

5 *The Method of Indoctrination*

THE PROPAGANDA MINISTRY

Hitler dedicated large sections of *Mein Kampf* to the necessity and technique of propaganda. He explained that a movement must distinguish between two groups of people—adherents, who agree passively with the movement's aims, and members, who work actively for the attainment of the movement's goal. The task of propaganda, he said, was to spread the new ideas, create sympathy for the movement, and attract adherents. The task of members, who in Hitler's case comprised the Nazi party organization, was to develop, select, and train new members from the vast body of adherents.

The first task of Nazi propaganda then was to collect a reservoir of adherents for later organization; it was also to hasten the decay of existing ideas and institutions by undermining them with the new ideology.

Good propaganda, according to Hitler, would impose a single ideology upon the whole people, "soften them up," make adherents of many, and prepare the rest to accept the victory of the movement. The more people this propaganda reached, the better it would be, Hitler observed, and the propagandist need not concern himself with the importance, knowledge, capability, or character of the people he reached so long as he reached a great number. For if the whole nation were mentally united by propaganda, he pointed out, a few men could handle the organization; and the more effective the propaganda, the fewer the men in the organization need be.

Furthermore, Hitler pointed out that the masses were "feminine" and reacted emotionally rather than rationally. Therefore, he said, propaganda should appeal to the emotions, especially to hate; and in order to arouse hatred, invective must be used, people must be defamed, and facts must be distorted. Propaganda has no relation to truth, Hitler declared, and the propagandist is free to lie

in order to reach his objective. Propaganda must be simple and correspond to the lowest intellectual level of the masses. Propaganda must also strive for virtual monopoly, and the Nazis, unlike the democracies which allow propaganda for all points of view, permitted only one—that for the Nazi ideology.¹

Shortly after Hitler came into power, a propaganda center was established to put Hitler's theories into practice and to persuade the people to welcome the "national revolution." The Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda was created and entrusted to Joseph Goebbels, an utter cynic full of contempt for the masses who proceeded without conscience to cram the Nazi ideology down the throats of a gullible German public. His new ministry's mission was defined in a decree of June 30, 1933:

The Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda is competent to exercise spiritual influence (*geistige Einwirkung*) upon the nation; it will have to propagandize the state, culture, and economic life, instructing the people of Germany and of foreign countries about them; it will have to administer all institutions which serve these purposes.

According to Nazis, the aim of the ministry was to create a "unified will of the nation in the spirit of Adolf Hitler," and, in Goebbels' own words, to develop a "link between government and people." What Goebbels meant was that the people were to be persuaded to follow the Nazi leaders, since the people in Nazi Germany were never partners but only subjects of the government. The Ministry's task was not too difficult, because the German people seem always to have been susceptible to high-sounding phraseology and ready to adopt the current trends of thought, particularly in the field of politics where they lacked training and experience. The kaleidoscopic nature of these trends in pre-Hitler years accounts for the political confusion which characterized Republican Germany.

When the Nazis won unlimited power, they expanded their propaganda activities in a great effort to free the people from the necessity of thinking for themselves. Their attack was simple and direct. They avoided the professional jargon which characterized

¹ See *Mein Kampf*, Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1941, pp. 846-850.

previous government literature but which held little attraction for the average citizen. Their principles were simplicity and aggressive repetition. "It is the secret of effective propaganda," said Goebbels, "not to make statements about a thousand things but to concentrate upon a few facts only and to direct the people's eyes and ears again and again to these few points."¹

It was a fundamental belief of the Nazis that cultural life as an expression of the people was vitally important to the state, especially so since the Nazi aim was to create a new *Kultur*. Consequently, the Ministry of Propaganda took over supervision of all cultural activity, and to facilitate this aspect of its work, organized the Reich Chamber of Culture.²

The Ministry of Propaganda was divided into seven divisions. The first dealt with the administration of the Ministry itself, its legal and financial problems, accounting and personnel, its library, the Council on Commercial Advertising (a center for exhibitions and commercial fairs), and the Reich Chamber of Culture.

The second division managed the actual propaganda, manipulating and coordinating it according to the Minister's directives. It supervised the district and local agencies of the Ministry, dealt with the organization of celebrations and demonstrations, propagated racial myths, created national emblems and songs, supervised literature and publishing, maintained contact with youth organizations and sports, controlled the German Academy of Politics, and organized travel for propaganda purposes.

Division III supervised radio broadcasting and controlled the Reich Radio Corporation. Division IV dealt with the press and supervised domestic and foreign journalists. Division V was the motion-picture division which sought to use the cinema for propaganda purposes and to develop a new Nazi film art. Division VI dealt with the theater and fine arts, the management and direction of stage presentations. It was also interested in folklore and design. Division VII organized counterpropaganda against "atrocities" and other critical attacks upon Nazism both at home and abroad.

¹ Speech of March 5, 1933.

² See below, pp. 106 ff.

THE REICH CHAMBER OF CULTURE

Of the many devices which the Nazis used to imbue the German mind with the Nazi ideology, the Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*) revealed perhaps most clearly the thoroughness with which the National Socialists tried to conquer the people's thoughts and revolutionize their cultural concepts.

The idea that culture had nothing to do with politics was not in harmony with the Nazi concept of a total state. Cultural activity, the Nazis said, had to be mobilized to help implant the new ideology. So the Hitler government sought to control the personnel of Germany's cultural leaders and to select them on the basis of race and political loyalty. They set up the Reich Chamber of Culture, under the auspices of the Ministry of Propaganda, with the task of helping to "express and direct the national will and to keep it perpetually coordinated with the guiding maxims of the new State."¹

Culture, specifically the arts, grows out of the folk, the Nazis reasoned. As such it could not be artificially regulated. Nevertheless the Nazis believed that cultural creation was of public concern, and subject to guidance. Consequently, the Chamber of Culture was to exclude all "unreliable and unsuitable elements." It became the specific task of the chamber, according to a decree of November 1, 1933, to foster German culture first by "coordinating all the members of the different divisions, by regulating economic and social matters of the cultural professions, and finally by concentrating upon the cultural responsibilities towards the people and the Reich." The decree implied that not only creators but also distributors of a *Kulturgut* (cultural value) must be members of the proper branches of the organization. For example, not only writers but also publishers had to join the Literary Chamber.

