

## Annex

### DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENT AND ITS COMMITTEES

#### Parliamentary Debates

- Forhandlinger i Odelstinget*, June 17, 1954, *Lov om forsøk i skolen.*
- Forhandlinger i Lagtinget*, June 22, 1954, *Lov om forsøk i skolen.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, October 12, 1954, *Styrking av skoleverket.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, January 20, 1959, *Heimkunnskap og husstell.*
- Forhandlinger i Odelstinget*, March 5 and 6, 1959, *Lov om folkeskolen.*
- Forhandlinger i Lagtinget*, March 13, 1959, *Lov om folkeskolen.*
- Forhandlinger i Odelstinget*, March 13, 1959, *Lov om folkeskolen.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, June 8, 1961, *Forsøksvirksomheten i skoleverket.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, May 21, 1963, *Forsøksvirksomheten i skoleverket 1959–60.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, June 8, 1965, (1) *Interpellasjon fra repr. Borten om karaktersystemet i 9-årige skole; (2) a) Forsøksvirks. i skoleverket, b) Læreraksj. for kristendomsfaget; (3) Aksj. vedr. fag- og timebytepl. i 9-årig skole.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, March 10, 1966, *Yrkesskoler i husstell.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, April 21, 1969, *Lov om grunnskolen.*
- Forhandlinger i Odelstinget*, February 17, 1970, *Lov om tilskudd til private skoler.*
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, May 8, 1974, *Interpellasjon frå representant Røssum om departementets rundskriv om å gi karakterar i berre 3 fag i grunnskolen.*

- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, April 17, 1975, *Forsøksverksemda i skoleverket 1973 og 1974*.
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, April 20, 1978, *Forsøksverksemda i skoleverket 1975–76*.
- Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, May 11, 1979, *Forsøksverksemda i skoleverket i skoleåret 1976–7*.

### Other Documents

- Samordningsnemda for skoleverket (1949) IX. Tiltråding om Skolekjøken- og husstelloplæringa*. Oslo: Brødrene Tengs.
- St. meld. nr. 9 (1954) Om tiltak til styrking av skoleverket*.
- Innstilling fra Utvalget til å utrede skolekjøkken- og husstelloplæringa, Oppnevnt 29. august 1952, Avgitt 21. desember 1954 (1955)*. Oslo: J. Chr. Gundersen.
- St. meld. nr. 61 (1957) Om heimkunnskap og husstell*.
- Innst. S. nr. 294 (1958) Tiltråding frå den forsterkede landbrukskomité om heimkunnskap og husstell (St. meld. nr. 11 for 1958, jfr. St. meld. nr. 61 for 1957)*.
- Ot. prp. nr. 30 (1958) Lov om folkeskolen*.
- Innst. O. II. (1959) Innstilling fra kirke- og undervisningskomiteen om lov om folkeskolen (Ot. prp. nr. 30 – 1958)*.
- Innst. S. nr. 233 (1964–5) Innstilling frå kyrkje- og undervisningskomitéen om 1) forsøksvirksomheten i skoleverket 1960–1, 1962 og 1963, og 2) skriv frå Læreraksjonen til vern om kristendomsfaget (St. meld. nr. 42)*.
- Innst. S. nr. 234 (1964–5) Innstilling frå kyrkje- og undervisningskomitéen om aksjon til vern om skulestyra sin rett i høve fag- og timebyteplan for den 9-årige folkeskolen*.
- Rundskriv nr. 13 (1964) frå Kyrkje- og undervisningsdepartementet til alle skoledirektørane. Jnr. 2513 As L 1964, EH/BO, Oslo, June 15, 1964*.
- St. meld. nr. 42 (1964–5) Om forsøksvirksomheten i skoleverket 1960–61, 1962 og 1963*.
- St. meld. nr. 101 (1964–5) Om yrkesskoler i husstell*.
- Innstilling frå Folkeskolekomitéen av 1963 (1965), Om lov om folkeskolen og om mellombils lov om 7-årig folkeskole og overgang til 9-årig folkeskole, June 15, 1965*.
- Innst. S. nr. 94 (1965–6) Innstilling frå kirke- og undervisningskomitéen om yrkesskoler i husstell (St. meld. nr. 101)*.
- Ot. prp. nr. 59 (1966–7) Lov om grunnskolen*.

