solidified by the Nazi Party.

The work of scholar Martin Fuchs, *Showdown in Vienna; the Death of Austria,* is essential to understanding the road to the Anschluss and Nazism in Austria. He explains that Austria was facing not only discontent economically and socially but also "moving towards a moral crisis" within the population and party leaders; people did not care how things changed as long as Austria saw some sort of change.[5] In addition, historian Gilmer Blackburn's *Education in the Third Reich: a Study of Race and History in Nazi Textbooks* reveals the feelings of nationalism and pride felt by Austrians with the news of the Anschluss in Vienna. He explains that "never was a Kaiser received in Vienna in such jubilation as [Hitler]."[6] Historian Evan Burr Bukey's *"Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era"* helps explain this so-called "jubilation" by outlining the complex relationships and history between Austrians and Germans as many Austrians felt conflicted between their Austrian and German character.[7] When assessing the sources together, an intense struggle and lack of national identity can be found. However, the Austrian union with Germany would have created a "release and elation, an odd euphoria that crystallized into strong support for the establishment of a German-Austrian Republic."[8] This unification would lead to the solidification of nationalism and antisemitism in not only society

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[5] Martin Fuchs, *Showdown in Vienna; the Death of Austria* (New York, NY: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1939), 196-199.
[6] Gilmer Blackburn, "Education in the Third Reich: a Study of Race and History" in *Nazi Textbooks* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1985), 45.
[7] Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era*,1938-1945 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 6.
[8] Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Er*a, 8.

but in every Viennese classroom as education is the foundation of building a new national identity.[9]

Before the impact of Nazi education in Austria can be analyzed, the work of Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918,* and Carla Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria*, must be synthesized to show the foundations of Austrian educational systems before the Anschluss. Cohen provides insight into the political atmosphere in fighting to defend "German-language instruction against the inroads of education in Czech, Slovene, Polish, and Austria's Other non-Germanic languages" in Imperial Austrian schools.[10] This is significant as similar sentiments would be later shared by the Nazi Party, once again demonstrating a foundation of German nationalism of the Nazis built in Vienna.

The work of Carla Esden-Tempska adds to this argument by revealing how many of the National Socialist sentiments and beliefs could already be found developing over time, especially in education. When looking at the historiography of the sources and Tempska's argument there is little to no debate against her. She explains how German nationalism and strict authoritarianism spread throughout the country beginning in Vienna before the days of the Nazi Anschluss. However, she states that ideas of nationalism were much more German than Austrian and that the school's "curriculum made no distinction between Austrian and German culture, and the Ministry of Education used the term 'German' rather than 'Austrian' whenever possible."[11] She goes on to explain that Austrian school textbooks even spoke of a union with Germany and that German literature was used to show love and appreciation for the German language. Along with it, the study of geography was used to show Austria's relation to Germany in hopes of showing

[9] Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38,"187.
[10] Gary B Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996), 110-111.
[11] Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38," 200.

its connection.[12] Nonetheless, Esden-Tempska argues that in many Austrian schools, National Socialist ideas were already forming and in full effect in education as ideas of "God, Fatherland, and Volk" infiltrated the Viennese classroom.[13] Nonetheless, these are the terms and ideas that would be solidified and found in every Viennese school come March of 1938.

The work of Lisa Pine in *Education in Nazi Germany* outlines Nazi educational policy in totality. It works in tandem with other scholars to show the effect of Nazi education in Austria. As Austria became incorporated into the Third Reich, Maurice Williams' work, *German Imperialism and Austria, 1938*, states that Nazi German ideology and law simply became Austrian law in that the country would have "no separate identity, a similarly promulgated Reich law directed 'the introduction of German law into Austria.'"[14] However, Lisa Pine also argues that the existence of anti-democratic and reactionary elements at work during the Weimar years ultimately led to the Nazi seizure of power. She stresses that "it is important to acknowledge the links that existed between educational developments not only between the Kaiserreich and the Weimar Republic but also between the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich."[15] This argument can in turn be made for Austria as Nazi power extended into the country.

Lisa Pine also argues that the true objective of Nazi policies was to ensure "centralized state control over education, in particular, to eliminate ecclesi-astical influence" while also building strong future Nazi followers and leaders.[16] The Catholic Church and its power in Austria is key in understanding the impact of Nazi education in Austria. Prior to the Anschluss, the Catholic Church was very much integrated and involved in educational policy and reform in

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[12] Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38," 202.
[13] Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38," 200.
[14] Maurice Williams, "German Imperialism and Austria, 1938," *Journal of Contemporary History* 14, no. 1 (1979): 140.
[15] Lisa Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*. English ed. (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2010), 31.
[16] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany,* 31.

Vienna. This is important, as the elimination of religion from schools under Nazi policy would lead to complete loyalty and devotion to the state and nothing else. Historian Evan Burr Bukey explains the position of the Catholic Church in Austria and how it came into direct conflict with Nazi ideology. The Roman Catholic Church had long enjoyed "a privileged position in Austria"' and now it came in direct conflict with Nazi ideology. By October 1938, Bukey explains how all religious prayers and crucifixes were removed from Austrian classrooms and replaced by "Heil Hitler" and images of their Führer. However, Bukey proclaimed that antisemitism in Vienna was directly tied to the Roman Catholic Church as it held Jewish people accountable for the evils of the modern world, a sentiment that was also shared by Hitler and would be intensified by him.[17]

However, contradictory to the belief that racist ideas in Austria were not a revolutionary change, historian Klaus Fischer's chapter "Life in Nazi Germany" in *Nazi Germany: a New History* argues that "since the German [and Austrian] educational system had been traditionally authoritarian, there was little need to alter its structure in a revolutionary sense other than to give it a strong racist dimension."[18] However, based on the previously highlighted work of Hamann and Bukey it can be concluded that the added "racist dimension" would have been widely supported as Catholic conservatives had been fighting liberal educational reform for years, especially when it comes to Jews and civic education. In addition, the work by Ilana Fritz Offenberger in *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction,* reveals how Jewish teachers and students were banned from Viennese public schools and the extent to which their lives were changed almost overnight in the aftermath of the Anschluss. She explains how Jews responded in the city and argues that in the course of a few weeks, Jews were completely

[17] Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era*, 105.
[18] Klaus P. Fischer, "Life in Nazi Germany," In *Nazi Germany: a New History* (New York, NY: Continuum, 1995), 347.

eliminated from the public sphere and designated second-class citizens.[19] By using the work of Offenberger and Pine, Nazi educational policy in Vienna can be evaluated.

Nazi education is often seen as radical and revolutionary, and rightfully so considering the manifest evil of Hitler and the Nazis. However, when analyzing the impact of Nazi education in Vienna, Austria, this idea can be challenged. The implication of Nazi policy in Austria is something that at large can be seen as paradoxical, as Vienna, the crown jewel of Austria, and the former seat of the Holy Roman Empire is a very Catholic, but also antisemitic country. Two qualities that are very contradictory when looking at Hitler and National Socialism and lead people to question the true extent and impact on education under Nazism. [Reread and rewrite this sentence] By analyzing Viennese education on the eve of the Anschluss and deep-rooted antisemitism and German nationalism found throughout the country, Nazi educational policy in Vienna was not a complete overhaul but a solidification, centralization, and intensification of racist and nationalist sentiments that were developed in the years prior to the union of Austria into the Third Reich.