The Nazi definition of a *Kulturgut* was first, any creation of the traditional arts shown or performed in public and, second, any other intellectual creation transmitted to the public by means of print, film, or radio. This comprehensive definition embraced all cultural activity, whether it were carried out for the common good or for commercial purposes, whether it were the work of individuals

¹ Law of September 22, 1933.

or of groups, of German citizens or foreign nationals, employers or employees.¹

The Chamber of Culture was efficiently organized. Its president was the Propaganda Minister himself; its vice-president was the state secretary of the Propaganda Ministry. Three directors acted as business executives, and a *Landeskulturwarter* (district culture warden) represented the Chamber in each of the thirty-one German *Gaue*, or districts.

This Reich Chamber was a kind of holding company for seven specialized bureaus, each of which was subdivided into a chamber proper and the association of cultural workers who were its members. The seven departments were those dealing with the fine arts, music, literature, press, theater, radio, and cinema. The individual departments of the Reich Chamber were each intricately organized so as to reach literally every person and group connected with their activities.

The Chamber of Fine Arts, for example, had departments dealing with painting, graphic arts, and sculpture; commercial art and design; associations of artists and artisans; art publishing and art dealing; household arts, interior decorating, and gardening. Membership in the Fine Arts Chamber was required of all sculptors, painters, designers, architects, interior decorators, art publishers, art dealers, and antique dealers who wished to practice their profession or carry on their business. All organizations connected with the fine or applied arts had to be members too, including art schools, artists' associations, art leagues, and other institutions for fine arts.

Specially drawn up official codes for each profession or group attempted to guarantee an art in keeping with the spirit of National Socialism. Fees and prices were regulated by statute, and the quality of work had to meet officially determined professional and commercial standards. Not a single type of art activity was ignored, but all was rigidly organized. Specific provisions even applied to cemetery stone masons and stone cutters. All art schools of any sort were supervised by the chamber. Art teachers were licensed only after they had met the required professional standards and satisfied the authorities as to their ancestry, political reliability, and personal

¹ Hans Hinkel, *Das Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer*, Deutscher Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, Berlin, 1937.

character. New schools might not be opened unless the chamber were convinced of the need for them.

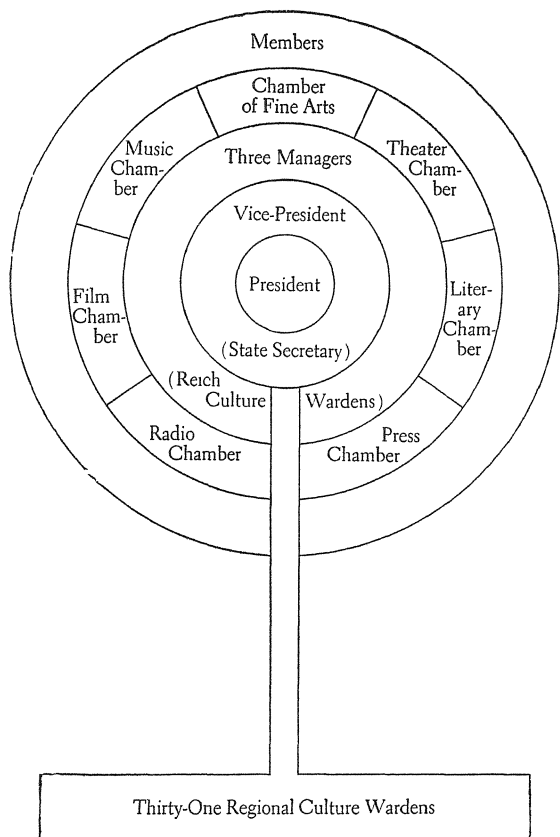
The *Reich Chamber of Music* had six divisions which dealt with questions of general musical culture, music education, choirs and folk music, concert organization, musical instruments and printed music, and even the economic problems of the German music world.

Writing was officially recognized as a profession in Nazi Germany, as in Soviet Russia. But a distinction between journalism and true literary effort existed; the *Reich Chamber of Literature* dealt only with books. In addition to administration, its divisions supervised writers (grouped together as librettists, playwrights, copyright administrators), the book trade, book propaganda, libraries, address books and advertisements, and the economic problems of the German book trade.

The *Reich Press Chamber*, which was supposed to provide for the "self-education and recreation" of the people, had no less than fourteen divisions: the Association of German Newspaper Publishers; the Association of German Periodical Publishers; the Association of News Agencies; the Association of Religious Papers (separate Protestant and Catholic sections); the Association of the Radio Press; the Association of the German Press; the Association of Publishers' Employees; the Association of Press stenographers; the Association for Advertising Newspaper Trade; the Association of Readers' Circles; the Association of Wholesale Distributors; the Association of Newspaper and Periodical Retail Trade; the Association of Station News Stands. There was certainly no press activity omitted here.

The *Reich Theater Chamber* was a professional organization for all branches of the theater, vaudeville, and dance. Its eight divisions dealt with administration, legal affairs, opera, professional associations (state), variety (vaudeville), dance, public exhibitions, and the Association of State Publishers. The *Reichsdramaturg* (Reich Chief Dramaturge) was not actually a censor, but was responsible for the reliability of the authors, and for the supervision and promotion of stage productions.

A *Reich Radio Chamber* was included as a separate unit in the Chamber for Culture because the Nazis felt that radio, apart from



A DIAGRAM OF THE REICH CULTURE CHAMBER

its use as a news agency, was a new form of artistic expression. Its various departments dealt with propaganda (exhibitions and radio soliciting); economy and technique (industrial); radio law; culture (programs, microphone control, and professional radio associations). The chamber supervised the twelve main Reich stations and sixteen branch stations, as well as the amateur establishments.

The *Reich Film Chamber* was treated with special care and interest by the government because the Nazis regarded the cinema as one of the most important agencies for the propagation of the Nazi ideology. The Film Chamber's control extended over foreign and domestic news reels; casting, directing, and producing; film economics; professional associations of industrial, artistic, and technical film workers; and the associations of producers, distributors, motion-picture theater operators, film technicians, and documentary film producers.

Although policy was determined and supervision was exercised by the central organization, the activities of the individual chambers were promoted and subsidized by communal or municipal bodies. The private benefactor of the arts in Germany became a relic of the past. He would not have had enough money to subsidize the arts, and even if he had, the government would not have allowed him any influence in a domain which the Nazis claimed belonged to the state.