- Innstilling I fra Privatskoleutvalget* (1967) January 31, 1967, *Innstilling om støtte til private skoler*. Otta: Engers Boktrykkeri.
- Innstilling IV fra Privatskoleutvalget* (1968) December 22, 1967, *Innstilling om støtte til private skoler*. Orkanger: A.s Kaare Grytting.
- Besl. O. nr. 33 (1968–9) (Jfr. Innst. O. XIV.) *Vedtak til lov om grunnskolen*.
- Innst. O. XIV (1968–9) *Innstilling fra kirke- og undervisningskomiteén om lov om grunnskolen*.
- Ot. prp. nr. 61 (1968–9) *Om lov om tilskudd til private skoler*. Tilråding fra Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet av 10. April 1969, godkjent ved kongelig resolusjon same dag.
- Innst. O. nr. 107 (1968–9) *Innstilling fra kirke- og undervisningskomiteén om ikke-behandling av Ot. prp. nr. 61 for 1968–9 om lov om tilskudd til private skoler*.
- Innst. O. VII. (1969–70) *Innstilling fra kirke- og undervisningskomiteén om lov om tilskudd til private skoler*.
- Innst. S. nr. 287 (1971–2) *Innstilling fra kirke- og undervisningskomiteén om mønsterplan for grunnskolen* (St. meld. nr. 46).
- NOU 1974: 42 (1974) *Karakterer, eksamen, kompetanse m.v. I skoleverket, Eva I*.
- Stortingstidende (1976–7) *Spm. fra repr. Kristin Lønningdal om tolkingen av mønsterplanens side 52 om organisatorisk differensiering i matematikk og språkfag, s.tid. 2100–2101*.
- Stortingstidende (1977–8) *Gr. spm. fra repr. Sissel Rønbeck om bestemmelsene om organisatorisk differensiering i grunnskolen, S.tid. 2694–2696*.
- Innst. S. nr. 215 (1978–9) *Tilråding frå kyrkje- og undervisningsnemnda om forsøksverksemda i skoleverket i skoleåret 1976–7* (St. meld. nr. 34).
- St. meld. nr. 34 (1978–9) *Om forsøksverksemda i skoleverket 1976–7*.
- NOU 1978: 2 (1978) *Vurdering, kompetanse og inntak i skoleverket, Eva II*.

DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE NORTH RHINE–WESTPHALIAN  
PARLIAMENT AND ITS COMMITTEES

- Landtag NRW, October 18, 1960, *Plenarprotokoll 04/48, 4. Wahlperiode, 48. Sitzung am 18. Oktober 1960, 1693–1708*.
- Landtag NRW, June 20, 1961, *Plenarprotokoll 04/63, 4. Wahlperiode, 63. Sitzung am 20. Juni 1961, 2291–2313*.

- Landtag NRW*, April 10, 1962, *Plenarprotokoll 04/80*, 4. Wahlperiode, 80. Sitzung am 10 April 1962 – *Debatte zur Interpellation der FDP zum Mangel an Volksschullehrern*, 2996–3021.
- Landtag NRW*, February 12, 1963, *Plenarprotokoll 05/10*, 5. Wahlperiode, 10. Sitzung am 12. Februar 1963, 231–293.
- Landtag NRW*, April 2, 1963, *Antrag der Fraktion der SPD*, *Betr.: Neuordnung der wenig gegliederten Volksschulen in Nordrhein-Westfalen durch Bildung von Mittelpunktschulen*, *Fünfte Wahlperiode*, *Drucksache Nr. 105*.
- Landtag NRW*, May 14, 1963, *Plenarprotokoll 5/16*, 5. Wahlperiode, 16. Sitzung am 14. Mai 1963, S. 529–576.
- Landtag NRW*, January 12, 1965a, *Antrag der Fraktion der SPD*, *Betr.: Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Änderung der Verfassung für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen*, 5. Wahlperiode, *Drucksache Nr. 639*.
- Landtag NRW*, January 12, 1965b, *Antrag der Fraktion der SPD*, *Betr.: Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Änderung des Schulordnungsgesetzes (SchOG), des Schulverwaltungsgesetzes (SchVG) und des Gesetzes über die Schulpflicht im Deutschen Reich (SchulpfLG)*, 5. Wahlperiode, *Drucksache Nr. 640*.
- Landtag NRW*, January 28, 1965, *Betr.: Entwurf eines Gesetzes über die Schulpflicht im Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Schulpflichtgesetz – SchpflG)*, 5. Wahlperiode, *Drucksache Nr. 655*.
- Landtag NRW*, February 23, 1965, *Plenarprotokoll 05/50*, 5. Wahlperiode, 50. Sitzung am 23. Februar 1965, *Besprechung der SPD Anträge (Drucksachen Nr. 639 und Nr. 640) sowie 1. Lesung des Schulpflichtgesetzes*, 1816–1851.
- Landtag NRW*, February 23, 1966, *Neuordnung des Volksschulwesens; hier: Errichtung von Mittelpunktschulen*, *Erlass des Kultusministers vom 23.2.1966*, III A70-1–580/66.
- Landtag NRW*, May 10, 1966, *Plenarprotokoll 05/75*, 5. Wahlperiode, 75. Sitzung am 10. Mai 1966, 2. Lesung des *Schulpflichtgesetzes*, S. 2766–2793.
- Landtag NRW*, May 11, 1966, *Bericht des Kulturausschusses zur 3. Lesung des Entwurfs eines Gesetzes über die Schulpflicht im Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, *Drucksache 5/1106*.
- Landtag NRW*, May 25, 1966, *Plenarprotokoll 05/77*, 5. Wahlperiode, 77. Sitzung am 24. Mai 1966, 3. Lesung des *Schulpflichtgesetzes*, 2853–2870.

