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EDUCATING YOUNG ZIONISTS – SIEGFRIED BERNFELD

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Abstract:

Bernfeld belongs to the 2nd generation of psychoanalysts from which some participated in the (Jewish) Youth Movement. During the Great War Bernfeld energetically promoted Zionism (to which he most probably belonged since 1914), socialism, and psychoanalysis. Like many youth-movement leaders he considered school reform as fundamental; he set up alternatives to school, where youths might gather free from sexual and class domination. From Bernfeld a wide range of emancipatory discourse developed, ranging from education, and pedagogics over to treatment of juvenile delinquents and to prison reforms. As a Freud-Marxist he examined education from this perspective and was involved in theoretical controversies about educational and other issues. His reflections on a progressive education and a just community have had a great impact on the foundation of schools (e. g.: Alexander Neill, Summerhill/1924) which makes him a very current educator. As a Zionist he had a tremendous impact on the kibbutz style of education through the youth-group Hashomer Hatzair, some of his disciples (e. g.: David Idelson, Yehuda Ron-Polani) ending up in Israel. Via the Berliner Psychoanalytische Institut (The Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, Today: The Karl Abraham Institute) he also impacted many psychologists (e.g.: Karl Abraham, Franz Alexander, Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Wilhelm Reich, Theodor Reik, René Spitz). Bernfeld is also one of the great hubs of the modern discourse on evolutionary psychology that needs a re-appraisal, and was even involved with early philosophical positivism, and discussed his theories with Moritz Schlick and Hans Reichenbach. Many of Bernfeld's papers disappeared during the Hitler era and have, unfortunately, not yet been translated into English. What makes Bernfeld both worthy of research and enjoyable, is his combination of theoretical profundity and wit.

Keywords: adolescence – education - Great War - psychoanalysis – Youth Movement–Zionism

Introduction:

Siegfried Bernfeld is no longer present in the scientific community, although he had played a significant role in the discourse both on education and psychology. His highly progressive ideas are deeply embedded in the context of the German Youth Movement which in itself is deplorably neglected. The Great War was for so many young people a traumatic caesura and an eye-opener that questioned the status quo and the traditions that were seen as the war-causes. Many of the mainly young intellectuals developed ideas that may sound utopian, but still deserve a serious and creative re-appraisal. They may contribute to a reconsideration of deeply entrenched prejudices. It is a sad fact that the inspirations that the Youth Movement made are no longer considered in the present. Both the research into the historical context and the theoretical issues make Bernfeld a highly interesting subject. His educational ideas are forward-looking: His school was co-educational, its aim was to help rather than control the children, psychological difficulties were explored rather than suppressed, and sexual problems were approached in an enlightened way, based on Freudian libidinal theories that made Bernfeld question traditional norms and institutions.

Materials And Methods:

The paper is based on writings by Siegfried Bernfeld and articles from Jewish journals and intentionally integrates much visual material in order to vividly illustrate the atmosphere surrounding the Youth Movement and Zionism.

Introduction - Biography



<https://www.hagalil.com/wp-content/uploads/bernfeld5.jpg>

Siegfried Bernfeld was an organizer of youth movements, an editor, an academic psychologist, a functionary in Jewish organizations, a founder of an experimental school, a practicing analyst, and a teacher of psychoanalysis. He was born as Neil Gillma Siegfried (=Selig) Bernfeld on May 7th, 1892 in what used to be called Lemberg (Galicia/then Austria-Hungary-today Lviv/Western Ukraine) as the son of a Jewish wholesale merchant Isidor and his wife Hermine. He died on April 2nd, 1953 in San Francisco.

Having seen his years at the grammar school (= "Gymnasium", i. e. the 'Humanistische k.u.k.¹. Gymnasium' of Vienna: Dudek 2:325). simply as a waste of time, he edited in 1908 the pupils' magazine *Eos. Eine Stimme der Jugend* ("Eos. A Voice of the youth": Dahlke 211) and in 1911 a journal called *Das Classenbuch* that published reports by pupils on the present school-system and, in particular, exposed the teacher's cynicism, the military-like education of the German Empire and its prioritization of store-knowledge over autonomous and creative thinking. Originally enrolling for biology, geology and pedagogics at the University of Vienna in the winter term of 1911 Bernfeld in the summer-semester 1913 switched over to pedagogics and psychology, showing an additional interest in sociology, having as his mentors e. g. Friedrich Wilhelm Förster, highly controversial for his pacifism, and Wilhelm Jerusalem who showed a great interest in education, especially those of minorities, and who published a psychological study about the deafblind Laura Bridgman (*Erziehung einer Taubstumm-Blinden/1891*). Bernfeld delivered a speech on the meeting of the Youth Movement held on October, 11th and 12th 1913, the centenary of the (Prussian) war against Napoleon, on the Hohen Meißner mountain south of the city of Cassel (=Kassel). It was the memorable peak of the 'German Youth Movement' that also included life-refomers, nudists, vegetarians, teetotallers, socialists, but also nationalists, thus covering the ideological spectrum from the extreme left to extreme right.

¹The German phrase 'kaiserlich und königlich' (=Imperial and Royal), is abbreviated as *k. u. k.* refers to the court/government of the Habsburgs indicating that the Habsburg monarch reigned simultaneously as the 'Kaiser' (Emperor of Austria) and as the 'König' (King of Hungary), while the two territories were joined in a real union (akin to a two-state federation in this instance).



https://img.zeit.de/zeit-geschichte/2013/02/cover/cover-180x220.jpg/imagegroup/wide__220x124__desktop



Hohe Meißner-October 1931 https://www.hna.de/bilder/2013/10/13/3161866/522959572-631857154_344-dxfW4XWFG6b.jpg

German youths were at the centre of groundbreaking debates on subjects like education and sexuality, and political parties of all stripes vied for their allegiance. Some groups prescribed pagan xenophobia, while others preached proletarian revolution. One of the early slogans was “Long Live Rambling”.

Was braucht der Wandervogel zu seiner Ausrüstung?

					
Eine Zupfgeige zu M. 8.—, 12.— oder M. 16.—	Eine Wanderkluft zu M. 5.—, 9.50 oder M. 12.—	Eine Regenhaut zu M. 8.—, 10.— oder M. 12.—	Ein Paar derbe Wanderschuhe zu M. 8.—, 10.— oder M. 12.—	Eine Feldflasche zu M. 2.50, 2.70 oder M. 3.80	Eine Schlafdecke zu M. 3.25, 4.50 oder M. 6.— oder einen Schlafsack, 2 m lang, zu M. 4.50, 6.75 oder M. 8.25

Wer liefert all dieses in guter, brauchbarer Qualität zu äußerst billigen Preisen?

