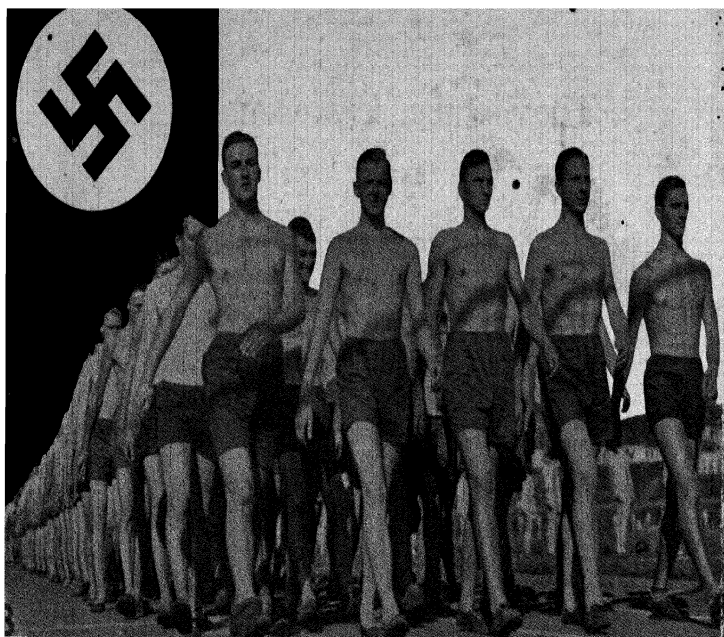


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VERLAG WALTER DE GRUYTER & CO./BERLIN UND LEIPZIG

The German Universities and National Socialism

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PREFACE

THE legislative material for this study was collected from the *Reichsgesetzblatt* (Teil 1) (cited as *RGB*), the *Preussische Gesetzssammlung* (*PGS*), the *Reichsministerialblatt* (*Zentralblatt für das Deutsche Reich*) (*RMB*), the *Ministerialblatt für die Preussische innere Verwaltung* (*MBP*), the *Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preussen* (*ZB*), and *Deutsche Wissenschaft: Amtsblatt des Reichsministeriums für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* (*AB*).¹ The statistical data were derived partly from the above sources, from the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, the *Kalender der reichsdeutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen*, Kürschner's *Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender* and *Wer Ist's?* and partly from material in the files of the Academic Assistance Council in London, now the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. Of great value in the preparation of Chapter V was the collection of unpublished correspondence and other recent German documents in the Harvard University Library. References have of necessity been reduced to a minimum. Erich Unger's bibliography on National Socialism (*Das Schrifttum zum Aufbau des neuen Reiches*, Berlin, 1934, pp. 187) includes almost 3,000 titles, two pages on "the university" alone.

By virtue of material assistance from the Social Science Research Council of New York the writer was able to spend the year 1935-6 in Germany and thus by first-hand impressions and conversations to verify and amplify the picture derived from a study of the sources. His own conclusions

¹ In the references to *AB amtlicher Teil* "n" is put after the number of the law, while for references to the *nichtamtlicher Teil*, as well as to the *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, an asterisk is put after the number of the law.

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were formed only after maturer consideration of the material on returning to the United States. These conclusions, incorporated in the present work, differ at times markedly from the views of Germans with whom he discussed the matter. Their views were exceedingly important as "ideology," but were not, for the most part, adequate explanations of the factual situation. He is especially grateful to Mr. Jakob D. Beam of the American Embassy and to Mr. Henry P. Leverich of the American Consulate in Berlin for help in establishing contact with the *Wissenschaftsministerium*, and to his father-in-law, Professor Sidney B. Fay, for guidance at all stages of the undertaking.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

March 1937

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CHAPTER I

THE REVOLUTIONARY BACKGROUND OF THE UNIVERSITY REFORM

THE National Socialist Revolution aims at *totalitarianism* in a double sense: in the first place all political power is monopolized by one group of agents, and in the second place this group aims to extend its sphere of influence over the whole field of activity within the social group it governs. The historical as well as the logical development of the Revolution has been by way of these two processes, the first, the seizure and monopoly of power, being officially completed by the law unifying Party and State of December 1, 1933,¹ while the second, the organization of a totalitarian society, is still developing.²

One consequence of the totalitarian character of the German Revolution is that, since all "parts" are co-ordinated and synchronized with the "whole," all histories of the parts depend upon the history of the whole in a much more significant sense than would be true of a less tightly integrated social order. An understanding of recent changes in the German universities³ therefore depends in a peculiar way

¹ RGB, I, 1016.

² For a brilliantly prophetic analysis of the trend toward totalitarianism see Carl Schmitt, "Die Wendung zum totalen Staat," *Europäische Revue*, VII (April 1931), 241-50; further, Ernst Forsthoff, *Der Totale Staat*, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1934, 51 pp.

³ The term *universities* in this book, except where otherwise specified, will be used to include not only the German *Universitäten* but also the

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upon some knowledge of the aims of the Revolution under the influence of which they have occurred. It is the purpose of this first chapter to sketch the revolutionary background in order to show how each of the major national reforms—administrative, economic, military, eugenic, and ideological—was to leave its mark on the university. Later chapters will take up the transformation of the university in detail—its administration, its student-body and teaching staff, its curriculum and its extra-curricular life—and will indicate some of the less obvious influences which, together with the actions of the revolutionary state, are responsible for the present situation.

SEIZURE AND MONOPOLY OF POWER

The Hitler regime dates from January 30, 1933. The will of the new Chancellor had made itself felt by February 4th, when, with the approval of President von Hindenburg, the Enabling Clause of the Weimar Constitution was invoked, and a law was promulgated controlling all public assemblies, parades, and publications, with appropriate provisions for the punishment of offenders.¹ On the 28th, the Reichstag Fire of the day before being used as a pretext, two similarly-grounded laws were issued, the first suspending those articles of the Weimar Constitution guaranteeing freedom of person, speech, press, and assembly, privacy of letters, telegrams and telephone conversations, protection against house-searchings and confiscation of property by the State,² the second giving authority for the wholesale arrest of Communists and the crushing of the left-wing press,³ under the provisions of which some four thousand Communist *Technische Hochschulen* (Institutes of Technology) and certain other institutions of higher learning specified in detail in Ch. III. The German term *Hochschulen* includes all of these.

¹ RGB, 35.

² RGB, 83.

³ RGB, 85.

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delegates and functionaries were arrested.¹ A supplementary law, speeding up the prosecution of offences against these two laws (curtailment or omission of preliminary investigation), was added on March 8th.²

After this sham of constitutional government the mask was dropped with the new Enabling Act of March 24th, by which the Reichstag empowered the regime to govern without a constitution for four years (until March 1, 1937).³ Government by decree had set in.⁴

The first phase of the dictatorial programme involved the absolute crushing of resistance. By the decree of April 4th, a new set of punishments was provided covering all "treasonable activity," especially acts of terrorism.⁵ By a decree of May 26th,⁶ the property of Communists, and by another of July 14th,⁷ that of all 'State enemies,' was designated for confiscation. The Social Democratic Party was outlawed on July 7th;⁸ by another decree of July 14th the National Socialist Party was declared the only legal party in Germany.⁹ As if to compensate for this wholesale annihilation of dissenting public opinion, the regime decreed on the same date (July 14th) that on important questions it could appeal directly to the people for their vote.¹⁰ The practical significance of this step, establishing the "plebiscite" tradition, is not destroyed by the fact that the referendum is optional on the part of the government and that the possible dissent of the people is in no sense binding. It was in fact, as the wording of the decree of October 14th dissolving the Reichstag¹¹ shows, a declaration of the return to what was called direct "democracy."

With the opposition crushed, and the populace appeased,

¹ Ploetz, *Auszug aus der Geschichte*, Nachtrag zur 21. Auflage, p. 37 (28.II.33). ² RGB, 131. ³ RGB, 141.

⁴ There is little consistency in the Nazi usage of the terms *Gesetz* (law) and *Erlass* (decree). ⁵ RGB, 162. ⁶ RGB, 293.

⁷ RGB, 479.

⁸ RGB, 462.

⁹ RGB, 479.

¹⁰ RGB, 479.

¹¹ RGB, 729.

the next step was to consolidate within. There followed, therefore, the legal unification of Party and State on December 1, 1933, and, on August 1, 1934, the day before President von Hindenburg's death, the investing of the powers of the President in the Chancellor himself.¹

The seizure of the sources of power, however, was only preliminary to the taking over of the whole political apparatus of the country—hence the series of measures calculated to ensure the loyalty of civil servants, under which the university faculties were to lose from 15 to 20 per cent of their personnel. These measures were initiated in the law "to reconstruct the Civil Service" of April 7, 1933,² which had run through more than a dozen supplementary regulations and amendments by August 1935,³ although according to sec. 7, par. 2, its main provisions were to have been enforced by September 30, 1933 (dismissal on grounds of inadequate training, political unreliability, and for being "non-Aryan") and other provisions by March 31, 1934 (dismissal for the purpose of "simplifying the administration"). It was accompanied by a series of administrative measures bearing on the competency of officials to appoint and dismiss civil servants⁴ and to pardon their offences,⁵ in general transferring power from the *Länder* (former German States) to the Reich, from lower officials to higher, and from the less important Ministers to the *Führer und Reichskanzler* (Hitler) and to his Representative (Hess).⁶ One should also note in this connection the two new oath-of-allegiance laws, of December 2, 1933,⁷ and August 22, 1934,⁸ supplanting that of August 14, 1919. The first reads: "I swear: I will keep

¹ RGB, 747.

² RGB, 175.

³ In 1933 see RGB, 187, 195, 233, 245, 518, 679; ZB, 168-70; and RMB, 370, 434. In 1934, see RGB, 203, 373, 477, 604, 845. In 1935 RGB, 4, 498, 1093.

⁴ RGB, 81 (3.II.34) and 785; in 1935 RGB, 73, 74, 201, 268, 751 (teachers).

⁵ RGB, 74 (1.II.35); AB, I, 279, n. 337 (21.VI.33).

⁶ RGB, 1203.

⁷ RGB, 1017.

⁸ RGB, 785.

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faith to *Volk* and *Vaterland*, honour the Constitution and the laws, and fulfil my official duties conscientiously, so help me God!" The second, eight months later, requires the civil servant's allegiance, not to "Volk und Vaterland," but to "Adolf Hitler, Führer des deutschen Reiches und Volkes"; he is no longer required to honour the Constitution and the laws, but must continue to fulfil his official duties conscientiously. It should be recalled that President von Hindenburg had died about three weeks before the second oath law.¹

The last logical step in securing the power of the new regime was taken in the assumption of control over the composition of the citizen-body. By the law of July 14, 1933,² and its sequel of July 26th,³ "undesirables" who became citizens under the Weimar Republic (9.XI.18—30.I.33) might have their citizenship cancelled (aimed especially at the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe); the property of "undesirable" citizens living abroad might also be confiscated and their citizenship revoked. While these provisions were merely facultative, a fundamentally positive step was taken in the Nuremberg Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935,⁴ and its two Supplements,⁵ which reserved the rights of full citizenship to "Aryans" alone.

This remarkable construction and stabilization of dictatorial power, this annihilation of public opinion, this thoroughgoing sifting of the rank and file of the civil service to purge it of those whose opinions or whose ancestors were not "German," and this broad discrimination against a similar category in the citizen-body at large—each of these measures adopted by the revolutionary Party to secure its political hegemony in Germany was to have its specific effect in remoulding the institutions of higher learning.

¹ RGB, 745.

² RGB, 480.

³ RGB, 538.

⁴ RGB, 1146.

⁵ RGB, 1333 (14.XI.35); 1524 (21.XII.35).

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CONSOLIDATION OF POWER AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY

(i) *Administrative Reform : Unification of the Reich*

Germany before the present Revolution was governed by at least four major classes of authorities: those of the Reich, or federal government; those of the *Länder*, or former German states; those of the *Gemeinden*, or local governments; and those of various types of semi-private "corporations of public law," chief among which stood the great business concerns, the churches, and the universities. The new regime, following here in the footsteps of Bismarck, and aiming to fulfil the age-old dream of all "true Germans,"¹ lost no time in attempting to achieve political unification and in putting into effect measures calculated to overcome the tendencies toward anarchy inherent (they argued) in the old system.

The major reform in this field was the "co-ordination of the *Länder* with the Reich," proposed in a preliminary form in the law of March 31, 1933,² and given definite contours in the so-called *Statthalter*-Law of April 7th.³ By these two laws and their sequels⁴ the policies and principles of the Führer were to be put into practice by his Deputy-Governors (*Statthalter*) in the administration of the territories of the former *Länder* (in some cases a number of the smaller *Länder* were to be supervised by one *Statthalter*). Among the powers of these new Reich officials were (1) the appointment and dismissal of the president of the provincial

¹ J. Jastrow: *Geschichte des deutschen Einheitstraumes und seiner Erfüllung*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1885, 337 pp.; Richard Benz, *Geist und Reich: Um die Bestimmung des Deutschen*, Jena, 1933, 203 pp.; Georg Weippert, *Das Reich als Deutschlands Auftrag*, Tübingen, 1934; Moeller van der Bruck, *Das Ewige Reich*, 3 vols., ed. by Hans Schwarz, Breslau, 1933-5.

² RGB, 153.

³ RGB, 173.

⁴ RGB, 75 (30.1.34) ; 65 (30.1.35).

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government and, on his suggestion, of the members of the Government themselves, (2) the dissolution of the provincial assembly (*Landtag*), (3) the making and promulgation of laws including those formerly to be made only by the provincial government, and (4) on the proposal of the provincial government the appointment and dismissal of directly subordinate State officials including judges, teachers, etc. As a consequence of this federalizing trend several Prussian Ministries were merged or partially merged with the corresponding ones of the Reich: Education on May 1, 1934;¹ Justice on October 16, 1934;² and the Ministry of the Interior on October 23, 1934.³

Of almost equal importance was the reorganization of local government which purported to aim at the reawakening of the slumbering spirit of local initiative embodied in the reforms of Stein a century earlier.⁴ A congress for discussion of the problems involved, in which representatives of communities all over Germany were to participate, was announced on December 15, 1933,⁵ but the new reform plan was not issued until the second anniversary of Hitler's coming to power. The communities were called to co-operate in achieving the goal of the State: "Amid a unified people, thoroughly penetrated by the national will to place once more the community before the fate of the individual, to set common good before selfish good, and under the leadership of the best of the people to create the true people's-community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), in which the very last willing comrade (*Volksgenosse*) feels that he really belongs to the general body."⁶ The individual was to lose his sense of self in serving the community, the community was to lose its sense of self in serving the *Volk*, and the *Volk* was to be reborn through

¹ RGB, 365. The sphere of jurisdiction of the new Ministry was defined on May 11, 1934 (RGB, 575).

² ZB, 349.

⁴ RGB (1935), 49.

⁵ RGB, 1065.

³ RMB, LXII, 681.

⁶ RGB (1935), 49-64.

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the Third Reich.¹ The same principle is also seen in the decree of May 20, 1933,² forbidding the representative committees through which civil servants had been allowed to voice their complaints. In the new "people's state" these, as well as collective petitions, were to be regarded as superfluous.

Parallel with this co-ordination of the *Länder* and the reawakening of the loyalty of the local governments came many minor centralizing reforms. To mention only one, by the law of February 16, 1934,³ the administration of justice throughout Germany was placed on a federal basis, and, parallel with this step, the training and examining of lawyers was federalized on July 22nd of the same year.⁴ "All courts pronounce law in the name of the German people," reads Article 1 of the first law; the provisions for training lawyers are determined accordingly.

Last but not least, under the heading of unification of the administration, should be mentioned the creation, on March 13, 1933, of a new Federal Ministry for "purposes of Enlightenment and Propaganda among the population about the policies of the Federal Government and the national reconstruction of the German Fatherland," without the activities of which the mere mechanical centralization of administration could scarcely have been carried through.⁵

Since the history of the administration of universities in Germany has been (for peculiar reasons) principally a history of their relation to the State, the whole subject of federalization and unification of political power is of the utmost importance for an understanding of the university situation of to-day, as will be seen later in considering the three laws

¹ Cf. Carl Dieckman, *Die Selbstverwaltung im neuen Staat*, Berlin, 1933, 80 pp.

² *RGB*, 91; 68 (30.I.35), 381 (20.III.35).

³ *ZB*, 167.

⁴ *RGB*, 727, 945, 915, 1104; 342 (27.II.35).

⁵ *RGB*, 104.

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modifying the constitutions of the universities, of October 18th and 28th, 1933,¹ and April 3, 1935,² the last of which applies the "Leadership Principle" to the organization of the university.

(ii) *Economic Reform*

The economic reform programme may be regarded as the result of two aims: the immediate practical necessity of reducing unemployment, and the deeper, more remote, ideal of organizing a closely knit social fabric in which the economic dissensions and strife of the preceding epoch, especially the boggy of class war, would be overcome. Othmar Spann and his followers had evoked the ideal of a society founded on status (the *Ständestaat* or *ständische Gesellschaftsordnung*). Their ideal was partly born of fear of the influence of Karl Marx and his followers, and of repugnance towards the contractual "atomistic society" produced by modern capitalism, but born no less of a romantic attachment to the German town life of the later Middle Ages as depicted, for instance, in Wagner's *Meistersinger von Nuremberg* and to the city states of Greece envisaged through the medium of Plato's political writings.³

The immediate aim, that of reducing unemployment, finds expression in the law of June 1, 1933,⁴ which in its five provisions indicates clearly how influential this practical

¹ ZB, 277 and 291.

² AB, 142.

³ Othmar Spann: *Der wahre Staat: Vorlesungen über Abbruch und Neubau der Gesellschaft*, Jena 1931, 263 pp., and *Kämpfende Wissenschaft: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Volkswirtschaftslehre, Gesellschaftslehre und Philosophie*, Jena 1934, 254 pp.; Wilhelm Andreae, *Staatssozialismus und Ständestaat: Ihre grundlegenden Ideologien und die jüngste Wirklichkeit in Russland und Italien*, Jena 1931, 277 pp.; Walter Heinrich, *Die soziale Frage: Ihre Entstehung in der individualistischen und ihre Lösung in der ständischen Ordnung*, Jena 1934, 204 pp.; E. R. Huber, *Die Gestalt des deutschen Socialismus*, Hamburg, 88 pp.; Werner Sombart, *Deutscher Sozialismus*, Berlin, 1934, 347 pp.; Wilhelm Rössle, *Ständestaat und politischer Staat*, Tübingen, 1934, 43 pp.

⁴ RGB, 323-9.

consideration was in stimulating certain other aspects of the National Socialist programme not usually associated with economics, such as "transfer of female labour to the domestic sphere" and "promotion of marriages."¹ Similarly the economic motive plays an important role in the measures taken to reduce enrolment in schools and universities, and thereby to relieve pressure in the academic professions. These measures, however, helped to promote a quite un-economic tendency, namely, the introduction of forms of non-intellectual criteria for selection of candidates for higher education and for academic positions. Nor can it be doubted that the sweeping dismissal of civil servants made possible by the "Aryan," the "political," and other paragraphs of the Civil Service Law of 7.IV.33, was at least in part economically motivated. Other professions were "weeded" on varying grounds but with similar motive.² Like considerations apply to the whole Chamber of Culture (*Kulturkammer*) legislation, which excluded "non-Aryans" and other "undesirables" from the liberal professions (cinema, literature, press, radio, theatre, music, and fine arts) and imposed unwonted restrictions on activity in these fields.³ Every gainful musical performance⁴ or instruction,⁵ for example, was made illegal without official permission, the withholding of which gave opportunity to distribute, from above, employment in these usually unorganized fields of activity. In the effort to create jobs even the use of labour-saving machinery was in certain cases forbidden by law.⁶ A central bureau for "employment, reference, vocational guidance, and placing of teachers" was set up by the law of November 5, 1935.⁷

¹ Cf. *RGB*, 377 (20.VI.33).

² For provisions affecting physicians see *RGB*, 222-3 (22.IV.33) and below, p. 84.

³ See below, p. 28 ff.

⁴ *RGB*, 452 (4.VII.33).

⁵ *AB*, 404 (18.IX.35), n. 499.

⁶ *RGB*, 493 (15.VII.33).

⁷ *RGB*, 1281; 1361 (26.XI.35).

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The constructive purpose of the economic reform is expressed in the series of organizations set up to bring labour and capital together in comradely co-operation for the nation's welfare and to settle disputes within the ranks of labour and capital.¹ This part of the programme aims at establishing four main *Stände* or occupational groups, internally organized and nationally related *inter se*: Industry, Commerce, Hand-labour, and Sustenance.² There is some tendency to think of intellectual life in general as an object for similar *ständische* reform, in the general "regimentation" programme.³

The most dramatic creation of the economic reform programme, the Labour Service (*Arbeitsdienst*), is closely bound up with the welfare of university students, both in its origins⁴ and in its influence.⁵ Like very many of the Nazi reforms, it is only in part intended as a measure for the relief of unemployment: it serves in addition as excellent preparation for military service, for weeding out the weak of body and for training the strong in physique and "character"; as an opportunity for the propagandists to exert their influence on youths with unsophisticated minds and tired bodies; and finally, as an effective introduction to higher study, well calculated to prepare the university beginners to accept the new educational ideals.