- Landtag NRW, June 13, 1966, *Rd. erl. des Kultusminister vom 13. Juni 1966*, III A 36-11/2 Nr. 2044/66, *Die Hauptschule im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen. Die Oberstufe (7.-9. Schuljahr)*
- Landtag NRW, November 29, 1966, *Rd. erl. des Kultusministers vom 29. November 1966*, II A 36-11/2 Nr. 3122/66, *Studentafel und vorläufige Richtlinien für den Unterricht im 9. Schuljahr*
- Landtag NRW, June 20, 1967a, *Antrag der Fraktionen der SPD, CDU und FDP, Betr.: Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Änderung der Verfassung für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen*, 6. Wahlperiode, Drucksache Nr. 320.
- Landtag NRW, June 20, 1967b, *Betr.: Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Änderung des Ersten Gesetzes zur Ordnung des Schulwesens im Lande Nordrhein-Westflane, des Schulverwaltungsgesetzes und des Schulfinanzgesetzes*, 6. Wahlperiode, Drucksache Nr. 321.
- Landtag NRW, February 21, 1968a, *Bericht des Hauptausschusses zur 2. Lesung des Entwurfs eines Gesetzes zur Änderung der Verfassung für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen – Antrag der Fraktionen der SPD, CDU und FDP – Nr. 320 der Drucksachen*, 6. Wahlperiode, Drucksache Nr. 664.
- Landtag NRW, February 21, 1968b, *Bericht des Kultusausschusses zur 2. Lesung des Entwurfs eines Gesetzes zur Änderung des ersten Gesetzes zur Ordnung des Schulwesens im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen, des Schulverwaltungsgesetzes und des Schulfinanzgesetzes – Nr. 321 der Drucksachen*, 6. Wahlperiode, Drucksache Nr. 665.
- Landtag NRW, February 29, 1968, *Plenarprotokoll 06/31*, 6. Wahlperiode, 31. Sitzung am 29. Februar 1968, 1087-1106.
- Landtag NRW, June 12, 1968a, *Interpellation Nr. 7 der Fraktion der CDU, Betr.: Durchführung der neuen Schulgesetze*, 6. Wahlperiode, Drucksache Nr. 774.
- Landtag NRW, June 12, 1968b, *Antrag der Fraktion der CDU, Betr.: Durchführung der neuen Schulgesetze*, 6. Wahlperiode, Drucksache Nr. 775.
- Landtag NRW, June 26, 1968, *Plenarprotokoll 06/36*, 6. Wahlperiode, 31. Sitzung am 26. Juni 1968, *Antrag der Fraktion der CDU: Durchführung der neuen Schulgesetze*, Drucksache Nr. 775, 1285-1400.
- Landtag NRW, October 22, 1968, *Plenarprotokoll 06/41*, 6. Wahlperiode, 41. Sitzung am 22. Oktober 1968, *Fragestunde, Frage 76 des Abg. Bargmann (SPD), Koedukation an Realschulen und Gymnasien*, 1593-1595.