Eklöh in Lüdenscheid

Wandervogeltaschenbuch mit Preisliste über Wandervogelgeschenke sendet er Euch frei!

What does the youth need? (a violin, wandering equipment...) https://www.dhm.de/fileadmin/medien/lemo/images/z2901_1913.jg

Originally eschewing politics the Great War politicized many of the youths. Roughly lasting from 1901 to 1933 (Lacqueur 17) the Youth Movement started off as a rebellion against parental home, old family-structures and educational authorities (e.g.; the German *Oberlehrer*=senior teacher).



Teacher Lämpel in the narrative *Max and Moritz* by Wilhelm Busch-

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/94/Max_und_Moritz_%28Busch%29_040.png/800px-Max_und_Moritz_%28Busch%29_040.png

The Hoher Meissner –meeting by several thousand young people, was a revolutionary milestone in the history of the independent Youth Movement. Descending the mountain with the 'Meissner Proclamation' in hand, the Movement announced to the world that “Free German Youth, on their own initiative, under their own responsibility, and with deep sincerity, are determined to independently shape their own lives. For the sake of this inner freedom, they will take united action under any and all circumstances.”The festivities showed a world full of contrasts and contradictions: Many followed romantic ideals (wandering/rambling, being in the open air, and singing), and others more political goals. Many of their ideas would reemerge in the counterculture of the 1960s but also had its risky elements in their folksy, land-based. Educational reformer Gustav Wyneken who had argued that the erotic tension between (male) teacher and (male) pupil was mutually beneficial, and who had coined the term *Jugendkultur*, and who, together with Siegfried Bernfeld edited the controversial youth-authored journal *Der Anfang* gave a keynote address at the Hoher Meissner conference and expressed his worries that there are bellicose, nationalistic elements among the youths. (Dudek 3:37)



Wyneken's speech on the morning of October 12th - <http://buendische-vielfalt.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/gustav-bild.jpg>



Wyneken: The New Youth – Fight for freedom and truth in school and home, in religion and in eros-
<http://buendische-vielfalt.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/wyneken.gif>

Members of the Youth Movement certainly suffered from what was called 'alienation' (Lacqueur 5). Jews, including the Zionists, played an active and independent role in the movement. In 1913 Bernfeld edited together with Georges Barbizon (=Georg Gretor) and the reform-educator Gustav Wyneken the journal *Der Anfang. Vereinigte Zeitschriften der Jugend*. He asked the readers to send material about the present school-system, and the authoritarian, cynical teachers.

I. Heft.

Jahrgang 1911.

Der Anfang.

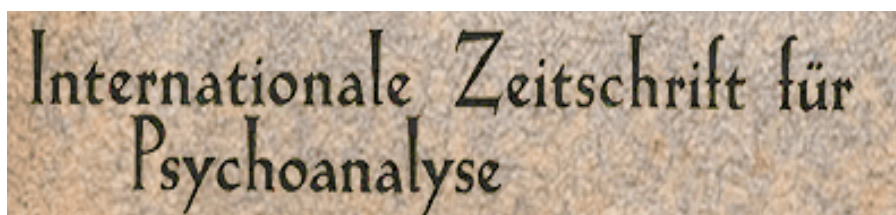
Vereinigte Zeitschriften
der Jugend.

===== Herausgegeben von =====
Georges Barbizon, Niederschönhausen b. Berlin.
===== Fritz Schoengarth, Breslau. =====

===== Verantwortlich für die Redaktion und Verlag: =====
H. von Jaduczynski, Berlin C., An der Fischerbrücke 13.

<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/download/webcache/304/2709950>

One may raise the question what would have happened if Bernfeld's psychoanalytical insights into the psychology of teachers had been fully comprehended? Is the beating of school-kids, as it was practised in Germany right into the 1990s not connected with onanistic gratification? Is the unclear handwriting of pupils not a sign of their difficulty in adapting to the structured world of adults? Psychoanalysis may definitely sensitize the teacher to the pupils' world. This change went along with another one. In July 1914, so Bernfeld in retrospective, decided to devote his life to the cause of the Jewish people, and edited *Blätter aus der Jüdischen Jugendbewegung* (=Letters from the Jewish Youth Movement) (Dahlke 212). He became actively involved in the Zionist youth movement, focused especially on educational issues. On January 1st, 1915 Bernfeld married Anna (Anne) Salomon (1892-1941) (Dudek 2:326) and got his PhD in April 1915 for his *Über den Begriff der Jugend* (=On the Notion of Adolescence) that characterized this period in its distinctiveness and difference from both infancy and adulthood. At that time in 1915 Bernfeld who in 1907 had begun reading Sigmund Freud regularly took part as a guest in the sessions of *Wiener Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung* (=WPV=Viennese Psychoanalytic Association, originally *Psychologische Mittwochsgesellschaft*, from 1910 *International Psychoanalytical Association*)² which, among other issues, also dealt with educational problems (e. g.: co-education). In 1915 he published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, an article *Zur Psychologie der Lektüre* (On the Psychology of Reading).



²founded in October 1906, meeting on Wednesday in Freud's home under the presidency of Sigmund Freud with Otto Rank serving as secretary

“Dieser kleine Aufsatz enthält einige Bruchstücke aus der Analyse, die an einem psychologisch interessierten, gesunden Studenten von zirka 20 Jahren zu wissenschaftlichen Zwecken vorgenommen wurde. Sie dürften rein als Tatsachen aus dem Seelenleben der Jugend nicht uninteressant sein, unabhängig von den Zusammenhängen und Verallgemeinerungen, die naheliegen. T. leidet an ständiger Stuhlverstopfung und kann sich zu einer ärztlich vorgeschlagenen Diät nie für länger als einige Tage entschließen, trotzdem sich ihm aus seinem Zustand allerhand lästige und schmerzliche Folgeu ergeben. Während der Analyse dieses Punktes, sagte er, er hätte vor einigen Tagen die sonderbare Bemerkung gemacht, daß er bei besonders schwerem Stuhlgange zu einem Zeitungsblatt greife und daß ihn die mechanische Lektüre dieses Blattes merklich erleichtere und befördere. Er erinnert sich sofort, daß er mit zirka 10 bis 11 Jahren eifrig „in jener Verschwiegenheit“ Karl May gelesen habe. Er sei damals regelmäßig nach Tisch mit seinem Buche verschwunden und sei „sehr lange draußen geblieben“. Er habe es sich aber seitdem abgewöhnt und gehe niemals mehr mit einem Buche hinaus; „ich würde mich schämen“. Er erinnert: In der damaligen Wohnung, im 11. bis 13. Jahre, sei das W. C. unmittelbar neben der Küche gewesen und er hätte sich vor den Dienstmädchen geschämt, daß er so lange draußen blieb.“ (<http://www.pep-web.org/document.php?id=izpa.003.0109a>)

