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Source: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov., 1935, Vol. 182, Education for Social Control (Nov., 1935), pp. 153-163

Published by: Sage Publications, Inc. in association with the American Academy of Political and Social Science

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1020438>

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Education in Nazi Germany

By I. L. KANDEL

THE importance of education as an instrument of social control has been recognized throughout the history of mankind. That the character of education is colored by the political form of societies was stressed by Plato and Aristotle, but it was not until the positive state emerged in the nineteenth century that the full implications of this thesis were put into practice.

Whether education is to be used as an institution for molding individuals according to the pattern desired by the state or for their enlightenment depends on the nature of the state. Frederick the Great for Prussia and consequently for Germany, and Napoleon for France and those countries dominated by French cultural influences, enunciated the principle of the eminent right of the state to control and define the character of education; Washington and the founders of the Republic, while emphasizing the necessity of promoting and maintaining systems of education by public authorities, placed the chief stress upon the enlightenment of the individual citizen as an active, participating member of the government. The importance of enlightenment was not, however, ignored even in those states which proceeded to establish systems of education on the first principle, and some part of those systems for some sections of society was devoted to this end; so that while elementary education in general was directed to securing conformity, discipline, and obedience, higher education was granted a measure of academic freedom.

EDUCATION IN THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

It is characteristic of the totalitarian states which have resulted from the revolutions in the past two decades that education has been seized upon as the most important instrument for the promotion of their stability; that all distinctions between education as a coercive, controlling force (propaganda and indoctrination in every sense of the word) and education for enlightenment have been liquidated; and that education in all its aspects is directed to the one dominant purpose—the ultimate subordination of all individuals to the will and guidance of the state as represented and expressed by a dictator or by a party.

Evidence of this new social and political importance attached to education is to be found in the pronouncements by their respective leaders that education is the most Fascist aspect of the Fascist Revolution, the most Communistic feature of the Communist Revolution, and the most Nazi expression of the National Socialist Revolution.

And all three revolutions have this in common, that they are united in decrying the aimless and chaotic character of democracies and their systems of education, directed to so many different aims that they result merely in aggregations of individuals interested only in their own success and guided only by their own selfish motives, without the control of any single, all-embracing social, political, or national ideal.

COMPREHENSIVENESS OF THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

There is, however, another important distinction between the totalitarian state on the one hand and the democratic or even the authoritarian state on the other, in their conception of education. The latter in the main tends to devote its attention to a somewhat narrow view of education as given in formally organized institutions—schools, colleges, or universities; the former takes within its purview all influences that may in any form, whether intellectual or emotional, affect the thoughts and behavior of the individual. Education in a real sense is a function of society in the totalitarian state, and all cultural influences are dominated by a single aim or ideal. There is in fact no break in gauge between formal and informal education, between the cultural influences in the school and those outside it; formal education is regarded as less important than informal, because greater reliance is placed upon the cult of emotions than upon the cult of the mind to which, it is alleged, the traditional school has devoted the major portion of its attention.

Education in the United States has for nearly three decades been dominated by the ideal of efficiency, but efficiency has been measured in the main in terms of what might be described as the externals of education—amount of money available for it, school buildings and equipment, length of term, promotion and retardation, adaptation to individual needs, and so on. The totalitarian state subordinates all these measures to the outcome of an education in terms of obedient submission to and acquiescent acceptance of whatever ideology the state may prescribe.

It is in this sense of adapting means to secure desired ends that education in the totalitarian states is efficient; it is in this sense that the Jesuit system of education was one of the most efficient that the world has ever seen; it is in this sense that a successful system of vocational training is efficient—that it trains the individual to do one thing in one way and only in that way. So, in the totalitarian state, education is dominated by a body of social, political, economic, and national doctrines, convictions, and ideals, which serve as the basis of national solidarity and which it is dangerous for the individual to question.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AS RELIGIONS

The new ideologies, whether Fascist, Communist, or National Socialist, have, indeed, assumed the place of the Bible or other sacred writ, and have engendered a type of fanaticism always associated in the past with deeply profound but intolerant religious convictions.

Here is to be found an explanation of the attitudes of the totalitarian states to religion; they are due not merely to a desire to subordinate religious to political authority, as, for example, in France or in Germany in Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, but to a definite plan to eliminate all competition between traditional religions and their demand for loyalties, and the new ideologies which the revolutions offer as a substitute.

Thus in Soviet Russia the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin have replaced the Bible, Lenin and Red altars have been substituted for the saints and altars of the church, and Lenin lies embalmed like the saints of the Middle Ages.