Vienna has a long history of deep-seated antisemitism that acted as a springboard for the solidification of Nazi policy that was implemented in March of 1938. Holocaust survivor Fred Baron explains that antisemitism did not begin with the arrival of the Anschluss as he and his family faced both subtle and overt forms of antisemitism prior to the Nazi occupation while living in Vienna. Fred shares how Austria had always struggled with its own forms of identity issues and always had a "minority complex" and in general tried to "outdo the Germans in anything they could-especially within the area of relationships with Jews."[20] Just as Mr. Baron

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[19] Ilana Fritz Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction* (New York: Cham Springer International Publishing AG, 2017). Accessed March 23, 2023), 44.
[20] Fred Baron, "Oral History Interview with Fred Baron," By Michael Greenberg, *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, "The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive," January 1984.

explained, antisemitism was not a new topic for Vienna, and the very foundations of it date back to medieval times.[21] However, modern antisemitism did not take shape until the mid-nineteenth century when Jews in Austro-Hungary were in what was "probably the happiest phase in their history." After centuries of oppression, "the liberal national basic law of 1867 had brought them equal rights, completely and without qualification" and now they could "finally enjoy all those large and small liberties that had been denied them for centuries."[22] Jews were now allowed to own property in the capital, could choose anywhere they wanted to live, could be governmental civil servants, and now for the first time could attend schools and universities without restrictions placed on them.[23] A virtually immediate consequence was a rapid growth in the Jewish population. By the early 1910s over 175,000 religiously practicing Jews lived in Vienna, and even though they were said to be protected by the federal authorities, this was not always the case. Even as Emperor Franz Joseph said "'all subjects of his large Empire are equally close to his paternal heart,'" the increasing "flood of antisemitism could not be stopped, and the Emperor knew this." These sentiments were expressed through the diary of his daughter Maria Valerie. She wrote about her father's thoughts on the Jews living in the city and said, "We talked about hatred and Pa said: Yes yes, of course, we do everything we can to protect the Jews, but who really is not an anti-Semite?"[24] Feelings such as these were very present in the city with the rise of antisemitic politicians such as Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Karl Lueger, the mayor of Vienna who quickly began to rise in political debate in Vienna. Both of these men would later

[21] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 325. In the early twelfth century, the dukes of Babenberg made Vienna their home and brought Jews into the city for the first time where they settled the area today still known as Judenplatz and by twelve hundred Vienna had its first synagogue.
[22] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 326.
[23] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 326.
[24] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 331.

catch the eye of a man named Adolf Hitler during his time spent in Vienna.[25] Von Schönerer was one of Hitler's role models and was the leader of the Pan-Germans who turned a struggle "for the German people" into a fight against the Jews and became a promoter of ethnic antisemitism in Vienna. Despite the fact that it is unlikely that they ever met, Hitler was inspired as he saw people "pledge to their Führer loyal allegiance, [sing] Schönerer songs, and [write] poems in his praise."[26] [one footnote]

Along with antisemitic feelings, German nationalism was fostered in many Viennese schools. Blackburn argues that "[t]hroughout the interwar period and the rise of German nationalism that was saw in classrooms, the same nationalism and sentiments can be found in Austria, especially Vienna." He goes on to explain that upon the morning of the Anschluss, never had a "kaiser" received such a large "jubilation" as Hitler…he was welcomed to the city with banners, flags, and the cries of "One Folk, One Reich, One Fuehrer!" along the streets."[27] Not only was Germanic nationalism shown in the willingness and general acceptance of the Austrian and German union, but Fred Baron along with his comments on Viennese antisemitism spoke of the "rising national tide" as being "very present" in this country. He explained that people felt that an Austro-German union made the most sense as "Austrians and Germans were of the same

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[25] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 331.

[26] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*,237 Hitler visited Vienna for the first time in 1907 where it is suggested that he first encountered antisemitic literature and sentiments. During his years spent in Vienna he studied and learned more than ever before as he wrote in *Mein Kampf*. In Vienna he created the foundations that would inspire him later on in the formation of Nazi policy and beliefs. Around the time Hitler first came to Vienna, he encountered a traditional Eastern Jew for the first time, which served as his stereotypical image of a Jewish enemy. Soon Hitler witnessed rallies against Jewish peddlers that took place and in 1910 Jewish peddling in Vienna was prohibited to ensure the protection of honest-working tradesmen. From this point, the slogan "Don't buy from Jews!" was applied to peddlers as well as department stores owned by Jews. Historian Brigitte Hamann describes an article out of the "Pan-German Yearbook for German Women and Girls" read in 1904 explaining the disgrace that would be brought [?] to a Christian family if they bought any of their Christmas presents from a Jewish store and that anyone who did buy from a Jew dishonors their own nationality. From more information see Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship* (New York. NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), especially 225-330.

[27] Blackburn, "Education in the Third Reich: a Study of Race and History" in *Nazi Textbooks* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1985), 45.

basic stock, basic language, and for practical reasons, it was one country." However, politically it was separated, something that many people, including his own father felt was worse than if the two countries were to combine.[28] These feelings of German nationalism can be explained through Austria's long standing national identity crisis. Dating back to the times of Otto von Bismarck, when he expelled Austria from all German affairs (after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866), Austrians felt separated from the people they related to the most, the Germans. To make matters worse at this time Austrians soon became aware of their own minority status as increasing numbers of "Italians, Czechs, Hungarians, and Jews continued to flood into the country, especially in Vienna."[29] Soon, Austrians found themselves lost and suffering in what the Social Democratic leader Otto Bauer called 'the conflict between our Austrian and German character.'"[30] This conflict of identity and character would only be exaggerated in the years between WWI and WWII as the chancellor saw his country's situation decreasing rapidly as unemployment rose, the sale of Austrian products declined, and trade restrictions by foreign countries continued to increase. Along with the political and economic instability, the mood of the Viennese people decreased as Austrians entered into a time of "domestic distress," leading to what [full name] Kurt von Schuschnigg noted as a Viennese crisis of morality. In the months leading up to the Anschluss, Vienna had entered into a period of "mental stagnation" in which the people began to seek change not caring how it happened as long as something changed and improved their situation. People were ready to welcome anything even if it were "catastrophic."[31] Soon more and more Austrians would openly accept the idea of the Anschluss on March 13th, 1938.

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[28] Fred Baron, "Oral History Interview with Fred Baron," January 1984.
[29] Still to this day Austria is a multicultural international city.
[30] Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era*, 60.
[31] Fuchs, *Showdown in Vienna; the Death of Austria*, 165.

By the morning of March 13th, Baulder von Schirach, the Reich Youth Minister, arrived in Vienna at the Westbahnhof and was welcomed by some four thousand young Viennese children. All of them were anxious with anticipation and eagerness to join the Hitler Youth. Von Schirach proceeded to make a "sentimental" speech praising the Austrian youth for their courage and fortitude in front of a cheering and exuberant crowd who would be the start in the process of nazifying education in Vienna.[32] That same day Wilhelm Stuckart, the Führer's representative, met with the Austrian cabinet and presented them with a statue. This law decreed an end to the independent Austrian government making Austria merely a province of the Third Reich. Austrians would have no separate identity from Germany and directed that all German law would be introduced into Austria as its own.[33] By doing so, any fragment of Austrian identity, symbolism, and institution was eliminated, including schools. Viennese schools, "rapidly experienced the effects of the Nazi *Gleichschaltung*—the coordination and Nazification of all aspects of life and soon reflected the ideology and agenda of the Nazi Party."[34] By June 1940, the Austrian Education Ministry was eliminated as a result of the Ostmark Law, which removed the last legal remains of Austria. Nevertheless, "many Nazi features had become part of life in Austrian schools, including the Nuremberg race laws, portraits of Hitler in classrooms, the German greeting "Heil Hitler!" and German handwriting, and posters in classrooms to remind students of the success of the April 1938 plebiscite."[35] [combine footnotes] However, Fred Baron

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[32] Thomas Weyr, *The Setting of the Pearl: Vienna Under Hitler* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005), 33.
[33] Maurice Williams, "German Imperialism and Austria, 1938," *Journal of Contemporary History* 14, no. 1 (1979): 140.
[34] Peter Utgaard, *Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria*, (New York, New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 27.
[35] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria," 27. [35]On March 13th, Hitler ordered the Gauleiter Josef Bürckel to organize a free and secret plebiscite on April 10th in which all Austrians and Germans over the age of twenty would be asked to endorse the Anschluss. For the Austrian people the plebiscite reflected the popular attitudes of the people as a large amount of evidence suggest that the majority of the populace welcomed and accepted the union of Austria and Germany. For more information on the April Plebiscite see Evan Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era,*" especially 34-39.

explained that the introduction of Nazi policy in schools was harsher as "what evolved in Germany over a period of five years, since 1933, happened within a matter of weeks in Austria."[36] However, how harsh, or in this case, all-encompassing was the attack on education in Viennese schools and to what extent was the impact of the Nazis in a country that prior to the Anschluss was both antisemitic and German? The following section will look at Viennese schools before and after the Anschluss in regard to teachers, students, curriculum, textbooks, religion, and youth organizations, showing the true impact Nazis had on education in Vienna.