In April 1918 Bernfeld founded and edited in Vienna a new journal, *Jerubbal. Eine Zeitschrift der jüdischen Jugend* (=A Journal of the Jewish Youth-April 1818 until March 1919), named after a military leader, judge and prophet, also called Gideon who won a decisive victory over a Midianite army despite a vast numerical disadvantage; Jerubbaal (=contender with Baal, also: Gideon) is said to have hewn down the altar of Baal that had even polluted his father's house. The journal is the missing link between the Youth Movement and Zionism.



It wanted to give both academic and non-academic (Jewish) youths a chance to voice their opinion and free them from the paternalism ("Bevormundung") of political parties, school and newspapers, and to find an answer to the question of Jewish identity; Jewish youths are urged not just to choose a job, but to follow ideals which is always jeopardized by the ruling, enslaving economy; Bernfeld played on the German words "Beruf" (=job) and "Berufung" (=mission) (Jerubbal 2:112) and warned them not to give in either to the false ideals of the Philistine adult world nor to those of the antisemitic world. quoting from the Hebrew Bible "throw down the altar of Baal that is in your Father's house" (Judges 6, 25). The false idols are money-acquisition ("Götze des Verdienens"), career, egotism ("Eigennutz") and the comfortable bourgeois conduct of life ("bequeme bürgerlichen Lebensführung"). (Jerubbal 2:114f.) He expressed his shame about the present type of man and especially of the Jew and his yearning for a purer, an holier people (Jerubbal: 1:3) which should be prepared for by the Jewish Youth Movement. As goals of the Jewish organization Bernfeld formulated the need of the Jewish people for cultural and economic autonomy and the need of the Jewish youth for intellectual independence. Hebrew should be spoken and the orientation is towards Jerusalem (Jerubbal 1:33). Many of the Zionist-minded contributors should play a leading role in different fields:

- Hugo Bergmann
- Nathan Birnbaum
- Max Brod (friend of Franz Kafa)
- Martin Buber (=founder of Jewish Renaissance movement)
- Jakob Klatzkin
- Gustav Landauer
- Otto Neurath (co-founder of Viennese Logical Positivism)
- Franz Oppenheimer (sociologist)
- Gerhard Scholem (Kabbalist specialist)
- Wilhelm Stein (philosopher, sociologist)

Bernfeld was to deliver a lecture in 1919 on *Über das Dichten Jugendlicher* (=On Youths' Poeticizing). Bernfeld in 1914 started a correspondence with the Dutch psychologist Frederick Van Eeden and together with him worked 1918/20 for the weekly *Neue Erde. Ein Wochenschrift für kulturellen Sozialismus* (ed. Max Emers/Wien-Redaktion in Wien VI/ Linke Wienzeile 62 und in Wien VI, Gumpendorferstr. 63 a) which proclaimed to renew socialism as a cultural socialism that every change of society must be accompanied by a mental-cultural change, incl. the eradication of class antagonisms (Wallace 56f.), of vanity ("Eitelkeit"), of the greed for power ("Machtgier"), of tradespeople ("Händlerum") and God-forsakenness ("Gottverlassenheit") (1918) (Jerubbal 3: 241f.). For the sake of these goals a new type of school should be created which should overcome the senselessness of present pupils' existence ("die Sinnlosigkeit des heutigen Schülerdaseins") The conceptual framework be based on the nay-sayers ("Neinsager") of pedagogic, namely: Maria Montessori, Gustav Wyneken, and Berthold Otto who abolished exams ("Prüfungen"), curricula ("Lehrpläne"), school-lessons ("Schulstunden"), registerbooks ("Klassenbücher", and punishments ("Strafen") and (Jerubbal 3: 282ff.) .

Still in Vienna, Bernfeld in the early twenties lectured at the *Wiener Psychoanalytisches Ambulatorium* about e.g. *Kinderpsychologie für Fortgeschrittene* and *Psychologie der Erziehung und des Erziehers*. This was not his only contribution to the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*. We can only guess which effect e.g. Freud's essay *Ein Kind wird geschlagen Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Entstehung sexueller Perversionen* (=A Child is Being Beaten Contribution to the Genesis of Sexual Perversions) from 1919 may have had on Bernfeld. Before the Viennese Psychoanalytic Association. From 1917 until 1921 - when he became Martin Buber's secretary in Heppenheim and settled down in Heidelberg, but returning at the end of 1921 to Vienna - (Dudek 3:57) Bernfeld was in charge of the *Zionistischen Zentralrat für West-Österreich*. In these post-War years he believed in the pro-Zionist policy of the US-president Wilson. (Jerubbal 3:18) He headed from 1919 the pioneering project *Kinderheim Baumgarten*. When living in Vienna around the Great War Bernfeld certainly was informed on what happened in his native home country (today: Ukraine): The newspapers, in particular the Jewish print media, almost daily reported on the intense and brutal, both religious and racial anti-Semitism in that part of the Austrian monarchy and its successor states, often accompanied by a plea for solidarity with the suffering Jews who came in masses to Vienna, fleeing from Russian persecutions. It does not require much imagination to speculate what it must have meant to a young sensitive Jewish adolescent to live in Vienna at a time where he spent his youth when the mayor was no other than Karl Lueger, leader of the Austrian Christian Social Party, infamously reputed for his anti-Semitism.



Siegfried Bernfeld (2nd from right) with Wilhelm Reich (middle), actress Elisabeth (=Lisl) Neumann (r.) who became after Anne Salomon Bernfeld's second wife– around 1925<https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/8251-1160x580-c-default.jpg>

On August 8th, 1925 Anne and Siegfried divorced after a 10-year-marriage. Anne left for Moscow, and is reported to have committed suicide after her 2nd husband was killed in Stalin's purges.