The forces of tradition and the living authority of the Vatican defeated

a somewhat similar attempt in Fascist Italy, where in his educational reform Gentile sought to secularize religion and use it with younger pupils as an introduction to a philosophy broader and more comprehensive than any religious dogma.

The National Socialist Revolution in Germany is making the same attempt to concentrate all loyalties on the one ideology. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is to be substituted for the Bible; the swastika is to replace the crucifix; the alien spirit is to be removed from the German church; Christ must be proved to have been Nordic, and even then it is dangerous to believe that "Jesus is our Leader"; the "German Christians" build upon or continue the supposedly national or racial religious tradition which links modern Germans with their pagan ancestors and their gods; and in this German Christianity, other denominations, whether Catholic or Evangelical, are to be liquidated. It is this struggle which gives point to the subtitle of a pamphlet by President George Norlin—*Hitlerism: Why and Whither. Some Aspects of a Religious Revolution*.¹

EDUCATION, NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE

Two other aspects which are common to the three modern revolutions may be mentioned. The first phase of each revolution was marked by terrorism, violence, and murder, with concentration camps or penal colonies for any opposition that might survive or emerge. In a sense, this was a form of education of a negative kind. "Thou shalt not" preceded the positive "Thou shalt"; or in the words of Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda

¹ "Friends of Europe" Publications, No. 22. Friends of Europe, 122, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, London, S.W. (1935).

(a significant and typical creation of the revolutions) "anyone may grumble or criticize the government who is not afraid to go to a concentration camp." The revolutions further developed another method of securing stability and solidarity by propaganda of suspicion, intolerance, and hatred (aimed at the bourgeoisie and *Kulaks* in Russia, at liberals and Communists in Italy, and at Jews, liberals, and Communists in Germany) and by the creation of systems of secret police, whether formally organized or informally as enthusiastic members of the parties in power.

The principle of leadership (in Germany, the *Führerprinzip*) is another manifestation common to the three revolutions. While ostensibly power is vested in the party, in practice it is delegated to the leader with complete authority and responsibility, and through the leader to his subordinates in every aspect of political, social, and economic administration. There is thus to be found in Russia, Italy, and Germany a hierarchical system of administration built up in the form of a pyramid, at the apex of which stands the supreme dictator, each member of the hierarchy being subject in the first place to the party, which in this way becomes synonymous with the state, although in a minority numerically. It is in this way that a Hitler can secure votes of 93 per cent of the population in favor of any policy that he may for the moment advocate, and can claim that he is "the law and the will of the people."

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

It is impossible within the scope of the present article to discuss the principles of National Socialism.² The

² A brief but illuminating account of National Socialism will be found in Mildred S. Wert-

reasons for its emergence are obvious: a nation smarting under a defeat attributed to a "stab in the back" from Communist and other alien forces, resentment to ascription of war guilt, the disgrace of Versailles, the failure of the League of Nations, the intransigent attitude of some of the former enemies, the economic crises since the close of the war, and the political incapacity of the Germans themselves, which stood in the way of coöperative action in support of any government not bolstered up by force and rendered them incapable of learning the art of democratic government. All these factors, to which were added the fear of Communist uprising, which has never been substantiated, and the bogey of domination by one per cent of the population of alien racial stock, served as rallying cries to prove the

heimer's *Germany under Hitler* (World Affairs Pamphlets No. 8; published by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, and the World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1935); or in the pamphlet by President George Norlin mentioned above. The whole series published by the Friends of Europe, of which twenty-two issues have appeared, presents authoritative statements on various aspects of the German Revolution. An excellently documented study guide is available in *Germany, the National Socialist State*, by Esther C. Brunauer (Washington, D. C.: American Association of University Women, 1934). Special reference may be made to C. B. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich* (New York, 1933); E. Henri, *Hitler over Europe* (New York, 1934); K. Heiden, *History of National Socialism*, translated from the German (New York, 1935); and Frederick L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship* (New York, 1935). No study of National Socialist doctrine would, however, be complete without reading Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, translated in abridged (and therefore less effective) form under the title *My Battle* (Boston, 1933). A more detailed account than could be presented here of the educational changes which have taken place in Germany since the National Socialist Revolution is given in I. L. Kandel, *The Making of Nazis* (New York, 1935), which was reprinted from the *Educational Yearbook, 1934*, pp. 413 ff., of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University (New York, 1934).

failure of liberalism and democracy and to win the nation over to a program which promised something to everybody—emancipation from external controls, revival of national solidarity, national socialism which would save the middle classes and the workers at the same time, and restoration of authoritative government in place of rule by majority votes.