By the end of 1935 there had been at least ten laws and

¹ RGB, 45 (20.I.34).

² RGB, 626 (13.IX.33), 1060 (8.XII.33).

³ Walter Heinrich, *Das Ständewesen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Selbstverwaltung der Wirtschaft*, 2nd ed., Jena 1934, pp. 61-3.

⁴ For the beginnings of the Labour Service idea under the Republic see *Das Arbeitslager: Berichte aus Schlesien von Arbeitern, Bauern, Studenten*, ed. by Eugen Rosenstock and Carl Dietrich von Trotha, Jena (Diederichs) 1931, 160 pp.

⁵ Siegfried Drescher, *Hochschule und Arbeitsdienst: Das Wesen der Arbeit im Arbeitsdienst*, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg, 1934; Hermann Kretschmann and Fritz Edel, *Der Reichsarbeitsdienst im Wort und Bild* (Deutscher Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft), Berlin, 1936.

regulations bearing upon the Voluntary Labour Service system inherited from the previous regime,¹ four at least in 1935 alone on the new Compulsory system for all school graduates intending to enter the university, and at least eight in 1935 alone on the new Compulsory Labour Service.² The regulations influencing Student Labour Service were stabilized by the four decrees of January 19th, February 9th, March 6th and 7th, 1935.³ Entrance to the university (for all Germans but "non-Aryans") was made to depend upon the presentation of a certificate of six months' Labour Service. Excuses were allowed only for those who by April 1, 1935, had reached their twenty-fourth (changed two weeks later to twenty-fifth) year, for those declared physically unfit by the Labour Service Physician, for those whose earning capacity was necessary for their families' welfare, and for those whose long work for their Party made their official duties of prime importance. For the physically unfit a Compensation Service (*Ausgleichsdienst*) was stipulated; this consisted of work on farms living with peasants, work with the geological survey or office work.⁴ Women students were usually assigned to farm work, but they were also urged to use this opportunity to train themselves in Air Defence, First Aid, or newspaper reporting, in order to be ready to do their part in the event of war, just as men in Labour Service learned military discipline.⁵ By the autumn of 1935, with the general Labour Service Law of June 26th already in effect, there were regularly some 200,000 men and women doing service. One and a half hours a day were being devoted to "Instruction," three days a week on "national policy and history," and three on "the significance of the

¹ RGB (1934), 61, 169, 173, 581, 1200, 1235; (1935) 5, 429, 740, 1093.

² RGB, 769 (26.VI.35), 722 (two), 1215, 1361, 1511, 1593.

³ AB, 51-2 (n. 62), 68-9 (n. 94), 96 (n. 130), 163 (n. 209).

⁴ Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 12.V.36.

⁵ Völkischer Beobachter, 23.V.36, No. 144.

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Labour Service." Maintenance, it was said, cost the government 82 pfennigs a day per man in the Labour Service, or about 50 per cent less than in military service. Performance may now be assumed to be 100 per cent. The following table shows the status at the end of the Winter Semester, 1934-5.¹

STUDENT PERFORMANCE OF LABOUR SERVICE SUMMER SEMESTER 1934 AND WINTER SEMESTER 1934-5 (PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS IN THEIR FIRST AND THIRD SEMESTERS)

SUMMER SEMESTER 1934				
		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Together</i>
Performed		24·12	18·91	23·32
Not Yet Performed		49·91	61·10	51·63
Excused		25·01	16·62	23·72

WINTER SEMESTER 1934-5				
		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Together</i>
Performed		62·08	46·24	60·18
Not Yet Performed		11·35	40·69	14·88
Excused		26·07	11·53	24·32

Clearly, without consideration of the extreme pressure of the economic crisis in which Germany found herself in the winter 1932-3 and of the reforms undertaken by the new regime to alleviate it and to build up a new planned order, the drastic modifications of university conditions since then cannot be comprehended.

(iii) *Military Reform*

The military programme of the new regime—reintroduction of universal military service and restoration of the armed forces of the Reich—finds official expression for the first time in the Proclamation of March 16, 1935, and the accompanying legislation,² but the inculcation and awakening of the ideals of *Wehrhaftigkeit* (defence-minded-

¹ *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, vol. 14 (W.S. 1934-5), p. 7 *.

² *RGB*, 369, 375, 609, 614; *AB*, II, 115 (12.II.36).

ness) had already been designated as one of the chief tasks of the student organizations in the universities as early as April 12, 1933, in the new Prussian student constitution,¹ which was heralded for the whole of Germany ten days later² and promulgated on February 7th of the following year.³ Training in defence-mindedness was to be the special task of the university office of the SA (Storm Troopers). A special law regarding student membership in the SA of October 28, 1935, specified certain privileges in scholarship competitions for SA members.⁴ Moreover, the entire curriculum of university studies was gradually penetrated by the defence-mindedness attitude. We find in the official journal of the Ministry of Education and elsewhere discussions of "defence-science" (*Wehrwissenschaft*) which do not hesitate to make the definition of the new field wellnigh as broad as that of the whole field of learning.⁵ One of the latest contributions to the literature of the *Hochschulreform* in Germany bears the illuminating title *Universities as Intellectual Frontier-Fortresses*.⁶ The extension of the one-year to a two-year period of military service in August 1936 gave reality to the "defence-atmosphere" of the university. In short, while the point should not be given undue emphasis, there is no doubt that the motive of military preparedness played a significant role in the National Socialist transformation of the universities.

¹ ZB, 117-20.

² RGB, 215.

³ RMB, 76-9; AB, I, 140-2; see below, p. 61 ff.

⁴ AB, I, 481, n. 588.

⁵ W. Hinz, "Wehrwissenschaft: Zur Klärung der Grundbegriffe," AB, I, 95 * (nichtamtlicher Teil), 1935, and "Wehrwissenschaften auf den deutschen Hochschulen," *ibid.*, 109 *; Albrecht Erich Günther, "Die Aufgabe der Wehrwissenschaften an der Hochschule," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, xciv (1935), 557-68.

⁶ Ernst Anrich, *Universitäten als geistige Grenzfestungen*, Stuttgart and Berlin (Kohlhammer), 1935, 23 pp. (Kulturpolitische Schriftenreihe, hg. von Ernst Anrich, Heft 6).

(iv) *Eugenic Reform*

In their conception of the State as the moulder of men and the breeder of a new type (both conceptions being covered by the German word *Zucht*, now taken as equivalent to the Greek *paidaia*, originally a much broader notion) the Nazis are again followers of Plato.¹ The general lines of policy are well known.² The measures for promoting marriages to encourage a quantitative increase in the population have already been noticed. Measures aimed at furthering qualitative selection—prohibitions of marriages between Jews and “Aryans,” and sterilization of the unfit—are at the very basis of the population policy and even of the citizenship law of the new state.³ Genealogy is officially encouraged with the object of stimulating family and “racial” pride.⁴ A series of institutions was set up to improve the environment of the growing generation and to select the best types: the *Landjahr* which sends city children for a year to live in the country after completing the legal minimum of education;⁵ the *Arbeitsdienst* or six months of labour service to be fulfilled by all fit young men and women before their twenty-fifth year; the military service year; the National Student Welfare Organization (*Reichsstudentenwerk*), a crea-

¹ Cf. Joachim Bannes, *Hitlers Kampf und Platons Staat: Eine Studie über den ideologischen Aufbau der nationalsozialistischen Freiheitsbewegung*, Leipzig, 1933, 21 pp.; and *Platon: Die Philosophie des heroischen Vorbildes*, Leipzig, 1935; Hans F. K. Günther (the “race” theorist), *Platon als Hüter des Lebens: Platons Zucht und Erziehungsgedanken und deren Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*, Munich, 1928, 71 pp.; the “Vorwort” to the Fourteenth Edition (August 1933) of Ernst Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, 19th ed., Leipzig, 1935, 186 pp.; and Werner Jaeger, “Die Erziehung des politischen Menschen und die Antike,” *Volks im Werden*, I, 3 (1933), pp. 43–9, and *Paideia, Die Formung des griechischen Menschen*, Berlin, 1934.

² Cf. the papers by Germans in the “Reports of the International Population Congress at Berlin, August 26 to September 1, 1935”: *Bevölkerungsfragen*, ed. by Harmsen and Lohse, Munich (Lehmann), 1936, p. 972.

³ *RGB*, I, 529 (14.VII.33), 1146 (15.IX.35).

⁴ *RMB*, LXIII, 99 (1935).

⁵ *PGS*, 243 (29.III.34).

tion of the years immediately after the War, whose objective it became "to select the most virtuous in the sense of National Socialist demands";¹ the federal vocational competition (*Reichsberufwettkampf*); the introduction of compulsory athletics for the first three university semesters by the law of October 30, 1934;² to say nothing of the various political training groups such as the Hitler Youth, League of German Girls, etc.³ All these institutions form a network of general selective measures within which fall the special selective tests of school and university. The criteria for selection in the schools are, according to a law of March 27, 1934,⁴ of four sorts: physical (*körperlich*), moral (*charakterlich*), intellectual (*geistig*), and eugenic (*völkisch*). The educational system thus culminates from the eugenic point of view in the university, which is to be the last stage in a long selective process for the building up of a new "racial" élite. To quote the Minister of Education, Rust: "One cannot hope to conquer a State such as that of Adolf Hitler with the virtues of Courage, Tenacity (*Zähigkeit*), and Loyalty, and at the same time cultivate in the schools an effete intellectualism."⁵

(v) *Ideological Reform*

"All true revolutions rest on a basic psychological change in the minds of men," recently wrote a German historian of the interplay between religious and revolutionary zeal

¹ From the Constitution of the *Studentenwerk*, November 2, 1934 (ZB, 355-6, n. 381). Cf. "Das Reichsstudentenwerk" by Hans Streit (its National Leader), AB, I (1935), 167 *-169 * (nichtamtlicher Teil); and "Die gesundheitliche Auslese an den deutschen Hochschulen," *Völkischer Beobachter* (Berlin), 9.IV.36, No. 100.

² AB, I, 6-10, 178, 179; cf. ZB, LXXVI, 120.

³ Cf. John Wilkinson Taylor, *Youth Welfare in Germany*, Nashville (Tennessee), 1936, 257 pp.

⁴ AB, 125-7.

⁵ Quoted from a speech before the Prussian Council of State (*Staatsrat*) in Benze: "Schülersauslese an den höheren Schulen," AB, I (1935), 83 * (nichtamtlicher Teil).

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in England under Cromwell,¹ and the doctrine that large-scale social reform presupposes preliminary propaganda and a conversion-psychology is a favourite theme of Nazi political theorists and their forerunners. Goebbels himself, the propaganda wizard of the Movement, recorded in his diary his "first" discussion with Hitler on the subject of a special Propaganda Ministry as late as January 22, 1932, although the idea was already implicit in *Mein Kampf*, 1923. "The idea," wrote Goebbels, "was that of a Ministry for popular education, in which Cinema, Radio, new educational institutions, Art, Culture and Propaganda would be brought together under one administration. . . . A revolutionary office, centrally directed, which would above all stand for the Federal Idea in unambiguous form. It is an enormous project, which in its kind has never yet existed. I am already beginning now to work out the plans for this Ministry. It is to serve the purpose of building the intellectual-spiritual foundation of our power and of capturing not only the apparatus of the state but the people as a whole."² The ministry was established by decree of March 13, 1933,³ and its peculiar functions were defined on June 30th,⁴ just five months after the seizure of power. The administrative significance for the new dictators of this governmental control over nearly all the fields of hitherto traditionally "free" behaviour, the sphere of liberal arts and professions, has been mentioned already. The insignia of one of the organizations created by the new Ministry (the National Socialist Culture Union or *Kulturgemeinde*), a diminutive Parthenon engulfed in an enormous Swastika, symbolizes eloquently both the political aims as well as the ideal limitations of the undertaking.

¹ Hermann Oncken: *Cromwell: Vier Essays über die Führung einer Nation*, Berlin, 1935, p. 4.

² Italics mine. Joseph Goebbels: *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei: Eine historische Darstellung in Tagebuchblättern*, 2nd ed., 1934, p. 28.

³ RGB, 104.

⁴ RGB, 449.

One by one, the various fields were fenced off and internally divided by special legislation, the Cinema being the first on July 14, 1933.¹ The unifying institution, called the Chamber of Culture (*Kulturkammer*) was set up on September 22nd,² covering the fields of Literature (exclusive of scientific writings), Press, Radio, Theatre, Music, and the Plastic Arts, as well as the Cinema. Further special detailed regulations followed.³

The Editor's Law of October 4, 1933,⁴ may be briefly considered (as one example) in order to show the extent of control exerted. This law designated as "press-leaders" (*Schriftleiter*) all persons responsible for determining the intellectual content "in word, report or picture," of all "political" writing appearing in Germany. Such *Schriftleiter* must be German citizens, "Aryans" and not married to "non-Aryans." They are obliged to exclude matter of certain sorts from the Press; category four specifies for exclusion "Whatever unlawfully injures the honour or well-being of another, disturbs his quiet, makes him ridiculous or despicable" (but anti-Semitic propaganda sheets like *Der Stürmer* are permitted!). All *Schriftleiter* are organized under a number of "chief-press-leaders" (*Hauptschriftleiter*) and each of these is legally responsible for everything written in his sphere of influence, and can be prosecuted for offences as if he himself were the author. The *Schriftleiter* as a whole are incorporated as the Federal Union of the German Press, with its seat in Berlin, with a Leader appointed by the Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, and a constitution requiring the latter's approval. The Minister is of course responsible for the enforcement of all these measures. To assist him in doubtful cases there are special

¹ RGB, 483.

² RGB, 705.

³ RGB (1933), 1085; (1934) 40, 411, 483; RMB, 705 (14.XI.34).

⁴ RGB, 713.

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courts dealing only with Press cases: questions of admission to the profession, expulsion, performance of duty, disputes, and the like. But if need be the Minister can dispense with the aid of these "profession-courts" (*Berufsgerichte*) and, for example, dismiss any particular *Schriftleiter* directly. This entire *Schriftleiter*-Law, be it understood, is simply a part of the provisions covering the Press in general and incorporating all individuals active in the Press, from the scrubwomen and type-setters up to the editors of the leading newspapers, in the Federal Press Chamber which, with the six other special Chambers, are all incorporated in the Federal Chamber of Culture. The entire organization functions under the direction of the Propaganda Minister, ostensibly to promote the economic welfare of the participants, the technical advance of the industries involved, and the cultural benefit of the society at large. The monopoly is absolute: outside the *Kulturkammer* there is no possibility for activity in these fields, and to be active one must meet the test of rigid conformity.¹ The crowning glory of the organization is the Culture-Senate, composed of "outstanding persons who have done service to *Volk und Kultur*," selected and summoned together by the Propaganda Minister at least once a year. On November 16, 1935, the Culture-Senate was shown a Furtwängler production of Wagner's *Meistersinger*. The membership included not only artists and writers but leading figures in German social, industrial, and cultural circles. The papers hailed the assembly as "our Cultural General Staff."² Were it more than a figurehead one would be tempted to call this *Kultursenat* the modern image of Plato's "nocturnal council."

But the activity of the new regime in creating belief in the new order does not by any means stop with the *Kultur*-

¹ RGB (1933), 797 ff., §§ 4, 5, and 28.

² *Berliner Tageblatt*, 17.XI.35; *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 16.XI.35.

kammer, although it is significant that the effectiveness of this organization was regarded as so complete, at least in the crushing of pornography, that the old "censorship" laws¹ were repealed on April 10, 1935.² Unfortunately there is no space here to go into the mass of legislation in the field of propaganda which has tended to ritualize with political forms most of the common acts of everyday life (greeting, hand-shake, etc.), but something of the scope of the Ideological Reform becomes apparent when one looks at its incidence on the nation's educational institutions.

In the first place the general atmosphere was politicized. The new political greeting (Heil Hitler!) was introduced in general usage, the state officials, including teachers, being urged to set the example (22.VII.33).³ Confusions in the manner of execution of this greeting were removed by detailed specifications (22.I.35)⁴. For all who did not want to awaken suspicion the raised hand was advised while singing the two national anthems, "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" and the "Horst-Wessel-Lied" (22.VII.33).⁵ The national symbol, the Swastika, was declared sacred and inviolable and not to be misused (19.V.33).⁶ After a long series of legal proceedings to decide whether this or that use was permissible, an exhaustive set of general criteria was presented by the Minister of Propaganda for the assistance of lawyers and judges (12.II.34).⁷ These "general criteria" not only required that in all school-rooms (together with all State offices) there should be a picture of Hitler and if possible other displays (maps, charts, banners, etc.) of a political nature, for the purpose of "training to the State-idea of National Socialism" (5.IX.33),⁸ but also decided that only a certain approved form of use of the

¹ RGB, 505 (18.XII.26).

² ZB, 203.

³ RGB, 285.

⁴ AB, 66.

⁵ RMB, 75.

⁶ RGB, 541.

⁷ ZB, 204.

⁸ ZB, 237.

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national symbol would escape prosecution. In addition, the teachers themselves were forbidden to belong to any "lodge-like organization," especially freemasonry (10.VII.35);¹ the loyalty of the teacher was demanded exclusively for National Socialism (15.IX.35).² Special reading-matter was constantly brought to their attention in official lists (running into hundreds) of recommended books for school use (23, 28.XI.33;³ 12.II.34),⁴ and their thoughts were invited to dwell on the significance of the national revolution (11.VII.33).⁵ At the same time they were warned not to buy books and periodicals "over-hastily," for many (they were advised) had only the externals of the new gospel, while the old heresy lurked within (2.X.33).⁶ Above all they were to see to it that the schools co-operated in the political struggle of the nation for "equal rights" (26.X.33)⁷ and even in the struggle to regain the lost German colonies (16.VIII.33).⁸ Special "national-political instruction" would be given on Saturdays; "non-Aryan" pupils, however, might be excused if they wished (21.VIII.34)!⁹

In the second place, not only was the general atmosphere politicized, but the entire curriculum in detail had been penetrated by the new spirit. Despite a decree of April 18, 1933,¹⁰ to the effect that during the year beginning Easter, 1933, the text-books would not be changed, a series of measures was passed partly revising the old instruction in special fields, partly introducing new subjects altogether, and partly

¹ AB, 349.

² AB, 399, 486 n.

³ ZB, 306, 308.

⁴ ZB, 58-63, 81-6.

⁵ ZB, 214.

⁶ ZB, 265.

⁷ ZB, 280.

⁸ ZB, 229. According to *Le Temps*, 15.V.36, in an item entitled "L'enseignement colonial," there were at that time no less than 34 chairs divided among 24 universities in Germany devoted to this same cause and in addition 26 chairs of African languages, 2 chairs of colonial geography (Leipzig and Berlin), a school of colonial forestry (Tharandt), a special course in colonial diplomacy (Göttingen), a school of applied botany (Hamburg), and finally two schools of tropical medicine (at Tübingen and Hamburg).

⁹ ZB, 265.

¹⁰ ZB, 121.

stressing certain general lines of emphasis to be pursued in all fields of study. So-called "normative criteria for history books," stressing pre-History, the Heroic Idea, etc., were laid down for Prussia on July 20, 1933;¹ even earlier on May 3rd, the Bavarian Minister of Education announced a programme for the teaching of modern history in the schools, especially that from 1918-33, and emphasizing the "all important theme, 'National Upheaval,'" a programme constructed with the aim of "reawakening national feeling."² Esperanto or any artificial international language was condemned as anti-national (*unvölkisch*), May 17, 1935.³ Finally, new "racial" and eugenic theories were systematically introduced into the school curriculum, starting with special Biology courses in the classes just preceding the last school year ("even at the cost," the law reads (13.IX.33),⁴ "of mathematics and foreign languages"), and ending in the last year with "Genetics, Race-study, Racial Hygiene, Genealogy, and Population Policy."

The same double tendency—the politicization of the general atmosphere and the penetration of special academic subjects in detail—is no less clear in the field of higher education, where whole departments such as Law, Theory of Journalism, Economics, and Agriculture have received official new study-plans from the National Ministry of Education.⁵ History (I.VII.35)⁶ and Law (II.VII.34)⁷ have been modified by pressure from new official research institutes outside the university.⁸ The liberal and internationally

¹ ZB, 197-9.

² *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3.V.33: "Die neueste Geschichte in der Schule." ³ AB, 228. ⁴ ZB, 244; cf. AB, I, 43.

⁵ AB, I, 48-50, 189, 190, 284.

⁶ RMB, 824; AB, II, 181.

⁷ RGB, 605.