Elisabeth Neumann (1900-1994) – his 2nd wife -

https://photos.geni.com/p10/36/03/08/a4/534448382b329221/Elisabeth_Neumann-Viertel_medium.jpg

In 1925, he published the Freud-inspired *Psychologie des Säuglings* (=Psychology of the Infant=Bernfeld 3) that is based on the Rankian trauma of birth as the 1st frustration and covers the period from birth to weaning as the 2nd frustration both of which serve the explanation of anxiety. Due to his practical work with children and adolescents Bernfeld realized that youth psychology must be combined and supplemented by a Marxist analysis of present society. Bernfeld moved to Berlin where he remained until 1932, and married in Switzerland his 3rd wife Suzanne Aimée Cassirer Paret (1896-1963), daughter of the well-known Berlin art dealer and publisher Paul Cassirer.



<https://www.psychoanalytikerinnen.de/bilder/cassirer-suzanne1.jpg>

In 1925 Bernfeld followed his second wife to Berlin.

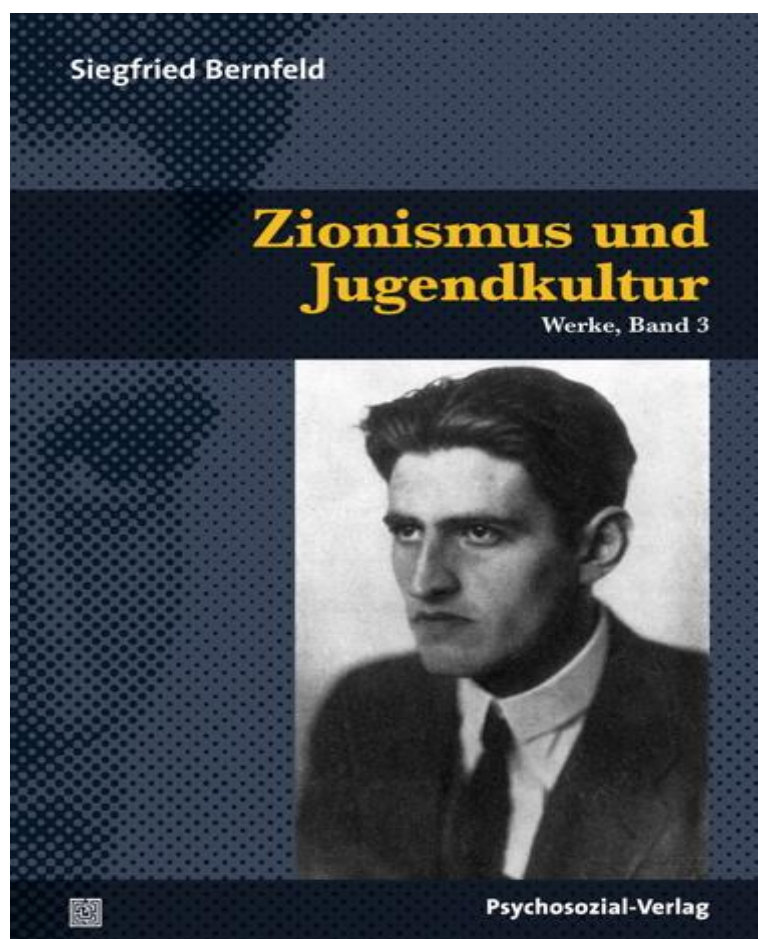


https://www.gedenktafeln-in-berlin.de/uploads/tx_tafeln/pariser_str._-_bernfeld.jpg

In 1934 he fled from the Nazis to France (Menton), left 1937 for London, emigrated for the USA, finally settling in San Francisco where he died on April 4th, 1953.

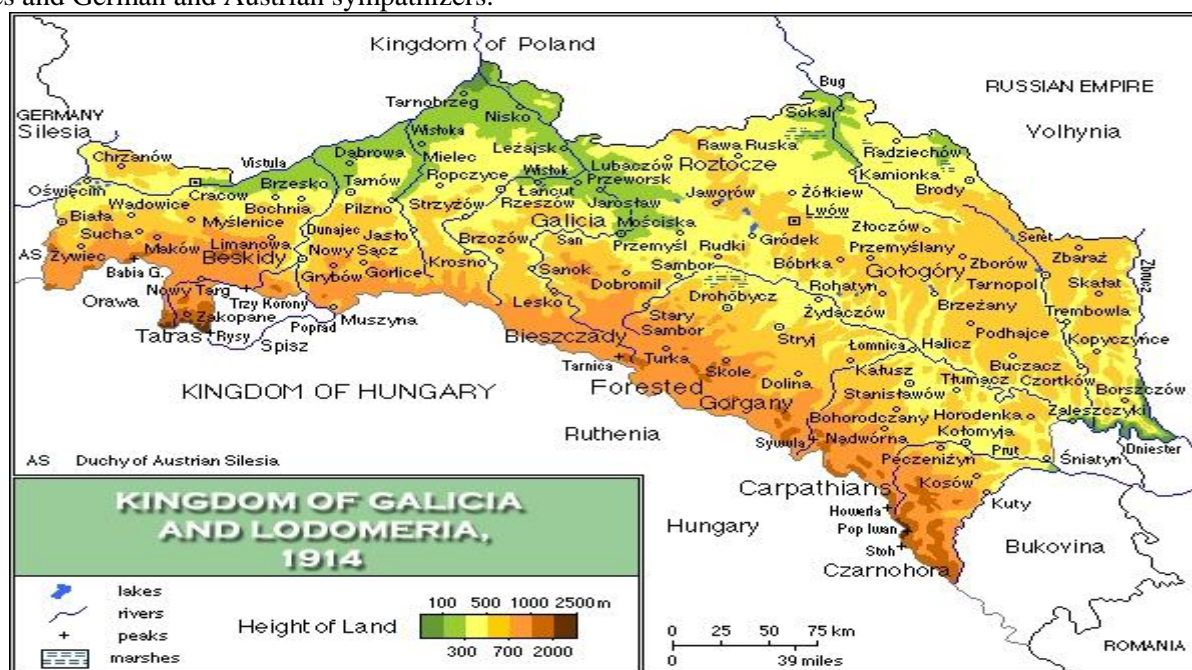
Bernfeld & Zionism

The period from June 1914 to appr. 1924 may be called Bernfeld's Zionist decade (Bernfeld 2:9).