Under the Nazis, the educational system in both Germany and Austria was impacted by the "Führer's Weltanschauung" [or worldview] and "with the intent of indoctrinating German youth with National Socialist theories and with Hitler's personality cult." Under Nazi policy, the entirety of school culture was altered to reflect the Nazis' authoritarian and nationalist principles.[37] Under these ideals, teachers were put in place to demonstrate enthusiasm and sole support for the Nazi party. Teachers are the backbone of anyone's education and are key to the development of youth as they are seen as experts in their fields and role models for young and impressionable students. For Hitler, the role of teachers and their relationship with their students was different. In a secret letter, he explains his idea of a bond between a teacher and student: "There is no enthusiasm greater than that of a young man of thirteen to seventeen years of age. They will gladly let themselves be cut to pieces for the sake of their teacher … I should very much like to see our youth led into battle by their teachers!"[38] For Hitler and Nazi educational policy, the aim of education was not to aid self-discovery and promote independent intellectual thought. It was to indoctrinate young people to think like National Socialists and create strong

[36] Fred Baron, "Oral History Interview with Fred Baron," January 1984.
[37] Stephen Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth," *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005): 191.
[38] Blackburn, "Education in the Third Reich: a Study of Race and History," 25.

believers in the future of Germany. In this sense, teachers were not just instructors and "transmitters of knowledge" but were also "soldiers" who served the "aims of National Socialism on the cultural-political front."[39] To ensure that teachers were "politically reliable and supported the National Socialist Party and its principles," Austrian teachers, as in Germany, were given two choices.[40] They either had to join the National Socialist Teachers Alliance and educate students based on National Socialism or be dismissed from their jobs.[41] Those who failed to comply were dealt with harshly and ultimately arrested and taken to camps. Susan Campbell Bartoletti, In *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow* explains the reaction of the Scholl family when their child's teacher was arrested without warning, showing the true extent to which Nazi ideology impacted teachers who were considered enemies of the state. When asked why the teacher got fired and deserved such treatment, Frau Scholl replied to her children, "Nothing, nothing …It's just that he was not a National Socialist. He simply couldn't go along with it - that was his crime."[42] Even though there were teachers who were political opponents in Vienna, the main focus of Nazi leaders was to ensure the removal of Jewish teachers from Viennese classrooms.

After 1938, greater German schools were stripped of their liberal and Jewish (not always the same thing) teachers as schools became a place of Nazi indoctrination. Jews all across Vienna were subject to "verbal and physical harassment" and the Germans and their Austrian allies strategically adopted mechanisms to segregate Jews from society directly following the Anschluss. In addition to marking public areas and stores with signs reading "Only for Aryans!"

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[39] Susan Campbell Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow* (New York, NY: Scholastic Nonfiction, 2005), 43.
[40] Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow*, 39.
[41] Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow*, 39.
[42] Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow*, 40.

or "No Dogs or Jews!," they also "discharged all Jews from their professions and educational positions."[43] Not only did removing Jewish teachers and workers strip them of their "core purpose of life," but it also took a toll on the community with reduced numbers of teachers. Many of the teachers that were fired received no explanation, no final pay, and no idea of whether they could ever find work again in Vienna as a teacher. For example, when Lena Rosenblatt, a teacher at the Montessori School on Albertgasse [I used to live on Albertgasse] 35 in Vienna arrived at work on Monday, March 14th, she learned that the school had been shut down permanently. With no warning or explanation, she simply went home without a job. A similar experience happened to Moritz Hirschbein, a sixty-year old man who arrived at work that same day and his partner, who he had been working with for a while, simply told him to go home. There Moritz experienced blatant antisemitism as his coworker said "'I cannot work with a Jew,'" in a "matter-of-fact tone" and explained to him, "'those are the rules.'"[44] Although the exact number of early and secondary educators who were dismissed is unknown, it is known that in the Nazi reorganization of the University of Vienna in 1938, around 350 teachers (professors, university- and private lecturers) were persecuted and removed. More than 200 of them for racial reasons and 130 for political reasons as they were opponents of the state.[45] Only a little over a week after the Anschluss "several unwanted employees were arrested or suspended" and those "approved professors" swore loyalty to Hitler while others classified as political enemies, especially Jews, were excluded and imprisoned.[46]

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[43] Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 44.
[44] Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 44.
[45] "Expulsion of Teachers and Students in 1938," Universität Wien, last modified October 24, 2018, geschichte.uniwien.explusion.
[46] Universität Wien, "Expulsion of Teachers and Students in 1938."

However, for Jewish teachers living in Vienna, this was not the first time they were attacked and limited in the field of education. The employment of Jewish teachers prior to the Anschluss was a large source of resentment that was continuously growing in Vienna.[47] The resentment and even desire for the dismissal of Jewish teachers was present in Austria long before the arrival of the Nazis and can be linked to Vienna's deep-rooted antisemitism and lack of division between church and state. In the late nineteenth century, a new law was proposed that "affirmed the purpose of the public primary schools to train children religiously and morally" in the Catholic faith.[48] The bill also required that "each teacher would have to prove his or her competence to give religious instruction in the faith of the majority of the pupils."[49] This latter measure was the sought-after solution for Catholic conservative objections to the employment of Jewish teachers in both Lower Austria and Vienna in what they considered their "Jewish question."[50] By the late nineteen hundreds less than one percent of all teachers in Austrian public primary schools were Jewish and even after some reform in the late 1850s Jews could only be appointed as "teachers of their faith" to limit the number in schools. Thus, in Austria, Jews found only "limited career opportunities in teaching" as Catholic teachers continued to receive long-term "regular teaching appointments in the Gymnasien and Realschulen" showing how the growing feelings of antisemitism limited Jewish teachers in Vienna even in the days before the Anschluss.[51] However, it was not until Hitler and Nazi policy that Jewish teachers were completely removed from education, showing the solidification of antisemitic sentiments in Viennese education.

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[47] Fred Baron, "Oral History Interview with Fred Baron," January 1984.
[48] Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918,* 99.
[49] Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918,* 99.
[50] Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918,* 99.
[51] Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918,* 163.

Saying that Nazi educational policy only solidified antisemitic beliefs in Vienna does not undermine the extent to which Jewish teachers were impacted as the Anschluss led to the complete intensification and centralization of antisemitism through the implementation of the Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund (NSLB). Beyond the formal dismissal of all Jewish teachers or enemies of the state, those who swore loyalty to Hitler and the Nazi Party were required to join the Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund or National Socialist Teachers' League. The NSLB had been established on April 21st, 1929, and was used to recruit new supporters in the years before the Nazis' seizure of power. [52] In Germany, during the Weimar Years, the NSLB was successful at recruiting many radicalized young teachers who were disillusioned with the Weimar Republic. However, the largest appeal to join the NSLB was among low-salaried, overworked, and underpaid assistant teachers. By joining the teachers union, they were promised "a change in the image of teachers towards 'a new and more positive perception of themselves as forward-looking activists serving big national goals.'"[53] However, more importantly, the NSLB was used to educate teachers on being "exemplary National Socialists" so they could be "equipped to carry out their special tasks and obligations inside the 'national community.'"[54] Many teachers joined once they saw it was clear that the Nazis would seize power not only because they did not want to lose their positions but also because they saw membership as a way of progressing their educational careers.[55] By the time the Nazis marched into Vienna, NSLB membership was compulsory as all teachers were required to join based on Nazi law.

As early as April 15th, 1938, a little over a month after the Nazi seizure of power in Vienna, an ordinance sheet of the city school board reported "important information for all

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[52] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 14. [leave a space between the number and the name.]
[53] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 14.
[54] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 14-15.
[55] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 14-15.

teachers" and mentioned who to contact for leading ideas surrounding the Nazi Party for the classroom and who to contact for questions regarding "Rasse und Schule" or in English "race and school."[56] This is important as only a month after the Anschluss the Viennese School Board was publishing and listing new leading figures and main concerns a good Nazi teacher should be focusing on and following in their classrooms. The indoctrination of teachers was one of the main priorities for nazifying Viennese schools and function in two main ways. The first function of the NSLB was "to provide reports on the political reliability of teachers for appointments and promotions" and the second was to "ensure the ideological indoctrination of teachers," in order to ensure the creation of "the new German educator in the spirit of National Socialism."[57] However, to do this the NSLB ran courses and set up Nazi-led teacher training camps to train teachers in racial knowledge, characteristics of the Jewish race, hereditary health, and concepts of blood and soil and living space.[58] It was hoped that these camps and training programs found throughout the Third Reich pushed ideas of community in which "we" meant more than "I" and that teachers helped play a part in the future of Germany.[59] Nonetheless, the NSLB influenced Austrian public schools to their very core. Over a year after the collapse of the Third Reich and during the Allied occupation in Vienna, schools were scrambling to find new teachers who were not Nazis. The *New York Times* reported under the title "Nazis Ouster Hits Austrian Schools" as public schools and universities were "crippled" and "suffering from the severe teacher shortage" as the state lacked teachers and as more and more Nazi teachers were still being removed.[60] [reread and rewrite] The long lasting effects of nazifying Viennese teachers is shown as years

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[56] "Unsere Neuanschaffungen," *Verordnungsblatt Des Stadtschulrates Für Wien*, April 15, 1938, VIII edition.
[57] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 15.
[58] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 15. These would have been new ideas in the average Viennese classroom, which will be discussed about later on in this paper at length.
[59] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 16.
[60] "Nazis' Ouster hits Austrian Schools," *New York Times*, October 13, 1946. https://nyti.ms/3DkzURP

after Nazi occupation in Vienna, students, communities, and teachers were still feeling the long lasting impacts of Nazi policy and the elimination of Jewish teachers.