- Landtag NRW*, November 15, 1971, *Antrag der Fraktion der CDU, Schulversuch "kooperative Gesamtschule," Drucksache 7/1215.*
- Landtag NRW*, August 22, 1973, *Plenarprotokoll 07/77, 7. Wahlperiode, 77. Sitzung am 22. August 1973, Beschäftigung Radikaler im öffentlichen Dienst auf Grund der neuesten Entwicklung, 2923–2988.*
- Landtag NRW*, September 13, 1973, *Protokoll Kulturausschuss, 80. Sitzung (nicht öffentlich), 13. September 1973, Ausschussprotokoll 7/1155.*
- Landtag NRW*, May 7, 1974, *Gesetzentwurf der Landesregierung. Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Änderung des Schulverwaltungsgesetzes und des Schulpflichtgesetzes, Drucksache 7/2844.*
- Landtag NRW*, July 11, 1974, *Plenarprotokoll 7/108, 7. Wahlperiode, 108. Sitzung am 11. Juli 1974, S. 4415–4468.*
- Landtag NRW*, February 19, 1975, *Bericht des Kulturausschusses zur 2. Lesung des Entwurfs eines Gesetzes zur Änderung des Schulverwaltungsgesetzes und des Schulpflichtgesetzes (Gesetzentwurf der Landesregierung) und zu den Anträgen der Fraktion der CDU Schulversuch "kooperative Gesamtschule" sowie Vorlegung eines Gesetzentwurfs über die Schulentwicklungsplanung im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen, Drucksache 7/4744.*
- Landtag NRW*, February 27, 1975, *Plenarprotokoll 7/124, 7. Wahlperiode, 124. Sitzung am 27. Februar 1975, 5211–5282.*
- Landtag NRW*, June 4, 1975, *Plenarprotokoll 8/2, 8. Wahlperiode, 2. Sitzung am 4. Juni 1975, 11–17.*
- Landtag NRW*, May 5, 1976, *Antrag der Fraktion der CDU, Reform der Hauptschule, Drucksache 8/965.*
- Landtag NRW*, November 9, 1976, *Gesetzentwurf der Fraktionen der SPD und F.D.P., Gesetz zur Änderung des Schulverwaltungsgesetzes. Drucksache 8/14.*
- Landtag NRW*, November 25, 1976, *Plenarprotokoll 8/34, 8. Wahlperiode, 34. Sitzung am 25. November 1976, 1755–1838.*
- Landtag NRW*, June 29, 1977, *Plenarprotokoll 08/51, 8. Wahlperiode, 51. Sitzung am 29. Juni 1977, Gesetz zur Änderung des Schulverwaltungsgesetzes, 2878–2927.*
- Landtag NRW*, October 26, 1977, *Plenarprotokoll 8/57, 8. Wahlperiode, 57. Sitzung am 26.10.1977, 3240–3284.*
- Landtag NRW*, April 2, 1979, *Beschlussempfehlung und Bericht des Ausschusses für Schule und Kultur zu dem Antrag der Fraktion der CDU, Reform der Hauptschule, Drucksache 8/4355.*

*Landtag NRW, May 3, 1979, Plenarprotokoll 8/104, 8. Wahlperiode, 57. Sitzung am 03.05.1979, 7053-7070.*

#### MANIFESTOS OF NORWEGIAN PARTIES

Note: All Norwegian party manifestos are accessible at the Archive of Party-Political Documents of the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD), see <https://polsys.sikt.no/parti/>

The following manifestos were analyzed for the present work.

#### Center Party

Bondepartiets program 1957

Senterpartiets program 1961

Senterpartiets stortingsvalgprogram 1965–9

Senterpartiets prinsipp-program 1965, Vilje til ansvar

Senterpartiets valgprogram 1969–73

Senterpartiets prinsipp-program 1973

Senterpartiets valgprogram 1973–7

Senterpartiets valgprogram 1977, Vekst er ikke å forbruke mer, men å forvalte bedre!

#### Christian Democrats

KrFs program ved stortingsvalget 1957

4 år med Kristelig Folkeparti, Program ved stortingsvalget 11. sept. 1961.

KrFs arbeidsprogram 1965–9

KrFs prinsipielle program 1965, Veggen og Målet

Valgprogram KrF 1969–73

KrFs program for 1973–7

KrFs program for 1977–81, Samling om verdier

#### Conservative Party

Hovedprogram for Høyre og Høyres arbeidsprogram 1958–61

Høyres hovedprogram 1961

Høyres hovedprogram 1965

Høyres hovedprogram 1965

Høyres hovedprogram og arbeidsprogram 1969–73

Høyres program stortingsvalg 1973

Høyres program 1977–81

**Labor Party**

- DNA's arbeidsprogram 1953-7
- DNA's arbeidsprogram 1958-61
- DNA's arbeidsprogram 1962-5
- DNA's arbeidsprogram 1966-9
- DNA's prinsippprogram 1969, Prinsipper og perspektiver
- DNA's arbeidsprogram 1970-3, Politikk for en ny tid, Vekst – Trygghet – Trivsel
- DNA's arbeidsprogram 1974-7, Vekst og vern – demokrati og likestilling, Trygghet for folket
- DNA's arbeidsprogram 1978-81, Du skal vita kva det gjeld, solidaritet – arbeid – miljø