The state has had a distinguished record as a benefactor of the arts in Europe. German art institutions especially have long been largely subsidized by the state; therefore removing private influence from cultural affairs was not difficult for the Nazis, since most of the important cultural institutions were already under partial or total state supervision or control.

The Nazi organization of culture was stronger and more centralized, however, and its supervision was more strict, since the party intended to make art serve as political propaganda, and the leaders were determined to coordinate culture with their political ideology. As a result, the spiritual and intellectual value of German culture deteriorated, although the political value of what was now called "Kultur" increased.

The idea of a German *Kulturstaat*, or cultural state, has long been the dream of German idealists. But the Nazi version of the

cultural state was entirely political and designed to serve the total state by representing the Nazi ideology in all the forms of art and culture. The Reich government issued directives, and the local agencies saw that the individual artists, actors, and writers carried them out. Culture was thus made an instrument of political indoctrination within the Reich and of ideological propaganda abroad.

NAZI EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

The Propaganda Ministry, the Reich Chamber of Culture, and many party organizations including the Gestapo were the informal agencies of adult education. They made one gigantic school out of Germany. Yet the Nazi government gave even more attention to the training of children in order to safeguard the future of National Socialism. From its inception, the Nazi movement directed its greatest bid for sympathy to German youth. Nazi leaders considered the molding of young minds of decisive importance and took great care to organize education so as to provide concentrated training in Nazi ideology.

The Nazis inherited a well-organized system of schools. But they eliminated several types of secondary schools and completely revolutionized traditional German educational philosophy. They rejected the old German educational idealism, the *Bildungsoptimismus*, or belief in the value of liberal education in the humanities. Ever since the Reformation, when great humanists established classical education to train mind and character, German schoolmen have believed in the value of a nonutilitarian, cultural training for the élite. Methodological reforms in the nineteenth century did not change this point of view. The Nazis did change it, and, moreover, they adopted a new basis of selecting students for higher education.

German education before the First World War did not accord equal opportunities to the poorer classes. The Prussian *Dreiklassen-Wahlrecht* (three-class suffrage, based on wealth) was reflected in an educational system throughout Germany based upon economic and social distinction. Children of the poor were rarely able to obtain a secondary education and therewith access to positions of leadership. The Weimar Republic's educational reform, imperfect as it was, tended to eliminate such discrimination and emphasized

the principle of selection on the basis of intellectual ability. But the Third Reich introduced selection according to racial, physical, and political standards. It also revised methods and curricula, bringing them into line with Nazi ideology.

"The whole function of all education is to create a Nazi," declared Bernhard Rust, Reich Minister for Science, Education, and Culture.¹ So Nazi educators dismissed German *Bildungsoptimismus*. They did not want knowledge for knowledge's sake. They objected to the importance attached to the individual in pre-Hitler schools and, instead, demanded that the individual be looked upon as part of the "racial community" and not as a separate unit. They also wanted more physical training.

Hitler himself declared that the task of education was to develop healthy bodies rather than to burden the mind with too much knowledge. He demanded that physical training be the first duty of the school and the development of character the second. He wanted young people to be trained in will power and vigor of decision and made aware of their responsibilities. Only when these aims had been accomplished might the Nazi school be concerned with learning as it is commonly understood.²

In an address to the graduating class of the Adolf Hitler school in Croessinsee, Robert Ley stated bluntly, "You boys who have come through the strictest selection are perhaps not always the best scholars but undoubtedly the toughest."³

Germany's leaders also expected the schools to produce good Nazis, loyal supporters of the Nazi political regime. Dr. Frick stated on May 9, 1933, "The German school must form the political man who has his roots in his people whom he serves in both thought and action."⁴ And Education Minister Rust wrote, almost five years later, that the "National Socialist system of education is not the outcome of pedagogical planning but of political struggle and of the laws which govern such a struggle."⁵

All these statements revealed an anti-intellectualism which was typical of National Socialism. It resulted in lowered standards in

¹ *Voelkischer Beobachter* (Nazi party organ), February 13, 1938.

² *Mein Kampf*, pp. 613ff.

³ April 19, 1939.

⁴ May 9, 1933.

⁵ Decree of January 29, 1939, translated in *Educational Yearbook*, 1939, p. 185.

both secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. Pupils who formerly would have proceeded to secondary schools after the compulsory four years in the Grundschule were encouraged or obliged to complete their formal education in the higher elementary schools. Such elementary training used to be reserved for "intellectually slow pupils or children of paupers," but the Nazis made it the basis of German community life.

To make these views effective and also in order to check the increase of an "educated proletariat," access to the secondary schools and universities was severely curbed. A law against "the overcrowding of schools and universities" of April 25, 1933, cut the number of students to be admitted to higher studies in 1934 to 15,000 as compared with approximately 30,000 students entering the universities every year previous to the arrival of the Nazi regime. As a result of this law, total enrolments in German institutions of higher learning dropped from more than 130,000 in 1933 to less than 75,000 in 1936. These restrictions had to be relaxed later on, as it was found that the German universities and technical colleges were not producing a sufficient number of highly trained individuals to meet the requirements of the period of war preparation and of war itself. For some time, Nazi Germany suffered from a shortage of physicians and well-trained engineers.

Even more revealing of Nazi anti-intellectualism were the new criteria of selection applied to all those who wanted to proceed to higher studies. As laid down in the Selection Decree (*Auslese-Erlass*) issued by the Reich Ministry of Education in conjunction with the Racial Policy Board (*Rassenpolitisches Amt*), the decisive factors in the selection of students for advanced studies were to be racial purity and political reliability, not academic achievement.¹ Moreover, six months of service in a labor camp were a prerequisite for admission to the universities. Brawn became more important than brain.

Women were discouraged from attending higher schools. The education of girls, for the Nazis, was not the same as for boys. Hitler's own statement left no doubt as to his intentions in this respect: "The goal of female education has invariably to be the future mother."² Girls, in consequence, were only in rare cases per-

¹ Decree of January 29, 1939.