Gleichschaltung

It is unnecessary here to point out that the National Socialist Revolution, with its emphasis on the national state and its peculiar destiny and on the subordination of the individual to the will of the state, and aided by the willingness of Germans to submit to discipline and control and by the all too brief periods of their exposure to liberal forms of government, is in a sense in line with the political and philosophical tradition in Germany.³ The fundamental principle dominating all activities of life, and therefore education, under the Nazi régime is that of *Gleichschaltung*, coördination or regimentation, or physical, emotional, and intellectual goose-stepping. The most significant definition of *Gleichschaltung* is that given by Goebbels:

The revolutionary forces must be directed into all channels of public life. This is the real sense of *Gleichschaltung*. This coördination only outlines what will be the normal condition of Germany. This Germany is to have only one goal, one party, one conviction [and, he might have added, only one fiction of a race and one religion], and this state organization is to be identical with the nation itself. Revolutions know no compromises. The state must stand for the principle of totality.

Educationally, this principle means the development of intolerance against

³ In *The Making of Nazis*, *op. cit.*, Ch. I, I have developed this idea more fully.

everything that is not approved by the authorities; it means uniformity of political outlook and faith; it means that free discussion is outlawed; it means finally that the mildest critic can be branded as a traitor. Every form of freedom—of conscience, speech, thought, and expression—is suppressed in the interests of what the Minister of Propaganda chooses to define as true; for today, as Fichte wrote over a century ago, "truth in reality, then, is what you wish to be true; false is whatever you wish to be false," except that the *Führer* and his spokesmen have been substituted for "you."

Cultural uniformity becomes, then, an essential aspect of political uniformity, and the machinery is set up to see that cultural uniformity shall be secured without question. Jewish, Marxian, liberal, pacifist, and international books have been proscribed; but beyond this, a Federal Cultural Chamber (*Reichskulturkammer*) has been established to define what is and what is not acceptable.

Furthermore, all the German newspapers are singing in one key—the song of Hitler. They have to. They dare not do anything else. That is why you, reading your own newspapers, know more about unfortunate happenings in Germany than the Germans themselves.

The radio, moreover, the cinema, the theaters are all under the iron hand of the Hitler régime.

This has been virtually so ever since Hitler came into power, though organization has been somewhat lacking. Now there has been set up, with Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda, at its head, the *Reichskulturkammer*, the national corporation for the direction of culture, which sees to it that only good newspapers are printed, only good books are published, only good plays are presented, only good music is played, only good statues are carved, only good paintings are painted. If you ask

what constitutes excellence in literature and art, the answer is simple. A book is good, a play is good, a painting is good if it is done by a pure Teuton, duly Hitlerized and therefore immune to the heresies of the last fifteen years.⁴

For such cultural control, official explanations and justifications are available as follows:

. . . for the National Socialist state culture is the concern of the nation. It is the task of the state to fight against harmful forces within the cultural field and to assist valuable elements, judging these by the measure of feeling of responsibility displayed toward the national community. In this sense creative art remains personal and free. It is necessary, however, in order to carry on a policy of German culture, to unite creative artists in all their respective fields under the leadership of the Reich, so as to coordinate their efforts to a united and organized purpose. . . . The Reich, therefore, must not only determine the intellectual course but must lead and amalgamate the professional organizations.⁵

Gleichschaltung accordingly means rule by a political-military élite

which in its close organization and discipline rises direct above the whole people as the real bearer of the state, the molders of the political will in the whole, the representatives of political unity and the organ of political power,

to quote the leading educational theorist and apologist of National Socialism, Ernst Krieck.⁶

EDUCATION UNDER THE NAZI RÉGIME

The new education of the Nazi régime is thus directed to the development of the *politisch-soldatisches*

⁴ G. Norlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.

⁵ Quoted in M. S. Wertheimer, *Germany under Hitler* (New York and Boston, 1935), p. 34.

⁶ From Krieck's *Nationalpolitische Erziehung* (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 83 ff. The whole passage is translated in I. L. Kandel, *The Making of Nazis, op. cit.*, p. 26.