**Liberal Party**

- Venstres arbeidsprogram 1958-61, Stem for vi vil programmet, stem Venstre – Folkepartiet, Mennesket i sentrum
- Venstres arbeidsprogram 1961-5, Framgang i frihet
- Venstres arbeidsprogram 1965-9, Samspill mellom medmennesker – en framtid med Venstre
- Venstres arbeidsprogram 1969-73
- Venstres arbeidsprogram 1973-7
- Venstres arbeidsprogram 1977-81

**Progress Party**

- Anders Langes partis valgprogram 1973, Vi er lei av å bli utbyttet av statskapitalismen
- Fremskrittspartiets handlingsprogram for stortingsvalget 1977
- Fremskrittspartiets prinsipp-program 1977

**Socialist People's Party**

- SFs arbeidsprogram 1961-4
- SFs arbeidsprogram 1965-9
- Prinsipperklæring SF 1969
- SFs arbeidsprogram 1969-73
- SFs valgprogram 1973-7
- SVs prinsippprogram 1977
- SVs valgprogram 1977-81



## MANIFESTOS OF GERMAN PARTIES

Note: The SPD's national manifestos were downloaded from the archive of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The SPD NRW's manifestos of 1962, 1975, and 1980 were obtained via the Bergen University library. The CDU's national manifestos were downloaded from the archive of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and the NRW manifestos were kindly supplied by email by the archive. The FDP's national and NRW manifestos were obtained from the Archive of Liberalism by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. Publications that summarize and document the most important education-policy positions of the parties over time were included, such as publications by the SPD executive board (SPD, 1975, 1979) and a publication by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation focusing on the CDU's education politics from 1945 to 2011 (Gauger, 2011). The following manifestos were analyzed for the present work.

## CDU

- Hamburger Programm CDU, Das Programm der Christlich Demokratischen Union für den zweiten deutschen Bundestag, 1953
- Kölner Manifest, CDU, 1961
- Bildung in der modernen Welt. Hamburger Empfehlungen der CDU/CSU zur Kulturpolitik. 3. Kulturpolitischer Kongress, 9.–10.11.1964.
- Düsseldorfer Erklärung der CDU, 31. März 1965, beschlossen auf dem 13. Bundesparteitag der CDU in Düsseldorf.
- Deidesheimer Leitsätze. Entwurf eines schul- und hochschulpolitischen Programms. 4. Kulturpolitischer Kongress, 28.2.–1.3. 1969.
- CDU 1969–73, Wahlprogramm der Christlich Demokratischen Union Deutschlands
- Schul- und Hochschulreformprogramm der CDU, 1971. Argumente, Dokumente, Materialien Nr. 5258, herausgegeben von der CDU-Bundesgeschäftsstelle.
- Bildungspolitik auf klaren Wegen. Ein Schwerpunktprogramm der CDU/CSU. Ein Papier der Kultusminister Walter Braun, Wilhelm Hahn, Hans Maier, Werner Scherer, Bernhard Vogel und des vorm. MdB Berthold Martin, 1972.
- Mannheimer Erklärung "Frau und Gesellschaft" 1975, 23. Parteitag, 23.–25. Juni 1975.
- Kulturpolitisches Programm 1976. Vorgelegt von den Kultusministern der von CDU und CSU regierten Bundesländer.

Das Wahlprogramm der CDU und CSU 1976  
 Freiheit, Solidarität, Gerechtigkeit. Grundsatzprogramm 1978.  
 Für Frieden und Freiheit. Das Wahlprogramm der CDU/CSU für die  
 Bundestagswahl 1980.

### CDU NRW

Aktions-Programm für Nordrhein-Westfalen, CDU NRW 18.4.1970.  
 Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik (ACDP), Presse  
 dokumentation.  
 CDU: Ziele und Wege '80. Programm für Nordrhein-Westfalen zur  
 Landtagswahl 1975. Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik  
 (ACDP), Bestand CDU-Landtagsfraktion Nordrhein-Westfalen,  
 05-009-349.  
 Aussagen der CDU in Nordrhein-Westfalen zur Landtagswahl 1980.  
 Langfassung. Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik (ACDP),  
 Bestand CDU-Landtagsfraktion Nordrhein-Westfalen, 05-009-865.