⁸ G. W. Hinz: "Das Ende der Historischen Reichskommission," *Amtsblatt* I (1935), p. 85 * (nichtamtlicher Teil) and "Die Gründung des Reichsinstituts für Geschichte des neueren Deutschlands," *ibid.*, 201 *-202 *. The new Institute differs from the old fundamentally, since it publishes

minded *Hochschule für Politik* of Berlin, founded in 1920, was transformed into a state institution in May 1933: its President and two directors "resigned."¹ The whole field of knowledge has, as it were, been unified (where modern philosophy had failed to achieve such a unity) by means of "scientific planning" officially imposed in accordance with the economic, social, and military policies of the national government.²

The new Science of Defence (*Wehrwissenschaft*), which was capable of lending a characteristic tone to every subject in the academic curriculum, has already been mentioned. The co-ordination of engineering sciences has been assisted by the establishment of a Federal Academy for Aeronautical Research.³ A parallel case is that of *Raumforschung* (literally "space research") which undertakes to investigate by all scientific means available the possibilities for social planning inside (and, speculatively, outside) Germany's national boundaries.⁴

not "sources" but finished works. Evaluations, which were perforce excluded from the former, are deliberately used to colour the whole tone of the latter. Cf. below, p. 116, note 1.

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 13.v.33, p. 14; a tribute to the *Hochschule für Politik* from the C. Bouglé *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* in Paris of not long before 1933 is given in W. M. Kotschnig, ed., *The University in a Changing World*, Oxford, 1932, p. 28.

² National Socialist scientific investigators, according to one orthodox view, seem to bear a somewhat close resemblance to Aristotle's conception of a "natural slave"—"he who is by nature not his own but another's and yet a man" (*Pol.* I. 4. vi; 1254a)—a sort of animated instrument; except that the Nazi scientist is perhaps not "by nature" subservient to the commands of the State: "These investigators are driven by a command, and they seek knowledge only to be able to obey the command." (Walter Waidelich in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Studentenschaft*, January 1935, p. 17).

³ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 30.vii.36. Research has been distributed between Professor Prandtl's laboratories at Göttingen, the *Technische Hochschule* at Aachen, and several adjacent industrial plants.

⁴ *AB*, 116 (15.II.36).

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE NEW UNIVERSITY-IDEAL

Once in the seat of power, with their enemies crushed, the new national leaders set themselves a fivefold reform-programme designed to rebuild the country as a whole according to a definite pattern, in striking contrast to the immediate past, but striving towards the realization of an ideal national form long felt to be the "meaning" of Germany's troubled history: *das deutsche Schicksal*.¹ Each part of the national reform programme had its specific effect upon the universities. As part of the Administrative Reform their administration was centralized in accordance with the Leadership Principle. As part of the Economic Reform the entry of students to the institutions of higher learning was reduced, new standards were set up to eliminate the unfit, and the ranks of the teaching classes were drastically cut by the new Civil Service Law. As part of the Military Reform the youth of the land were sent back to military service and taught to revere time-honoured ideals, and the university curriculum was permeated with the new spirit. As part of the Eugenic Reform the entire system of educational institutions was reorganized to serve as one huge selective agency for the training of a new "race" and especially of a new class of leaders for the state, to replace the nobility and the middle classes, which had in many respects (according to the National Socialists) forfeited their social privileges by having failed to perform their political function. Finally, as part of the Ideological Reform the centres of scientific study as well as the schools were made to lend the weight of their authority in the great campaign to build up a new faith, and their technical knowledge to help mitigate the nation's need.

¹ Cf. H. Oncken, "Der Sinn der deutschen Geschichte" (1924) in *Nation und Geschichte*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 15-44.

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The recent transformation of the German universities would indeed be unintelligible without the assumption of the National Socialist Revolution. It would, however, be fallacious to treat these changes as the results of National Socialist policy alone.¹

The Revolution itself was not "created *ex nihilo*," and the university situation with which the official reforms dealt was also the product of tendencies already active in the years before 1933. The search for origins is an endless one, and the roots of National Socialism intertwine with the roots of Germanism in the dim beginnings of the national *Kulturgeschichte*; the differences are matters rather of degree than of direction of emphasis or tendency. The German destiny seems to have fluctuated between periods of provincialism and cosmopolitanism, the first heralding a generally low standard of culture, the latter a generally high standard. But too much cosmopolitanism has, despite its fructifying influence, threatened the German with a sense of the loss of his individuality, and he has often fled to the other extreme, which, despite its tendency towards cultural stagnation and suffocation, gives him the reward of feeling himself "truly German." He is entering upon one of these introspective periods now, as a revolt against "too much foreign influence." The attempt to weed out "foreign words" from the German language is symptomatic. The historian of the recent German university reform must hesitate long before being certain that he can draw a line separating the influence of the National Socialist movement from those of the broader tradition of German culture in its entirety²

¹ The "nationalization" of the universities had begun well before the Nazi Revolution. A collection of studies on various European universities published in 1932 seemed to its editor "to be studies in national psychology rather than essays on the common essence of universities." Kotschnig, p. 13.

² Cf. *Faust*, especially the utterances of Mephistopheles. These cynical commentaries on human nature play a role in the minds of many

and of a deep-lying tendency in the whole of modern civilization.

It is a far cry from the "songs of modern speech" to the calm of Plato's political writings, but since the Nazis invoke his name it is relevant to recall his views. The ideals of the modern university, which arose as a third, rival institution between Church and State in the later Middle Ages, are on the whole those of the founders of Harvard College, "the advancement of learning and its perpetuation to posterity." In contrast to these ideals, Plato thought that all education should aim at social virtue, and if the wisest men were to be able as a result of their long education to "contemplate the beauty of the eternal ideas" it was only because for Plato the highest Truth was the highest Good, and because the proper task of the wisest Philosopher was to rule the State. Aristotle agreed with Plato that education should be in the hands of the State but was content, in specifying the three aims of "social virtue, practice, and the higher learning," to leave each of them its intrinsic merits. For Plato, the highest function of education is to train the individual to perform his duty in the social community; practical and theoretical knowledge are necessary for him only in so far as they help him achieve this *social* end. For Aristotle "practice" and "science" are ends in themselves, to be pursued as such in so far as they do not *interfere* with each individual's fulfilment of social duty.

If this contrast does justice to the two philosophers, then Aristotle stands closer to modern liberalism, with its passionate defence of freedom of inquiry, than does Plato. Indeed,

Germans (and possibly others) somewhat like that of the Church Confessional or some parts of the Credo. The individual is persuaded of his depravity and of that of his fellows, but feels somewhat exonerated from guilt since it is God (or Goethe) who persuades him of it. Cf. further the sardonic verses of Grillparzer in *Das Buch der Epigramme*, ed. by Ludwig Fulda, Berlin, 1920, pp. 198 ff.

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if one wanted to construct *a priori* the National Socialist, the Italian Fascist, the Russian Communist, or the Japanese Imperialist university of our days, which for the most part reject the modern tradition, one could hardly do better than imagine the sort of university there would have been in Plato's Commonwealth or in the "colony" of his *Laws*, if they had ever been "tried."

The new epoch takes pride in having overthrown the Humanistic ideal of the nineteenth century and in having set up a political ideal in its stead.¹ It is only natural that the whole argument of the poet Schiller's essay contrasting the ideals of Athens and Sparta² should now be reversed.

The details of the metamorphosis of German higher education and the reversal of the university-ideal which characterizes the whole change can best be seen by taking up the major divisions of the institution one by one.

¹ Cf. Paul Ritterbusch, *Idee und Aufgabe der Reichsuniversität*, "Der deutsche Staat der Gegenwart," ed. by Carl Schmitt, Heft 8, Hamburg, 1935, 29 pp.; K. Hunger, "Die Bildungsidee des Humanismus in ihrem Verhältnis zu der politischen Bildungsidee der Gegenwart," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, xxiii (1933), 265-70; A. Bäumler, "Wissenschaft, Politik und Hochschule" (10.V.33), *Männerbund und Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1934, pp. 123-38; E. Spranger, "Der politische Mensch als Bildungsideal," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* (1934), 41; Hans Freyer, "Tradition und Revolution im Weltbild," *Europäische Revue*, 7 (February 1934), 65-76.

² *Die Gesetzgebung von Lykurg und Solon* (1786). Plato, of course, criticized the militarism of the Spartans, but praised their discipline and civic loyalty

CHAPTER II

THE REORGANIZATION OF UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

THE traditional government of the German universities, a form dating from the fifteenth century, was on the French not the Italian model—of faculty, not of student control. It was therefore called in German “kollegialische Fakultätsverwaltung,” taking the form in practice of self-government by means of club-like groups composed of equal members of the small community of scholars constituting the “university.” This faculty-group control was modified in the Cameralistic period of the early eighteenth century by the subordination of the faculties to some local prince or his agent. The nineteenth century sought to restore the authority of the faculty in accordance with the reform in local government at the time of Baron von Stein, but the tradition of strong state control was maintained even by such “humanistic” university administrators as Goethe and Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the effort of the universities to achieve a significant degree of financial independence failed completely. The State was unwilling to loosen its hold on the scholar’s stomach lest, as one Minister admitted, the resulting irresponsibility of his mind prove embarrassing.¹

BEFORE THE WAR

Often in the reign of the last Kaiser, especially under the policy of state supervision pursued uncompromisingly by Kultusminister Althoff, a candidate for academic position

¹ Ludwig Bernhard, *Akademische Selbstverwaltung in Frankreich und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1930, p. 97 *et seq.*

who was not politically orthodox or socially acceptable was prevented from becoming professor. This policy led to the exclusion from professorial appointments (as also under the present regime) of practically all Social Democrats and of those Jews who did not profess Christianity. Liberal-minded German scholars of the present time tend to argue that the great achievements of German science in the past century were attained *in spite of* the official policy of strict surveillance over and intervention in university affairs, and because of other favourable factors, such as the great number of gifted investigators, the encouragement of research by industry and philanthropy in general, the development of satellite university institutes devoted solely to research and later, though not until 1911, the founding of independent semi-private research organizations such as the Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science. Moreover, if the policies of educational control pursued by the government were felt to have had a deleterious effect on the universities of the time, the heritage of those policies was to be even more unfortunate. Then was the time, if ever, when the universities, at the height of their prestige, might have acquired from a prosperous and triumphant State those material foundations which alone provide any sure protection for the rights of free inquiry. But the moment was lost, largely because of Althoff's iron determination not to let the universities slip from under his dictator-like control, and after the Great War there was nothing but the appeal to the scientific ideal (what certain Germans call the "metaphysical argument," as opposed to a "material argument" backed up by independent sources of income) to protect the frail citadels of learning from the threat of dictatorship inherent in the multi-partied unstable "people's state" (*Volksstaat*) founded in the revolutionary despair of November 1918.

AFTER 1918

After this Revolution, conceived and executed in the shame and bitterness of defeat, in which so many former "outs" came "in" and the party strife of the inexperienced and ill-fated parliamentary state penetrated the universities by way of the students, professors, and even the *Kultusministerium* (Ministry of Education), the two elements of faculty self-government and state supervision seemed at last to have found a harmonious relationship. The new Prussian Minister (twelve of the twenty-three universities were in Prussia), Carl Heinrich Becker, at once a cultured gentleman and a man of the world, an original scholar of repute in the field of Islamic civilization and in politics a "non-party man" in a cabinet-system shaken with half a dozen rival party programmes, was well qualified to reconcile the respective claims of state and university. He liked to consider the university as a sort of "Holy-Grail-Mount of science" (*Gralsburg der Wissenschaft*), conceiving of men of science as "knights" of the mind.¹ But a new factor in the situation was not only to interfere with Becker's reform plans and to destroy the new-found harmony, but even to revolutionize the entire relationship of government and university and reduce the latter to a state of servility more complete perhaps than at any time since the Reformation.

THE NATIONALISTIC STUDENT-BODY

The great new factor in the post-War situation was the political attitude and fighting spirit of the student-body.²

¹ Cf. *Vom Wesen der deutschen Universität*, Leipzig, 1925, 45 pp.

² Typical was the attack by the right-wing radical students on Professor Max Weber, in January 1920, because he defended certain Socialistic students of the University of Munich, who had been man-handled, without hindrance from the Rector who was present, simply

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The students felt that they had been fighting for their "rights" ever since the famous Wartburg Festival of a hundred years before, which had been a protest against Metternich and the reactionary Congress of Vienna, and that they should at last come into their own now that the "reaction," that is, the Kaiser, had been overthrown. In the Democratic State the students too were to have their voice, at least in the affairs of their own universities, and so indeed thought Minister Becker as well. But a curious reversal of roles took place: while hitherto the student cry had always been "freedom against the autocratic oppressors" and the government had striven to "root out student radicalism," the Democratic State, instead of putting an end to this century-old dispute, intensified it. The reason was the ineradicable conflict which soon developed between the regime, pledged to support the unpopular "dictates" of Versailles, including forced disarmament and helpless acquiescence to all foreign demands, and, on the other hand, a passionately nationalistic student-body. Despite the early sympathy between the Minister and the students, to which he gave concrete expression by officially recognizing the German Student Union (*Deutsche Studentenschaft*), 1920, the inevitable divergence of views on the national issue led to more and more friction. It came to a head in the "Austrian question" or the demand of the German university units in the German Student Union for official recognition of the membership of student groups outside Germany's national borders but (they argued) German in speech, culture, and spirit (chiefly at Graz, Innsbruck, Vienna, and Prague). The students thus hoped to carry on the traditional crusade of the German student movement for the unity

because they had protested against the acquittal of Graf Arco, murderer of the Socialist, Kurt Eisner. (Marianna Weber: *Max Weber, Ein Lebensbild*, Tübingen, 1926, pp. 684-5.)

of all Germans. During the nineteenth century they had prided themselves in preparing the way for the unification of the Reich under Bismarck, and now they aimed to work for the building of that Greater Germany (*Grossdeutschland*), including all German-speaking peoples in Central Europe within one boundary, a national mission which, they felt, their Government was too timid or too incompetent to pursue. But the issue was not quite so simple. If the government had not given the student groups official "constitutional" status in 1920 but had instead left them to develop freely, they would not have been forced to withdraw official recognition eight years later because of an essentially trivial provocation. This provocation was the insistence of the German student groups on the inclusion of not only those Austrian and Czech groups whose entrance criteria, like their own, were based purely on citizenship, but also those which required that their members be "German" in "blood." The Prussian government (Bavaria and Saxony successfully avoided the issue) was unwilling to admit into one organization groups with such conflicting attitudes towards Jewish students. The refusal of either side in the quarrel to compromise led to the withdrawal of the state-recognition of the Student Union and a consequent bitter hatred of Becker by the previously friendly students, who proceeded to heap upon his head all the insults previously reserved by them for Metternich. ("Metternich ist wieder da!" they cried.) Thus it happened that the Democratic State which had given fair promise to relieve the students of the oppression they had suffered at the hands of "autocracy" was unwillingly forced to deny them even some of those rights which "autocracy" had guaranteed. Further, the students felt that they had inherited the noble tradition of German nationalism, while the parliamentary state was disgracing their nation; the students had taken over the role of the dignified empire,

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which had previously "oppressed" them, while the new state fell heir to the role of the "seditious radicals," some of whom, it is true, had been its prophets and founders.

But the ultimate outcome of this conflict between students and Ministry was to be more disastrous than perhaps even Becker foresaw. (He died, perhaps fortunately for him, on February 10, 1933, just twelve days after the Nazis came in.)¹ As the new nationalism grew, the liberals in the government, and with them a large part of the professors, found themselves already before 1933 caught between two millstones, student National Socialism below, and state National Socialism above. As officials of the hated pacifist state, their loyalty was pledged to its ill-fated policy, and the Nazi organizers among the students lost no time in fanning this incipient revolutionary flame, which was eventually to destroy not only the government leaders but the passively implicated professors as well. When the Nazis seized control the student cry became: "With the state, against the professors!"

THE ANTI-LIBERAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

As for the government itself in the last four years before its fall, the Social Democrats had lost, in their death struggle, almost all semblance of liberalism in their university policies. The tradition of faculty self-government seemed to be seriously threatened, at least to two expert observers, even in 1930.² The collectivist tendencies of the revolutionary

¹ See the obituary notice in *Die Erziehung* VIII (April 1933), 462-3.

² "Carl Heinrich Becker," wrote Bernhard in 1930, "as Prussian Secretary of State and Minister of Education 1919-30, made the difficult attempt to adapt the German universities to the new situation without destroying their peculiar character. Difficult because the young parliamentary republic wants instruments to build up its new structure; but the prestige of the German universities rests on the fact that they take orders from no one. Whether the new state will recognize the powerful aid which *free* universities can give to the thriving of a people, or will

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government which came into power in 1918 had been opposed, on political grounds, by the forces of reaction. Just as the revolutionary state had betrayed the hopes of the students and had become the embodiment of a new "reaction," so some of the groups which had opposed the Revolution of 1918 became the supporters of the liberal tradition of academic self-government. But when the pseudo-collectivist Social Democratic State was succeeded by that of the totalitarian National Socialists, these conservative "friends of liberal university policies" quickly became proponents of or at least apologists for cultural regimentation.

THE FATE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

It is part of the tragi-comedy of the entire development that the students, disappointed in their hopes from the "people's revolution" of 1918, should again have been cheated (after a short-lived triumph) by the National Revolution for which they had worked so hard and which they regarded, in one sense, as the goal of a century's efforts.¹ The Student Union achieved official recognition

go the easier way of suppression and regimentation, cannot be foreseen with certainty." *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

"If the Federal Constitution exemplifies in almost tragic fashion the close of a liberal epoch, if our age is tending more and more in anti-liberal or collectivistic directions, then those institutions which are rooted in liberalism are, as far as their structure is concerned, with most likelihood endangered. Seen from this point of view, the question whether the universities are in a position to defend themselves in their self-government against the new ideological currents of the democratic state appears in the clearest light." Thus wrote the man who assisted Becker from 1920 on, and from 1925-32 was Director for the Prussian universities in the *Kultusministerium*: Werner Richter, "Staatliche Wissenschaftsverwaltung," in *Das Akademische Deutschland*, Berlin, 1930, Bd. III, p. 621.

¹ The *Hochschulen* feel, reported the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2.v.33, that their dreams and hopes are fulfilled in the Third Reich. They helped prepare the way for Bismarck's unification of Germany and kept alive the old patriotism throughout the War and afterwards. Bismarck himself, commenting on the *Burschenschaft* (one of the

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to be sure (May 18, 1933),¹ but only to become immersed in the great network of nation-wide political organizations by means of which the new rulers were to maintain and consolidate their power.² The student associations which had preserved the unique flavour of the century-old student movement, the picturesque "colour-bearing associations," chief among which were the aristocratic and martial "Corps," were officially dissolved on October 18, 1935, the memorial day celebrating the original Wartburg Festival of 1817. The festive caps, jackets, and banners (even those of the "*Urburschenschaft*" of 1815) were laid down, and the sober brown shirt symbolically donned. Even though the story of these traditional German student organizations does not by any means end there, the university had officially, by this ceremony, lost the last vestige of independence which could have distinguished it from a pure State institution—and lost it at the expense of the students. National Socialist totalitarianism had won a decisive victory in the field of university administration.

ADMINISTRATION: THE OLD SYSTEM

Before describing in detail the reconstruction effected by the new regime, it is necessary to examine briefly the working system of the university in the pre-Nazi period, as defined by the Richter-Peters Statutes of 1924-9.³ The university was regarded as an institution of learning,

traditional student organizations) of his university days (*ca.* 1832), wrote in his *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, p. 2, that they "defined the cultivation of national feeling as their aim," but as a matter of fact had very little understanding of real politics and of historical conditions, and that in sum he "received the impression of a combination of Utopianism and want of education."

¹ ZB, 161.

² See below pp. 64 ff.

³ *Die Statuten der preussischen Universitäten und Technischen Hochschulen*, ed. by Werner Richter and Hans Peters, Berlin, 1930. Arnold Köttgen: *Deutsches Universitätsrecht*, Tübingen, 1933, 204 pp.

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governed primarily by faculty committees and officers, under the benevolent guidance of the Ministry of Education, the students being granted a participation in this scheme of "academic self-government" only in so far as essentially student affairs, especially financial aid and student employment (as in the nation-wide organization for this purpose, the *Studentenwerk*, with its office at Dresden), were concerned. The theory at the basis of this system of university administration was that a distinction between essentially "scientific" matters and general business could be maintained and that division of labour should be established corresponding to that distinction. To the professorial bodies were left matters such as the granting of academic degrees and the making of faculty appointments and promotions; whereas the administration of finances and execution of general university business was in the hands of special bodies under the direction though not the control of the Rector. The traditional division of the University into four (sometimes more) Faculties (Philosophy, Law, Medicine, and Theology), each under a Dean of its own election, was thus complicated by a functional division into Faculty Organs for the administration of (a) scientific and (b) business affairs. For the first purpose each Dean was assisted by the Inner Faculty (*Engere Fakultät*) composed of all the Ordinary and certain elected Extraordinary Professors. The Dean stood *primus inter pares* and served in a purely executive capacity. The Entire Faculty (*Weitere Fakultät*) including all Ordinary, Extraordinary, and Honorary Professors as well as *Privatdozenten*, was sometimes called upon for advice. The general administrative bodies of the University were, however, a selected committee of the Ordinary Professors, called the Senate, including the Rector and Deans, and in special cases a larger Council (*Grosser Senat, Konsistorium, Weiterer Senat, Generalkonzil*) including in addition all the

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members of the Inner Faculty. The Rector stood to the Senate and Council somewhat as the Deans to their faculties, as chosen executive, but had certain peculiar privileges, which were not, however, of fundamental importance. He was elected for a one-year term by the Council and appointed with the Minister's approval.