Ideal, with its emphasis on discipline, training, and order (*Disziplin, Zucht, und Ordnung*), as defined by Professor Peter Petersen of the University of Jena, an ardent educational progressive before the Revolution and an equally ardent supporter of the new order. Or, in the words of Professor Alfred Baeumler of the University of Berlin, the scholar must be replaced by the soldier type (*Die Ersetzung des Gebildeten durch den Typus des Soldaten*). The basis of the national state, according to Krieck, is the instinct for defense (*Wehrinstinkt*), and the army must serve as a model for all national life with its standards of discipline, conduct, honor, service, and devotion, under the leadership of a selected group.

The reorganization of education became one of the primary concerns of the Nazi régime. Through education the cancer of Marxism, liberalism and democracy (used interchangeably) was to be attacked. The German people must be purged of the virus of freedom with which it had become infected during the republican era with its demand for the development of free, harmonious, and independent personality. Freedom and choice, and activity methods as the first step in the training of intellectual independence and judgment must be eradicated, since they developed only a faith in the preëminence of the individual as over against society. The individual can find freedom and perfection only by sinking himself in the whole; or, in the slogan widely used to justify the exercise of power, *Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz* (the welfare of the community precedes the welfare of the individual).

Formal education must accordingly be directed less to the development of the intellect and more to the strengthening of those emotions which will re-

sult in loyalty, self-sacrifice, and silent acquiescence in whatever may befall (*Verschwiegenheit*). Strength of will, joyful acceptance of responsibility, and resolution, rather than trained intellect, must be the ideals to be attained through education at all levels; for it is characteristic of the Nazi reform that from the point of view here discussed no distinction is made between elementary, secondary, or higher education. Scholars and the universities must become agents of the state, devoted to the totalitarian concept of knowledge, to synthesis and comprehensiveness, rather than to analysis and investigation in narrow fields of research. Freedom of research means not caprice and individual subjective choice, but direction under the inspiration of the totalitarian demands of the whole. "Absolute freedom of teaching is absolute nonsense," writes Krieck.⁷

The starting point in education must not be the child (*vom Kinde aus*), as was claimed by the republican theorists, but the people (*das Volk*) and its needs. Like life itself, education must be rooted in blood and soil if it is not to become merely formal and mechanical. Blood is itself the stream of ancestral inheritance, race, character, and destiny; with soil, blood shapes destiny and constitutes the basis of race and character. The school can perform only a part of the function of education; it may give knowledge and understanding. Real character can be trained, in the national political state, only through organization of youth, with its physical training, creative activities, and heroic realism.⁸

⁷ E. Krieck, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.

⁸ E. Krieck, *Grundriss der Erziehungswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1933); *National-politische Erziehung* (Leipzig, 1933); *Völkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden* (with French and English translations in the same issue), *Internationale*

NAZI EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Educational reconstruction since the revolution has proceeded on this theory. A complete administrative reorganization has not yet taken place, nor have any definitive plans for the reorganization of the system yet been published. The earliest attempts at liquidating the republican emphases were made by federal laws enacted by the *Führer*, or by decrees issued by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Dr. Wilhelm Frick. It was not until May 1, 1934 that Dr. Bernhard Rust, Minister of Science, Art and Public Education for Prussia, was appointed also Federal Minister of Science, Education and Public Culture. While the exercise of supreme control over all aspects of education in the *Reich* is vested in the Minister, its complete use is apparently being delayed until the movement to abolish the states and to redivide Germany on a basis which will eliminate traditional loyalties and concentrate power completely in Berlin has been put into effect.

Discipline and race consciousness

The general framework of administration and organization has accordingly remained the same; the spirit has been completely changed under the principle of *Gleichschaltung* (coördination or totalization). It is characteristic of the Nazi reconstruction of education that one of the earliest decrees, passed even before the actual revolution (January 31, 1933), restored the authority of the teacher to control and discipline pupils and to use corporal punishment.

Religious instruction in denominational schools was restored and made compulsory, and the nonsectarian

Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft, 1933-34, pp. 305 ff. *Volk im Werden*, a bi-monthly, is edited by Kriek.

schools and classes (*Sammelschulen* and *Sammelklassen*) began to be closed.

Sex education, characterized as a Marxist invention, was forbidden in the schools in April 1933, and in May 1933 special exercises were prescribed on the last school day before Mother's Day so that "school children should understand the responsible task to which they are called as future bearers of a typical German family life, and learn again to honor the mothers of our people and serve them with gratitude."

A decree of September 13, 1933 required the teaching of heredity and race knowledge (*Vererbungstheorie und Rassenkunde*) in the schools, since the knowledge of fundamental biological facts and their application to each individual and group is a condition *sine qua non* for the renewal of our people. No pupil, boy or girl, should be allowed to leave school for life without this fundamental knowledge.