### FDP

Aktionsprogramm zur Bundestagswahl der Freien Demokratischen  
 Partei, 1957  
 Aufruf zur Bundestagswahl 1961 der Freien Demokratischen Partei  
 Wahlprogramm zur Bundestagswahl 1969 der Freien Demokratischen  
 Partei "Praktische Politik für Deutschland – Das Konzept der F.D.P."  
 Wahlauf Ruf zur Bundestagswahl 1972 der Freien Demokratischen  
 Partei "Vorfahrt für Vernunft"  
 Stuttgarter Leitlinien einer liberalen Bildungspolitik der Freien  
 Demokratischen Partei, 1972  
 Wahlprogramm zur Bundestagswahl 1976 der Freien Demokratischen  
 Partei "Freiheit Fortschritt Leistung"  
 Wahlprogramm zur Bundestagswahl 1980 der Freien Demokratischen  
 Partei "Unser Land soll auch morgen liberal sein"

### FDP NRW

Wahlauf Ruf zur Landtagswahl 1962 der Freien Demokratischen Partei  
 Landesverband Nordrhein-Westfalen "Besser regieren – weniger  
 Staat"  
 Wahlplattform zur Landtagswahl 1970 der Freien Demokratischen  
 Partei Landesverband Nordrhein-Westfalen "Aktion Liberal"

Wahlplattform zur Landtagswahl 1975 der Freien Demokratischen Partei Landesverband Nordrhein-Westfalen "Liberale Politik für Nordrhein-Westfalen"

Wahlprogramm zur Landtagswahl 1980 der Freien Demokratischen Partei Landesverband Nordrhein Westfalen "Mut zur Freiheit – Mut zur Verantwortung"

## SPD

Bundestagswahlprogramm 1957 (printed in Jahrbuch der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands 1956–7, Hannover – Bonn: Neuer Vorwärts Verlag).

Godesberger Programm (Grundsatzprogramm der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands), 1959

Regierungsprogramm der SPD, 1961

Bildungspolitische Leitsätze der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, 1964

Tatsachen und Argumente, Erklärungen der SPD Regierungsmannschaft, 1965

ENTWURF: Modell für ein demokratisches Bildungswesen (1969 vom Bildungspolitischen Ausschuss beschlossen und im Einvernehmen mit dem Parteivorstand als Diskussionsentwurf veröffentlicht.), 42–72 in Dokumentation. Programme und Entschlüsseungen zur Bildungspolitik 1964–75. Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.

Regierungsprogramm der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, 1969, Erfolg, Stabilität, Reform

Wahlprogramm der SPD, Mit Willy Brandt für Frieden, Sicherheit und eine bessere Qualität des Lebens, 1972

Regierungsprogramm 1976–80, SPD – Weiter arbeiten am Modell Deutschland

Wege zur menschlichen Schule – die Reform muss weitergehen. Programm zur Fortführung der Bildungsreform (Beschlissen auf der AfB-Bundeskonferenz 23.–25. März 1979 in Osnabrück)

Wahlprogramm 1980, Sicherheit für Deutschland

## SPD NRW

SPD vorn. Nordrhein-Westfalen muss Vorbild werden. Material zur Landtagswahl am 8. Juli 1962

Nordrhein-Westfalen-Programm 1975 (published in 1970 by the social-liberal federal state government)

Programm zur Landtagswahl 1975 – Entwurf  
 Unser Programm für die 80er Jahre “Politik für unser Land,” 1980

#### EXPERT INTERVIEWS: BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTIONS

### Norwegian Experts

**Jakob Aano**, interviewed on July 10, 2014; leading member of the Stavanger section of the Association of Norwegian Secondary Schoolteachers 1955–8, principal of a Christian private school 1959–63, principal of a Christian school in Tanzania 1959–63, member of parliament for the Christian Democrats 1965–85, member of the Church and Education Committee 1965–77, vice-chair of the Association for a Christian School (today Christian Pedagogical Forum) 1967–72.

**Ivar Bjørndal**, interviewed on June 26, 2015; secondary schoolteacher and school inspector for middle schools and upper-secondary schools, county school inspector in Østfold County 1971–7, director of Østfold University College 1977–81 and 1990–2, director of the Council for Secondary Education 1981–90, education director in Østfold County 1992–8, member of the Labor Party and the Association of Norwegian Secondary Schoolteachers.

**Gudmund Hernes**, interviewed on January 21, 2014; leader of the Labor Party’s student union in Oslo 1963, PhD in sociology from the USA 1970, professor in Bergen and Oslo 1971–90, minister of education, research and church affairs for the Labor Party 1990–5, minister of health and social affairs 1995–7, director of UNESCO’s International Institute of Educational Planning in Paris 1999–2005, currently researcher at Fafo Institute and professor at BI Norwegian Business School.

**Kjell Horn**, interviewed on November 2, 2014; primary schoolteacher, youth schoolteacher and principal, teaching inspector, consultant of the Primary School Committee 1972–75, one of the founders and later critics of the Norwegian Humanist Association, supporter of ethics education in primary school, excluded from Labor Party/Socialist Student Union 1958, active in the Workers’ Communist Party (AKP) and the Norwegian Teachers’ Association during the 1970s.