The real weight of authority both in strictly academic and general administrative matters thus rested with the faculties, which exercised their three traditional "rights" with regard to the teaching staff: first, the authorization of the young PH.D. as an instructor (conferment of the *venia legendi* or *Lehrbefugnis*, usually giving the title of *Privatdozent*); secondly, the proposal for the promotion of instructors to higher ranks, and thirdly, the proposal for calling of men from other universities to positions on their own faculty. The benevolent guidance of the Minister was exercised in the last two tasks, by selecting one of three names presented to him by the faculty; if he rejected all three, demanding a new "deal," or if he followed this practice too often, he was considered to be abusing good faith. By exercising these three "rights," those of Habilitation, Promotion, and the making of proposals for Appointments, the faculties really were in a large measure "autonomous" in a major aspect of university policy, although the guarantees of these rights had always been exceedingly unstable, resting on traditional usage alone, and in the period just preceding the Nazi Revolution beginning to weaken considerably.

THE NAZI REVISION

The revision of this scheme imposed by the Nazis might be summed up as the application of the Leadership Principle (*Führerprinzip*) to university administration. The elaborate

representative and self-governing apparatus of the faculties went the way of the representative bodies in the nation as a whole; their powers were transferred to the Rector, who was to call them together "in an advisory capacity," but only if it seemed to him that "interests of the university demanded it"¹ (28.x.33). The *Fakultät* lost even its dignified Latin name and became simply the *Dozentenschaft* or "teaching-corps" with a "leader" (*Leiter*) as spokesman. Just as the representative organs of the faculty went the way of the Reichstag, so the "great masses" of the university world, the student body, received a new political position. The university as a whole, in addition to being divided in the traditional scholastic form into the four faculties or great fields of knowledge, was divided in the new state horizontally into two functionally different though politically equivalent strata, teachers and students (*Dozentenschaft* and *Studentenschaft*), each with its leader-spokesman directly responsible to the Rector, the latter standing directly under the Minister. The old division into faculties and the old apparatus of Deans and Senates was maintained, but chiefly for mechanical reasons, having lost its administrative initiative, and playing now a passive, instrumental role.

The character of the officials of the present German university was defined in the "Guiding Principles for the Simplification of University Administration" of April 3, 1935.²

1. The university (*Hochschule*) is divided into *Dozentenschaft* and *Studentenschaft*.

2. The *Dozentenschaft* is composed of teachers (*Lehrkräften*) and their assistants.

3. The *Studentenschaft* is composed of registered students

¹ ZB, 291, n. 354 (28.x.33).

² AB, 142, n. 192.

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of German descent and mother-tongue regardless of nationality.¹

4. The *Rektor* is "the *Führer* of the University," directly subordinate to the Minister of Education and to him alone.

5. The leader (*Leiter* of the *Dozentenschaft*)² is named by the Minister of Education after consultation with the Rector and with the Local Leader (*Gauführer*) of the National Socialist University Teachers Union (*NS Dozentenbund*), and is directly responsible to the Rector.

6. The leader of the *Studentenschaft* is named by the Minister after consultation with the *Gauführer* of the National Socialist Student Union (*NS Studentenbund*), and is directly responsible to the Rector.

7. The *Prorektor* and Deans are named by the Minister at the suggestion of the Rector.

8. The Senate is advisory in capacity to the Rector, and consists of the following persons: the Deans, and two more representatives of the *Dozentenschaft* to be chosen by the Rector, one of whom must be a member of the NS Teachers Union.

9. The Faculties are performers of work in the special fields of knowledge.

10. The Dean "leads his faculty" and chooses his own representatives.

11. The Faculty-Committee is advisory to the Dean and consists of the active Ordinary and Extraordinary Professors

¹ For the Summer Semester 1933 and the Winter Semester 1933-4 the numbers in the *Studentenschaft* and the whole student body for all *Hochschulen* (exclusive of the *Hochschulen für Lehrerbildung*) were respectively 107,696 and 114,456, and 82,119 and 86,056. (*Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Bd. 14, w.s. 34-5, Tafel 4, p. 9 *.)

² The Leader of the *Dozentenschaft* was given (13.VI.35)—AB, 281, n. 341, 282, n. 342; 330, n. 401—the crucial responsibility for the selection of future *Dozenten* from the ranks of the Assistants. The Rector makes the actual appointment, but the Leader's nomination is relied upon.

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and two Part-time (*nichtbeamtete*) Professors chosen by the Leader of the *Dozentenschaft*.

12. Petitions and Complaints (*Dienstliche Eingaben*):

(a) Questions touching matters of science or studies should be addressed to the Dean.

(b) Questions touching the *Dozentenschaft* should be addressed to the Leader of the *Dozentenschaft*.

(c) Questions touching the *Studentenschaft* should be addressed to the Leader of the *Studentenschaft*.

Higher courts of appeal are: (1) the Rector, and (2), subject to the Rector's decision, the Minister.

Several points are left undefined in these prescripts, such as the term of office of the Rector and the method by which he is selected. The "preliminary measures" of October 28, 1933,¹ cited above state that the Rector is selected by the Minister from three names presented by the Faculties, which was the older practice. There is good reason to believe, however, that in the selection of the Rectors during the past three years the faculties have had very little real influence.²

THE OLD FACULTY "RIGHTS"

What of the fate of the three time-honoured "rights" of the Faculties—Habilitation, Promotion, and Appointment? With

¹ ZB, 29I, n. 354.

² A communication from the Minister to the Rector of the University of Berlin dated 28.I.35, and transmitted to the Faculty 15.II.35, directed each member of the Faculty to suggest a name for the next Rector on a slip of paper provided for that purpose, affixing his own signature. The present Rector was to classify these slips alphabetically according to the candidate's name and horizontally according to the academic rank of the voter. This list was to be given to the Minister, who would select therefrom a new Rector. As if to clear up misunderstandings, a further Ministerial note to the Rector, 13.II.35, transmitted immediately to the Faculty, specified: "The Rectoral nomination is . . . *no election* (italics in original); the votes cast will not be counted but weighed." The new Rector (Wilhelm Krüger) was nominated on February 15th and inaugurated on April 1st. His predecessor (Eugen Fischer) had served since May 3, 1933.

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regard to the first, the earliest Nazi pronouncement on the changing of the university constitutions (18.x.33)¹ is explicit. "In future," begins the edict, "every decision of the faculty conferring the right to teach requires the approval of the Minister," thus modifying one of the fundamental tenets of the Richter-Peters statutes. The reason for the change (it was announced) was to prevent men of the officially "undesirable" categories specified in the Civil Service Law of April 7, 1933,² from gaining foothold in the teaching-staffs of the universities.

As for the other "rights," of Promotion and Appointment, while they have not been specifically denied, in practice the hand of the Ministry has been the real mover. If proof were needed one would merely have to count the increase in "demotions" (*Versetzungen*) as against "callings" (*Berufungen*) listed in the official publication of the Education Ministry,³ the first meaning always a decrease in prestige for the individual moved (i.e. from a large to a small university, from a renowned to an undistinguished department, etc.), and always engineered by the Ministry directly, as a sort of punishment, the second being the normal advancement of scholars in aid of which old faculty "rights" had been exercised. Naturally the entire system had been undermined through the penetration of the faculties themselves, or of the Nazi nuclei within them, by a spirit of selection based on other than scientific grounds.⁴

¹ ZB, 277.

² RGB, 175. See Appendix A below

³ *Deutsche Wissenschaft. Amtsblatt des Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*. The official nomenclature is rather variable. A "Berufung" may mean in fact a "Versetzung." There are no less than thirteen ways of saying that an individual has been dismissed, not counting retirements because of age.

⁴ Among other infringements of faculty privileges is the denial in certain instances of the right of a professor to conduct examinations. See below, p. 170.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE STUDENTS

Finally, what of the role of the students, the "great masses" of the university world, in the new hierarchical scheme of administration? Did they achieve a real measure of participation in academic government, as they had hoped, or was their early achievement in this sphere, as in that of their independent organizations, in some senses an illusion? It has been argued that in one sense the Nazi revolution "betrayed" the century-old student movement. A study of the role of the student in the university reform confirms this impression.

In the first stage, that of the revolutionary transition period of the spring and summer of 1933, the students were active in the slandering of professors, in the attacks on Jewish and Socialist students, in the introduction of the externalia of the Nazi regime into the universities—the brown shirt, the proclamations, the martial tone, the intolerant classroom atmosphere, and the multitude of extra-curricular student "duties" of a political nature. This was the period after the Civil Service Law had been announced (April 7, 1933),¹ and after the promulgation of the new Prussian Student Constitution (April 12th),² when the enthusiastic students wished to do their part in the national uprising. The passions engendered since the fateful withdrawal of state recognition in 1927 were bursting forth, while the country at large was being terrorized by impassioned Storm Troopers. It was the period of what Hitler called at the time "the elastic interplay of the impulsive popular movement with the considered measures of the government."³

¹ RGB, 175.

² ZB, 117-20.

³ London *Times*, 26.IV.33, "Friction in Prussian Universities."

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EARLY DISORDERS

It is hard to say just when the student disorders began. The earliest attack in the daily press on a professor after the seizure of power (it was the very Werner Richter by whose regulations the twelve Prussian universities until then had been governed) was published on February 24th,¹ although Nazi student papers had long since voiced their favourite dislikes, as in the attacks on Gumbel and Dehn. Two months later (there had been a gap of five weeks between the Winter and Summer Semester, February 22–April 1) there was a state of turmoil. At Berlin the new *Studentenschaft* had presented to the Rector an ultimatum consisting of “twelve points against the non-German spirit of the university” and suggesting among other things, that works of Jewish professors should be compulsorily published in Hebrew, or, if in German, that they should be described as “translations.” The Rector had demanded the withdrawal of this ultimatum from the university bulletin boards on threat of resignation, but the students had maintained their defiant attitude, replying to their Rector with these words: “We honour the few teachers at Germany’s universities who draw on and teach in the spirit in which we live and act—the spirit of the Storm Detachments. They alone have the right to criticize, because they have our confidence.”² At Kiel the *Studentenschaft* had demanded that the Rector dismiss no fewer than twenty-eight professors, and had announced that “as the pedants in question show reluctance to yield,” the *Studentenschaft* would, if necessary, “take the most drastic measures to enforce its will.”³ Among those attacked were Professors Gerhard Husserl, Colm and Hober.

¹ See below, p. 128, and Appendix B.

² London *Times*, 26.IV.33.

³ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25.IV.33. The tone in the report is one of outraged decency.

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The work of this last man on physiology had been translated into a dozen languages, and he occupies at present a key position at the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. Others of those attacked, like Bernard Harms, Director of the *Institut für Weltwirtschaft und Seeverkehr*, went for a time into retirement but obtained academic posts later. The majority shared the fate of the sixteen hundred odd others who to date have been dismissed from the universities and other *Hochschulen*.¹

These revolutionary actions on the part of the students, together with the scandal of the "burning of the books" of fifteen prominent writers on the Square opposite the University and beside the State Opera in Berlin on the evening of May 10, 1933, led to two sorts of reaction which combined to stabilize the situation somewhat.

THE STUDENTS REPROVED

In the first place several prominent university figures, who had high prestige with the students and who had long defended a healthy nationalism, either gave up their posts or wrote letters to the papers in protest against the behaviour of the *Studentenschaft*. Foremost among these was Eduard Spranger, Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy at the University of Berlin, who resigned, making the statement that despite his most earnest sympathies with the nationalist aspirations of the student movement, which he had supported for so many years, recent events had convinced him that he could no longer find an approach to the new generation.

"It annoys me," he wrote in the daily press of April 28th, "that the *Studentenschaft*, which had just received its rights and responsibilities, is beginning to take a stand against

¹ See below, p. 93.

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the professoriate which, remarkably enough, reminds one of the position that Metternich once took against both professors and students." Furthermore, the recent establishment at the University of a Professorship and Institute for Political Pedagogy, without his advice in so important a matter having been requested, "had persuaded him that his professorial activity no longer had any significance for the Prussian State." "This fills me with the deepest pain," he concluded, "all the more, because for years, harassed by the Left (sic!), I have hoped for the hour when I would once again see students on the benches before me who were unified in national consciousness and in love for their State and People."¹

Secondly, Professor Wolfgang Köhler, the psychologist, published a courageous article in a leading Berlin daily on April 28, 1933—the days when this was still possible were numbered—the gist of which was that many men whose patriotism was unquestioned were "standing aside" from the National Revolution out of fear that in its over-zealous desire to purge the State of enemies it was casting overboard much which was genuinely German (even though in some cases partly Jewish in origin)² and without which Germany could scarcely survive: "Not that I love Caesar less, but

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.IV.33. Spranger resumed his teaching about six months later, but after three years he left Germany to spend at least a year studying socio-educational problems in Japan under the auspices of the German-Japanese Society in Tokio. Cf. his early expression of enthusiasm: "März 1933," *Die Erziehung*, VIII (April 1933), pp. 401-8.

² Professor Köhler might have cited the great nationalist historian Treitschke's praise of Felix Mendelssohn: "In this way a German of Jewish descent led our cultured society back to the traditions of its own national art. . . . Mendelssohn's great and noble influence proved for all time to come that the German Jew can achieve real distinction only when he enters completely and without reservation into German life." (*Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1889, vol. iv, pp. 454-5.)

that I love Rome more!"¹ Much the same attitude was expressed in the cynical comment by the French Ambassador to Germany, François-Poncet, that National Socialism was "la victoire des Boches sur les Allemands." Finally, on the occasion of the election of a new Rector for the University of Berlin, on May 3rd, certain professors led by the Pro-Rector, Dr. Lüders, the Orientalist and Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, protested that they would rather re-elect the retiring Rector Dr. Kohlrausch, who had been involved in the bulletin-board affair mentioned above, and whom they felt to be a worthy "guardian of the National honour" of the University, than elect the new candidate, the Nazi eugenicist, Professor Eugen Fischer; but the issue became pointless when Dr. Kohlrausch refused to be considered as a candidate.

All these unofficial protests, which were given prominence in the hitherto thoroughly right-wing *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, leading the *London Times* to comment on a first anti-Nazi "reaction of opinion" caused by the affairs of the universities, may have had some dampening effect on the rabid student policy, directed by the national leader of the *Studentenschaft*, of slandering professors, tale-telling, demanding dismissals, boycotting and other means of disturbance, a policy which, as even a German newspaper said, was striking "a deadly blow at science, turning the lecture-room into a court-room and banishing authority from the universities."² Even more effective, one may

¹ "Gespräche in Deutschland," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28.IV.33. Professor Köhler voluntarily left Germany and has taught during the past three years at a number of American universities, including Harvard, Chicago, and Swarthmore. A letter of "Gratitude to Professor Köhler," warning the Nazis against storming strongholds of only imaginary enemies and tearing down where they should build up, appeared in the same paper two days later.

² *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, quoted in the *London Times*, 29.IV.33, "Political Tests in Universities."

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imagine, was the official Ministerial reproof of May 3rd, made partly at the request of Rector Kohlrausch¹ and doubtless other harassed officials, but also voicing a genuine disapproval of this display of lack of discipline,² a disapproval which was eventually to bring the student "movement" so thoroughly into line that its continued existence at the present day may seriously be doubted. This reproof (3.v.33) read (in part) as follows:

"To the Students of the Prussian Universities
Members of the Corporations:

With the Student Law the *Studentenschaft* . . . is given a Constitution which clearly delimits its rights and duties and gives it a regular representation. Therewith are given the external foundations for the beginning of a period of *earnest and fruitful work*.

A reconstitution of the teaching staff is the task of the State-Government. The latter has now the powers for this end and will make use of them.

The German *Studentenschaft* showed before the whole world its courageous and self-sacrificing work for the national goal in the years of its suppression and loss of rights. Now its duty is to work for the rebirth and strengthening of a free and pre-eminent German higher education before Germany and the world, by means of *discipline and achievement*.

In fulfilment of this great and honourable task do not let

¹ The London *Times*, 26.IV.33.

² The problem of the maintenance of discipline under the stress of the Revolution had already occasioned several rebukes against civil servants who "informed" or made complaints against their superiors directly to the Minister with the object of securing their dismissal on political grounds. "Such conduct," reads the edict of the Minister of the Interior of February 28th, "is impossible for State officials (*Beamte*) and will in no instance be tolerated by me. In the present period of great emergency the official must distinguish himself by strengthened zeal and iron discipline, and not think it his business to criticize his superiors and thus undermine and shake their authority. . . . Disobedience to superiors is disobedience to the *Führer*" (*MBP*, 94, 1, 257-8). Similar rebukes were made on March 16th (*ibid.*, 282) and March 17th (*ibid.*, 349-50).

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yourselves be seduced by the errors of isolated professors who, in this springtide of German labour, in complete misinterpretation of the situation, provoke the youth of Germany by insulting language.

I shall not hesitate to *oppose attempts to destroy the peace and quiet of work* in the Prussian universities on both sides.

I shall *exclude from university study any students* who allow themselves to be misused for the purpose of destructive action in the universities, just as I shall not hesitate to *dismiss teachers from their professorial chairs* according to the Law for the Protection of the German Civil Service, if these teachers by means of untimely and unjust expression denounce before the world our German higher education and therewith the new Germany.”¹

Thus did the Nazi Minister for Education, who had assumed office only four days after Hitler’s “seizure of power,” steal the thunder of the Nazi student movement, threatening action on their part with severe punishment² and at the same time re-emphasizing the ruthless campaign for ideological uniformity on public issues to be carried on in the scholarly world. But on the very next day, according to the *Manchester Guardian* (4.v.33, p. 9), the *Studentenschaft*

¹ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3.v.33. (All italics as in the original.) In addition to this “Edict to the German *Studentenschaft*,” the Minister gave out (28.iv.33) a general pronouncement on the subject of “complaints” in the official Ministerial Journal applying the principles of the edicts of February 28th, et seq., to the sphere of the university. “Various events give me occasion to declare . . . that ‘forced retirements’ (*Beurlaubungen*) of university teachers, officials and employees can be undertaken only by the regular State agencies authorized to issue the retiring warrant. This applies especially to ‘forced retirements’ for political reasons. Retirements enforced by unauthorized agents are without effect, and, in the interest of maintaining an orderly administration conducted after the manner of the national government, will not be recognized by me. Attempts at such retirements are to be resisted firmly. The power of retiring on political grounds I reserve to myself. . . . In order to study cases that have already occurred, I request a comprehensive report of all ‘forced retirements’ and dismissals on political grounds which may have already been put into effect without my decision in so far as such reports have not already been presented . . .” (*ZB*, LXXV, 135, n. 139).

² Rust repeated these tactics on October 7, 1936. See below, p. 70.

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at Berlin announced a six months' boycott against the Jewish Professors.

1

DUTIES OF THE NEW STUDENT BODY

What then were the "rights and duties" which, according to the Minister, the Student Law of April 12, 1933,¹ had so clearly delimited? What permanent role were the students to play in the new university if their attempt at playing the spy and executioner was so promptly stopped? This whole student legislation is so relevant to a consideration of the function of the universities in the Nazi state that it deserves analysing in some detail.

The law of April 12th applies only to Prussia and was enlarged and in certain significant respects modified by a Reich law of February 7 in the following year.² The fundamental provisions of both, as well as the development of the situation in the interim, can best be shown by comparing the two. The second was supplemented by a unified penal code for students of January 4, 1935,³ supplanting some seventy different codes which had existed before.⁴

Student Law (we follow the later statute, 7.II.34) consists of the constitutions of student organizations, of which there are two major types, the *Studentenschaften* or "student bodies" at the universities and other institutions of university rank, and the *Fachschaften* or groups of special students at the *Fachschulen* or vocational schools. The organizations of both student groups are co-ordinated by the so-called *Reichschaft* or Federation of Students at the *Hochschulen* and the *Fachschulen*. The structure and functioning of the *Studentenschaft* is typical.

Membership. The German *Studentenschaft* includes all

¹ ZB, 117-20.

² RMB, 76-9 (ZB, 122-6, n. 132); further ZB, LXXVI, 337-46.

³ AB, 140-2, n. 192.

⁴ AB, I (nichtamtlicher Teil), 77 *.

associations of students at *Hochschulen* "of the bounded German language-territory." Groups of German students outside this territory become members "by special arrangement," and in such a way that their membership shall not conflict with the laws of their own land. Members of a *Studentenschaft* at any one *Hochschule* are "fully registered students of German descent and mother-tongue" as specified in the preliminary law of April 22, 1933.¹

Direction (Führung). The Federal Leader (*Reichsführer*) of the German *Studentenschaft* is appointed by the Leader of the Federation (*Reichschaft*) with the confirmation of the Minister; the Leader of the Federation himself is appointed directly by the Minister.² The term of office of the Federal Leader of the *Studentenschaft* is one year, at most three years. He can be dismissed prematurely by the Leader of the *Reichschaft* with the agreement of the Minister, "if the situation in the *Studentenschaft* or state necessity demand it."