This knowledge is made a compulsory requirement in all leaving examinations, and is employed primarily for the cult of the Nordic principles and race theories which no honest science of anthropology accepts outside of Germany.

Teaching of history and nationalism

The Nordic principle and the peculiarly German race theory, together with the exaltation of militarism and the heroic ideal, constitute the basis of the Suggestions for History Textbooks,⁹ issued on May 9, 1933. History is to be taught from the prehistoric period down to the present with especial emphasis on the superiority of the Nordic race as the creator of culture and civilization. Stress is to be placed on the development of na-

⁹ A translation of these Suggestions in full will be found in I. L. Kandel, *The Making of Nazis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

tional pride and the cultivation of reverence for the national heritage and national heroes of the battlefield as the basis of the future conduct of the nation and its people. Particular attention is to be given to the history of the last two decades in order to discredit the Republic and to glorify the National Socialist Revolution as meeting the inner yearnings of the German people.

To supplement and extend the knowledge of the Germany of the past, decrees have been issued urging the extension of school journeys and excursions, already well developed under the Republic from the educational and instructional point of view, but now adapted to the promotion of political understanding and solidarity. The feeling of spiritual community of Germans at home with those abroad is cultivated by the study of *Auslandsdeutschtum*; and with an eye on both the past and the future, a decree passed on August 16, 1933 encouraged a campaign in the schools to promote patriotic enlightenment on the colonies as a field for expansion.

Physical training as pre-military training

Accompanying this program for the spiritual regeneration of youth and for the development of national solidarity—all symbolized by the greeting, *Heil Hitler!* required at the beginning and the close of every lesson—there has been developed a program of physical regeneration, contributed to by biological or race studies and also by the school journeys and the school country hostels (*Schullandheime*). Physical training has been officially defined as pre-military training. Formal drill and exercises (*Turnen*) are merely the starting-point for a training which, through *Geländesport* or open country sports

and *Wehrsport* or military sport, is to lay the foundations for the national army of the future, which with the recent restoration of conscription is already beginning to be a reality.

Rural school year

The organization of what is perhaps one of the most interesting parts of the educational reconstruction, the rural school year (*Landschuljahr*), is subject to a number of explanations. The provision that all children on leaving the urban elementary school shall spend a year in the country has been adopted as part of the program for physical regeneration. It is also intended to remove adolescent boys and girls from possible subversive influences in industrial areas. It postpones the problem of employment by a year. It brings the urban youth into close contact—spiritual and physical—with the soil and the peasants who are now cultivated as the backbone of the country. It is hoped that some will be diverted from urban to agricultural occupations. And, finally, it seeks to train up a generation which in certain eventualities would be able to maintain the food supply and protect the country from a repetition of the food problems of the last war. In other words, the idea of the *Landschuljahr* falls into its proper place as part of a comprehensive program of national defense and autarchy.

Labor service

The same program, shorn of the metaphysical speculations about *Blut und Erde*, explains the cult of the peasant and the rural community, the extension through voluntary and compulsory labor service of the cultivable area of the country, and the reorganization of many teacher-training institutions with a rural bias. Labor service (*Arbeitsdienst*) has its educa-

tional as well as its political aspects. From both points of view it is directed against the dangers which may come from continued unemployment of a large percentage of the population; it provides opportunities for continued indoctrination; it contributes to the physical upbuilding of the people, and thus serves the ends of militarism. Since it is virtually compulsory for all who plan to enter a university or other institution of higher education, it is welcomed first as a scheme for welding all classes together through common work, and, second, as a method of breaking down the traditional aloofness of the academically trained from everyday problems. It is no longer denied that a large part of the time ostensibly devoted to labor service is being devoted to physical and military training.

TOTALIZATION OF YOUTH

Considered also from this point of view, it will be seen that the organizations of youth (*Hitlerjugend*) under a common direction, the *Sturmabteilung* (S.A.) and the *Schutzstaffel* (S.S.), all contribute to the same ends—the *Gleichschaltung* of youth intellectually, emotionally, and physically. In developing the youth organizations the totalitarian state has gone further than any other form of government in capturing youth at the level of its own interests, but it has also enlisted on its side the tyranny of youth and the pressure to conformity which can be more effective in most cases than the precepts of adults.