² *Mein Kampf*, p. 621

mitted to proceed toward a university degree. At no time might they constitute more than 10 per cent of the total student enrolment. Coeducation, never popular in Germany, was outlawed. The secondary-school curriculum for girls differed from that for boys by stressing home economics rather than sciences.

The course of study in German secondary schools was reduced from nine to eight years for both sexes. So far as the young men were concerned, the reasons for this reduction may easily be traced to military and industrial requirements.

Bernhard Rust, in the Selection Decree mentioned earlier, proclaimed that National Socialism "has replaced the artificial conception of what an educated person is with the true conception of real man, that is, a personality shaped by blood and historical fatality." Only a closer analysis of the German educational program under the Nazis can show how this "real man" was nurtured.

THE SCHOOLS AND THEIR CURRICULA

Preschool education, or the Kindergarten, was developed by Swiss and German educators during the nineteenth century, but German authorities were not enthusiastic, and kindergartens never became state-subsidized institutions. They remained more or less municipal or private shelters for children of poor parents or playgrounds for children of the well-to-do. During the last years before the Second World War, only about 10 to 15 per cent of all children between the ages of three and six attended preschool institutions.

The Nazis controlled children in these early years only indirectly through the parents. Direct supervision began in the *Grundschule*, the common elementary school for all children between the ages of six and ten. Beyond the *Grundschule* was the *Volksschule* which offered an additional four years of free elementary education for all children who did not attend more advanced schools. The curriculum of these schools was changed not so much in form as in content. It included training in Nazi ideology, the racial myth, blood and soil, worship of heroes in general and the Fuehrer in particular. Subjects like biology, history, geography, and the German language were all used for purposes of indoctrination. Many famous works of

German literature were discarded and replaced with the propagandistic party literature of Nazi writers. The Nazi geopolitical philosophy pervaded all instruction, and health education was practically premilitary training.

Although school attendance was compulsory for all children aged six to fourteen, "non-Aryan" children were excluded from all public schools. For a time, the Jewish community was able to maintain a few schools for its own children.

Special *Hilfsschulen*, auxiliary schools for retarded pupils, existed for the purpose of segregating the mentally subnormal from the normal. Every community in which twenty-five children of low mental rating were born within five years had to organize such a school. The Nazis hoped that these schools would not be necessary after their eugenic measures had eliminated the mentally subnormal parents.

Vocational education, continued two to three years beyond the elementary schools, was required of all boys fourteen or over who did not attend any other institution. The vocational schools were called *Berufsschule*. Attendance was on a part-time basis, and no tuition was required. Fees were charged, however, at the *Fachschule*, a voluntary trade school with a full-time schedule.

The *Mittel- or Hauptschule*, middle or central school, was a compromise between the *Volksschule* and secondary schools. It had an enlarged curriculum with two more years of study than the *Volksschule* and was designed to train boys for minor industrial and commercial positions, but graduates were not prepared to enter a university. Middle schools usually operated in smaller towns only. Their organization was hardly touched by the Nazis, although their curriculum was nazified. Their existence, however, was hardly justified according to the Nazi educational philosophy, for they were not suited to leader education, and the Nazis regarded the enriched curriculum as an unnecessary luxury for those whose education was supposed to remain confined to the elementary level.

In the secondary schools, the Nazis discriminated against the humanistic curriculum of the gymnasiums which for centuries provided the main form of secondary education. By eliminating several varieties of these famous schools, the Nazis made the Ober-

schule, or upper school, which neglected the classics, the pillar of secondary education. The eight-year course after the completion of four compulsory years at the *Grundschule* afforded the students an opportunity to specialize in language or science only during the last three years. The classical curriculum was limited to a special form of the *Oberschule*, the formerly all-important *Gymnasium*. It was almost exclusively reserved for boys and accessible only after special examinations.

Another secondary-school type, created by the Weimar Republic, the *Autbauschule*, or "building-up" school (that is, building up on preliminary training in the *Mittel- or Hauptschule*), was taken over by the Nazis. It was a simplified secondary school with a six-year course for youths between the ages of twelve and eighteen who had attended the *Grundschule* and completed at least two years in a *Mittelschule*. The schools were maintained for children in rural districts or small towns where *Oberschulen* did not exist.

The purged curriculum of the secondary schools was taught by means of rigid drill and strict discipline; corporal punishment was reintroduced. The character of the new curriculum was the outcome of the Nazi belief that political considerations are more important than scholarship. The individual fields of study were thoroughly nazified, and nearly every course was calculated to promote the Nazi ideology. This fact can be made most clear by a selective summary of Education Minister Rust's directives for secondary schools in effect January, 1938.

German: Apart from recitations in speech and writing, four special topics were to be stressed: *The people as a blood community* (race and inheritance, family tree and ancestry, folklore); *The people as a community of fate and struggle* (soldiers, heroism, war poetry, warriors of the First World War, women in wartime, the German struggle in border districts and abroad, colonies); *The people as a working community* (lives of workers, peasants, researchers, artists, housewives); *The people as a community of thinking and feeling* (Germanic *Weltanschauung* and feeling of life, state and folk in poetry, political thinkers in the spiritual struggle, nature and god).

History was to be taught as a series of periods, not necessarily related by any continuity of events, but certainly colored by the

character and deeds of great personalities, the "heroes" of their time. Factual accounts and unbiased judgments were not recommended if they resulted in an "irresponsible attitude of pretending to complete understanding falsely described as objectivity." The focal point of history was to be the fatherland and its racial philosophy. All historical material was to be interpreted with this fact in mind, and teachers were to relate it to contemporary events in the Reich. Hero worship was to be stressed; some of the heroes recommended were Bismarck, Queen Louise of Prussia, Marshal Blücher, Frederick the Great, the Great Elector, the Knights of the Teutonic Order, some of the great Holy Roman Emperors, and Arminius, who destroyed the Roman legions in the Teutoburg forest. Dates to be remembered were to be those which portrayed German history as a development toward Hitler as the climax.

Subjects singled out for emphasis in German history from Bismarck's time to the present were: political Catholicism in attack against the German state; the schism of the German people into castes and classes; the emancipation of women as a sign of democratic degeneration; the growth of the folkish, anti-Semitic movement; the nature of English, Russian, French, American, and Japanese imperialism; the Dictate of Versailles; the Weimar Republic as a futile attempt to realize the west European ideals of 1789 in Germany; political Catholicism as an ally of the Marxist and capitalist Internationale; the Jewish world rule in Germany and Bolshevik Russia; the decay of parliamentarianism; salvation through Hitler.