**Unni Johannessen**, interviewed on the phone on November 21, 2014; primary schoolteacher and youth schoolteacher, member of the

Female Teachers' Association, joined the Norwegian Teachers' Association later, in which her husband Trond Johannessen was chair.

**Theo Koritzinsky**, interviewed on November 5, 2014; leader of the Socialist People's Party's youth organization 1965–6, lecturer in political science in Oslo 1969–75, leader of the Socialist Left Party in Oslo 1970–1, lecturer and later assistant professor at Sagene teacher training college and Oslo college 1975–2010, national leader of the Socialist Left Party 1983–7, representative of the Socialist Left Party in parliament 1985–93, chair of the Church and Education Committee 1989–93.

**Lars Roar Langslet**, interviewed on June 23, 2014; editor of the conservative journal *Minerva* 1957–68, represented the Conservative Party in parliament 1969–89, member of the Church and Education Committee 1969–73, 1987–9, and chair 1973–80, minister of culture and research 1981–6, member of Riksmåls Society for the Preservation of Traditional Standard Norwegian, member of the Norwegian language council 1972–6, president of the Norwegian Academy for Language and Literature 1995–2011.

**Kari Lie**, interviewed on December 10, 2014; primary schoolteacher, member of Oslo's council of the Female Teachers' Association 1964–74, chair of the organization in Oslo 1970–4 (the Oslo chapter remained independent from 1966 to 1968, and joined the Norwegian Teachers' Association as a separate chapter in 1968), secretary of the Norwegian Teachers' Association 1972–5, vice-chair for two years, chair 1978–85, not a party member.

**Tore Lindbekk**, interviewed on June 25, 2014; chair of the Norwegian Student Society (*Det Norske Studentersamfund*) 1962, editor of the conservative quarterly journal *Minerva* 1962–7, professor of sociology at the University of Trondheim from 1969, active in the Conservative Party as vice-chair of Trondheim *Høyre* 1972, member of Trondheim City Council 1976–83, member of Sør-Trøndelag County Council, has focused on education and science sociology in his work.

**Per Lønning**, interviewed on June 25, 2014; ordained 1951, PhDs in theology and history of political thought, secondary schoolteacher at Oslo teaching school 1954–64, member of parliament and member of parliamentary Church and Education Committee for the Conservative Party 1959–65, chair of Oslo School Committee 1960–3, member of planning committee for the youth school in

Oslo 1960–1, board member and chair of conservative journal *Minerva* 1957–64, chair of the Norwegian Church's Priests' Association 1962–4, bishop of Borg 1969–75, professor in Oslo and Strasbourg, bishop of Bjørgvin 1987–94.

**Per Arne Sæther**, interviewed on July 31, 2014; secondary school-teacher at *realskole/gymnas* and youth schools 1973–87, workplace representative of the Association of Norwegian Secondary Schoolteachers (*Norsk Lektorlag, from 1983 NUFO/ Norwegian Educational Association*) 1974–82, local union leader and vice-chair of the executive committee in Vestfold 1976–81, chair of the Norwegian Educational Association's branch in Vestfold 1982–4, member of the organization's advisory committee for the youth school 1981–3, member of central executive committee 1984–6, senior union consultant 1988–2013, not a party member.

**Torild Skard**, interviewed on October 25, 2014; leader of Socialist Students' Union 1959, excluded from the Labor Party in 1959, member of Socialist People's Party (SF) from 1961, represented the Socialist Left Party (SV) in parliament 1973–7 and as deputy 1965–9, first female president of one of the parliament's chambers, later high-ranking positions in the United Nations, leader of the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights 2006–14.

**Hans Olav Tungesvik**, interviewed on June 16, 2014; physician and psychiatrist, chair of the Student Language Association (*Studentmållaget*) 1959, board member of the Norwegian Language Society 1962–5 and chair 1965–70, ran for parliament for the Liberal Party in 1971, later member of the Christian Democrats and parliamentary representative 1977–85, member of the Church and Education Committee 1977–81 and chair 1981–3, later director of psychiatric clinic in Skånevik.

## German Experts

**Anke Brunn**, interviewed on August 25, 2015; member of Social Democratic Party (SPD) since 1967, research assistant in Cologne 1966–75, member of NRW parliament for SPD 1970–81 and 1985–2010, member of Berlin parliament 1981–3, NRW minister for science and research 1985–98, chair and vice-chair of the Commission for Educational Planning comprising representatives of the national and federal governments (*Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung*) 1985–98, member of the Association for the Integrated Comprehensive School (*Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft Gesamtschule*).