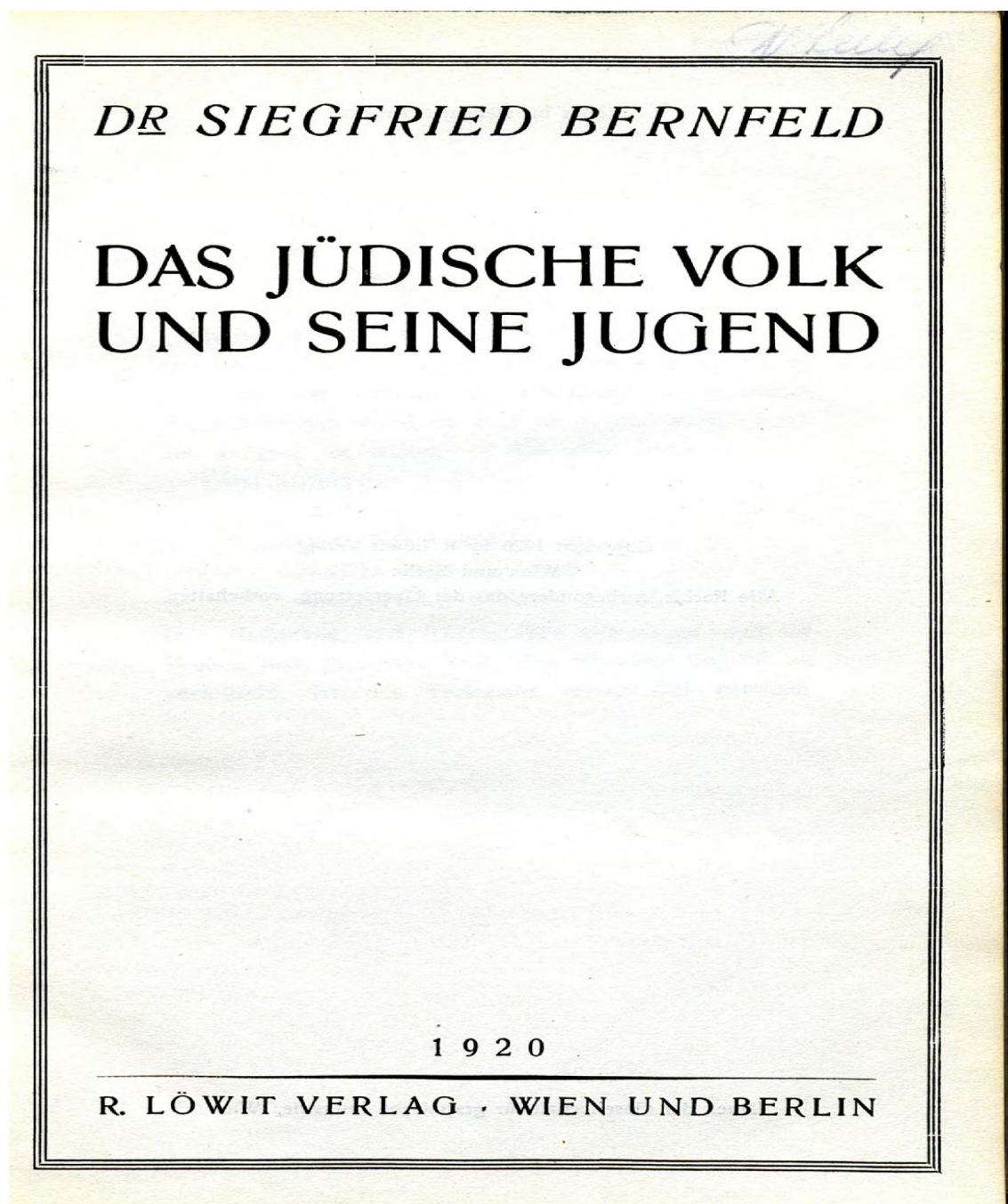
Zionism and Youth-Culture <https://www.psychosozial->

Bernfeld was familiar with and highly involved in the solution to the humanitarian catastrophe caused by the mass migrations of especially Jews from the war-struck territories of Galicia, Bukowina, Trentino and Görz-Gradisca where the Russian army arrived in August 1918, capturing Bernfeld's hometown Lemberg on September 3rd. Whenever the Russians arrived, they immediately mistreated the Jews first and foremost; during the Great Retreat of 1915, Russian armies expelled 400 000 Jews into the interior of the empire as spies and German and Austrian sympathizers.



Galicia-https://1pyiuo2cyzn53c8ors1kwg5l-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Map_of_the_Kingdom_of_Galicia_1914.jpg

In the summer of 1915 about 650 000 registered refugees were inside Vienna (appr. 70000), Lower and Upper Austria, Styria and (today's) Czech Republic. In contrast to German Jews, whose attitude towards their Eastern and traditional brethren was often mixed with contempt, Vienna Jews especially welcomed these refugees with open arms. It helped that many of the Jews in Vienna were often descended from Galicians themselves, as e.g. Bernfeld, and so were more familiar and less alienated by these strange looking Jews with their caftans and beards. Bernfeld was shocked by refugees from the Russian front. Bernfeld demanded in his book *Das jüdische Volk und seine Jugend* (Vienna 1919=The Jewish people and its Youth) a Jewish national education through the foundation of Jewish primary schools, high-schools and a German-Jewish university.



It wanted to serve the Jewish movement by inspiring Jewish ideals. It assumed that the catastrophe of German Jews was closely connected with the rise in a bourgeois mentality of money-acquisition; it lamented the lack of real *Bildung* within high schools, since the bourgeoisie has given up the idea of man as imago Dei (Bernstein 1:19) and intends the superficial goals of comfort (= "Wohlbehagen"), pleasure (= "Vergnügen"), material gain (= "Erwerb") and reputation (= "Geltung") (Ib.) which also characterizes the Jewish bourgeoisie; this education, ignores the uniqueness of adolescence (from 12-21 years) which must be protected against the threat of economic utility by a certain moratorium:

To keep the adolescent temperament alive is of great importance, since adolescence offers the chance for the human spirit to experience awe, to feel the sublime, to long for community, and to develop a quest for truth, justice and religion. The present, however, looks suboptimal. The product of the present education of adolescents is a person suited for creeping and sneaking, imprisoned, and distorted, but who was originally destined for dancing, running, and for flying (Bernstein 1:42) What is needed to enable humans to go upright in dignity is a complete change of our being. Bernfeld develops a Jewish utopian education (e.g. social security for all pupils up to the age of 20; state-guarantees for the spiritual and mental self-realisation of every pupils up to the age of 13; the pupils' right of participation and codetermination in all fields that concern them: prioritisation of spontaneousness of the pupils over curricula and methods; teacher is an advisor and helpmate/a morenu; deviances and transgressions treated as pedagogical problems; community life of educators and children and adolescents).