The students affected the most by the Nazi educational policy were the Jewish children, who not only had their youth stolen from them but also their education. However, that is not to say that Jewish children had always been accepted openly in Viennese classrooms. Vienna was the center of the multicultural Habsburg dynasty and had a large majority of ethnic minorities; all of whom sought school for their children. When Austria repealed its last discriminatory law against religious minorities in the reforms of 1848, schools saw a continuous large growth in Jewish children.[61] In Vienna by 1910, "one out of three high school students in Vienna was a religious Jew" and interestingly enough this was "three times more than their share of the population."[62] This can be explained by the fact that many of the Jewish families in the city had "different driving power and value systems" and "expressed themselves mainly in their eagerness to get an education."[63] However, the large number of Jewish students in Viennese classrooms soon proved to be an issue for many Catholic conservatives. When Kurt Schuschnigg took over the Ministry in 1934, he ordered the segregation of classes according to religion. This action immediately led to a response from Jewish leaders as they "protested this action as the beginning of a policy turning Jews into second-class citizens."[64] Even though the government denied that this law was an antisemitic measure, "claiming that it was based upon religious educational needs" and was in the best interests of both Jewish and Catholic children, "there was a long tradition of social and religious anti-Semitism in Austrian Christian Socialism, which

[61] Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918*, 145.
[62] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 327.
[63] Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: a Dictator's Apprenticeship*, 327.
[64] Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38," 194.

tended to blame Jews for the evils of modern capitalism, liberalism, and Marxism."[65] These are the same anti-Jewish sentiments that would be shared and openly expressed by Hitler and the Nazi Party. In Vienna, it is known today that the clerical-fascist regime was antisemitic. However, they avoided "openly espousing the racial anti-Semitism" that can be characterized in Nazi ideology and policy that worked deliberately against Jews and intensified all measures against them in schools.[66]

When the Nazis marched into the city, everyone in Vienna's "diverse and divided Jewish community— regardless of occupation, income, place of residence, or degree of religious observance— faced the same crisis" in the midst of great uncertainty.[67] All of a sudden people's livelihoods were shattered and the country Jews once trusted and called home completely turned its back on them. The years of attempted assimilation and battling antisemitism in Austrian society proved ineffective.[68] In the days following the Anschluss many Austrian Jewish families decided to enroll their children in Jewish schools in order to protect them and ensure their continued education in the midst of anxiety and uncertainty. Those still in public schools faced discrimination, bullying, and racist teachings that targeted their very existence. A little boy named Hanns Peter Herz experienced the brunt of Nazi education in his school. He was the son of a Jewish father and a Protestant mother and according to the Nazis, he was a "Mischling," a "half-breed" or "half-Jew." In his German school, his teacher did not allow him to swim in the pool with the other students during physical education saying, "We won't go into the pool with a half-Jew." In addition, his classmates also bullied him and repeatedly called him a

[65] Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38," 194.
[66] Esden-Tempska, "Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38," 194.
[67] Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction,* 49.
[68] Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction,* 49.

"Judenbengel" or Jewish brat.[69] This was the same experience many Austrian schoolchildren had as the Nazis solidified and institutionalized antisemitism in the classroom. For the children of Moritz Hirschbein, the sixty-year old whose colleague turned his back on him, they were relocated to all-Jewish schools in the second district. While the parents hoped this move would "help to ensure their safety and the chances of continuing their education, the reality sometimes proved contrary."[70] For his daughter Johanna, the new school, although close to home, was unbearable. Johanna recalled that Hitler Youth and other loyal Nazi Austrian children were waiting outside the building to throw objects at the Jewish students on their way in and out of their school building. Soon things got worse for Johanna and other Jewish children in Vienna. After November of 1938, the conditions inside Jewish schools became "increasingly more chaotic with the new forced arrangement of Jewish students and teachers who had recently been dismissed from other schools all over Vienna."[71] Unfortunately, this fear caused Johanna and her siblings to end their public schooling altogether and seek private tutoring at home, an option that the majority of Jewish families turned to by this point. Johanna and her family soon began to question the very existence of the Jewish population in Vienna under the Nazi party and almost overnight, "life in Austria quickly became unmanageable for this Jewish family, as it did for so many others," leaving Jewish children and their teachers stripped of their "core existence" in the public domain."[72]

One of the main ways Nazi ideologies impacted Viennese schools was through the implementation of Nazi curriculum and textbooks. Academic subjects were Nazified and even

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[69] Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow*, 42.
[70] Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 44.
[71] Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 44-45.
[72] Offenberger, *The Jews of Nazi Vienna, 1938-1945: Rescue and Destruction*, 44-45.

"blatantly distorted to fit the National Socialist mold."[73] Under Hitler's view "every area of a German youth's school day was altered, but particularly in the fields of history, geography, biology, athletics, and the new subject of Erblehre und Rassenkunde, or inheritance and racial science."[74] Schools were transformed to produce students ready to carry Nazi ideology and beliefs in the future and create loyal and above all else obedient students in a strict authoritarian classroom. This was also the case in Viennese schools. Yet, Viennese public school education under Hitler looked very similar to the interwar years. In terms of the structure of the curriculum, Austrian schools were already authoritarian in nature and bled German nationalism. The main difference and addition of the Nazi party was the added racist dimension and solidification of all things Nazi Germany.

Austrian education had a deep-rooted tradition of authoritarianism and was based on the development of self-discipline and character. In many Austrian schools, there was a strict set of rules and regulations that had to be followed, such as "proper dress, cleanliness, general comportment, and punctuality" teaching children not only self-discipline but feelings of purpose and structure.[75] These schools, similar to German ones, relied on the mastery of the material. Teachers did not spend their time coddling students and were remembered as being tyrannical instructors who assessed them daily and wanted perfection.[76] However, before 1934 public schools did very little to foster true Austrian nationalism in the classroom. Historically, in Austria, identity and nationality have been something often disputed and even totally nonexistent. The majority of patriotic feelings in Austria were founded and focused on the Habsburg dynasty, which represented the whole of the multinational empire and was not specific

[73] Fischer, "Life in Nazi Germany," in *Nazi Germany: a New History*, 349.
[74] Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth," *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005): 192.
[75] Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918*, 216.
[76] Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria*, 1848-1918, 217.

to an Austrian consciousness. Nonetheless, because of this the majority of Austrians simply identified themselves as Germans "since they were the dominant group in the empire."[77] However, with the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, any sense of Austrian patriotism disappeared. This is reflected in Austrian schools as "public education in the postwar republic did nothing to build a sense of Austrian nationhood."[78]

Before the 1930s, if nationalism was promoted at all in Viennese schools it was German rather than Austrian as the curriculum found in schools "made no distinction between Austrian and German culture."[79] Even the Ministry of Education used the term German instead of Austrian whenever possible and in 1927 instituted a school law defining the general goal of Austrian secondary schools as being the "formation of educated Germans" and ensured that textbooks emphasized even some textbooks emphasized [???] "pan-German national history."[80] For example, one middle-school textbook expressed that "Austria was a German land from time immemorial and is inhabited almost exclusively by Germans" and essentially belongs with Germany.[81] Teachers were instructed that all reading material and essay themes should be a combination of German patriotic "consciousness and attitudes."[82] Also, in geography, textbooks pointed out other parts of the world in relation to Germany and Austria and then their geographic, economic, and cultural connections. The overall educational goal of Austrian geography class was to make students "devoted to Homeland and Fatherland" and awaken "a joy in the physical beauties" and achievements of their homeland while continuously putting an

[77] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 200.
[78] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 200.
[79] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 200.
[80] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 200.
[81] Thorpe, "Austrofascism: Revisiting the 'Authoritarian State' 40 Years On," 328-329.
[82] Thorpe, "Austrofascism: Revisiting the 'Authoritarian State' 40 Years On," 202.