- Ilse Brusi**, interviewed on April 18, 2015; primary school/lower secondary schoolteacher 1960–9, later vice-principal of a *Hauptschule*, leader of a teacher seminar, school inspector, member of the SPD since 1969, member of the Education and Science Workers' Union (GEW) 1960–95 and chair of the GEW NRW 1975–1981, member of the national board of the Federation of German Trade Unions 1982–90, various ministerial posts in the NRW government 1990–2000.
- Uwe Franke**, interviewed on April 20, 2015; *Hauptschule* teacher from 1969 in Hamm, joined the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its youth organization 1962, member of the party's social wage-earner wing, joined the teachers' association Education and Upbringing (*Verband Bildung und Erziehung*, VBE) in 1970 (when it had just been founded based on Catholic and Protestant teachers' associations), NRW chair of the Association 1980–95, still active in VBE.
- Reinhard Grätz**, interviewed on May 6, 2015; floor tiler and engineer, member of SPD from 1957, chair of young socialists in Wuppertal 1968–73, member of the board of the SPD Wuppertal 1972–94 and of the board of the SPD region Niederrhein 1974–88, spokesperson for education and media of the SPD's NRW board 1975–94, member of NRW parliament for SPD 1970–2000, member of Parliamentary Committee for Schooling and Culture (later Schooling and Further Education) 1970–85 and its chair 1975–85.
- Wolfgang Heinz**, interviewed on April 28, 2015; journalist, member of the Liberal Party (FDP) since 1964, chair of the FDP Rhein-Sieg-Kreis 1968, chair of the FDP Cologne 1974–8, member of the GEW from 1972, member of parliament for the FDP 1970–80, spokesperson of the parliamentary group for education politics 1970–5, member of the Parliamentary Committee for Schooling and Culture 1970–5 and deputy member 1975–80, parliamentary secretary of the FDP parliamentary group 1973–80.
- Jürgen Hinrichs**, interviewed on June 9, 2015; secondary schoolteacher (*Gymnasium*), member of the FDP since 1955, member of the secondary schoolteachers' association (*Philologenverband*) from 1964 to 1975, active in municipal politics in Herford from 1969 to 1975, member of the NRW parliament for the FDP 1975–80, member of the Parliamentary Committee for Schooling and Culture 1975–80

and educational political spokesperson of the parliamentary group 1975–80.

**Burkhard Hirsch**, interviewed on the phone in May 2015; lawyer, FDP politician, involved in the debate on the cooperative school as NRW minister of the interior 1975–80.

**Walter Hupperth**, interviewed on May 4, 2015; secondary schoolteacher at the *Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gymnasium* in Cologne-Leverkusen from 1965, PhD in classic philology, member of the Association of Philologists (*Philologenverband*) and active there from the 1960s, for example as representative on the personnel board of the *Gymnasium* at district level, chair of the board from 1984 to 1999, sympathizes with the CDU.

**Wilhelm Lenz**, interviewed on May 20, 2015; PhD in philology 1949, managing director of the Association of Public Employees (*Deutscher Beamtenbund NRW*) 1953–84, member of the CDU since 1946, chair of the CDU Cologne 1963–72, member of the NRW Presidium of the CDU 1962–77, representative of the CDU in the NRW parliament 1958–80, chair of the CDU's parliamentary group 1962–70, president of the NRW parliament 1970–80.

**Hiltrud Meyer Engelen**, interviewed on May 4, 2015; secondary schoolteacher at the *Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gymnasium* in Cologne-Leverkusen from 1968, principal of this school 1991–2004, member of the Association of Philologists (*Philologenverband*) and active there, sympathizes with CDU.

**Anne Ratzki**, interviewed on June 3, 2015; secondary schoolteacher, taught at a *Gymnasium* during 1960s, principal 1970–95 at a *Gymnasium* in Cologne-Holweide that was turned into an integrated comprehensive school in 1975, led experiments with mixed-ability groups, head of department for integrated comprehensive schools at the municipal government of Cologne 1995–9, founder of the Institute for Teamwork in 1996, active in the GEW since 1969, member of the SPD and the Organization Comprehensive School (GGG).

**Hans-G. Rolff**, interviewed on May 28, 2015; sociologist and education scientist, active in SPD's student organization Socialist College Union (*Sozialistischer Hochschulbund*) with a focus on education politics, 1966–7 assistant for education politics at the Federation of



German Trade Unions in NRW, 1967–70 consultant and responsible for planning for the Berlin school senator, professor for school pedagogy in Dortmund since 1970, founder of the Institute for School Development Research at the University of Dortmund 1973, member of GEW, SPD, and the Organization Comprehensive School (GGG).