Yearly Student Convention (Studententag). Composed of representatives of the various *Studentenschaften* selected by the Federal Leader, the objectives of the Convention are: (1) to unite the Federal Leadership and the student "following" (*Reichsführung und -gefolgschaft*), (2) to review the work of the past year and define coming tasks, (3) to proclaim the

¹ RGB, 215. To become a member of the *Studentenschaft* (the law of 6.VII.35, AB, 311, specified) the student had to prove that his grandparents were all "Aryan," and in doubtful cases all his ancestors back to 1800. Foreign students of "non-Aryan" descent were eligible for only a "guest-membership."

² Cf. law of 3.IV.35 (AB, 142, n. 193). The only significant change is the designation of the Minister rather than the *Reichschaftsführer* as the direct appointer of the *Reichsführer* of the *Studentenschaft*, and the substitution of the local Nazi *Gauführer* for the Minister to act with the Rector as joint consultants on the appointment. This would seem to support the suggestion of a development towards specialization of function and concentration of political responsibility in the hands of Nazi organizations rather than general student agents.

inseparable unity of German students with all classes of the people, (4) to instruct office-holders, and (5) to discuss student questions with committees (*Arbeitsgemeinschaften*) "whose size, character and tasks are determined by the Federal Leader."

Tasks (Aufgaben). "The German *Studentenschaft* is the representation of the students as a whole. It stands for the fulfilment by the students of their duties in *Hochschule*, *Volk*, and *Staat*. Above all it has the task of training the students to be German men conscious of their honour and ready to defend themselves and to perform self-reliant, unselfish service in *Volk* and State. By active co-operation in the undertakings of the *Hochschule* it guarantees the indissoluble bond between *Volk* and *Hochschule*, as well as a generation of university graduates rooted in their people, strong in body and soul, and of superior intelligence. It binds together the German students in the Reich and those beyond the boundary, and fosters worthy relations with foreign *Studentenschaften* and with foreign guests at the German universities. Training in the spirit of defence lies in the sphere of the *Hochschule* Office of the Storm Detachments. Within the sphere of its tasks the *Studentenschaft* administers and is responsible for itself. All dissensions being excluded, even those based on religious belief, it preserves and guarantees the unity and self-sufficiency of student work."

Such is the student constitution of February 7, 1934. In what way, if any, does it differ from that of the preceding year, April 12, 1933? A comparison of the above with the "tasks" prescribed in the earlier statute (§3) shows a definite development in two closely related directions: (1) a specialization of function with regard to the political training of the students, this being described as the special task of branch organs of the Nazi Party such as the *Hochschule*

Office of the Storm Detachments and the Nazi Student Union, instead of being left to the general officials of the *Studentenschaft*, and (2) a reorientation of the central problem of student organization which, instead of being the creation of a harmonious balance between students, faculty, Rector, and Minister in the administration of the university as a semi-autonomous institution, is far more the establishment of an active relation between the university as a whole and the surrounding socio-political environment, the relation between the *Hochschule* and the *Volk*, or, in thoroughly German phraseology, between the university-community and the community of the whole people, between *Hochschulgemeinschaft* and *Volksgemeinschaft*. It is further significant that in the 1933 statute provision was made for membership of "non-Aryan" students by a special concession on the part of a committee to be headed by the Rector, a provision omitted a year later. Most striking, however, is the dropping out of the third and fourth "tasks" listed, namely "the maintenance of the tradition of student self-government" and "co-operation in the self-administration of the *Hochschule*" by means of "participation in an advisory capacity at the sessions, of the Senate and Faculties on all matters entrusted by law to the students." In the 1934 statute the Rector, Senate, and Faculties are not even mentioned, except as providing a few members for certain subordinate governing bodies of the *Studentenschaft*. On the other hand, in characterizing the ideal product of the new university regime under the guidance of the new *Studentenschaft*, the two statutes agree that he should be a superior person intellectually and in his whole personality, but the latter makes the significant addition that he must be "rooted in his *Volk*."

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THE STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL MISSION

In short, an analysis of the role of students in university administration as revealed in the National Socialist legislation would seem to indicate that here is an instance of the Revolution's having devoured one of its own children. There is no doubt that the student movement, both of its own impetus and driven as it was by the Nazi Movement in the nation at large, was a powerful factor in bringing about the revolution in the universities. Yet, when one considers the original demands, which were not only for a professoriate imbued with their own nationalistic enthusiasm but also for a measure of "academic freedom," in the old German sense of freedom to lead their own way of life and choose their own road to knowledge, it is clear that this latter goal has not only not been achieved but is further from attainment than perhaps at any time since the Wartburg Festival. The 1933 "constitution" was transitional. The new theme of "the establishment of an indissoluble bond between university and people" was as yet indistinct. By 1934 the old theme of "student rights" had been pushed aside and prominence given to the towering federal organization of the students as a whole, their solidarity with all classes of the people, and their duty to the State.

An ambiguity in the development is thus apparent, creating a certain amount of tension and dissatisfaction which is manifest in the unsettled state of the "Corporation Question." Should or should not the old, partly aristocratic, partly democratic, student associations be allowed to survive in the new order? Officially the *Deutsche Burschenschaft*, one of the largest, dating from 1815, disbanded itself on October 18, 1935, on the anniversary of the most memorable day in the annals of

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student freedom.¹ Most of the units of the *Landmannschaften*, the *Turnerschaften*, the aristocratic *Kösener S.C.*, and many other traditional student fraternities acted similarly in the weeks before and after that "last Wartburg Festival."² Yet two months later came an edict from the Federal Leader of the *NS Studentenbund* (National Socialist Student League) forbidding double membership in a student corporation and any of the Nazi organizations (*Studentenbund*, *S.A.*; etc.), showing that many of the old clubs were still alive and active.³ As late as May 15, 1936, the controversy was still raging in the press.⁴ On June 3 the dissolution of the "last of the great student corporations," the Coburger *Landmannschaft*, was announced.⁵ The present situation is most obscure. The students, rejecting the dilemma "Corps-life or National Socialism," claim that their membership in the Corporations in no way interferes with their patriotism: on the contrary! But the Nazi God is a jealous God and will tolerate no other lesser loyalties before his totalitarian majesty. What need is there for hundreds of tiny corporation banners, it is asked, when all Germans acclaim with one voice our German banner?⁶ Possibly the decision of the *NS Studentenbund* in April 1936 to divide itself into small units of thirty to forty is a final effort to compete with the Corps on their own ground.⁷

If the contemporary state of student opinion on the Corporation Question is obscure, even to tried and trusted

¹ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 19.x.35, "Das letzte Wartburgfest: Feierliche Auflösung der deutschen Burschenschaft."

² *Ibid.*, 26.x.35, leading article entitled "Die Auflösung studentischer Korporationen," by Christoph von Ropp.

³ Editorial, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 15.v.36, n. 247.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, 3.iv.36, n. 255.

⁶ One of the best official statements of the pros and cons is contained in Derichsweiler (Leader of the Nazi Student League): "Der Studentenbund als Organ der Bewegung auf den Deutschen Hochschulen," *Deutscher Hochschulführer im Olympiajahr 1936*, pp. 5-8.

⁷ *Völkischer Beobachter*, 21.iv.36, n. 112.

Der „individuelle“ Mensch

Er hat solch gepflegtes Äußere! Wie aus dem Ei gepellt, denn sein Wechsel erlaubt ihm das. Er ist das Produkt von Generationen bürgerlicher Erziehung. Etwas zart ist er dabei geraten, brutal heisst „defadent“. Unter der Obhut von Kindermädchen und Erzieherinnen ist er herangewachsen. Das Gymnasium war schon

zwischen wackelte sich die Republik zu Tode und ein neuer Staat entstand. Wie bitte, Erziehung? Wie bitte, Arbeitsdienst? Wie bitte, Wehrpflicht? O Gott, er ist doch soo zart. Und er hat doch seine eigenen Gedanken. Drück'holen? Hade und Schaufel, o Gott, gar ein Gewehr?



schrecklich, so mitten unter einer Menge von jungen Leuten sitzen zu müssen, die so wenig „Kinderstube“ hatten. Rauhebeine waren das, und er war doch soo zart. So ein bißchen Musik, so ein bißchen Zeichnen, so ein wenig Schopenhauer und gleich war man ein angehender Beethoven, Michelangelo, ein neuer Philosoph. Nun war man reif. Das stand schwarz auf weiß auf einem Blatt Papier. Abiturientenzugangis genannt.

Nun war man frei! Freiheit! Endlich das Einzige, wozu man sich. Pech! Junger Freund! In-

Muß das sein? Gemeinschaft?

Ja, Onkel Kasimir sprach auch immer davon. Der war Corpsstudent.

Da könnte man sich ja eventuell in solch einem Corps betätigen! Wie bitte? Der Cöfener S.C. hat sich aufgelöst? Er ist nicht mehr! Ja du lieber Himmel, wo ist denn da noch ein sicheres Plätzchen für einen individuellen Menschen?

(Antworten erbeten unter „Nachbarin, Euer Fläschchen 4711“, an die Redaktion.)

Stilab.

“THE INDIVIDUALISTIC STUDENT”

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veterans of the German student movement, the foreign observer must be doubly cautious. But the ambiguity in development indicated above is still definitely present. What seems to be clear is that the old issue of the role of the student within the university has given way to the new issue of the role of the university in the State and the role of the student in this latter relationship. In this new issue the role of the student is officially that of the model intelligent and physically competent leader of his people, loyal to the *Führer* and industrious in his special capacity. There are, however, some "stragglers" who prefer their beer-mugs and pipes, even their duelling clubs and festive ceremonies, to the "brave new world" dominated by the brown shirt. In addition there are the serious students, "plodders" as well as gifted investigators, many of whom are bored with the continual atmosphere of military and political thunder and whose chances for good academic training are being seriously impaired.

Possibly the outcome, after the revolutionary storm is really over, and after the new institutions, especially those of social selection have begun to function (for until then existing institutions must perforce do double duty) will be a division of labour between the organs of higher education concerned with "political training" and those concerned with vocational and scientific training. This may take the form of still further specialization within the *Studentenschaft*, in line with the development between 1933 and 1934 and with that further indicated in the statute of April 3, 1935, or of the encouragement of special institutions separate from the scientific higher schools and devoted exclusively to various aspects of technical training in matters of statecraft, such as the National Socialist Training Institutions (*Erziehungsanstalten*). But a prognosis in this larger matter must be left until the other aspects of the university situation have been seen.

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THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM SUMMARIZED

The representative institutions of the dominant social groups, in this case the faculties, have been abolished or retained only for ornamental or possibly instrumental purposes. The "great masses" on the other hand, the students, have superficially been elevated to a position of greater political prestige: their "leader" stands on a level with the "leader" of the teaching-staff, next to the Rector and through him responsible to the Minister.

The division within the student body into *Studentenschaft* and *Studentenbund* makes even clearer the integration of the student-body in the national political network. The latter organization contains only about one-eighth of the members of the former and performs the work of the Party within the containing State. The Leader of the *Studentenschaft* is responsible through his federal organization to the Minister of Education (Rust) and through Rust to Hitler, while the Leader of the *Studentenbund* is responsible through *his* federal organization, a part of the National Socialist Party, to the Minister for Party Affairs (Hess) and through Hess to Hitler.

But in spite of this elevation in prestige of the student-body, parallel with the move from indirect to direct democracy in the nation as a whole, one may question, as always in a "people's dictatorship," how much real power the masses have; to what extent, that is, have they been forsaken, after having played a useful part in the "struggle for power" but now being regarded as more a hindrance than a help. The new forms of organization seem to curb their impulsiveness to suit the convenience of the rulers, rather than to express their real desires. But at the same time the disinterested observer cannot fail to note the pressure of mass-opinion on the rulers. The students in the Nazi university

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have gained a real power over their previous rulers, the professors, and by this fact the soberer minds in the Education Ministry are frankly worried.

This anxiety is shown by the inclusion of university students during the winter of 1935-36 within the great nation-wide "vocational competition" (*Reichsberufswettkampf* or *Reichsleistungskampf*) in order to stimulate an interest in academic work.¹ With the authority of the professor, who should logically be the academic task-master, undermined, the State has found it necessary to intervene itself in order to "make the student work," thus illustrating one method of handling part of the problem created by rampant mass democracy within the university.

The latest phase of the "student question," in the autumn of 1936, confirms the double tendency apparent in the previous development. On the one hand the students are clamouring for more "representation" in the administration of the university and even in the workings of the national State. The *Studentenschaft* in particular desires a new Constitution and complains that the Party-affiliated *Studentenbund* has been given all the favours. The students constantly express support for the more radical aspects of the Nazi programme and persist in a disrespectful attitude to all professors who do not observe their standards. The Ministry, on the other hand, persists in its efforts to recall the students to their work, to enforce quiet and order in the university and ensure a satisfactory output of scientific workers for the nation's research laboratories. In the end it is possible that

¹ This competition, according to Andreas Feickert, National Leader of the Student Federation (*Reichschaft*), is to show the *positive* aspect of National Socialist university policies. It began symbolically on the same day when the old student associations had declared their allegiance to the new State (18.X.35). "Tradition, Wille, Leistung," *Der Deutsche Student*, November 1935, pp. 627-8. The entire issue is devoted to the *Reichsleistungskampf*. Cf. Rust's speech, "Students in the Spirit of Horst Wessel," *Völkischer Beobachter*, 28.II.36.

the demands of the State will be met, but the claims of the students will thereby be rejected. The university may easily become as much a state institution as the post office, in which case the students will be successfully held in check by the national rulers. Science may even thrive, insofar as that is possible under a régime of strict state control, but it is also possible that the disorderliness of the students may force the State to undertake a fundamental revision of certain of the more radical elements in official ideology in order not to imperil the nation's science. At present it appears that Minister Rust and his associates are "reaping the whirlwind."¹

¹ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 5.IX.36 and 8.IX.36 (editorial: "Eine überholte Verfassung?"); *New York Times*, 8.X.36 and 9.X.36 (editorial: "Reaping the Whirlwind"). See Appendix B, below, "National Socialist Student Mentality."

CHAPTER III

THE STUDENT BODY AND THE FACULTY

IN the transformation of the German university during the past four years the loss and partial replacement of about one-fifth of the teaching staff, the reduction of student numbers by more than 30 per cent, and the drastic modification of the tests by which future students and university teachers are to be selected are facts which are fundamental to an understanding of the other changes—in administration, ideology, and in the socio-political role of the institution as a whole. It will be important, especially in considering the student body, to take account not only of causal factors lying within the immediate past and arising from a revolutionary political initiative, but also those lying in the more obscure background of modern demographic and cultural development. Since the changes in the teaching staff have led to an emigration of scholars comparable in magnitude only to that occasioned by the Russian Revolution of 1917, this aspect of the study throws light directly on the influence of the National Socialist Revolution on the world at large.

•

I. THE NEW STUDENT BODY

The first question to be answered is why the total number of students in the German *Hochschulen*¹ decreased by 31·14 per cent from the academic year 1931-1931/2² to the aca-

¹ Universitäten, Technische Hochschulen, Handelshochschulen, Bergakademien, Medizinische Akademie Düsseldorf, Landwirtschaftlich-Tierärztliche Hochschulen, and Philosophisch-Theologische Fakultäten.

² The "academic year" as here reckoned comprises an average attendance during the Summer Semester 1931 and the Winter Semester 1931-2. The Winter Semester usually lasted from November 1st to February 22nd, and the Summer Semester from April 1st to June 30th.

THE STUDENT BODY AND THE FACULTY

demic year 1934-1934/5, and the entrants into the first Semester during the same period by 58·19 per cent.¹ Was this phenomenal reduction in student enrolment due to the policies of anti-intellectual dictators? A glance at the Chart² (p. 75) indicates that this hypothesis is only partially correct. Decline had already set in with the Summer Semester, 1932.

The Decline in Student Enrolment

In order to concentrate upon the reduction brought about under the influence of the new measures against "overcrowding" it is necessary only to compare the *percentage decreases* from year to year.

YEARLY PERCENTAGE DECREASE IN STUDENT ENROLMENT, 1931-5

YEARS CONTRASTED	ENTERING CLASS		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Both</i>
31 and 31/2 to 32 and 32/3 ..	11·79	20·26	13·86
32 and 32/3 to 33 and 33/4 ..	15·37	24·47	16·92
33 and 33/4 to 34 and 34/5 ..	38·74	56·01	41·63

YEARS CONTRASTED	ALL CLASSES		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Both</i>
31 and 31/2 to 32 and 32/3 ..	4·64	4·89	4·69
32 and 32/3 to 33 and 33/4 ..	10·06	15·81	10·80
33 and 33/4 to 34 and 34/5 ..	16·66	25·91	19·01

It will be recalled that the Nazi quota system of restricting entrance did not come into effect until the Summer Semester,

¹ Table I. *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Bd. 14, w.s. 1934-5, Tab. I.

² The chart given in *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Bd. 9 (s.s. 1932), p. 16 *, shows the development until 1932. The later years were added from data given in Table I. The figures for the Fachhochschulen are, for the years until 1895, partly conjectural. The lack of separate figures for the Fachhochschulen in the last three years is indicated by the graduated joining line. Until 1830 the columns represent five-year averages. The figures stand for Winter Semester attendance 1801-1924, Summer Semester 1925-32, and an average of both Semesters thereafter, as shown in Table I. The Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschulen are omitted except for the last three years.

1934. This accounts for the great acceleration of the rate of decrease which took place in that year and which shows how effective the Nazi measures have been.¹ It is further interesting to note that the number of new admissions during the first year of the new policy was only 11,774, whereas the official quota had allowed for 15,000. Finally, it cannot be denied that significant decreases had already set in before the Nazi measures had made themselves felt, especially in the ranks of the women students. Whereas women students in 1931-1931/2 constituted approximately 20 per cent of the total, in 1934-1934/5 they were (as the Law of December 28, 1933, provided) only 10 per cent. The entering class of the latter year contained only 26.49 per cent of the number of women in the earlier class, but 45.73 per cent of the men.

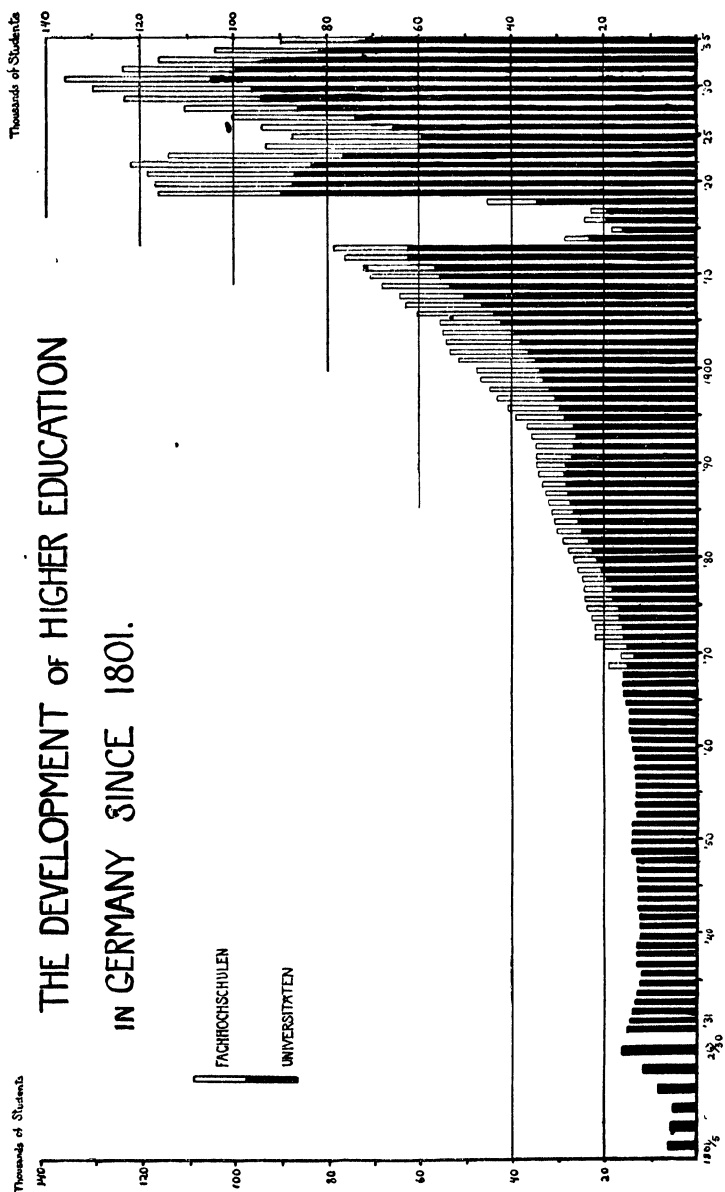
The factors responsible for this first decline were in the main two: the cut in the university age-groups in the population because of the fall in the War birth-rate just eighteen years before, and the influence of the economic depression of 1929-34.

The factors responsible for the decline engineered by the Nazi Government were at bottom economic, although the measures directed specifically against the Jewish students may be considered as only incidentally of economic import.