emphasis on Austria's true Germanness.[83] Outside of the core curriculum classes, physical education was very important in civic education in the years leading up to the Anschluss and was found in every Viennese student's daily schedule. Sports in education were supposed to teach students about teamwork and team spirit, beyond the use of physical education for creating physically fit students.[84] However, even before Hitler's educational policy required boys to go through military training, the Austrian curriculum in 1935 "introduced premilitary training as part of the physical education program for boys" while girls went on hikes and learned about their role as "patriotic" wives and mothers.[85] The goal of pre-military training in Austria was to promote heroic instincts where students "marching around in gym class and on school hikes was supposed to make boys feel like the future heroes of the fatherland" and their Austrian "ABCs" was there to "reminded them, after all, that "S" stood for "soldiers," which "we all are" for our "Fatherland." Here through both gym class and their textbooks students learned the values of discipline, obedience, comradeship, loyalty, courage, and decisiveness, four years before Hitler came to power and solidified these sentiments. [86] By doing this, the Austrian government was not just imitating German Nazi methods of indoctrinating youth in schools but was trying to win over the Austrian young people and hold them under state control.[87] By 1935, a new type of civic education emerged and according to the Austrian curriculum "a good patriotic education should "awaken in students a love of their Austrian fatherland and lead them to willing and dutiful integration into the state community and to respect and follow the constitution and laws."[88] These sentiments acted as the springboard that allowed Nazi educational policy to solidify the

[83] Thorpe, "Austrofascism: Revisiting the 'Authoritarian State' 40 Years On," 328-329.
[84] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 210.
[85] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 210.
[86] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 210.
[87] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 210.
[88] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38*, 199.

already existing authoritarian Germanic nationalism and patriotism in the classroom where phrases like homeland, fatherland, and Volk would seem very familiar to Viennese students and would only be adapted and accepted to fit Nazi ideology, while also executing the development of racial studies, eugenics, and military training in their curriculum and textbooks.

[Transition needs work] In the month following the Anschluss, a newspaper clip from *The New York Times* spoke on April 24th, 1938 of Nazis purging Viennese libraries of more than 1.2 million books of "non-Aryan" works to be burned, even including parts of the Austrian National Collection dating back to the sixteenth century.[89] In addition, three days later the NYT reported that literature with any form of "anti-Nazi tendencies" was to be locked up in a special room along with other works that had been previously banned by the Schuschnigg administration, as well as restricting booksellers from selling any of these volumes.[90] Although this did not speak specifically to Viennese schools in the days following the Anschluss, these newspaper articles give needed insight into the expansive scope that "nazifying" literature and books took in Austria, which can also be seen in public school textbooks and curricula. The introduction and use of new school textbooks helped the Nazi pedagogues in their aim of "inculcating pupils with Nazi ideology." At first, when looking at education under the Nazis in Germany, "there were many different textbooks in the curriculum, which displeased NSDAP ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg."[91] He ordered that all school textbooks had to be examined for their ideological content before they could be used. From here, the Ministry of Education began to "actively implement this idea, removing old readers from the curriculum and replacing them with new ones" which can also be seen in Austria as Nazi banned, locked up, and destroyed anti-

[89] "Nazis to Purge Vienna Library 'Non-Aryan' Works to Be Burned," *New York Times,* April 24, 1938. https://nyti.ms/3jhDqWs
[90] "Austria To Lock Up Books Proscribed by the Nazi," *New York Times,* April 27, 1938. https://nyti.ms/3HkzV9u
[91] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 41.

Nazi literature in Vienna."[92] In Vienna, the implementation of new schoolbooks in the curriculum can be seen in an unpublished schoolbook from a first-grade class located at Hegelgasse 12. The excerpt from the schoolbook is titled, "Adolf Hitler Is Our Führer!" and reads:

> We are Germans: the way we say hello is, Heil Hitler!
> Rudi is a German boy.
> Lise is a German girl.
> Rudi says hello: Heil Hitler!
> Lise says hello: Heil Hitler!
> All Germans love their Führer![93]

Not only does this show the implementation of new Nazi school books but it also shows the very foundational basis of Nazi education that was present in Vienna, the Führerprinzip in which Hitler was "omnipresent in the classroom: in texts, images, and, as a first-grade student's notebook shows, the now-obligatory "German greeting" of "Heil Hitler."[94] Nevertheless, the Nazi Party worked to ensure a "completely regimented and standardized system of school textbooks" and by 1941 throughout the Third Reich textbook production fell exclusively under the NSDAP Press, the Eher Verlag, the main publishing house of the Nazi Party.[95] Soon textbooks showed images of hardened combat troops marching in formation alongside childish stories of rabbits, robins, and flowers. Similar stories can be found in Vienna's schools, such as *Der Pudelmopsdackelpinscher* by Ernst Hiemer, who published many antisemitic children's books that encouraged "racism by comparing Jews to other supposedly inferior races."[96] In addition, whenever possible textbooks showed pictures and told stories of the Führer to "arouse

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[92] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 41.
[93] "Adolf Hitler Is Our Führer!" Schulbuch und Wein, In *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, edited by Rabinbach, Anson, Anson. Rabinbach, and Sander L. Gilman, 393 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, CA, 2013), 392.
[94] Rabinbach and Gilman, *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, (University of California Press, CA, 2013) 390.
[95] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 42.
[96] The Wiener Holocaust Library, "Life in Nazi Germany," *In The Holocaust Explained: Designed for Schools*, n.d.

enthusiasm for the Nazi cause" in the classroom as students were indoctrinated in Nazi policy, beliefs, and above all else pride in their German homeland.[97]

The most drastic change to the school curriculum in Vienna was the addition of a new subject, racial science and eugenics.[98] Even though Vienna had a long history of antisemitism, there was never any blatant racist curriculum such as the addition of a new school subject in students' schedules. Racial studies became an obligatory subject in all Nazi schools in both Austria and Germany, completing the solidification of antisemitism in the classroom by making it a learned and studied part of everyday life in Vienna. In racial studies, teachers taught the importance of both race and heredity "for the future of the nation" in order to awaken a sense of responsibility toward their nation. By implementing racial studies and eugenics in schools Hitler was able to offer a "pedagogical foundation and legitimization to the persecution of the Jews."[99] In new science lessons, students were taught that "Aryans belonged to a superior master race that was intended to rule Europe" and in eugenics lessons, "children were taught that Aryans should marry only healthy Aryans." They were drilled in the idea not to "mix their blood" by marrying non-Aryans and that they had a duty to bring "order and sense into a wicked world" and that they were the "privileged members of the Herrenrasse" or master race.[100] These were the ideas expressed by Nazi pedagogue, Fritz Fink, who "called for anti-Semitism to pervade the entire curriculum, at all age levels" in the classroom and "furnished educators with information about the Jews that they could use in their lessons, even if they had little experience of the subject."[101] In Vienna, students' heads were filled with images of racist and stereotypical images of Jews and

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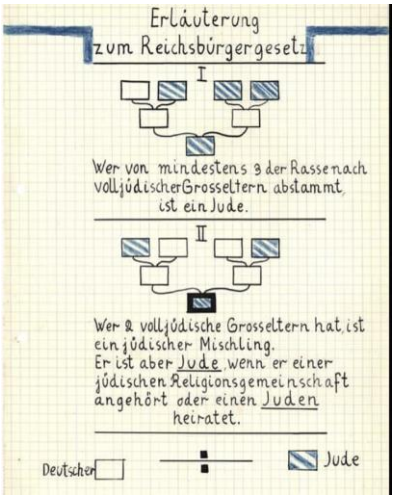
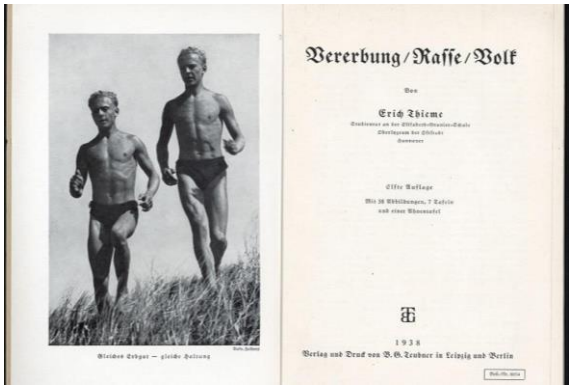
[97] Fischer, "Life in Nazi Germany," *Nazi Germany: a New History*, 350.
[98] Fischer, "Life in Nazi Germany," *Nazi Germany: a New History*, 347.
[99] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 57.
[100] Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow*, 42.
[101] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 57.