Bernfeld organized youth meetings, edited in 1919 the youth journal *Jerubbaal*, organized a Jewish defense group that protected the Jewish quarter with Jewish soldiers policing the Leopoldstadt as well as the Jewish Community Center, initiated the foundation of the 1st Jewish pedagogical institute, created the *Jüdisches Institut für Jugendforschung und Erziehung* (=Jewish Institute for Research on Youth and Education) (Böhm 213) and applied his educational visions as director of a home for orphaned children in Vienna (*Baumgarten*). Bernfeld sought to concentrate the Jewish youths and their various organisations into one head-organisation under the name *Bnei Jamin* which he succeeded in during the *Jüdischen Jugendtag* (=Jewish Youth Day-18. – 20.5. 1918) that he as head of the *Verband Jüdischer Jugendgruppen Oesterreichs* [sic] (=Association of Jewish Youth Groups) and Richard Ginsberg had organised in the Great Concert Hall (Großen Musikvereinssaal) in Vienna with Martin Buber as the key-note-speaker. (Dudek 3:57) Buber praised Gideon and warned against the cult of one-sided utilitarian rationality and the world of success-obsession that the descendants of the earth-shakers Amos, Jeremias, Jesus and Spinoza can only distance themselves from. Buber demanded the settlement of Jews in Palestine as the only way for Jewry to live up to its own identity – especially as related to the social, biblical legislation for the balance of property and the prophetic demand for social justice. Bernfeld, speaking on the same occasion one day later justified and defended adolescence as an independent stage in a person's life, typical if human life, but whose duration is theoretically unlimited, implying that there is even the possibility of a permanent adolescent. This category of peculiarity was simultaneously also applied to Judaism. Both, adolescents and Jews, are exposed to forced assimilation that represses their individuality. Against the background of incoming Jewish refugees, between 100 000 to 200 000 inside Vienna over the course of the war, Bernfeld in July 1916 wrote an essay about *Die Kriegswaisen* (=War-Orphans) published in Buber's monthly *Der Jude*, calculating the number of Jewish orphan kids in Moravia, Galicia, Bukovina, Poland and Russia at appr. 20 000. (Bernfeld 2:9ff.)



<https://i.pinimg.com/474x/de/c3/60/dec36088da630a91639832d67e642bb9--the-germans-genealogy.jpg>



Refugee Home (Vienna/Hernalser Hauptstraße 75)https://ub.meduniwien.ac.at/blog/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/03_frei_fluechtlingsheim_17-hernalser-hauptsra%C3%9Fe-75.jpg



https://ub.meduniwien.ac.at/blog/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/03_frei_fluechtlingsheim_17-hernalser-hauptsra%C3%9Fe-75.jpg



Food-provision for refugees https://ub.meduniwien.ac.at/blog/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/03_frei_fluechtlingsheim_17-hernalser-hauptsra%C3%9Fe-75.jpg



War refugees in front of the centre for „Kriegsflüchtlinge in Wien“. https://ub.meduniwien.ac.at/blog/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/03_frei_fluechtlingsheim_17-hernalser-hauptsra%C3%9Fe-75.jpg

In February 1919 the newly founded *Verband für jüdische Jugendfürsorge in Deutschösterreich* (=Jewish Youth-Welfare in Austria) decided to implement a Jewish settlement for orphans near or Vienna. The *Verband* was sponsored by *American Joint Distribution Committee* - a charity organisation, founded in 1914 to support Jewish victims (war victims, orphans, homeless) of the Great War in Europe and that tended then to replace almsgiving by building institutions, as Bernfeld observed full of optimism. In August 1919 Bernfeld succeeded in getting support from the *American Joint Distribution Committee's* Vienna branch.

Their support made the Jewish *Kinderheim Baumgarten* with 240 – 300 boys and girl aged between 3 and 16 years possible.



Former War hospital in Vienna <https://www.hagalil.com/wp-content/uploads/bernfeld4.jpg>



Vienna-War hospital where the *Kinderheim* was located. Here Bernfeld obtained 5 barracks. Special attention was paid to a private area reserved for every child where she could develop her dreams.