The Problem of Overcrowding

The basic issue was that of an overcrowding of the institutions of higher learning. The phenomenon may be said to have begun in the early seventies, at the time when Nietzsche was issuing his pessimistic forecast of the results

¹ The decline in foreign attendance at the universities alone shows the influence of the governmental change in almost "pure" form: 31/2, 5,274; 32/3, 5,098; 33/4, 3,538; and 34/5, 3,359—a decrease of 36.5 per cent as contrasted with a total decrease of 32.1 per cent in the same period. (*Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Vol. 9, pp. 17*-18*; vol 6, p. 3*.)



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TABLE I
STUDENT ENROLMENT, 1931-5
†

ENTERING CLASS			
<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Year</i>
22,443	5,715	28,158	S.S. 31 and W.S. 31/2
19,799	4,557	24,256	S.S. 32 and W.S. 32/3
16,755	3,442	20,177	S.S. 33 and W.S. 33/4
10,264	1,514	11,774	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5
ALL CLASSES			
103,949	19,519	123,468	S.S. 31 and W.S. 31/2
99,116	18,564	117,682	S.S. 32 and W.S. 32/3
89,146	15,829	104,975	S.S. 33 and W.S. 33/4
73,295	11,728	85,023	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5
INDEX NUMBERS (S.S. 1931 AND W.S. 1931/2 = 100)			
ENTERING CLASS			
88.21	79.74	86.14	S.S. 32 and W.S. 32/3
74.66	79.88	71.66	S.S. 33 and W.S. 33/4
45.73	26.49	41.81	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5
ALL CLASSES			
95.36	95.11	95.31	S.S. 32 and W.S. 32/3
85.76	81.10	85.02	S.S. 33 and W.S. 33/4
70.51	60.01	68.86	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5
INDEX NUMBERS (S.S. 1932 AND W.S. 1932/3 = 100)			
ENTERING CLASS			
84.63	75.53	83.18	S.S. 33 and W.S. 33/4
51.84	33.22	48.54	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5
ALL CLASSES			
89.94	84.19	89.20	S.S. 33 and W.S. 33/4
73.95	63.18	72.25	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5
INDEX NUMBERS (S.S. 1933 AND W.S. 1934 = 100)			
ENTERING CLASS			
61.26	43.99	58.37	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5
ALL CLASSES			
83.34	74.09	80.99	S.S. 34 and W.S. 34/5

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of the spread of popular education.¹ In the course of the preceding hundred years the German population had *doubled*, but the number of students of university rank had multiplied *ten times*.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Hochschule Students</i>
1840	33,000,000	13,000
1880	46,000,000	26,000
1900	57,000,000	50,000
1913	65,000,000	80,000
1922	62,000,000	121,000
1931	64,000,000	138,000

Or, put another way, out of 100,000 persons aged between 18 and 30 there were in 1880, 296 students, in 1931, 925.² In 1840 there was, on an average, one Ordinary Professor, for every 18 students; in 1910, one for every 43. The number of students had multiplied five times, that of Ordinarii only two times. This general development, which created a by no means uniquely German problem,³ had led to complications both within the university, in the form of crowded seminars, lecture-halls, and laboratories,⁴ and outside, as one factor in the unemployment of professional workers in many fields. These complications had already been felt years before the Nazi regime but, together with the problem of unemployment in general, had been handled by previous cabinets with little or no success.⁵

¹ "Über die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten" (1871-2), *Werke*, Kröner Verlag, I, 273-394.

² *Deutscher Hochschulführer im Olympjahr 1936*, p. 4.

³ For France, cf. A. Rosier: "Contribution à l'étude du chômage intellectuel," *Journal de la société de statistique de Paris*, LXXVII (Juillet-Août-Septembre 1936), pp. 267-327. For Belgium, cf. the *Rapport Général* of the Commission pour l'Étude du Surpeuplement des Universités et du Chômage des Intellectuels, Brussels (Fondation Universitaire), December 1935, and successive reports.

⁴ E. Spranger, "Über Gefährdung und Erneuerung der deutschen Universität," *Die Erziehung*, v (June 1930), 513-26.

⁵ The establishment in 1928 of the official statistical publication on university matters (*Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*) had been prompted as a means of assisting the various university administrations throughout

The methods chosen to solve the problem of the flooding of the *Hochschulen* were of two kinds, quantitative restriction of entrance figures and (later) the introduction of new qualitative selective tests which were to weed out a larger proportion of university candidates than the previous examination system. The new tests started at the lowest educational level. While the six-month period of work-service was also to play its selective role in the new system, it aided the government temporarily by removing a certain amount of pressure in unemployment among university students and graduates.

Only four days after the Nazi Kultusminister for Prussia assumed office it was decreed (7.II.1933) that a notice should be posted in the secondary schools discouraging candidates for the technical vocations from entering at once upon an academic career, urging them to try first a half-year of practical training (*Werkhalbjahr*), stressing the "overcrowding" situation and the need for more careful selection of candidates.¹ Not until the Summer Semester, 1933, however, was there a general pronouncement regarding the problem, and not until December were measures put into effect setting maximal figures for the various provinces, which were authorized to distribute their quota among their institutions as they chose. The whole reform was complicated by the fact that the administration of the universities was still in the hands of the provincial governments until May 1, 1934, whereas this problem demanded Federal treatment.

The first edict expressing general policy in this field (8.IV.33)² rested therefore on a preliminary agreement on Germany to co-operate in dealing with this problem. Cf. the "Vorwort" to Vol. I, by Ministerialdirektor Werner Richter. Cf. the September 22, 1932, issue of *Ärztliche Mitteilungen*, which is devoted to this subject, and the excellent article by Adolf Löwe, "Das gegenwärtige Bildungsproblem der deutschen Universität," *Die Erziehung*, VII (October 1931), pp. 1-19. See further, Reinhold Schairer, *Die akademische Berufsnot*, Jena n.d. (1932), p. 164.

¹ ZB, 45.

² RMB, III-12.

the part of the various *Länder*, to be effective beginning Easter Day, 1933. By this agreement the Examining Committee was to determine for each candidate for university study whether, according to his record in school, as shown by his personal as well as by "his intellectual gifts, inclinations, and achievements," he was, or was not, to be advised to go on to higher studies. Whoever, despite the dissuasion of the Committee, insisted on going on with his or her university course could not reckon on receiving any material assistance whatsoever, and would be tested once more in the course of the first three Semesters, on the results of which second examination admission into seminars and all later examinations would depend.

Maximal Figures

The first setting of maximal figures occurs in the statute of December 28, 1933,¹ in which the Minister of the Interior, by virtue of the "law combatting the overcrowding of the secondary and higher schools" of April 25th,² declared 15,000 as the limiting number of admissions for the whole of Germany for the academic year 1934-1934/5; the actual figure for the previous year had been slightly over 20,000.³ This figure was distributed over the provinces: Prussia, 8,984; Bavaria, 1,670; Saxony, 1,339, etc.⁴ On principle, the granting of the privilege of "university-maturity" would be given only to those of promise who, in addition to qualifications enumerated in the law of April 8, 1933, were able to prove that they had good character and were reliable

¹ *RMB*, LXII, 16.

² *RGB*, 225-6.

³ Table I.

⁴ Provinces which set a numerical limitation on entrance to normal schools (*Hochschulen für Lehrerbildung*) were allowed to add this figure to their quota. In 1934, for instance, Prussia raised her figure for this purpose from 8,984 to 10,734, including in the total 1,048 women, or approximately 10 per cent ("Zuerkennung der Hochschulreife," 7.II.34, *ZB*, LXXVI, 91, n. 83).

in their national feelings. The number of women candidates allotted to any province was not to exceed 10 per cent of its total quota. Finally, the co-operation of the provincial governments with the Federal Institute for Employment and Unemployment Insurance was requested on behalf of those candidates who were refused entrance. It was estimated early in 1934 that about 10,000 candidates would be prevented by the maximal figure law from entering the universities in that year.¹

New Selective Tests

The edict of February 7, 1934,² specified in more detail the method by which the fortunate candidates were to be selected. The criteria were of three sorts: intellectual, physical, and moral-political. (By 27.III.35³ a fourth criterion, the "racial," had been added, or rather made explicit.) The Director of the school certifies as to the "maturity" of the student, i.e. his fitness or preparedness for university work; this recommendation, together with the student's petition and other documents, is handed over to the proper State official, the Director in the Division for Higher Education of the Provincial Ministry, who makes the final decision, but only after he discusses the "political reliability" of the candidate with the local leader of the NSDAP. Differences of opinion between the *Oberpräsident* (representing the State) and the *Gauleiter* (representing the Party) are settled by the Kultusminister of the Province. The candidates are required to present evidence of their service in the Nazi youth organizations, Hitler Youth (HJ) or League of German Girls (BDM), or in other Nazi organizations (SA, SS, etc.). Thus at the very start of the new selective process stands the influence of the official spirit.

¹ *Der Deutsche Student*, February 1934, pp. 85-6.

² *ZB*, 91, n. 83; further, 230, n. 251.

³ *AB*, 125-7.

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The same tone was even clearer in successive edicts on selection for university study. The law of February 9, 1935,¹ stated that the two systems already employed to relieve the overcrowding of the universities, that of setting maximal figures and that of tightening up on entrance requirements, had worked so well that already in the summer of 1934 it was found possible to abolish the "mechanical" quantitative limitation entirely, substituting a comprehensive "organic" system of selection. It was hinted that the "mechanical solution" had been a failure from the start, merely creating hardship and missing the real issue. A new set of comprehensive principles was to be presented to form the basis for a progressive selection from grade to grade, culminating with the university entrance examination. The key-test was to be whether the candidates would "be later capable, when in high or leading positions, of doing their part in moulding the political, cultural and economic life of the people."²

The following week it was further specified: "In the judging of the candidate's personality and the question of his readiness it is especially to be considered whether he belongs to the SA, SS or HJ. His activity in these organizations, the requirements of which have risen still further as against their previous ones, the frequency of his service and the length of his membership are therefore to be given due weight." A corresponding recommendation was made with regard to girls and the BDM.³ One of the latest official pronouncements, December 16, 1935,⁴ was even more explicit, demanding exclusion from higher studies on grounds of physical incapacity save in exceptional cases. This requirement "corresponds," the edict states, "to the

¹ *AB*, 69-70, n. 96.

² Cf. Metzner: "Die Gestaltung der Hochschulreife," *AB*, I (1935), 63* (nichtamtlicher Teil).

³ *AB*, 78, n. 109 (15.II.35).

⁴ *AB*, II, 58-9, n. 68.

mission of universities in the National Socialist state to be not only centres of work in narrowly limited special sciences, but also places of intellectual, moral and political moulding toward maturity of a genetically sound generation of university graduates mentally and bodily fitted for leadership."¹ If the candidate fails to qualify as a result of a medical examination the case is recommended by the physician to a committee composed of the Rector of the university, a specialist physician, and another physician from the Party People's Health Office. If rejection is recommended, appeal to the Minister of Education is possible.²

¹ The "training for leadership" motive is so important for Nazi university reformers that exemptions from the usual entrance requirements may be arranged for candidates who may not have attended school but who may be desirable material for the directing staffs of the Labour Front, Sustenance Organization (Nährstand), Artists, or Independent Investigators. Such promising candidates will be given a special entrance examination, and thus be ensured the possibility of university training, despite their lack of the orthodox requirements. (Law of 27.II.34.) Cf. W. Hinz.: "Die Auslese des Hochschullehrer-Nachwuchses," *AB*, II (1936), 55 * (nichtamtlicher Teil).

² Cf. Hanns Streit (Federal Leader of the Student Welfare Organization): "Der studentische Gesundheitsdienst an den Hoch-, Kunst-, und Fachschulen," *Amtsblatt* II (1936), 27 *-31 * (nichtamtlicher Teil). A single protest note in the general chorus of approval appeared in April 1936 from Wilhelm Hartnacke, Saxon Minister of Education and educational experimenter, who had earned the respect of the Nazis by his long efforts to call attention to the dangerous infertility of the most highly educated classes of the population and the aggravation of the demographic consequences of this phenomenon by the overcrowding of the universities. He had sought to correlate the fivefold increase in university candidates (Abiturienten) between 1900 and 1931 with the halving of the birth-rate in that period (cf. *Bildungswahn—Volkstod!*, München, 1932, p. 104, and *Untergang oder Kampf für neues Leben? Die Grundlagen unserer geistigen Zukunft*, Leipzig n.d., p. 60). He was, moreover, a specialist in problems of educational selection (cf. his article "Mengenverhältnis von Begabtheit und Unbegabtheit" in *Bevölkerungsfragen* . . ., München, 1936, pp. 547-55). But even Hartnacke wrote a severe protest against the dangers inherent in the Nazi emphasis on moral character at the possible expense of intellectual capacities. Good heads were far too few, he argued; they must be cherished even when attached to weak bodies. "We have *Kämpfer* (fighters) enough!" (W. Hartnacke: "Der Charakter als Auslesegrundlage," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, 24.IV.36, No. 191).

The universities were thus to play their part as institutions for the education of a political élite, and the schools were to serve as selective agencies. This interpretation is shared by a writer in one of the German student publications as early as March 1935. He explained that by a new agreement the Social Bureau of the Hitler Youth then regularly made personal recommendations to the Studentenwerk, a branch organization of the *Studentenschaft* dealing with student welfare. "From the structure and sympathetic prosecution of this arrangement it can now be expected that in the future a large part of the university alumni will come from the most capable sections of the Hitler Youth. At the same time ways must be found to set in motion immediately the recruiting of a reliable intellectual leadership from the best forces of the peasant and working youth."¹ If one wonders about the nature of this model alumnus from the Hitler Youth camps, one may meditate upon the injunction on one of the bulletin boards of the University of Berlin during the Winter Semester 1935-6. The German student, it read, is to be "as fleet as a whippet, as sinewy as leather, and as hard as Krupp-steel" (*flink wie ein Windhund, zäh wie Leder, und hart wie Kruppstahl*).

"Non-Aryan" Students

"Non-Aryan" students are to be admitted only to the extent of their proportion in the whole population, i.e. about 1 per cent. Unfortunately the decrees on this subject are for the most part unpublished, so that further details, even from the Ministry, are very difficult to obtain.² In

¹ Franz Alfred Six: "Nachwuchs und Auslese auf den deutschen Hochschulen," *Der Deutsche Student*, March 1935, pp. 186-98.

² Cf. ZB, LXXVI, 6, n. 5; and *ibid.*, 127, 134. Unpublished decrees are referred to there; of these that of 16.VI.33 (U.I. 1331) is probably the most important. In the Winter Semester 1931-2 there were among the German students 3.05 per cent Jews (i.e. in belief), and among

all probability the number of "non-Aryan" students is smaller even than that permitted by law, and is growing less from semester to semester. Intelligent candidates of the "pariah" group know that their future must be lived elsewhere, and consequently seek to complete their studies abroad, even receiving certain official encouragement in that direction.¹

A series of laws has excluded "Non-Aryans" from one profession after another, or at least from the official examinations for them: business as a profession, November 25, 1933,² veterinary medicine, April 6, 1935,³ general practice, February 5, 1935, and dentistry, May 15, 1935.⁴ These last two laws state that admission to the examinations depends on proof of "Aryan" descent by means of the birth and marriage certificates of the candidate's parents and grandparents, except possibly those who are only one-quarter "Non-Aryan" or veterans of the Great War, if these are otherwise "unobjectionable in temperament, mental traits and general appearance." In addition to these legal restrictions there is doubtless a certain amount of arbitrary interference with traditional student rights. Otherwise how is it possible to explain an occasional personal edict such as

foreigners at German universities 19.18 per cent. In the Winter Semester 1934-5 there were 1.33 per cent "non-Aryans" (i.e. in "blood") and 0.63 per cent Jews (belief); among foreigners 7.24 per cent Jews. At the University of Vienna in the Summer Semester 1935 there were 18 per cent Jews. (*Deutscher Hochschulführer im Olympiajahr 1936*, p. 5.)

¹ The *Reichsdevisenstelle* (Federal Foreign Exchange Office) issued a circular (May 1934) encouraging the temporary emigration of "non-Aryan" students whose studies in foreign countries, it declared, might "generally be considered as a desirable preparation for future emigration." Minister of Education Rust ordered that "non-Aryan" students might be granted permission to take examinations in the German universities only if they intended to emigrate. (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 17.V.34.)

² ZB, 254, n. 318.

³ RMB, 426.

⁴ RMB, 65; AB, 224, n. 280; cf. RGB, 222-3 (22.IV.33). For further details cf. *Letter of Resignation of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees* . . ., London, December 27, 1935, pp. 7-10.

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the following: "The student Herbert Boenen, born 6.XII.07 in Schwerte (Ruhr), at present a resident of Berlin-Schmargendorf, Crampasplatz 3, is herewith excluded from admission to any kind of State-examination whatsoever."¹

Small Town Universities

Part of the programme for adapting the university primarily for a socio-political rather than for an intellectual function is the deliberate distribution of the university population more in the smaller university towns and less in the metropolitan institutions.²

The losses, of the latter can be clearly seen by contrasting the population of the four largest universities of the Winter Semesters, 1930-1, with that allotted to the same institutions in the Summer Semesters 1935 and 1936:

Reduction in Enrolment at Large City Universities³

University	W.S. 1930/1	W.S. 1934/5	S.S. 1935	S.S. 1936
Berlin ..	14,687	9,288	5,600	6,600
München ..	8,895	8,229	5,000	5,200
Leipzig ..	6,938	4,483	3,100	3,200
Köln ..	5,616	3,255	2,300	2,500

¹ AB, 432, n. 522 (5.X.35).

² "Die Kontingentierung der Grossstadt-Hochschulen," by Regierungs-assessor Dr. Heinrich, AB, II (nichtamtlicher Teil), 58 *-60 *, issue of 20.III.36. In the Summer Semester 1933, through attendance at universities, 34,731 young Germans were removed from middle-sized and small towns and from country communities to large cities, whereas only 9,687 were removed in the opposite direction. Therefore university study had helped to strengthen a "large city mentality" in Germany. *Deutscher Hochschulführer im Olympiajahr 1936*, p. 4.

³ For 1930-1 see *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Vol. vi, w.s. 1930-31; for 1934-5 see *Deutscher Hochschulführer im Olympiajahr 1936*, pp. 34-5, col. 3; for 1935 see AB, I, 112-13. The actual attendance s.s. 1935 exceeded these official quotas as follows: 6,709, 5,323, 3,239, and 2,633 respectively. *Deutscher Hochschulführer* . . . 1936, loc. cit., col. 49. For s.s. 1936 see AB, II, 136. These various tables indicate that some of the smaller universities have gained not only relatively but absolutely.

Students from the Lower Classes

A hint that students of peasant and working-class origin have been favoured is contained in the statistical demonstration that the majority of those entering academic professions came from sections of the population which have small families, sections in other words which are not doing their part in the national programme for population increase, and which, it is argued, have therefore less right to educational privileges. Of the total student body in the universities and other *Hochschulen*:

- 47·60 per cent come from families with 1 or 2 children.
- 22·52 per cent come from families with 3 or more children.
- 29·88 per cent come from families with 4 or more children.¹

More enlightening as to the social modification of the student body under the Nazi regime is a comparison between the composition of the entering class of the Summer Semester of 1933 with that of 1934 according to the occupation of the father of the entering student. According to this contrast the categories of higher officials and persons of the liberal professions with academic training had lost, while those of lower officials, middle-class farmers, labourers, and several other occupational groups have gained, though the changes in either direction are slight.² This trend was not a new one. A circular letter from the *Studentenwerk* to the Berlin Faculty (5.VIII.35), appealing for funds for needy students, states that between 1933 and 1934 the proportion of sons of "German labourers and peasants" has doubled, and hails this development as "a triumph for National Socialist university policies," which aims, the letter explains, "to make university attendance possible for every gifted German son, regardless of background or means."

¹ *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Vol. xii (w.s. 1933-4), p. 21 * ff.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xiii (s.s. 1934), Tab. 10, pp. 19 *, et. seq.

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2. THE NEW FACULTY AND THE FATE OF THE OLD

Few results of the Nazi university reform have attracted more attention abroad than the so-called "purge" of the faculties, but, despite this keen interest, there has been to date remarkably little accurate information on the subject. One is told, for example, that so many have been dismissed, but not what proportion of the total number of university employees. Further, one is not told what was the rank of the dismissed teachers, what has happened to them since dismissal, and why they were dismissed. Finally, one would like to know what has been the effect of their loss on German science and intellectual life in general. To what extent has the loss been made good, if at all?

How Many Have Been Dismissed?

Firstly, what proportion of the faculties has been dismissed? This can be calculated in two ways, either including or excluding the category of Assistants, the lowest rank of university employment, from among whom the *Privatdozenten* are recruited. The following table shows the numerical importance of the Assistants in any calculation involving the university faculty:¹

NUMERICAL IMPORTANCE OF ASSISTANTS IN
UNIVERSITY FACULTIES

Year	Ordinary Professors	Others	Un- certain	Total (excl. Ass.)	Assistants	Total (incl. Ass.)
S.S. 32	2,878	5,541		8,419	2,793	11,212
W.S. 32/3	2,868	5,647		8,515	2,758	11,273
S.S. 33	2,666	5,215		7,881	2,683	10,564
W.S. 33/4	2,857	5,318		8,175	2,767	10,942
W.S. 34/5	2,884	5,098	54	8,036	No figures available	

¹ The 54 in Column 3 were all in the *Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschulen*. The table was prepared from the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1933, pp. 524, 526-7; 1934, pp. 535, 538-9; 1935, pp. 524-5. *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Vol. xiv (W.S. 1934-5).