were taught topics of the Nuremberg Laws and how to correctly identify and define if a person was a Jew. This is shown in the drawing above from the Wiener Holocaust Library, in which a young girl named Gerda Nabe drew in one of her school textbooks the hereditary definition of a Jew or Mischling (half-Jew).[102] This drawing by Gerda also hints at one of the most important topics taught in racial studies classrooms, the idea of family genealogy and racial purity. Teachers asked students who their parents were and told them to be proud of their pure German blood.[103] Not only could this have been used to weed out Jewish children early on in the establishment of Nazi power in Austria, but it was also used to teach children who the ideal German was through images found in race textbooks. The image below highlights a Nazi textbook used to teach the "Race Sciences" published in 1938 showing young, strong, tall, and physically fit "pure" German males.[104]



Physical education was another subject that was influenced by the Nazis in Viennese schools that went hand-in-hand with racial studies and ensured the future of the Third Reich. As opposed to Austria, Germany had been "based on a strong exercise movement before the turn of the century," upon which the Nazi party built by emphasizing the "nationalist aspect of sport and its



[102] The Wiener Holocaust Library, "Everyday Life," In The Holocaust Explained: Designed for Schools," n.d.
[103] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 58.
[104] The Wiener Holocaust Library, "Education," In The Holocaust Explained: Designed for Schools," n.d.

significance in educating the people."[105] Physical education, however, was a large part of the school day even prior to the Anschluss. However, for National Socialists, sports and physical education rejected standard ideas of "top performance and professionalism" and began focusing on making people as a whole fit to fight. Shortly after the Anschluss all sports, even clubs outside of schools were subject to changes. Soon PE class became training in "military qualities and 'race' consciousness was promoted and a strict separation of the sexes" was introduced in all aspects of physical fitness. In addition, all club sports in Vienna were abolished completely for young people, while school sports and fitness were expanded significantly and took over all aspects of physical activities, especially through the Hitler Youth.[106] Through increasing and revamping physical education, all Third Reich schools increased fitness from two or three hours a week to at least five hours in 1938. For students in the Third Reich, physical activity had to be taken extremely seriously as all students had to pass "stringent standards of physical proficiency as a prerequisite for both entrance and graduation requirements" and those who did not were at risk of being dismissed from school.[107] All of this was to ensure that the new "Nazi superman" was above anything else physically fit and to do this the Nazis indoctrinated this into the youth of the Reich.

Nazi textbooks also helped to nazify other school subjects in the classroom. In addition to racial studies and fitness, other subjects began to depict Nazi ideology in textbooks in Vienna. [good, keep bringing these general patterns and tendencies back into the Viennese setting]. History class focused on the greatness of Germany and taught the correlation between Germany's defeat in World War I and the Jews. History class showed a true emphasis on

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[105] Matthias Marschik, "Between Manipulation and Resistance: Viennese Football in the Nazi Era," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, no. 2 (1999): 218-219.
[106] Marschik, "Between Manipulation and Resistance: Viennese Football in the Nazi Era," 219.
[107] Fischer, "Life in Nazi Germany," in *Nazi Germany: a New History*, 349.

German nationalism while also allowing antisemitism to enter every aspect of Hitler's "new" history. In addition, geography lessons began to depict ideals of *Lebensraum* or the need for German living space at the expense of the Jewish and Slavic populations.[108] However, to show the true impact of Nazi education and ideology in Vienna the implication of German nationalism and the Nazi war cause can be seen even in a subject as straightforward as math. In general, math textbooks dealt with problems of politics and warfare and were based on examples of "bullet trajectories, aircraft, cannons, and bombs."[109] For example, young students were given the following situation:

> A bombing plane can be loaded with one explosive bomb of 35 kilograms, three bombs of 100 kilograms, four gas bombs of 150 kilograms, and 200 incendiary bombs of one kilogram". The questions the students then had to solve and answer were: "What is the load capacity? What is the percentage of each type of bomb? How many incendiary bombs of 0.5 kilograms could be added if the load capacity were increased by 50 percent?[110]

Questions like this were not uncommon in math texts for children of all ages across the Third Reich. An image of a Nazi-Viennese math textbook comes from the *Wiener Holocaust Library Collection* and gives an example of a math problem students would solve in figuring out state expenditure on "hereditarily ill" and "inferior" people, exemplifying the way in which Nazi ideology pervaded the school curriculum.[111] This problem specifically was asking to find "what was the cost of care for the

[108] Stephen Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth," *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005): 193-194.
[109] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 51-52.
[110] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 51-52.
[111] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 52.

hereditary sick" and aimed to show children that disabled people in the Third Reich were a "financial burden on the state."[112] This shows not only a prime example of Nazi textbooks in Vienna but also highlights the Nazi policy towards the disabled population in the Third Reich.[113]

One of the biggest changes to the Viennese classroom and curriculum was the restriction and then elimination of religion in public schools. Before the Anschluss, all public schools offered religion as a class, and the Catholic Church had exclusive control over it by making it compulsory for all Catholic children in all grades.[114] As mentioned earlier in this paper, religious studies were separated according to individuals' religion, and this was a major concern for the Nazis as they reformed education in Vienna. With the exception of the Jews, since they were banned from schools, there "was considerable concern among Nazi educational leaders that Protestant and Catholic children had been separated in denominational schools." This division could not continue under Nazi leadership as they stressed that "children should be together in order to understand and appreciate the further unity of the community, our Volk." [115] This division also applied in terms of private Catholic schools. In order to create a "classless" and "ideologically comprehensive educational system" Nazis placed more and more restrictions on private schools until they were eliminated altogether in the name of building the "national community."[116] A *New York Times* article from September 2nd, 1938 not only explains that the "state and Nazis will educate all" in Vienna, but also that all religious and private schools in the country were to be closed by September 19th.[117] With the elimination of religious and private

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[112] The Wiener Holocaust Library, "Education," In The Holocaust Explained: Designed for Schools," n.d.
[113] For more on Nazi policy towards "hereditarily ill" and "inferior" people see Henry Freidander "The Exclusion and Murder of the Disabled." In *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, edited by Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus, 145–64 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv301hb7.9.
[114] Esden-Tempska, *Civic Education in Authoritarian Austria, 1934–38,* 194.
[115] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany*, 28-29.
[116] Pine, *Education in Nazi Germany,* 28.
[117] "Austria Will Close Religious Schools; State and Nazis to Educate All Beginning Sept. 19," *New York Times,* September 2, 1938. https://nyti.ms/405rdEI

schools, the Nazis hoped to decrease the church's role in society" and standardize education under state control and not the church.[118] Soon crucifixes were removed from school walls and portraits of Adolf Hitler replaced them. Prayers were replaced by "a new way to pray" as eight-year-old German Elizabeth Vetter recalled. She explained that "they extended their arms in the Nazi salute, saying, 'Adolf Hitler, guide us into the new Reich.'" Explaining how students had simply no choice but to belong to Hitler and worship him.[119] Even though this is an account of a German schoolgirl, a similar situation can be found in Vienna, Austria. The same school board ordinance report mentioned previously from April 15th, 1938, just over a month after the Nazi seizure of power in Vienna mentions that a portrait of the Führer was released under the headline "Das für Schulen offizielle Bild des Führers und Reichskanzlers" or "The official picture of the Führer and Reich Chancellor for schools" which would be hung up in all Viennese classrooms.[120]

In general, Hitler's policy towards religion in public schools reflects his treatment of the Catholic Church in terms of his attempts to seek cooperation then ultimately leading to exclusion and oppression of religious curriculum in Viennese classrooms.[121] In the years before the Anschluss, decrees were issued stating that student in secondary schools no longer had to attend morning prayers, school services, school masses, or other religious observance. Although Nazi policy did not eliminate these services, they made them voluntary and forbade any public school from making religious attendance compulsory. In addition, all Third Reich religion teachers and clergymen were required to "take a positive attitude and place themselves with their whole

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[118] Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era*, 96.
[119] Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow*, 40.
[120] "Unsere Neuanschaffungen," *Verordnungsblatt des Stadtschulrates Für Wien*, April 15, 1938, VIII edition.
[121] Ernst C. Helmreich, "Religious Education In Germany: I. The Weimar Republic and Hitler," In *Current History* 19, no. 109 (1950): 158.