Geography (still according to Rust's decrees) was to be taught as a political subject, making clear the "great tasks of German foreign policy." Germany and the areas which Germans inhabit were to be treated with special "love," and the rest of the world was to be studied particularly as throwing light on Nazi doctrines. America was to be treated as an example of the changes in civilization brought about by European migration and as proof of how great spaces could be conquered. The geopolitical concepts presented in *The Nazi Primer*, described above,¹ formed the core of Rust's suggestions for geography teaching in all the schools.

The aim of biology instruction (according to Rust) was not to

¹ See above, p. 83.

be the acquisition of detailed knowledge, but the understanding of the laws of life, the respect for the "incomprehensibility of organic unity," and the relationship of man with nature.¹ "All educational work of the folkish state must climax by burning into the hearts and the brains of youth the sense and feeling of race. There should be no boy or girl leaving school without having been led to the definite recognition that purity of blood is essential."² Instruction concerning plant and animal life was to be different for boys and girls because "the female sex, when compared with the male sex, comprehends the system of nature more by way of feeling and imagination than by intellectual analysis."³

Physics too was to be taught so as to inculcate respect for the incomprehensibility of nature. Too much speculation was to be avoided, and the teacher was to stress everything that might relate to defense and military matters, such as aviation, ballistics, sound measurement, and optics. Chemistry was also to be related to defense. Since the ultimate secrets of chemistry were presumed to be beyond the reach of human minds, Rust recommended that the "science of matter should get away from materialism." The researches and discoveries of chemists of Nordic-German origin were to be given special attention, the science of substitutes encouraged, and young chemists so trained that, in case of war, essential industries should not suffer for lack of competent laboratory workers. And finally, chemistry instruction was to provide knowledge "indispensable for the understanding of contemporary problems."

In spite of all these efforts to ensure "proper" political attitudes on the part of students, the Nazis continued to regard any formal academic training with suspicion. Obsessed with their fear of intellectual training, they preferred such educational ventures as the Labor Service as more in keeping with their idea of training for leadership. As stated before, the German youth had first to pass through a labor camp before entering the university. In June, 1933, Education Minister Rust had said: "I must state that the truly practical and great school cannot be found in the universities or the gymnasiums. It is in the Labor Service camps, for there is where teaching and words cease and the deed begins. Whoever is a failure

¹ *Erziehung und Unterricht in der Hoeheren Schule*, Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin, 1938, p. 141.

² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

in the Labor Service has no right to lead Germany as an academician."

THE LABOR SERVICE

The Labor Service was actually begun on a voluntary basis under the Weimar Republic for the purpose of taking unemployed young people from the city streets and affording them a healthful period of activity in the country. The Nazis made labor service compulsory (for men in 1933, for women in 1939) to facilitate a more intensive indoctrination of youth in the Nazi way of life as much as to decrease unemployment and build healthy bodies.

Each of the thirty-one Gaue in Germany was organized into eight Labor Service groups which were in turn divided into sections, the whole supervised by the Minister of the Interior. Six to twelve months attendance at one of the more than twelve hundred labor camps was made compulsory for young people aged eighteen or more, and before the Second World War, enrollment in the camps totaled about two hundred thousand.

The camps were organized in military fashion, with planned and organized activity during sixteen hours of the day. This activity usually included about six hours of manual labor and three to four hours of semimilitary training and political indoctrination. The actual labor was expended on drainage projects, farm work, road building, reforestation, and settlement work.

In addition to providing labor experience and vocational training, the Labor Service was intended to break down class feeling and promote the idea of national solidarity by mixing youth of all social and economic classes on an equalitarian basis. It was intended moreover, to instill in every young German respect for his duty toward the German community. The regimented, semimilitary life accustomed youth to discipline and respect for authority. And the political instruction carried further that indoctrination already begun in the public schools.

Each camp housed 152 men, including 17 administrative officials graded in a military hierarchy of 17 ranks. The "privates" received pocket money of 25 pfennigs a day. Their maintenance cost the state about 1 Reichsmark a day, but the state was amply compensated by the work accomplished.

Camp leaders were chosen from among deserving SA or party members. They were given training in special labor camps and were then appointed as camp leaders for ten-year periods. The fact that about twenty-five thousand future leaders were in constant attendance at these training camps indicates the importance which Nazi leaders attached to the Labor Service program.

THE UNIVERSITIES

After meeting the necessary requirements of secondary schooling and the labor service, young men were required to serve two years in the army. Only then were they permitted to proceed to the university. Here again, racial and political requirements for admission were as strict as the academic requirements. But what is more significant is that the Nazis completely destroyed the spirit of free, objective inquiry that was the glory of German universities in the past, and they substituted for it the biased approach of the anti-intellectual Nazi. There is no such thing as objective knowledge, the Nazis claimed; so all studies, even the physical sciences, were "subjectivized." Education Minister Rust explained the Nazi point of view in a speech at the five hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the University of Heidelberg in 1936.

"National Socialism," Rust said, "is justly described as unfriendly to science if its appraiser assumes that independence of presuppositions and freedom from bias are the essential characteristics of scientific inquiry. . . . National Socialism has recognized the fact that to construct a system of knowledge without presuppositions and without certain value judgments as its foundation is totally impossible." Objectivity, he continued, is a "pretentious assumption of absolute knowledge which paralyzes the powers of decision to such a degree that it may be used to justify the most deplorable conditions imaginable."

Professor Ernst Krieck, one of the outstanding educational theorists of Nazi Germany, explained the positive aspects of this new theory of knowledge:

Today we are striving toward a science which studies the whole man in the light of the great task of racial and political reconstruction which has become ours. In so doing we overcome the ancient antithesis between nature and spirit, individual and society, by stressing the unity

and totality of the great social structure of which we are a subordinate part, with particular emphasis upon its racial foundations.¹

Hitler himself put it more bluntly when he remarked that the slogan "objective science" had been "coined by the professorate simply in order to escape from the very necessary supervision by the power of the state." Hitler believed that "the idea of a free and unfettered science, unfettered by hypothesis, could only occur in the age of liberalism. It is absurd."²

Since science was forced to be subjective and was subordinated to the ruling ideology, the nature of the university studies and of student life changed correspondingly. The German universities, once noted for their spirit of objective inquiry, became regimented National Socialist drilling institutions. They stressed pseudo-scientific subjects like racialism, and they reduced the hours devoted to study, even in essential subjects like medicine. They were entirely dominated by the Nazi party and the National Socialist Student League which sponsored the shortening of study time against the will of most professors in order to obtain more time for party activities.