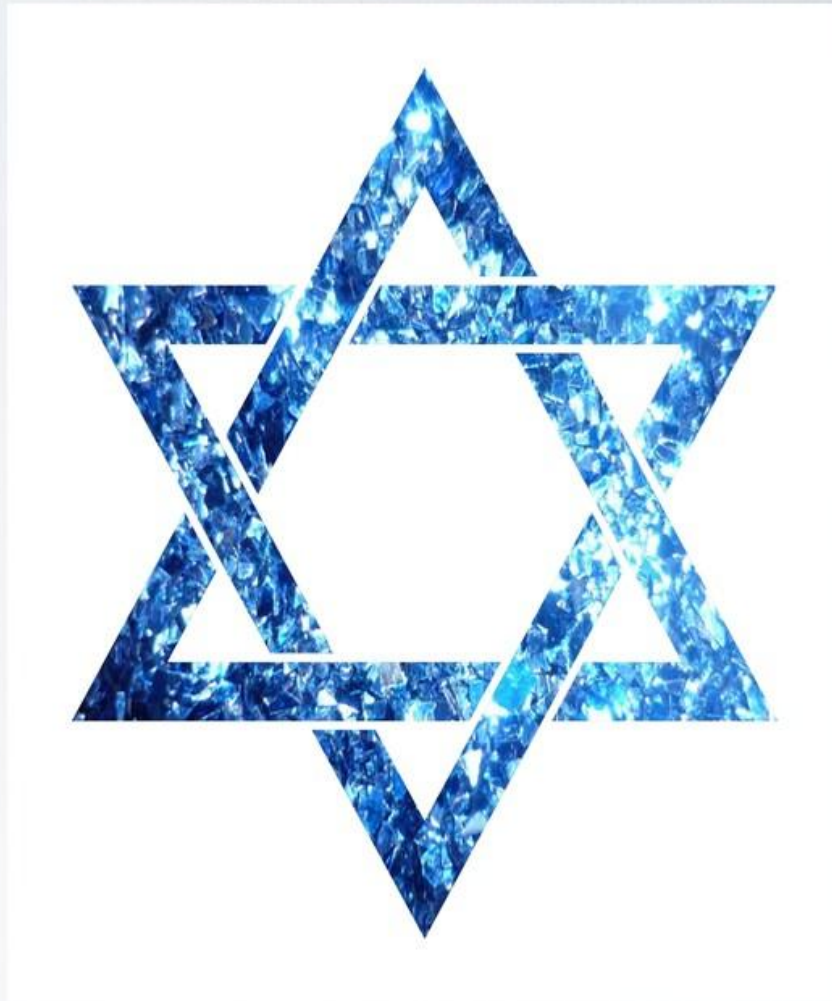


Childrens' (=Kinderheim) Baumgarten (from left to right): 3 female students. Behind: Gustav Friedmann, teacher; Hella Rosenblum-Reichmann, head of the kindergarden; Recha Gelb (prospective wife of Richard Kaufmann, Jerusalem); Willi Hoffer; Siegfried Bernfeld; Marusha Schück, teacher in the Montessori-kindergarden; Heinrich Infeld; Meli Masarik; Lore Kahn; Dr. Trude Hammerschlag; Gerhard Fuchs; Friedl Schiff; Dr. Hilde Geiringer, teacher; Neumann, teacher.

<https://www.hagalil.com/wp-content/uploads/bernfeld2.jpg>The

On the wall were shown:

- Magen-David



The Star of David, known in Hebrew as the Shield of David or Magen

David https://ih1.redbubble.net/image.556113341.3286/fposter,small,wall_texture,product,750x1000.u5.jpg

- Blau-Weiss (=Blue-White) photos



Blau-Weiss (Blue-White) was a Zionist youth organization that was active in Germany from 1912-1926. The group, which had branches in various German cities, organized hiking and camping trips aimed at bringing Jewish children and teenagers into contact with nature. https://66.media.tumblr.com/6043de8b6af28fb71a52d7196e3892a8/tumblr_inline_odkdwp70Tv1r0yq0k_500.jpg - It was also the name of a Jewish youth movement



<https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/download/webcache/304/2708730>

- Photos of Theodor Herzl, the founder of Modern Zionism



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/dc/Theodor_Herzl_retouched.jpg

DR. SIEGFRIED BERNFELD

KINDERHEIM BAUMGARTEN

BERICHT ÜBER EINEN ERNSTHAFTEN
VERSUCH MIT NEUER
ERZIEHUNG

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Einleitung



Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg
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The orphaned Jewish children came from South Moravia, Gaya, Nikolsburg and Phorlitz, almost all of them Eastern Jews. Some of the children of *Baumgarten* had disabilities, all were hungry, undisciplined, and traumatized, and had almost never seen a toy. Bernfeld hoped that the famous Jewish welfare system would provide for the orphans e. g. by building orphanages and kindergartens, sparing them the life of beggars, proletarians and emigrants. The degenerate part of the Western Jews that know nothing but the quest for money and power should not be the paradigm. Bernfeld expressed his fears that these kids may be exposed to an education that assimilates them and integrates them into the mainstream of competitiveness. Will they ever be more than peddlers, beggars, or proletarians? These suffering children become for Bernfeld symbols of the tragic situation of the Jewish people and the crimes of foreign peoples; they could finally realize that they been saved and given life to give life to other people, and that they could only be rescued through the rescue of all Jews. There is, according to Bernfeld, an orphaned territory in the East, Palestine – and there are orphaned kids in the West who might turn that territory into a fully flourishing part. (Bernfeld 2:11) Bernfeld hoped that the orphans would be taught and educated by motivated and generous teachers that would raise them in the Jewish traditions of their fathers and mothers without exposed them to brutal methods or the paternalistic attitude of almsgivers. The *Baumgarten*-experiment, to use a later term, an antiauthoritarian educational experiment. Bernfeld himself conducted it from August 1919 to April 1920. The home comprised a kindergarten and a school/boarding-school. Many of children – aged between 3 and 16 - saw their Jewishness as reason for a feeling of inferiority. What they lacked was knowledge about Jewish history and pride and rootedness, as they had not experienced love and being loved. They longed for assimilation which for Bernfeld was an anathema. Bernfeld saw as one primary intention to heal the childrens' post-traumatic stress by making them attach their 'libido' to new trustworthy objects and turning them into self-confident humans. The Bible became the substance for the children, as its narratives appeal to the children's imagination. It was not read, but read out to them.

- Jewish history was not lectured, but mediated through dialogue.
- Ethical problems were debated on the occasion of concrete events of the school, following Friedrich W. Foerster's *Jugendlehre* (1906) (Foerster)- an ethics focussing on the pupils' inner capabilities instead of on abstract moral imperatives. Children should be helped rather than be controlled.
- The children at the beginning followed, to use Kohlberg's scheme, a pre-conventional level of moral reasoning of obedience and punishment which is solely concerned with the self in an egocentric manner. Bernfeld tried to overcome this phase by making the children participate in decision-making to make them develop the perspective of the Other (see below).
- The children in the Children's Home were not educated in a repressive way. Teachers should be seen as comrades, live with the pupils in the barracks, though this hard to realize on account of the bad living-conditions - and give up their traditional authoritarian position. Threatening punishments and then imposing them is seen as a measure of old, dysfunctional pedagogy.

“People writing about education like referring to 'the garden of childhood,' and comparing the educator with the gardener. They are referring basically to the gardener's peripheral activities, as if his most important work was pruning branches, digging up and digging in, pulling up weeds and finishing things off with knife and shears. This calls up a picture of a completely hysterical figure, running hither and thither, tying things up, watering and cutting back and behaving as if it was he who made the grass grow, the flowers bloom blue and red and the apples ripen; it does not recognize the true picture of the contemplative man who does indeed do all those things, but incidentally, not in order to make the plants grow, and grow a little more as he would like; someone who really knows that what they need is rain, air and soil, and that if he can't provide those then he is left only with pale anxieties and hopes. This quiet man's true function is to learn to understand his charges and their needs by careful observation and to create the conditions for the fulfilment of these needs, but to do all this in the calm and security that is a natural consequence of affectionate, understanding observation. .. In the same way, the new educator's activity could be better described as non-activity, observing, watching and loving rather than perpetually advising, punishing, teaching, challenging, forbidding, inspiring and rewarding. And that was why we, who are educators of this kind, or at least would like to be, do not find it easy to say what we have been doing; we would always have more to say about what the children were doing. People, particularly the management, have criticized us for this behaviour.” (Libertarian Education, translated from: Bernfeld 2:33f.)