personality behind the National Socialist state" and "withhold themselves from every negative action against National Socialisms" in the classroom and beyond. [122] To further the restriction placed upon religious education in Third Reich schools, by 1937 all religious studies were to be taught by lay teachers and clergymen were only to be called upon when qualified lay teachers were not available and to so this they had to swear an oath of loyalty to Hitler.[123] A following law issued in 1937 was the General Education Act, which limited religious education in schools in secondary education to two hours a week in the first four years to only one in the last four years. However, interestingly enough, although religious education was limited very few new religious instruction books were officially adopted and old ones used under the Republic continued.[124] However, in the years following the Anschluss and the height of war, more serious measures were taken and reduced religious studies to one hour a week and schools were instructed to focused to emphasize a more "practical education" in alignment with the Nazi policy.[125] In Vienna, and across the Third Reich religious education lost more and more importance as schools began removing academic grades from religious studies. By the end of 1941 religious studies was on longer showing up on Viennese children's report cards, indicating the decline of religious education in public education. For the students of Vienna, they witness a new "God" step in as the head of their state. Hitler and Nazi policy consumed all levels of life and education in order to ensure that the future and ideals of the Reich would live on in the minds, hearts and souls of children. Viennese students would not see religion take a center stage in education until after the

[122] Helmreich, "Religious Education In Germany: I. The Weimar Republic and Hitler," 158.
[123] Helmreich, "Religious Education In Germany: I. The Weimar Republic and Hitler," 159.
[124] Helmreich, "Religious Education In Germany: I. The Weimar Republic and Hitler," 161.
[125] Helmreich, "Religious Education In Germany: I. The Weimar Republic and Hitler," 161.

collapse of the Third Reich. Although religious education was never removed in totality the changes made by the Nazi would have impacted students who grew up in a starkly Catholic country, where clergy made up and had a large influence over private and public education. For the majority of schools, crucifixes were not restored until April of 1946, almost eight years exactly since they were removed, as reported in the *New York Times*.[126]

Besides the use of curriculum and much more for Nazi youth coordination, Hitler focused on the implementation of extracurricular youth movements. For Hitler and the Nazi party, they were able to build off of and use the tradition of right-leaning youth movements in both Germany and Austria. Hitler then proceeded to solidify these youth movements and expanded the HJ under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach.[127] Under the HJ, young boys ages ten to fourteen were organized into the Deutsches Jungvolk (German Young People) or informally called *Pimpfe*. For boys ages fourteen to eighteen, they joined the HJ. Girls were not excluded from joining Hitler Youth groups and were separated also into two groups. Young girls aged ten to fourteen joined the Jungmadelbund or Federation of Young Maidens. For older girls and young women ages fourteen to eighteen made up the BDM or Bund Deutscher Mädel, the Federation of German Maidens). By December 1936, the "Hitler Youth Law" stated that "The future of the German people rests on the young. All German youth must therefore be prepared for their future duties…The entire German youth, outside of the home and the school, are to be educated

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[126] "Crucifixes Restored in Austrian Schools," *New York Times*, April 18, 1946. https://nyti.ms/3JkbkV8 For more information regarding Nazi policy and religion in Vienna, please see Radomir V. Luža, "Nazi Control of the Austrian Catholic Church, 1939-1941," *The Catholic Historical Review* 63, no. 4 (1977) 537–72. As well as, Evan Burr Buckey's, "Austrian Catholicism: Antipathy and Accommodation," in *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era*, 1945 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[127] Von Schirach came from an aristocratic and cosmopolitan Berlin family. His mother was an American whose family had ties with American independence. He joined the Nazi Party when he was eighteen and studied German culture and art history at the University of Munich. He was a dedicated antisemitic and became a part of Hitler's inner circle. For more information on Von Schirach see Stephen Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth," *The History Teacher* 38, no. 2 (2005):189–207. https://doi.org/10.2307/1555719.

physically, spiritually, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism for the service of the nation" and provided that von Schirach reported directly to Hitler himself.[128] For the Nazi party, Hitler was not content with control of just the school day and wanted to ensure that children were well educated in Nazi ideology and beliefs throughout the rest of the week and during the hours not spent in the classroom. Their goal was to "continue the indoctrination process" started in school by controlling children's free time in order to ensure a generation loyal to the Führer and teach that above anything else the state was more important than the individual. For young boys, their time was spent understanding and learning the ideals of service, blind obedience, camaraderie, paramilitary drills, and physical fitness.[129] On a normal day, young boys would spend their afternoons and evenings "in indoctrination sessions on Nazi concepts of nationalism and anti-Semitism." They were taught they were born to fight and die for Germany. Their activities included "courage and endurance tests, campouts, hiking, singing patriotic songs, team-building, rigorous physical training, boxing and wrestling competitions, map and orienteering instruction, field exercises, and target practice, in addition to practical service activities such as helping out with the local harvest, tree planting, and learning trades" all for the good of their homeland and its future.[130] For young girls, in the BDM and Jungmadelbund, their indoctrination also focused on ideology and physical fitness, but had a strong emphasis on the preparation of girls for their future roles as wives and mothers, where girls learned domestic skills. Despite this, their groups too wore uniforms, were structured in a military-style hierarchy, and participated in some paramilitary training along with their male counterparts. For all children, the HJ took shape and offered its members "excitement, adventure, and new heroes to worship. It gave them hope,

[128] Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth," 195.
[129] Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth," 195-196.
[130] Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth," 196.

power, and the chance to make their voices heard." And for some children just looking for outlets against strict rules and expectations, it provided many with the opportunity to "rebel against parents, teachers, clergy, and other authority figures."[131] However, by 1939, HJ was "definitely put into practice" and made participation compulsory (*Jugenddienstpflicht*) for all children of the Third Reich, including Viennese children.[132]

In the morning following the Anschluss, Baldur von Schirach, the Reich Youth Leader, addressed over 4000 young Viennese children, many still wearing their Catholic youth organization uniforms who had all gathered to greet him. He praised them for their loyalty and said that he was bringing greetings from seven million boys and girls "who belong to Adolf Hitler and are eager to share your joy."[133] From this point on, Viennese youth membership was compulsory for all children and any other youth organizations were banned. However, what was the impact of the Hitler Youth in Vienna and on education? One might argue that it was overarchingly extreme as all other groups were banned, but this was not necessarily the case. Prior to the Nazi Anschluss, Kurt von Schuschnigg, then Minister of Education, introduced the idea of a compulsory youth organization, under the "auspices of the Fatherland Front" in 1934. He argued that an organization like this would be the "essential ingredient in the creation of a genuine patriotic front."[134] Schuschnigg explained to his cabinet: "The state must strive ... to bring all young men into its sphere of influence. ... In addition to the educative functions of church, school, and home, youth should be brought into a close relationship with the state, the

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[131] Bartoletti, *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler's Shadow*, 7.
[132] Alexander Mejstrik, "Urban Youth, National-Socialist Education and Specialized Fun: The Making of the Vienna Schlurfs, 1941-44," in *European Cities, Youth and the Public Sphere in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Detlef Seigfried and Axel Schildt, 57-79 (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 66.
[133] Weyr, *The Setting of the Pearl: Vienna Under Hitler*, 33.
[134] Laura Gellott, "Defending Catholic Interests in the Christian State: The Role of Catholic Action in Austria, 1933-1938," *The Catholic Historical Review* 74, no. 4 (1988): 579.

spirit of class conflict expunged, and the feeling of national identity deepened."[135] The Catholic Church in response to such action proposed to maintain a separate Catholic youth movement as both Vienna and Austria as a whole had a deep-rooted tradition of Catholic youth movements and that it was a part of the Church's educational mission.[136] In the months before the Anschluss, most of Vienna's youth were members of the Catholic youth group as they had three times as many participants as any other state organization.[137] However, with the coming of the Anschluss, many of these children and even their leaders and teachers switched allegiances to the Nazis. Members of the Austrian Fatherland Front "might have questioned the legitimacy of an Austrian fatherland, but they held no objections to identification with the German nation."[138] Sentiments that would make the installation of the Hitler Youth in Austria, specifically Vienna, an easier task than some would suspect as many Austrian youth groups might be better seen as "training for dual citizenship as members of an Austrian state and members of a German-speaking national community."[139]

The presence of the HJ in Vienna was extremely strong and shows Hitler's success in what other youth movements could never completely do, the solidification of a strong singular Germanic youth movement that would touch every Viennese child and affect traditional Viennese education under the Nazi regime. In Austria, the HJ first appeared in 1931 but was one of the city's illegal Nazi organizations. However, before the Anschluss, the HJ area of Vienna covered the district of the Reichsgau and comprised ten different groups of children, all eagerly