The Nazi university student was no mere seeker after truth or knowledge or professional skill. He was a self-conscious, self-appointed missionary of the Nazi gospel. In the words of Reich Student Leader Scheel, "a German student must be Hitler's political soldier and an exemplary National Socialist. His duty is not only to study, but also to participate actively in the nation's political life, which can only mean that students will be employed as propagandists, both in speechmaking and writing."³

This deterioration of academic life was bound to have serious repercussions in years to come when war and faulty education depleted the ranks of German scientists.

PARTY TRAINING SCHOOLS

The education of party leaders was intensified by institutions which specialized in ideological indoctrination. *Nationalpolitische*

¹ In a speech at the 550th anniversary of the University of Heidelberg, 1936.

² Hermann Rauschning, *The Voice of Destruction*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1940, p. 213.

³ See regulations for registration in German universities, January, 1943.

Erziehungsanstalten (national political training institutes) were created in 1933 with a curriculum corresponding broadly to that of the *Oberschule*, but with a completely Nazi character and atmosphere. They were boarding schools which collaborated with the Hitler Youth Movement, though supervised by the Education Ministry. Students were under constant Nazi surveillance and discipline, and admission was more strictly controlled by the party than in the case of other advanced schools. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, about fifteen of these schools operated in Prussia, and there were a few more in other parts of Germany.

Another step toward the education of party leaders was taken by the Reich Youth Leader in 1937 when he established *Adolf Hitler Schools* in each Gau or district. These were also boarding schools on the secondary level, for boys twelve to eighteen, but admission was granted only to those specially selected by the local Hitler Youth leaders. The schools were state supported and tuition is free. About four thousand students attended them.

The graduate of an Adolf Hitler School became a natural candidate for the *Ordensburgen* (Castles of the Order) where the party's élite received the best leadership training available, according to Nazi standards. Immediately after secondary school, a candidate for the *Ordensburgen* had to finish two years of military service and, in addition, several years of practical experience in any sphere of life. If by that time his record were still clean, he might qualify to enter the *Ordensburgen* for a four-year course which cost the state about 50,000 marks per student. Four *Ordensburgen* were contemplated originally, one in the south, one in the west, one in the east, and one in the north of Germany. At least three of these were actually established. Candidates studied for one year in each place. The *Ordensburgen* were a strange cross between monasteries, country clubs, and military academies. Students between the ages of about twenty-three to thirty were accepted only after the Labor Front Leader himself was satisfied concerning their "aryan origin, their physical fitness, their loyalty to the Nazi state, courage and capacity to lead, familiarity with the Nazi ideology, good academic training, and excellent behavior."

The staff of each of the castles included a commanding officer and his adjutant, one master of education, one administrative

executive, and a staff of instructors. The student body was divided and subdivided into units of five men each. Physical exercise and competitive athletics comprised about two-thirds of the curriculum. The rest was ideological training.

There remains to be mentioned an institution set up in 1934 combining political training and social welfare. For boys, this program was called *Landjahr* (country-year), and for girls *Landheimjahr* (country-home-year). The idea was to give needy city children, on their leaving elementary school, some opportunity for physical improvement, some training in Nazi character formation, and some instruction in social and political living. Children from industrial areas whose parents might not be entirely reliable were chosen to receive the benefits of this program. Farmhouses and youth hostels were used by groups of boys or girls who, during the eight months of their *Landjahr*, divided their time between farm work and political study. While highly advertised at home and abroad as one of the great social achievements of the Nazi regime, the number of children taken to rural districts at any one time never exceeded thirty thousand.

For somewhat similar reasons, *Nationalpolitische Lehrgaenge* (national political courses of study) were established for secondary-school pupils. These provided intensified ideological training in healthy surroundings during about three weeks in the summer. Although the course was compulsory as a part of school work, parents were required to pay the costs of transportation and board.

Hitler is said to have remarked once that "there must be only one possible education for each class and for each subdivision of a class. Complete freedom of choice in education is the privilege of the élite and of those whom they have specially admitted."³ Nazi schools were organized accordingly, and the varied schooling formerly offered to different social and economic classes was adjusted to serve different political classes. Elementary schools served the masses. Secondary schools enabled the party to select future leaders. Party boarding schools were for those whose background and personalities gave promise of especially reliable Nazis. And the Castles of the Order were for the "future members of a Herrenklasse (ruling, or master class) . . . who are masters of life and death,

³ Rauschning, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

of human fear and superstition, who have learned to control their bodies, muscles and nerves and remain at the same time impervious to the temptations of the mind and sciences, presumably free."¹

In addition to these institutions of formal indoctrination, the Hitler Youth movement played an important role in German education. It removed children from the home and other influences potentially hostile to Nazism, and it converted them into fanatical followers of the Führer.

THE HITLER YOUTH

The German Nazi youth movement represented the compulsory consolidation of the Nazi party's youth organization with all former youth associations of every kind and of all political, social, and confessional groups. It was designed to win young people to the Nazi faith, to keep them from every source of doubt or independent thought, to alienate them from their families, and to possess their souls as well as their bodies. The Nazi leaders felt that the future of their ideology would be assured only if the youth could be won over. They realized that the adult German population would never be wholly "dependable" because they had reached maturity when different conceptions of life prevailed. But the Nazis knew that young people ignorant of everything except the Nazi ideology, unable to make comparisons, and untutored in the principles of Christian ethics—such young people might readily be persuaded to follow their Nazi leaders unto death.