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Numerically the Assistants were about equal to the Ordinary Professors, constituting more than one-fifth of the whole faculty.

Before passing on to a study of the changes during the past few years, one should also be aware of the relative size of the teaching staff of the universities as contrasted with those of other types of *Hochschulen*:¹

FACULTIES OF UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER TYPES OF HOCHSCHULEN

	S.S. 32	W.S. 32/3	S.S. 33	W.S. 33/4	W.S. 34
Universitäten	6,092	6,180	6,286	5,951	5,930
Technische Hochschulen ..	1,561	1,578	1,263	1,594	1,565
Fach-Hochschulen ..	611	603	226	523	381
Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschulen	155	154	106	107	160
Total of the non-University Hochschulen	2,327	2,335	1,595	2,224	2,106
Grand Total	8,419	8,515	7,881	8,175	8,036

This table shows that the university faculties constituted about three-fourths of the total faculties here considered, exclusive of the Assistants in all instances.

Inadequacy of Available Data

The questions may now be asked, how many teachers of university rank have been dismissed as a result of the Nazi regime, and what proportion does this dismissed group constitute of the whole number previously in office and of the whole number now in office? Although, for reasons to become apparent, the results are not wholly correct, one may tackle these questions also with the help of material

¹ The first item includes the State Academy for Catholic Theology at Braunsberg and the Düsseldorf Medical Academy. The third item includes 4 Business Schools, 2 Mining Schools, 2 Schools of Forestry, 1 Agricultural College, and 1 Veterinary School. The table was prepared from the *Statistisches Jahrbuch* as above.

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in the German *Statistical Yearbook* by taking the ratio of those "relieved of their official duties" to those in office, groups called in the following table "Outs" and "Ins." Corresponding figures for the Assistants are not available.

PROPORTION OF ACTIVE TO RETIRED MEMBERS OF UNIVERSITY FACULTIES

Year	Ins	Outs	Total	Proportion of Ins to Outs	Percentage Outs of Ins
s.s. 32 ..	7,878	541	8,419	14.5 (to one)	6.87
w.s. 32/3 ..	7,979	536	8,515	14.9	6.72
s.s. 33 ..	7,377	504	7,881	14.6	6.83
w.s. 33/4 ..	7,598	577	8,175	13.1	7.59
w.s. 34/5 ..	7,116	920	8,036	7.7	12.91

Several facts may be deduced from this table. First, the total number of "Ins" had decreased by 863 between the Winter Semesters of 1932-3 and 1934-5, while the total number of "Outs" had increased by 384, making the number of "Outs" to "Ins" double in the latter year what it had been in the former. It is further clear from the column of totals that between those two semesters 479 individuals had been lost from account entirely. What does this mean?

While it is impossible to estimate from the first column the number who pass over to the second, since the new appointees are *not* indicated separately, the *minimal* losses in the first column should nevertheless be ascertainable from the gains in the second column. But the loss between the W.S. 1932-3 and the S.S. 1933 fails to appear at all in the next column, whereas the greater part of the loss between the W.S. 1933-4 and the W.S. 1934-5 *does* appear as a gain for the "Outs." There is, therefore, reason to believe that the indicated discrepancy of 479 between the "Ins" and the "Outs" is a manifestation of conditions prevailing at the time of the Summer Semester, 1933. It was at this

time that the first dismissals resulting from Nazi policies occurred, and there are three good reasons why certain names taken off the list of university employees at that time should not have found a permanent place on the list of "retired" employees, all of whom would normally receive pensions.

In the first place any *Privatdozenten* who, in accordance with the Civil Service Law, may have been deprived of their right to teach would not have been qualified to receive pensions; in the ordinary course of affairs they would have become professors and *then* have been retired. Data collected in the course of this study show that a total of at least 322 *Privatdozenten* have been dismissed. Secondly, among those dismissed there were many who renounced their right to a pension by accepting positions, or in some cases by merely living abroad; the data show that about 500 out of 1,145 university employees of the same categories as those in this table are no longer in Germany, that is, have very likely lost their pensions. Thirdly, a certain number, although properly qualified, were never granted pensions or were deprived of them later. Thus there is ample evidence to account for the loss of 479 names from the roll call. The fact that the data of this study apply to a period about a year and a half later than those in the table, and that the number of known dismissals has increased in the interim, are sufficient to explain why the net loss indicated in the table was not *larger*.

Thus it is clear that the listed total for the "Outs" is far from the real total. It has been shown to be too small, in that it should include the 479 who were lost from account altogether. It is, on the other hand, misleading, since it contains a certain number of those in retirement because of having reached the age-limit who do not come under our category of those dismissed abnormally. How many

are these? Since the figure for the first four years listed is fairly constant, around 536, it can be assumed as the normal load of "Outs" pensioned because of age. This leaves in the total, then, a residuum of about 380 unaccounted for as "abnormally dismissed." This figure is obviously very inadequate when contrasted with the total of 1,145 known cases noted in the course of this study, even if it be raised to 859 by the inclusion of the 479 "lost" cases.

The *Statistical Yearbook* thus gives very little help in arriving at an estimate. Even less satisfactory results come from a careful study of all abnormal dismissals recorded in the Official Bulletin (*Zentralblatt*, 1933 and 1934; *Amtsblatt* 1935 and 1936) of the Ministry of Education and another legislative journal (*Reichsministerialblatt*, 1933-6) for the period since January 30, 1933. In these publications there are listed up till April 20, 1936, only 92 abnormal dismissals as against 188 retirements because of age. Of these 92 names only two were included in a list of 150 published by the *Manchester Guardian* on May 13, 1933.¹

One last source remains, the semi-official University Calendar,² which appears twice a year and gives a compendium of all German university catalogues. At the end of each volume there is a section entitled "Personnel Changes." A study of the data there given beginning with the W.S. 1933-4 volume (which purported to contain the changes during the S.S. 1933 as well) yielded 930 "abnormal dismissals" (hereafter referred to as the "Berlin" list).

¹ Thirty-nine names on the *Manchester Guardian* list could not be checked from other sources, and were therefore discarded as uncertain. Some men then dismissed were later reinstated.

² *Kalender der reichsdeutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen*, Leipzig (Johann Ambrosius Barth Verlag).

A New List of Dismissals

In order to check this figure, which was at variance with other published estimates,¹ it was compared, case by case, with the material in the files of the Academic Assistance Council in London, now the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, which, since its formation in May 1933, has been active in aiding dismissed German scholars.

The first result of this checking of the London against the Berlin list was that they did not cover altogether the same categories. The Berlin list (930 in all) contained only university teachers (no Assistants). In the files of the Academic Assistance Council (1,150 in all) were not only former university teachers (including 232 Assistants), but also 133 workers at non-university scientific institutes, 105 recent graduates who as yet had held no academic posts, and 69 miscellaneous intellectuals (writers, editors, school-teachers, government officials and even musicians), leaving only 611 former university teachers, strictly speaking. Thus the data of the Academic Assistance Council did not justify the assertion that 1300 "university teachers" had been displaced. The total arrived at by counting the university teachers in the joint Berlin-London list after cancelling

¹ *A Crisis in the University World*, published by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and other) coming from Germany, London, 9.II.35, gives a total of 1,202 (p. 20). Professor Gilbert Murray, discussing the work of the Academic Assistance Council in an article in the *Oxford Mail*, as quoted by the *Times Literary Supplement*, 7.II.36, speaks of "over a thousand" dismissals with "nearly a hundred more during the past four months." Lord Rutherford, President of the Academic Assistance Council, as quoted in the *London Times*, 18.III.36, p. 11, speaks of "1,300 displaced university teachers." An article entitled "German Universities" by Professor A. V. Hill, Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, and Sir Frederic Kenyon in *The Universities Review*, April 1936, echoes this last figure. Professor S. B. Fay in "German Universities To-day: The Astonishing Changes that have taken place in Recent Decades," *The World To-day* (Encyclopedia Britannica), April 1936, pp. 25-7, sets the loss at 20 per cent.

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398 duplicates, was 1,145. This combined list, 1,684 in all, included the 232 Assistants and 307 belonging to other non-university categories:

CLASSIFICATION OF DISMISSED SCHOLARS BY ACADEMIC STATUS

<i>"University Teachers"</i> ¹							
Ordentliche Professoren	..	..	..	..	..	..	313
Ausserordentliche Professoren	..	..	..	..	..	..	109
Nichtbeamtete Ausserordentliche Professoren	..	..	..	..	..	..	284
Professoren <i>in honoris causa</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	75
Privatdozenten	..	..	..	..	..	..	322
Lektoren	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Beauftragte Dozenten	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Teachers of unknown rank	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,145
Assistants	..	..	..	..	..	..	232
Employees of Non-University Scientific Institutes ²	..	..	..	..	..	..	133
Recent Graduates	..	..	..	..	..	..	105
Intellectuals ³	..	..	..	..	..	..	69
Grand Total ⁴	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,684

If this total of 1,145 be taken to represent the dismissals of university teachers then it constitutes 14.34 per cent of the total teaching staff in office during the last semester before the Nazi influence began to be felt, that of the Winter, 1932-3, and 16.09 per cent of the reduced staff in office during the Winter Semester, 1934-5.⁵ If one includes the Assistants in both figures, then the proportion

¹ *Universitäten* (including *Medizinische Akademie Düsseldorf* and *Staatliche Akademie Braunsberg*), 953; *Technische Hochschulen*, 158; *Handelshochschulen*, 28; others, 6.

² Branch Institutes of the *Kaiser Wilhelm-Gesellschaft*, 33; hospitals, 27; *Robert Koch Institut für Infektionskrankheiten*, 6; industrial research, 3; other scientific institutions, State foundations, etc., 65.

³ Libraries, 15 (7 from the *Preussische Staatsbibliothek*); teachers, 24 (music 12, art 2, normal schools 2, vocational school 1, adult schools (*Volkshochschulen*) 5); government officials, 6; museum officials, 11; editors, 5; free-lance writers, 3; musicians and conductors, 4; one banker

⁴ 1,615 men, 64 women, and 5 cases of "no information."

⁵ See pp. 88-9 above.

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of dismissals must be less, since one would be adding over 2,500 names to the staff in office, but only 232 to the list of dismissals. Likewise the proportion would be smaller if one were to include both "Ins" and "Outs" in reckoning the size of the original staff, a quite unjustifiable inclusion, since only dismissals from active service are being considered, those already retired because of age who lost their pensions being disregarded.

It would seem safe to conclude from this discussion that the highest possible estimate from the figures available gives a loss of 1,145 from a staff comprising 7,979 in the Winter Semester of 1932-3 and 7,116 in the Winter Semester of

TABLE II
PROPORTIONAL FACULTY LOSSES OF THE
VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES
(EXCLUSIVE OF ASSISTANTS)

<i>University</i>	<i>Per cent of Loss</i>	<i>Dismissals</i>	<i>Staff in Office w.s. 1932/3</i>
Düsseldorf (Medical Academy) ..	50.0	10	20
Berlin	32.4	242	746
Frankfurt-am-Main	32.3	108	334
Heidelberg	24.3	60	247
Braunsberg (Theological Seminary)	22.2	4	18
Breslau	21.9	68	311
Göttingen	18.9	45	238
Freiburg im Breisgau	18.8	38	202
Hamburg	18.5	56	302
Köln	17.4	43	241
Kiel	12.1	25	207
Leipzig	11.4	43	379
Königsberg	11.3	23	203
Halle	10.0	22	220
Greifswald	9.7	14	144
Marburg	8.7	15	172
Jena	8.5	17	199
München	8.3	32	387
Bonn	7.8	24	309
Erlangen	7.0	8	115
Rostock	4.2	5	120
Tübingen	1.6	3	185

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1934-5, a loss respectively of 14 per cent and 16 per cent. The loss within the ranks of the Ordinary Professors was only 10.9 per cent. Table II shows that the proportional losses of the different universities vary greatly, as do also the losses of the universities as contrasted with those of the Institutes of Technology and other types of *Hochschulen*:¹

DIFFERENTIAL LOSSES IN THE MAJOR TYPES OF HOCHSCHULEN

(EXCLUSIVE OF ASSISTANTS)

	Staff in Office W.S. 1932/3	Dismissals up to April 1936	Per cent
Universities (including Braunschweig and Düsseldorf)	5,790	953	16.6
Technischen Hochschulen	1,476	158	10.7
Handelshochschulen	263	28	10.6
Others	450	6	1.3
Total	7,979	1,145	14.3

Present Location and Status of the Dismissed Scholars

It will be seen from Table III that the total "placed" number 384, "temporarily placed" 302, "unplaced" 460, and the total of those about whom there is no information in this respect, 517. The situation is then probably: Total "placed," 686; total "unplaced," 977. In addition, there are eleven who have died since being dismissed (of these three are known to have committed suicide) and ten who are listed in the *Reichsministerialblatt* as "supposedly abroad," bringing the grand total up to 1684.

¹ The Law Faculties (see below, p. 100) show a 21.2 per cent loss. About one-fourth of the dismissed jurists do not appear on the combined list compiled for this study. Does this mean that the general conclusion reached is too small by 25 per cent? Only further reports on the special subject groups can give the answer.

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How many are still in Germany? Table III shows 277 who are definitely in Germany, but in all probability (judging partly from the Academic Assistance Council data and partly from the political situation of the dismissed scholars) the 65 "unplaced" and the 510 "uncertain" whose whereabouts is not known are still there as well, making a total of 852. This leaves 821 who have emigrated. The present status of these emigrés is then: 683 "placed" and 138 "unplaced."

The countries which have taken most of these academic emigrés are clearly Great Britain and the United States, although in proportion to their populations¹ the order is as follows: Palestine (one per 21,565),² Switzerland, Great Britain, Denmark, Holland, Turkey, Austria, Belgium, France, United States (one per 735,060), etc. If just the European part of Turkey be counted, since almost all the emigrés are in Istanbul, then Turkey comes second in order (one per 21,701). In the United States and Great Britain the emigrés are distributed as follows, according to type of employment:

			<i>Great Britain</i> (226)	<i>United States</i> (167)
No Information	..	..	42	16
Universities	..	..	120	117
Institutes and Museums	..		21	12
Hospitals and Private Practice			19	15
Industry	..	..	19	7

The probable present status of these emigrés may be summed up from Table III as follows: Great Britain, 197 "placed" and 29 "unplaced"; the United States, 154

¹ *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1935, pp. 7 n., 8 n., and 9 n.

² According to Dr. J. L. Magnes there were in 1936 "about sixty German refugees, scholars and scientists in permanent positions in Palestine." (*Addresses by the Chancellor of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem, 1936, p. 274.) If Dr. Magnes's categories are the same as those included in this study, then the figure here given is too small by at least 20 per cent. Whether the same applies to other countries cannot be established in the absence of further data.

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TABLE III

PRESENT LOCATION AND STATUS OF DISMISSED SCHOLARS

<i>Country</i>	<i>Placed</i>	<i>Temp. Placed</i>	<i>Unplaced</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Uncertain	7	8	65	510	592
Argentina	2	—	—	—	2
Australia	3	1	2	—	6
Austria	7	1	8	1	17
Belgium	5	6	1	—	12
Brazil	5	—	—	—	5
Canada	4	1	—	—	5
Chile	2	—	—	—	2
China	4	1	—	—	5
Columbia	1	—	—	—	1
Cyprus	—	—	1	—	1
Czechoslovakia	1	2	4	—	7
Danzig	1	—	—	—	1
Denmark	5	10	2	—	17
Egypt	4	—	1	—	5
Estonia	—	—	1	—	1
France	14	26	18	—	58
Germany	2	1	274	—	277
Great Britain	77	120	29	—	226
Greece	—	2	—	—	2
Guatemala	—	—	1	—	1
Holland	4	15	10	1	30
Hungary	—	1	1	—	2
India	5	2	—	—	7
Italy	3	8	6	1	18
Japan	—	1	1	—	2
Jugoslavia	2	—	—	—	2
Norway	1	—	—	—	1
Palestine, ...	38	4	6	—	48
Panama	6	—	—	—	6
Persia	2	—	—	—	2
Peru	4	—	—	—	4
Poland	1	—	—	—	1
Portugal	3	—	—	—	3
Rumania	2	—	—	1	3
South Africa	2	—	—	—	2
Spain	3	5	1	—	9
Sweden	1	12	3	—	16
Switzerland	9	8	16	—	33
Turkey	40	6	1	1	48
United States	96	61	8	2	167
Soviet Russia	16	—	—	—	16
Venezuela	2	—	—	—	2
Totals	384	302	460	517	1,663

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“placed”¹ and 10 “unplaced.” The American Emergency Committee had raised in the course of this work over \$244,000 by March 1, 1936. The combined British committees had raised over £68,000 (\$336,000) by March of the preceding year, at which time the total sum raised for the assistance of academic refugees came to over \$1,200,000, and had been collected and administered by organizations in ten different countries.²

Dismissals According to Subject

The distribution of the dismissed scholars according to subject, exclusive of the “miscellaneous intellectuals,” is as follows:

Medicine	..	..	..	..	412
Social Sciences	..	..	..	..	173
Law	..	..	..	..	132
Physics	..	..	..	..	106
Philology	..	..	..	..	95
Chemistry	..	..	..	..	86
Technology	..	..	..	..	85
History	..	..	..	..	60
Mathematics	..	..	..	..	60
Biology	..	..	..	..	53
Physical Chemistry	..	..	..	..	52
Psychology	..	..	..	..	51
Art and Art History	..	..	..	..	50
Philosophy	..	..	..	..	33
Theology	..	..	..	..	32
Agriculture	..	..	..	..	26
Geology	..	..	..	..	24
Pedagogics	..	..	..	..	13
Pharmacology	..	..	..	..	11
Uncertain	..	..	..	..	61
Total					1,615

Any classification of this sort is certain to contain am-

¹ The Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, New York City, states that it has given aid to 64 individuals. (Report of March 1, 1936, p. 6.)

² *A Crisis in the University World*, pp. 8-9.

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biguities.¹ An alternative statement provides some basis for comparison.

Medicine	..	..	..	..	423
Physical Sciences	..	..	..	..	413
Social Sciences	..	..	..	..	293
Humanities	..	..	..	..	208
Law	..	..	..	..	132
Biological Sciences	..	..	..	..	53
Theology	..	..	..	..	32
Uncertain	..	..	..	..	61
Total	..	..	..	..	1,615

Reasons for the Dismissals

Finally, to what extent can one ascertain the reasons for the dismissal of these scholars? By what pretext did the new Government "relieve" them of their official posts? Put in other terms, were these men dismissed chiefly because they were Jews, or because they were regarded as politically dangerous or for still other reasons?²

Unfortunately, the data are most inadequate. Of the 1,684 cases of dismissal the factors involved in 788 are unknown.³ The situation with regard to the remaining 896 may be roughly indicated in the following table:

Definitely "Non-Aryan"	..	..	..	..	230
Nominal Protestants	..	..	..	..	60
Nominal Catholics	..	..	..	..	22
Definitely "politically unreliable"	..	..	..	..	18
Either Jewish or "politically unreliable"	..	..	..	..	500
Other pretexts	..	..	..	..	9
"Voluntary" resignations	..	..	..	..	57
Total cases where grounds for dismissal are "known"					896

¹ Of those listed under Medicine, 142 were "nichtbeamtete ausserordentliche Professoren," 85 "Privatdozenten," and 185 others.

² Appendix A shows the legal status of the question.

³ Of the 92 dismissals listed in the official Ministerial Bulletin, *Deutsche Wissenschaft*, up until 20.IV.36 the precise legal grounds were specified for only 39. Of these 39, 24 were "Non-Aryan," and 15 were dismissed on the pretext of "simplifying the administration."

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The trouble with these categories is that, except for the first and fourth, they are not definitive. More accurate data are unfortunately not available. Certain conclusions, however, may be drawn from figures on dismissals in the Faculty of Law:

	"Aryan"	"Non-Aryan"	Total
Total staff before	299	64	363
Total dismissed	17	62	79

The "Non-Aryans," who constituted 17.5 per cent of the total staff of the pre-Nazi Law Faculties, make up 78.5 per cent of the dismissals. The "Aryan" dismissals except for one case of voluntary resignation, were for political reasons. If the case of Law were typical there would then be about 1,050 who were "Non-Aryan" out of a total of 1,377 dismissed. Since, however, the proportion of Jews in the field of Law was disproportionately large, the truth probably lies somewhere between 800 and 1,000 out of 1,377. In fact, official Jewish organizations in Germany set the figure for dismissed "university professors and lecturers" at 800.¹

The Loss to Science

The numerical loss lies, then, somewhere between 15 and 21 per cent. But the loss to science does not stop there.² Besides over a thousand dismissals there have been hundreds of "transferrals" (*Versetzungen*) from one university to

¹ Joint Statement of the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden* and of the Central Committee for Relief and Reconstruction quoted in the *London Times*, 18.IV.34, p. 18. In addition, it is stated, some 4,000 Jewish lawyers, 3,000 physicians, 2,000 officials, and 2,000 actors and musicians lost their jobs.