In practice, more attention has been devoted to these organizations of informal (and often formal) education than to school instruction. Thus, while efforts have actually been made to reduce and simplify the school curriculum, both elementary and secondary, and to place the emphasis on those

subjects which are more emotional than intellectual in their influence (such subjects as the mother tongue, history, biology and race science, and physical training), the work of the youth organizations has been expanded to provide for and to meet all the needs and interests of youth—flags, banners, uniform, military formations, marches, military training, camps, community singing, and special services. So far was this encroachment on the time of children and youth carried that decrees were passed to apportion their time suitably between the home, the school, the church, and the organizations for youth.

TOTALIZATION OF TEACHERS AND OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Gleichschaltung has not been confined to youth, however; it has been extended to include teachers and students in the universities and other higher educational institutions. Teachers colleges (the former *Pädagogische Akademien*, now styled *Hochschulen für Lehrerbildung* in order to give them a true German ring) have been brought under the ægis of Nazi ideology. All teachers' organizations have been dissolved and replaced by the single *Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund*, organized on the *Führerprinzip*. Appointments to professorships in the universities have been withdrawn from the faculties concerned and placed in the hands of the Minister of Education. Candidates for professorships no longer have the right to give courses after passing the *Habilitationsprüfung* and obtaining the right to teach, but are selected and appointed by the Minister if they prove to have a clean political record, to have been active in Nazi political organizations, and to have gone through the requisite periods of labor

service, and, finally, after being politically quarantined in the newly created *Dozentenakademien* for political training.

Higher educational institutions have been deprived of all semblance of academic freedom, and must cooperate in promoting political and national tasks in the interests of the people, since science cannot be free and objective but must be responsible to the people and to the state. Accordingly the relative autonomy previously enjoyed in academic matters has been abolished, and the *Führerprinzip* with rectors and deans appointed by the Minister of Education has been substituted for elections by the faculties.

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION AND LIBERAL PROFESSIONS

Admission of students to higher educational institutions is no longer open to graduates from secondary schools. The leaving examination (*Abiturientenprüfung*) has been retained, but a further selection is made from the successful candidates partly on the basis of political record and activities in youth organizations, and partly with a view to adjusting the supply to the demand for trained personnel in academic and liberal professions.

The overproduction of intellectuals was, indeed, one of the crucial problems attacked by the new régime. Admission to higher institutions was made selective, and six months of labor service was required before entrance and periodically thereafter. Thus, out of nearly forty thousand secondary school graduates, only fifteen thousand were given the right to continue their studies at the beginning of the present academic year; actually, only forty-seven hundred (men and women) availed themselves of the right.

Two crises were thus precipitated; on the one hand, something had to be done to provide employment for qualified graduates who were not permitted to proceed further; and on the other hand, it was found that the distribution of students according to the various branches of study was inadequate to meet the future demands of the different professions. With the first problem the authorities are still struggling; the second has been met by relaxing on the quotas to be admitted. One result of the reduced number of students who proceeded to the universities was the danger that the smaller universities might in time disappear. To meet this danger, decrees have been passed restricting the number of students to be admitted to the larger urban universities.

Once in the universities and other higher institutions, students are placed under the control of the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* or the *Deutsche Fachschulenschaft*, whose duties include the supervision of student participation in defense training, labor service, and physical and political training, and in the organization of fellowship houses (*Kameradschaftshäuser*) or student hostels. It is interesting to note that, while not a single protest against regimentation appears to have been made by the professors, the aristocratic *Studentenkörper* (fraternities) refused to surrender their colorful uniforms and regalia, to convert their houses into *Kameradschaftshäuser*, or to submit to the disciplinary regulations of the *Studentenschaft* and have consequently been dissolved by a recent decree.

THE CHALLENGE OF TOTALITARIANISM

It is only necessary here to repeat that the present account of education in Nazi Germany is illustrative of a

type, but a type carried out with characteristic German *Gründlichkeit*; it could be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the educational system of any other totalitarian state. These systems in which education and society are so closely integrated by a community of purpose dominating the individual from the cradle to the grave, offer a deliberate challenge to the liberal and democratic states.

The challenge, if it has any significance, means that those engaged in the task of educating for the democratic and liberal ideal must ask themselves whether they are not in danger of failing in their task by too close absorption with the details, the techniques, and the mechanics of educa-

tional administration, organization, and practice. And if this is true, the challenge means further that the first preoccupation of the educator must be to examine the inherent significance of liberalism and democracy both for the individual and for the society in which he lives, and then to adapt instruction to the promotion of those objects of social allegiance and ideals which this examination has revealed.

The choice today lies between a form of society which is based on fear, hatred, intolerance, coercion, and regimentation, and one which pins its faith on the development of independence, tolerance, freedom of thought, and freedom of expression.

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