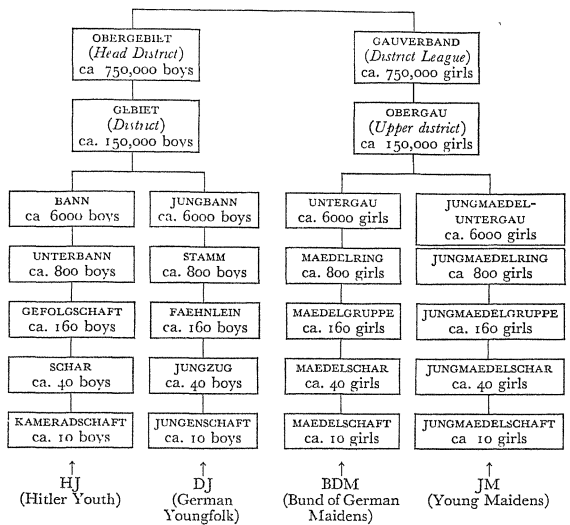
The Hitler Youth Movement dated from the early history of the Nazi party. In 1926, Kurt Gruber, a postgraduate law student, organized the first units of Nazi Youth and was their first Reich Führer. In 1931 Baldur von Schirach took over the leadership, and in 1933 he was given the title of "Youth Leader of the German Reich."² He immediately set about incorporating non-Nazi youth associations into the Hitler Youth and dissolving the remainder. Stress was laid upon the abolition of the confessional (especially the Roman Catholic) youth leagues.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42

² During the war, Schirach became Gauleiter of Vienna and a certain Artur Axmann succeeded Schirach as Reich Youth Leader. Schirach remained, however, the HJ's guiding spirit.

The Hitler Youth was organized to include the *Jungfolk* (young folk), the *Hitler Jugend* (Hitler youth) proper, and the *Bund Deutscher Maedel* (League of German Girls) or BDM. The *Jungvolk* were boys between ten and fourteen years of age, and the *Hitler*

REICHS JUGENDFUEHRUNG
(Reich Youth Leadership)



Jugend, or HJ, were boys from fourteen to eighteen. The BDM was subdivided into the *Jungmaedel* (young girls) between ten and fourteen, and the *Maedel* (girls) between fourteen and twenty-one.

In 1936 the movement was expanded by the enrollment of boys six to ten in an organization called the *Pimpfe* (an idiomatic nickname). Perhaps the Nazis borrowed the idea for including youngsters of this age in the Hitler Youth movement from the Italian Fascists who had drafted children from six to eight into their youth

organization.¹ The *Pimpfe* were to accustom themselves to Nazi discipline and prepare for the tougher tasks ahead in the HJ. Before being admitted into the HJ at the age of ten, however, boys had to undergo a rigid examination in Nazi ideology, the art of propaganda, practical military achievement, athletic prowess, marksmanship, knowledge about Hitler, the Nazi party, and "foreign affairs." The textbook for these youngsters was like a military manual.²

The Reich Youth Leader had an adjutant and a chief of staff. Under his direct supervision were the office of his chief of staff, the office of the Reich Councillor of the BDM,³ and the chancellery of the youth movement.

The youth movement had three important Nazi functions; to indoctrinate boys with the Nazi ideology, to train them for military life, and to educate the girls for motherhood. Of all these, indoctrination was the most important and the key to the rest. For youths up to the age of fourteen, the process was based upon appeals to the emotion rather than reason. Doubts and misgivings were quashed by severe punishment, and, since the boys had already grown up in Nazi surroundings, the movement's aim was readily achieved. After the youths had reached their fourteenth year, the party needed only to strengthen their beliefs and sift the leaders from the followers.

The movement's program involved what one might call "serious play." The young folk, Schirach once wrote, declare war on the spoiled child and seek to develop self-reliance. In order to promote "masculinity" boys were kept occupied away from home and under the supervision of youth leaders as much as possible. Frivolity was frowned upon and supplanted by earnest games and exercises and instruction, all intended to illustrate the virtues of social service and cooperative effort. As a result, the young people of the HJ and BDM became terribly serious about their mission as the political soldiers of National Socialism and the carriers of the Nazi *Weltanschauung*.

In general, school training and the youth movement supplemented one another. Conflict between them was avoided by a

¹ See below, pp. 175 ff.

² See Ziemer, *op. cit.*, Chap. 3.

³ The Nazis did not grant this woman the title of *Fuehrerin*, a rank of honor bestowed only upon Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, the *Fuehrerin* of German women.

separation of functions and personnel of the leaders. "School is education from above," Schirach explained, "the HJ education from below." The implication of this statement was that the Hitler Youth organization was really more important than the school. This was borne out by the fact that teachers were not welcome as leaders in the HJ. According to Schirach, schoolteachers were not properly trained to be youth leaders, and they might have misinterpreted the spirit of the movement.¹

Much of the activity of the older members of the Hitler Youth was premilitary training. In 1934, Schirach claimed in his book, *Die Hitler Jugend*, that this was not so, but it soon became obvious that the HJ was organized along strictly military lines, with such branches as the HJ flyers, the HJ marines, and the HJ motor corps. Army weapons, vehicles, airplanes, and gliders were readily available for their use, and hand-grenade throwing became a main event in HJ athletic meets. At the same time, instruction in the Nazi ideology was continued, and HJ members studied Germanic culture, history, Nazi music, biology, chemistry, mathematics, and English.

Girls of the BDM were urged to achieve a maximum of physical fitness and physical beauty (as measured by Nazi standards which, fortunately, were not universal). Their training pointed toward motherhood and the rearing of large and healthy families, and toward the development of a fanatical loyalty to the party to be passed on to their children. Calisthenics and physical exercise comprised about two thirds of their program. The rest of their energy was devoted to schooling in the Nazi *Weltanschauung* which, for girls, involved learning handiwork, domestic science, eugenics, and hygiene, since the Nazis regarded intellectual training as even less important for women than for men.

Youth leaders were given special and careful training. Preparations for *Fuehrerschulen* had been made long before Hitler became chancellor, and by the end of 1933 every district in Germany had its own youth-leader school. The regular course of study in these schools was intensive, but took only a few weeks. Athletic and military activity filled about half the time. Additional subjects for study

¹ See Baldur von Schirach, *Die Hitler Jugend*, Verlag Zeitgeschichte, Berlin, 1934, Part III.

were race, history, "socialism," the geopolitics of Germandom, the singing of Nazi songs, and the organization of celebrations, vacations, song fests, and the like. A three-weeks' course of study of a hundred seventy hours at one of the district youth-leader schools included forty-nine hours of *Gelaendesport* (field exercises like marching, group exercise, and military formations), forty hours of physical exercise, thirty-seven hours of political training, sixteen hours of rifle practice, seven and a half hours of conference, seven and a half hours of *Heimabende* (home evenings), five hours of training in organizing *Heimabende*, five hours of singing lessons, and three hours of daily political reports.