- In the absence of any forms of discipline, court-meetings were set up among the children, and a group of 12-14-years olds formed their own 'police force' which dealt with deviant behaviour. It was a consensual solution-finding procedure.

“For example, there were fights at lunch again over spoons and who got bread first, and so on. I never took a spoon if I had been given one because I was a teacher. I gave it to the children, and my bread too, and so on, and I didn't begin to eat until everybody had everything. At first the children gave me amazed, mistrustful looks, then they accepted the spoons in a way that showed they were slightly ashamed – that was already great progress, they were beginning to get the idea. And in the end it reached a point where none of them would accept anything from me, and even competed as to who should give me their spoon. That meant I had won. We liked one another. As food was the most important thing in their lives, I was able to influence them by my behaviour. If they saw that I was not eating much they persuaded me to eat, or said, 'Today you must eat with us.' For me that was the greatest proof of love. Now I could start on teaching in the ordinary sense. I have seen how essential it is for a teacher to live with the children, for her personality to make its effect in every practical, everyday situation; if I had been able to be with the children in the evenings and at all other times it would have been different again. 4 And we all had similar experiences. Slowly, very slowly, but nevertheless noticeably, order and peace developed in the dining-room, starting from the separate points where the teachers were sitting, and spreading out into larger and larger circles. Even before the time when the school community created a list of dining-room rules and made sure that they were kept, it was already being emphasized in discussions, with the complete understanding of all the children, that we had to treat the maids with respect and that it was not proper to 'eat like animals.' And after three or four months we had flawless order at the table (and this was acknowledged by the management too), without any of us ever shouting out an angry 'Quiet!' Order, not as a compulsorily enforced, unexplained demand from the head teacher, who has the power to demand it and to enforce it, but as an expression of a community of young people and adults that had become well-mannered and perceptive.” (Libertarian Education, translated from: Bernfeld 2:34ff.)

The children who were chosen by their comrades developed seriousness and responsibility for their tasks, and the participation in these trials steadily increased. More and more children took part and actively participated in debates and made proposals on e.g. how to organize meals and were transformed from egoists to community-oriented people. The children began to realize that they themselves were the masters in their home and that destroying things was self-destructive.

- The teachers were not the referees, but partners in a game that is based on equality, avoiding the patriarchal, condescending tone of the old education. They even played football with the children which presupposes that they extended the period of adolescence, and gave up any sort of higher authority which established 'real' leadership based on trust and respect. Empathic relations between the adults and the children are fostered by communal life.

“the most striking characteristic of our school was a really serious and wide-ranging embodiment of the new kind of relationship between adults (teachers) and children. Its general formulation could be unconditional love and respect for children...” (Libertarian Education, translated from: Bernfeld 2:

- The teachers must have a sane and balanced self-esteem.

“... the teacher must remain completely true to himself; the only requirement is that he must be the kind of person that some of the children can love. And the first positive condition for that is that he must, quite simply, love some of the children, and be generally sufficiently aware and accepting of his own wishes and abilities not to not to feel his personal worth judged or his self-esteem destroyed by a child's words, manner or emotions. At the same time he must be completely free of any over-evaluation of his own worth, which leads to fundamental scorn for the condition of childhood. He has to have a calm, clear relationship with his own childhood, so that he had no need to punish, judge, train or repress himself in others – and if he is already secretly proud of what a fine fellow he is, however clever and valuable he may be he must be vividly aware that he began exactly like this child before him, and that the child will do just as well as he has done, if it is only given the time. ... An assured calm, and a wise patience are the basis for the friendliness that we mean.” ... When the teachers show the right friendliness, the children show trust.”

The Kinderheim Baumgarten was only open for six months before it shut its doors due to a number of complications. The libertarian spirit failed: Bernfeld fought a losing battlefield against a narrow-minded charity organization and there were conflicts with his co-sponsors and due to the conflict between pedagogy and administration. The Zionist split in the late 20's over its aims, as issues of the radical and anti-bourgeois *Esra : Monatsschrift des jüdischen Akademikers* evidence (=Esra: Monthly of the Jewish Academic) edited by the Zionist Eugen Hoeflich (=later: Moscheh Ya'akov Ben-Gavriël) and, as the title suggests, devoted to the combat against assimilation.

As is known from a conversation from late 1918 Bernfeld had with Hoeflich Bernfeld did not want the new Jewish state to become a copy of Europe nor a commercial enterprise under the Jewish flag (“eine kommerzielle Spekulation unter jüdischer Flagge, die das Aufkeimen einer hebräischen Kultur verhindert”) (Hoeflich: 61). *Esra* in January 1920 saw the publication of a special issue devoted to the question what real Zionism means. Meir Wiener (also known as Meyer Viner) who was an early contributor of Bernfeld's *Jerubbaal* and an admirer of the Jewish anarchist Gustav Landauer accused the party-zionism of merely imitating the grimaces of European political ideals, of enthroning God Mammon and idolising the worshipper of success. These Zionists find the the cause for the degeneracy of original Zionism in the growing influence of British and US-American capital (Krutikov: 63) and the ensuing Dance around the Golden Calf. Was Bernfeld perhaps both too early and tool late? How his later scientific and practical work relates to his Zionist dreams and visions is a matter that deserves a careful analysis. It will, however, certainly merit every effort.



Jewish pioneers <https://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Hachschara-1103x720-1160x580-c-default.jpg>

The Baumgarten experiment in Bernfeld's vision should combine group-education, labour, and the Zionist ideal which came to applied in Israel by Moses Calvary who with his wife Esther (born: Perlmann) and his son Gideon emigrated to Palestine in 1922.



Moses Calvary (1874 – 1944) mit zwei Crossener »Sextanern« des Jahres 1910. Er war ein sehr talentierter, engagierter und beliebter Lehrer.

Crossen – today Krosno Odrzańskie/Poland – is where Calvary taught when still living in Germany between 1907 and 1919 before he left for Lithuania and gthen Palestine. <http://klabund.eu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/img626-601x1024.jpg>

In Palestine Calvary founded the kibbutz *Meir Shefeya* for orphaned children near the Mount Carmel.



<https://i2.wp.com/hike-israel.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/View-from-Muhraka.jpg?resize=800%2C420&ssl=1>

Then Calvary worked in the youth centre Ben-Schemen near Tel-Aviv, and then in the childrens' home Ahava bei near Haifa. He has been called the 'Israeli Pestalozzi', named after the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-) who followed Rousseau's educational principles.

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