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[135] Gellott, "Defending Catholic Interests in the Christian State: The Role of Catholic Action in Austria, 1933-1938," 579.
[136] Gellott, "Defending Catholic Interests in the Christian State: The Role of Catholic Action in Austria, 1933-1938," 579.
[137] Julie Thorpe, "Austrofascism: Revisiting the 'Authoritarian State' 40 Years On," *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 2 (2010): 320.
[138] Thorpe, "Austrofascism: Revisiting the 'Authoritarian State' 40 Years On," 330.
[139] Thorpe, "Austrofascism: Revisiting the 'Authoritarian State' 40 Years On," 330.

waiting to officially join the ranks of the Nazi Party. Not only does this provide insight into the antisemitic and German nationalistic beliefs present before March 1938, but also shows the complete solidification of youth movements and the intensification of many popular beliefs in the city. By 1939, membership in the HJ became a legal obligation announced by the Reich governor of Austria on March 25th, 1939.[140] From 1941, the HJ in Vienna was particularly interested and committed to the "task of establishing youth order (Jugendordnung)" among all children, even those who did not agree with the Nazi Party.[141] In November of 1941, The Viennese Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo) headquarters reported the arrest of three young boys who supposedly and "spitefully destroyed a notice board of the Hitlerjugend."[142] Although little information is known of the extent of this "crime" it is known by this time that the Hitler Youth, in general, had solidified control over the city of Vienna. This can be seen in Vienna and Lower Austrian Feldpostbreife Neiderdonau as images of young children in military formations, participation in training camps, young girls sewing military uniforms, and local HJ news became published material for those to read.[143] These Feldpostbreife acted as national propaganda to spread Nazi ideology and to show children what a true Nazi hero looked like. For example, a Feldpostbreif from the following month, February of 1942, publicized a poem named "Words of a Young Leader" by Karl Lanig showing young boys what it means to be a Nazi leader. In summary, the poem speaks of brave Viennese boys who "bear the signs of this holy war" and who fight to end "human cunning and human suffering" and if their life ends early their souls

[140] "Hitlerjugend," Stadt Wien Geschichte, Stadt Wien, November 30, 2021.
[141] Mejstrik, "Urban Youth, National-Socialist Education and Specialized Fun: the Making of the Vienna Schlurfs, 1941-44," 66.
[142] Mejstrik, "Urban Youth, National-Socialist Education and Specialized Fun: the Making of the Vienna Schlurfs, 1941-44," 57.
[143] Nationalbibliothek, Zeitschriftenstelle, "Front Der Jugend Feldpostbrief Niederdonau: Issue 9," Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Januar 1942.

shall be "wrapped" in the Nazi flag.[144] These ideals instilled a commitment to the Third Reich on Viennese children as Feldpostbreife circulated among the children, taught them, and inspired them in loyalty to their country. Above all else it taught, solidified, and institutionalized Austrian German nationalism in the Viennese youth.

When looking at the extent to which Nazi educational policy changed Viennese schools, it can be determined that changes made were not as overarching and momentous as one would simply assume. Due to Vienna's deep-rooted antisemitism and national identity crisis leading to sweeping sentiments of German nationalism, Nazi educational policy did not transform education in totality but simply solidified and institutionalized movements and beliefs that had been forming throughout the interwar years in Vienna, Austria. Seen through the implication of the Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund or NSLB, antisemitic actions towards Jewish teachers existed well before the Anschluss were developed in a deliberate removal of all enemies of the Nazi state, in this case, Jews. In addition, Jewish students who fought their way through years of marginalization and attempts to push them to become second-class citizens were threatened, attacked, and officially removed from Viennese schools; something that would have pleased old Catholic Conservatives who had spoken out against Jews in the classroom in the past. In addition, with the solidification of antisemitic attitudes, German nationalism and identity was developed and evolved through Nazi educational policy in the classroom. What had been a sense of national German identity in Vienna became something much more as Nazis strategically and deliberately indoctrinated children with the viewpoints of the state. With this in mind it was Hitler's hope that young Viennese children would become the next great generation of strong, pure, and above all patriotic loyal citizens to the Führer as curriculum and textbooks were

[144] Nationalbibliothek, Zeitschriftenstelle, "Front Der Jugend Feldpostbrief Niederdonau: Issue 10," Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Februar 1942.

adapted to fit the Nazi agenda. Nonetheless, true German, or Nazi, nationalism could be found in the establishment of the HJ in Vienna and its successes in further indoctrinating the Viennese youth and unifying them, unlike previous chancellors who had attempted but did not prevail to the extent that Hitler did in changing Viennese patterns of education and youth activities.

Epilogue

My experiences teaching in an Austrian secondary school and post-war Victimization myths that survive in contemporary education.

When looking back on Vienna's past there are two versions that come to mind. One of the glory, beauty, and splendor of places and landscapes filled with art, culture, and intellect. However, since 1938, there has been a more recent and unappetizing legacy that came with Austria's union with Nazi Germany.[145] However, to combat this vision is the myth that Austria was simply a victim of Nazi occupation and annexation that has "enabled Austrian politicians, teachers, school officials, and other nation-builders to turn recent Austrian history" into what some historians claim the term a "usable" past.[146] In many post-war Austrian schools, the "usable past" offered by this victimization myth has become essential in constructing a new imagined post-war Austrian nation and community and is reflected in many school textbooks.[147] Textbooks and even the new Austrian government began focusing on an Austrian identity based on Austrian uniqueness such as the "glory of the Babenberg's and the Habsburgs, the Turkish

[145] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria,"1-2.
[146] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria," 2.
[147] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria," 2

wars, the grandeur of Austrian architecture, and the Austrian landscape." Images and ideas that "were areas ripe for harvesting images of national identity."[148] This went hand in hand and developed out of the Allied occupation of Vienna and their hopes of ensuring "the institution of a progressive long-term educational program designed to eradicate all traces of Nazi ideology."[149] However, this was certainly no easy task for the Allies, "given the level to which Austrian schools had been subjected to the Nazi Gleichschaltung."[150] Postwar Austrian school officials were faced with the almost impossible task of "educating children and young adults in difficult material circumstances, as well as re-educating students who had been educated in the Nazi curriculum for as many as five and one-half school years."[151] However, in their attempt to undo everything that the Nazis had instilled in Viennese youth, there was one oversight that led to an obscured view of the reality of Austria's involvement and even guilt when it came to Hitler and WWII. By filling children's heads with images and visions of patriotism, culture, Heimat, Landschaft, and Catholicism in textbooks from pre-war years, it is argued that "collectively, these themes underscored the uniqueness of Austria and thereby distanced Austria from Nazi Germany" by using education to push the focus away from Nazi Austria and to the days before the war.[152]

Through personal experiences teaching in a Viennese secondary school, the victimization myth lives on in different ways. Not necessarily in the idea that Austrians do not accept any

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[148] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria", 28.
[149] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria", 32.
[150] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria," 33.
[151] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria," 33.
[152] Utgaard, "Remembering and Forgetting Nazism: Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria," 35.

blame, but in the fact that they wholeheartedly do not like to be called "German"- they are without a doubt Austrian. Even in the school's way of addressing and talking about the Holocaust and the atrocities committed by Hitler there is a sense of deflecting and distance between Austria and Germany. Primarily Holocaust education is taught in German class, not necessarily History. In German class, the children read books such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* and *When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit,* when dealing with "what happened in Austria."[153] Even though students learn about the realities of the Holocaust and the evils of Hitler, they fail to look at Austria as a perpetrator and skim over Austria's involvement outside the Anschluss. In addition, the online institution used by many secondary schools that assists teachers with Holocaust education is through the city "wien.info" and only focuses on "Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstands" or Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance. Implying that the only important involvement in Vienna and Austria was the resistance to the Anschluss once again adds to the victimization myth that is only combated when looking at Vienna and the Anschluss as a continuation and intensification of an already German and antisemitic state. Until ideas of Austrian victimization are destroyed, it is safe to say that Hitler's educational policies did not overarchingly shatter or challenge existing policies and beliefs then and now they live on through individuals' failure to accept responsibility. In simple terms, Hitler and the Nazis solidified an already antisemitic German country, a city that is still haunted and afraid to face fully that reality in contemporary education and even society.

[153] E. Steinberger, email sent to author, March 24, 2023. [Overall, footnotes are in good shape, but there are a number of small items to clean up in them. 1-]

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