At one time, the Hitler Youth movement tried to cooperate with foreign youth movements "in the interests of peace." But indoctrination in German geopolitics, and in the myth of German racial superiority had so warped the minds of these German youths that they could not help but feel antagonism toward a world which, according to the Nazi formula, denied to Germany that which was rightfully hers. The idea of expansion in the east, the clamor for colonies, the propaganda against Russia as the Judeo-Marxist monster, and against Britain and the United States as decadent plutocratic democracies—all this had excited the imagination of German youth. They would not see another point of view; they could not talk peace. Instead, in their blindness, they were prepared to fight and to walk nonchalantly into enemy fire and to die for their Fuehrer.

Nazi education was indeed an "education for death."¹

CONCLUSIONS

Nazi Germany was a very dangerous, determined, and thoroughly organized enemy of democracy. Its ideology implied the domination of the world by a superior German race, the establishment of a new German morality, and the expansion of a new German Kultur by force or by guile. This program was no mere dream of some irresponsible hack but the formally professed goal of the responsible leaders of the German people. It was drilled into the German people by a fantastically thorough system of education and indoctrination. It was backed up both at home and abroad.

¹ The title of Gregor Ziemer's excellent book, cited above.

The lack of freedom, the restraints upon the individual, and the suppression of the spirit inherent in the Nazi system are hard for the citizen of a democracy to understand, and an American can scarcely realize how much oppression the average individual endured under Nazi rule. The fact that the Nazis found so much constraint to be necessary may appear to be a basis of hope for the postwar world, but the permanence and the viciousness of the Nazi ideology may not be ignored. It is deeply rooted in German tradition. It has permeated every corner of the German world and every layer of German society, and it will not easily be eradicated.

For ten years the Germans sang "Today we own Germany, tomorrow the whole world." No mere military defeat will make them forget that boast. The task which confronts the democracies, however, is to persuade them to do so.

Selected Bibliography: Nazi Germany

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

- Ergang, Robert, *The Potsdam Fuehrer*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1942
- Gaxotte, Pierre, *Frederick the Great*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1940
- Hearnshaw, F. J. C., *Germany, the Aggressor Through the Ages*. E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., New York, 1942
- Heiden, Konrad, *Der Fuehrer*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1944
- Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf*, unexpurgated edition, Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York, 1941
- , *My New Order*, R. Roussy de Sales, ed., Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York, 1939
- McGovern, William M., *From Luther to Hitler*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1941

GENERAL INFORMATION

- Coolidge, W. W., and M. F. Potter, eds., *Thus Speaks Germany*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941
- Deul, Wallace, *People under Hitler*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1942
- Loewenstein, Karl, *Hitler's Germany. The Nazi Background to War*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939
- Neumann, Franz, *Behemoth: The Practice and Structure of National Socialism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1942
- Schuman, Frederick L., *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 2nd rev. ed., Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939
- Viereck, Peter, *Metapolitics*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1941

GOVERNMENT

- Ebenstein, William, *The Nazi State*, Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1943
- Hill, N. L., and H. W. Stoke, *The Background of European Governments*. Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1939, pp. 373-468.
- Morstein-Marx, F., *Government in the Third Reich*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938

NAZI GERMANY

131

- Pollok, J. K., *The Government in Greater Germany*, D. Nostrand and Company, New York, 1938
- Shotwell, James T., ed., *Governments in Continental Europe*, "Government and Politics in Germany" by Karl Loewenstein, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942

ECONOMY

- Botkin, Joseph, and Charles A. Welsh, *Germany's Master Plan The Story of Industrial Offensive*, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., New York, 1943
- Drucker, Peter F., *The End of Economic Man: A Study of the New Totalitarianism*, The John Day Company, New York, 1939
- Clesinger, Egon, *Nazis in the Woodpile. Hitler's Plot for Essential Raw Material*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1942
- Guillebaud, C. W., *Economic History of Germany 1933-1938*, The University Press, Cambridge, 1941
- Miller, Douglas, *You Can't Do Business With Hitler*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1942
- Munk, Frank, *The Legacy of Nazism. The Economic and Social Consequences of Totalitarianism*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1943
- Robert, Karl, *Hitler's Counterfeit Reich*, Alliance, New York, 1941
- Sweczy, M., *The Structure of Nazi Economy*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1941

SOCIAL POLICY

- Guillebaud, C. W., *The Social Policy of Nazi Germany*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1941
- Hamburger, L., *How Nazi Germany Mobilized and Controlled Labor*, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1940
- Herman, Stewart W. Jr., *It's Your Souls We Want*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1943
- Kirkpatrick, Clifford, *Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1938
- Power, M., *Religion in the Reich*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1939
- The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Reich*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1941

GEOPLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY

- Dorpalen, Andreas, *The World of General Haushofer*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1942
- National Socialism: Basic Principles, Their Application by the Nazi Party's Foreign Organization and the Use of German Abroad for Nazi Aims*, The Department of State, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1943

- Strausz-Hupé, Robert, *Geopolitics. The Struggle for Space and Power*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1942
- Wegeit, Hans W., *Generals and Geographers. The Twilight of Geopolitics*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1942
- Whittlesey, Derwent, *German Strategy of World Conquest*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1942

EDUCATION

- Childs, Harwood W., ed., *The Nazi Primer*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939
- Hartshorne, E. Y., *The German Universities under National Socialism*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1937
- Kandel, I. L., *The Making of Nazis*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1934
- Kneller, G. F., *The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941
- Kotschnig, Walter, *Slaves Need No Leaders*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1943
- Ziener, Gregor, *Education for Death*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1943

MILITARISM

- Banse, Ewald, *Germany Prepares for War*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1934
- Farago, Ladislav, ed., *German Psychological Warfare*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1942
- Fried, Hans E., *The Guilt of the German Army*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1942
- Miksche, Major F. D., *Attack: A Study of Blitzkrieg Tactics*, Random House, Inc., New York, 1942
- Pfeiffer, Wm. K., *War and the German Mind*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1942