² Five Nobel Prize winners appear to have been dismissed: Otto Meyerhof, James Franck, Einstein, Haber, and Gustav Hertz. (*New York Times*, 5.III.34, p. 10.) Hertz, however, is working for the Siemens-Halske Co. in Berlin.

another.¹ Former "schools" were deliberately broken up or disregarded. Outstanding men in large university centres were removed to provincial institutions, or from an illustrious to a mediocre faculty. Occasionally, a man would have to teach in three different universities in the same year, and, rather than risk an unnecessary moving of his household, would have to waste time and energy in daily travel from one neighbouring university to another.

Uncertain of the duration of his appointment² and even of his salary; continually on his guard before non-intellectual critics; competing with glamorous, quasi-militaristic extra-curricular appeals for the interest of his

¹ The path towards forced retirement often led through a series of preliminary "transferrals." A not untypical case-history might run as follows: Throughout the Winter and Summer Semester 1933 unhindered (i.e. until June 30th); informed shortly before beginning lectures in the autumn that he had been put on furlough with full salary and "guaranteed" tuition fees; at the end of the Winter Semester 1933-4 inquires of the Ministry whether he is to teach the following Semester or not; Ministry tells him a few days before opening of Summer Semester that he has been transferred to X University; inquires whether, if he moves his family there, he will be allowed to teach; informed in the negative and put on furlough from X University; in desperation asks what he is to do in the Winter Semester 1934-5; then given choice by Ministry either of continuing on furlough with salary and tuition fees or becoming emeritus with only his salary; takes latter course to avoid charges of being overpaid and possibly losing all (see the threat "Gegen die hohen Honorargarantien," *Nationalsozialistische Erziehung*, II (October 1933), 379; cf. below, p. 162); must first be transferred back to his own university so that he will not be emeritus from X, where he never taught; takes series of salary cuts; possibly loses entire salary without warning.

² The new government has disregarded the traditional "inviolability of office" which was the privilege of judges and professors as employees of the State. A German historian wrote (presumably in 1932) of the period before 1848: "When State officials live constantly under the sword of Damocles, the best heads especially keep out of State Service, while those of average capacity succumb only too easily to corruption. Above all . . . the system of unhindered dismissals opens the door wide to 'arbitrary rule.'" (Theodor Wilhelm: *Die Idee des Berufsbeamtentums: Ein Beitrag zur Staatslehre des deutschen Frühkonstitutionalismus*, Tübingen, 1933, pp. 47-8.)

students; lecturing before rows of brown-shirts, flanked in his seminars and informal discussion groups by zealous young Nazi teachers; in his free-time called upon to participate in official functions, and to read official papers and periodicals; harassed by the thought of his banished and often expatriated colleagues and masters; disgusted at the habit of compromise and self-deception practised by others and even forced upon himself;¹ fearful or cynical with regard to the future, the university teacher lives a truly unenviable existence: in a *universitas litterarum* which has lost its respect for Letters, a veritable caricature of the old *civitas academica*, in which scholarly seclusiveness is decried as a political sin, and in which the worthy old German "calling" of Science, "Wissenschaft als Beruf,"² has well-nigh lost its meaning.

The New Training Requirements for University Teachers

Typical of the atmosphere in which the new faculty has to live are the requirements to be met before a man is allowed to teach. The old system of faculty examination of the new candidate to decide upon his qualifications, conferring the honour of the *venia legendi*, or right to teach, and the title of *Privatdozent*—the whole procedure being called *Habilitation*—is in the new system (effective after 13.XII.34)³ made merely a first condition. The candidate must further pass

¹ The changing of "face" becomes a daily routine; for a seminar, for a march with the SA, or for a private chat with a foreigner—for each of these a characteristic "front" is adopted. Only in the quiet of the family circle and among close friends, and even then with an occasional nervous glance over his shoulder (a movement so typical that it has been cynically dubbed "the German glance," "der deutsche Blick"), only here does the harassed university teacher drop the mask—if he is able to.

² Max Weber's well-known essay with this title (*Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, Tübingen, 1922, pp. 524–55), of the year 1919, is, needless to say, considered thoroughly unfashionable.

³ AB, I, 12–14, n. 11.

a higher set of tests known as the *Dozentur*. Thus, the Habilitation becomes a sort of new graduate degree (*Dr. habil.* or *Lic. habil.* in some such field as theology, philosophy, etc.), higher than the Doctorate, and a condition for being given the privilege of teaching. It is to be granted independently of the demand for teachers, aiming to provide a larger group, some of whom may be selected for the *Dozentur*, attainment of which depends on the candidate's ability as a teacher and the suitability of his personal character for the post of university instructor. "Only he who feels inwardly attached to the community of his people and who displays this feeling in his actions can become a university teacher," reads the preliminary law of 18.X.33.¹

Future Professors in Camp

Part of the *Dozentur* examination consists in serving a certain period in a "Community Camp" and afterwards in a "Teachers' Academy." In the Teachers' Community Camp the prospective professor is not to be distracted by scientific work, but is to devote himself whole-heartedly to common tasks; his superiors are even forbidden to send him papers to correct!² This camp life is calculated to test the candidate's moral character—his ability to live on simple fare, to do hard physical labour, to develop some athletic skill, and in general "fit in" with the camp spirit.

"It is absolutely astonishing," remarks the new Rector of the University of Berlin in his Inaugural Address of April 1, 1935, "how soon under the influence of the same dress, of the simple regimen which pays attention to the little details of everyday life, of the mutual observation, and under the influence also of physical labours surmounted by common effort, a genuine comradeship-group develops,

¹ ZB, 277, n. 340.

² Communications from Minister to Rectors of 4.IX.34.

how, quite spontaneously, the comradely "you" (*Du*) takes the place of the formal "Mr. Colleague," and how the man strips himself more and more of the prejudices and barriers which the academic more than many other compatriots has built up around himself, and then shows himself to his comrade simply as a man. . . . Inhibitions and barriers of all sorts gradually disappear entirely, and it is not seldom to be observed that now the liberated inner soul of a man begins to speak and 'brings forth ideas and achievements no one would have previously thought possible."

The aim of the Teacher's Academy combines this "astonishing" influence of co-operative life with some three weeks of lectures on general topics designed to enlarge the candidate's intellectual vision beyond his special subject. The required tests to be passed by the prospective university teacher after graduation are, in chronological order, as follows:

- I. Doctor's Degree or Licentiate (fee of 200 marks).¹
- II. Habilitation (attainable only three or more years after graduation; no fee).²
 1. Proof of "Aryan" descent for both candidate and his wife.
 2. Presentation of an Habilitation-Thesis.
 3. Oral examination in his special subject.
- III. *Dozentur* (no fee).³
 1. Test-lecture of one hour on one of three subjects presented by examiners. (Sometimes three lectures must be given.)
 2. Demonstration of suitable personality-qualifications before the Rector and representatives of the Teaching Staff. Result to be judged by local authorities of the Ministry of Education, which takes the candidate's whole career into consideration.

¹ *AB*, 382, n. 469 (II.IX.35).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

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3. Service in a Community Camp (*Gemeinschaftslager*).
4. Attendance at a Teachers' Academy (*Dozentenakademie*).

A comment by one of the Assistants to the Minister of Education shows the official view on the new system of testing not only the teacher's command of his subject but his ability as an instructor as well:

It is especially the young *Dozent* who has the power of making the deepest personal impression on the students; the National Socialist State, however, can entrust with important educational tasks only those men who are willing and capable of being true Leaders and Trainers of youth in addition to giving them scientific instruction. The fact that Germany had reached the brink of chaos, in spite of undisputed high achievement in almost all fields, should convince every person with insight that *more* must be insisted upon—if Germany is to survive!¹

It would be unwise to prophesy about the future system of training university teachers on the basis of the present institutions. As the new selective educational hierarchy gains a firmer hold on the nation's mind, the candidates for professional careers will come more and more from the ranks of those who from their earliest day have been subjected to the National Socialist influence. At the higher levels an institutional differentiation may make possible radically different types of training for scientists and "leaders." At present the two types overlap.

¹ Bachér: "Die Reichshabilitationsordnung," *AB*, I, 17 *-18 * (nichtamtlicher Teil).

CHAPTER IV

4

THE RECASTING OF THE ACADEMIC CURRICULUM

"It is the task of the German universities," declares an unpublished Ministerial decree of November 24, 1934,¹ "to put scientific research into the closest possible relationship with the national political needs of our people." To this end the administration was reorganized, the faculty reconstituted and retrained, the student body newly disciplined, and to this end the academic curriculum was remodelled.

THE SHIFT IN STUDENT CONCENTRATION

Some indication of the changes in fields of study is apparent from the general modification in enrolment figures in various types of institutions of higher education. Taking the total average student enrolment of the Summer Semester, 1931, and the Winter Semester, 1931-2, as equal to 100 for each of the types listed below, the following differential changes had occurred by the Winter Semester, 1934-5:²

STUDENT ENROLMENT ACCORDING TO TYPE OF *HOCHSCHULE* (INDEX NUMBERS)

(AVERAGE OF S.S. 1931 AND W.S. 1931-2 = 100)

Landwirtschaftliche Hochschulen (Agriculture)	178
Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschulen (Catholicism)	125
Tierärztliche Hochschulen (Veterinary Medicine) ..	99
Universitäten (Universities)	70
Technische Hochschulen (Technology)	61
Forstliche Hochschulen (Forestry)	59
Bergakademien (Mines)	56
Handelshochschulen (Commerce)	48

¹ Tages-Nummer, 1644/34.

² *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Vol. 14 (w.s. 33/4), p. 3 *.

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More illuminating are figures showing the changes in numbers of those concentrating in certain fields of specialization. Table IV¹ gives absolute figures and Table V²

TABLE IV
ENROLMENT ACCORDING TO SUBJECT, 1931-5

ALL CLASSES				
	W.S. 31/2 and S.S. 32	W.S. 32/3 and S.S. 33'	W.S. 33/4 and S.S. 34	W.S. 34/5.
Allgemeine Medizin	23,294	24,781	23,463	22,338
Rechtswissenschaft ..	18,094	15,645	12,349	10,693
Evangelische Theologie	6,689	6,832	6,137	5,495
Katholische Theologie	4,269	4,499	4,690	4,881
Volkswirtschaftslehre	3,592	2,519	2,936	2,508
Philosophie	1,560	1,108	810	643
Pharmazie	1,392	1,745	1,833	1,891
Total in all subjects ..	129,427	119,284	101,297	92,462
GRADUATING CLASS				
	W.S. 31/2 and S.S. 32	W.S. 32/3 and S.S. 33	W.S. 33/4 and S.S. 34	W.S. 34/5
Allgemeine Medizin	4,895	3,300	1,502	2,256
Rechtswissenschaft ..	3,877	2,610	1,356	1,480
Evangelische Theologie	1,545	987	503	669
Katholische Theologie	1,176	1,209	1,205	1,263
Volkswirtschaftslehre	1,050	735	418	290
Philosophie	550	346	197	180
Pharmazie	763	745	741	840
Total in all subjects ..	26,172	19,870	13,504	14,331

Deutsche Hochschulstatistik, Bd. 13 (S.S. 34), Tab. 3, p. 9 n.

Bd. 14 (W.S. 34/5), Tab. 5, pp. 10 n.-11 n.

index figures to indicate the development from the Winter Semesters of 1933-4 to 1934-5. While it is difficult to obtain figures in these matters which are precisely comparable from year to year the available data are not uninformative.

First, the development from 1931-2, which, it will be

¹ *Deutsche Hochschulstatistik*, Vol. 13, Tab. 3, and Vol. 14, Tab. 5. For meanings of terms, cf. Table V.

² Loc. cit.

TABLE V

STUDENT ENROLMENT ACCORDING TO SUBJECT FROM 1933/4 TO 1934/5

(INDEX NUMBERS)

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Enrolment grad. class</i>	<i>Index No. (w.s. 33/4 = 100) grad. class</i>	<i>all classes</i>
Allgemeine Medizin (General Medicine)	..	59·17	92·67
Rechtswissenschaft (Jurisprudence)	..	45·62	75·85
Katholische Theologie (Catholic Theology)	..	103·84	107·75
Pharmazie (Pharmaceutics)	..	114·33	104·21
Evangelische Theologie (Protestant Theology)	..	55·79	81·97
Germanistik (Germanics)	..	65·68	75·25
Zahnheilkunde (Dentistry)	..	31·44	82·76
Kaufmännisches Studium (Business Course)	..	377	79·79
Volkswirtschaftslehre (Practical Economics)	..	312	73·86
Neue Sprachen (Modern Languages)	..	290	61·80
Geschichte (History)	..	233	75·15
Philosophie (Philosophy)	..	191	68·62
Tierheilkunde (Veterinary Medicine)	..	180	92·47
Alte Sprachen (Ancient Languages)	..	180	68·12
Kunst, Kunstgeschichte, u.s.w. (Art)	..	91	77·14
Allgemeine Pädagogik (Pedagogics)	..	53·85	88·69
Wirtschaftswissenschaft (Economics) (= Volks- und Betriebswirtschaftslehre)	..	193·33	61·43
Rassenkunde (Study of Races)	..	33	185·71
Vorgeschichte (Pre-History)	..	10	107·41
	..	6	

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recalled, shows a decrease in student enrolment of 31.14 per cent, shows an approximately equal decrease in numbers of those specializing in Medicine, Law, Protestant Theology and Philosophy, a proportionately greater decrease in General Economics (*Volkswirtschaftslehre*), and a gain, not only relative but absolute, in Catholic Theology and Pharmaceutics. The increased popularity of Pharmaceutics appears to depend on incidental changes in the regulations governing activity in the pharmacists' business, but the reasons for the expansion of the ranks of students in Catholic Theology at this time are more obscure. Can it be that this reorientation of student interest registers a protest or at least a suspicious attitude on the part of the more serious students against the metaphysical and ethical shortcomings in the new political theology? Is the Catholic Church, despite Nazi totalitarianism, becoming for these a place of material and spiritual refuge? A glance at the table showing comparative faculty changes in the four major types of institutions of higher learning (p. 88) shows that only the *Technische Hochschulen* and the Catholic *Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschulen* gained in total staff from 1932 to 1935. The index numbers showing the changes between 1933-4 and 1934-5 (Table V) bear out these tendencies and indicate the beginnings of a movement towards "Race Theory"¹ and pre-History as subjects for university concentration.

Changes in the enrolment in various types of *Hochschulen* or in the various study-fields do not, however, give much indication of the fundamental recasting of the academic curriculum which has resulted from the Nazi university reform. The change involved concerns the general tone of

¹ Cf. Walter Gross: "Der geistige Kampf um die Rassenpflege," in *Bevölkerungsfragen*, München, 1936, pp. 660-4; in this volume in general, pp. 655-745. Egon Frhr von Eickstedt: *Die rassistischen Grundlagen des deutschen Volkstums*, Köln, 1934, p. 63.

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treatment, the steady current of innuendo and indoctrination which accompanies the exposition in all subjects where this is possible. In its new emphasis on the practical, and above all on the national, the curriculum reflects the general tendencies of the Ideological Reform.

PRACTICAL VERSUS SPECULATIVE

There is a distinct difference in the effect of these tendencies in the two main types of intellectual pursuit. The practical sciences on the one hand rely primarily upon the pragmatic test of efficacy to guide them, and even if pure research be fostered the chance for application is never far removed. The speculative sciences on the other hand rely not upon specific application but on purely general criteria of truth, coherence, logical consistency, adequacy, conceptual convenience and the like. In consequence, there is a fairly clear divergence in the attitude of most people to the results of these two types of science, in that the practical sciences are respected and trusted, since their usefulness is obvious, while the speculative sciences remain in general somewhat distrusted, since their usefulness is obscure. The National Socialists are largely of lower middle-class origin and share therefore the popular prejudice against speculative science and the popular admiration of practical science.

Further, there is correspondingly a fundamental difference in the effect of politicization upon sciences which are in essence practical and those which are speculative. The deliberate articulation of political presuppositions in the working scheme of each science tends merely to give social objectives to the orientation of the practical sciences,¹ but

¹ A cursory examination of the subject-matter handled by the Population Congress at Berlin, September 1935, shows the following main heads: As theoretical substructure there are Genetics (*Vererbungslehre*),

it changes and sometimes destroys the fundamental character of the speculative sciences. The latter, instead of being subjects of dispassionate enquiry, either become instruments for the moulding of opinion or drop out of the field of interest entirely. In the process of instrumentalizing science those branches of knowledge which are in their nature pursued as ends inevitably suffer more than those which are in their nature treated as means to ends, namely the technologies. The abolition of Philosophy as a required subject for the Doctoral Examination is symptomatic.

Thus, there are three main tendencies to be observed in the Nazi influence on science. First, sciences of immediately practical importance tend to be encouraged in contrast with the others.¹ Secondly, sciences of remotely practical importance, the subject-matters of which lend themselves readily to the moulding of public opinion, become instruments of official propaganda. Thirdly, non-practical sciences, not readily utilizable for propaganda purposes, tend to be neglected.

When (according to a widely held belief) Max Planck, the venerable President of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science, personally petitioned the Führer to stop the dismissal of scientists on political grounds, stressing the importance of the physical sciences for the Study of Races and Cultures (*Rassenkunde*), and Population Statistics (*Bevölkerungstatistik*). All these provide data and theories which are adapted for practical ends: in Population Policy (*Bevölkerungspolitik*; cf. F. Burgdörfer: *Volk ohne Jugend: Geburtenschwund und Überalterung des deutschen Volkskörpers: Ein Problem der Volkswirtschaft—der Sozialpolitik—der nationalen Zukunft*, 3rd ed., Heidelberg-Berlin, 1935, p. 536); in Individual, Marital, and Family Eugenics; in Race Hygiene (*Erbgesundheitslehre, Familienkunde, or Sippenforschung*, etc.); in Political Eugenics or Eugenics Propaganda (*Volksgesundheitspflege*), in Genetic Pathology (*Erbpathologie, Constitutionslehre, Volkskrankheiten*); in Urbanization and Ruralization, Community Dwelling Projects, Labour Service, etc.

¹ The table, p. 95, shows a 16 per cent loss in university staffs, but only 10 per cent losses for Institutes of Technology and Schools of Commerce.

national welfare, Hitler is reported to have replied to him: "Our national policies will not be revoked or modified, even for scientists. If the dismissal of Jewish scientists means the annihilation of contemporary German science, then we shall do without science for a few years!" The Kaiser Wilhelm Society has, indeed, suffered numerous losses "on political grounds," and has cause to be deeply grateful to its industrial supporters for their more understanding attitude in the present crisis. Nevertheless, on the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Society (January, 1936), Planck signed a telegram (published in the daily Press) from the Society to Hitler thanking him for his benevolent protection of German science¹

Whatever the personnel losses in the practical sciences, it is improbable that the subject-matter has undergone much change. The Nazis know as well as the industrialists that there is no substitute for scientific technology; they are merely less keenly aware than their business associates of the rarity of genuine inventive talent.¹ There is probably an exaggerated impression abroad of the extent of Nazi influence in these fields, because of the currency of such terms as "German Science" as opposed to "Jewish Science." These terms have achieved a special notoriety from the preface by Professor Lenard to his recent four-volume work *Deutsche Physik*, containing remarks held up to ridicule by British and other foreign scientists² and attacked even

¹ In a number of cases scientists dropped from State research or educational institutions have been taken over by the laboratories of business concerns. In other cases the displaced men have received unsolicited support from certain industrial leaders, who sought in this unostentatious manner to maintain the scientist's capacities for work, and even to induce him not to accept offers from abroad.

² Cf. L. G. Montefiore: "The Spirit of the German Universities" (pamphlet), n.d. (1935), St. Clements Press Ltd., London, and "Heidelberg, Spinoza and Academic Freedom," from a Correspondent, *Nature*, cxxxvii (February 22, 1936), 303.

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by Heisenberg in the German press. Lenard's preface opens:

"German Physics?" one asks. I might rather have said Aryan Physics or the Physics of the Nordic Species of Man (*der Nordisch gearteten Menschen*), Physics of those who have fathomed the depths of Reality, of seekers after Truth, Physics of the very founders of Science. But it will be replied to me "Science is and remains international." It is false. In reality Science, like every other human product, is racial and conditioned by blood.¹

A statement from another "Nazi scientist" is still less ambiguous:

Fifteen years ago, when Relativity was made high goddess of science . . . Lenard pronounced boldly against this general madness and described the theory as nonsense. His brave attack at a Congress at Nauheim in 1920 will always be remembered as honourable to him as it is disgraceful to Professor Planck that he has served as Einstein's lieutenant. . . . There are in Germany even now adherents of Einstein who continue to work in his spirit. His main supporter, Planck, still retains his position at the head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society. His interpreter and friend, von Laue, is still allowed to play a part as expert in physics in the Berlin Academy of Sciences. The theoretical formalist, Heisenberg, who works in the very spirit of Einstein, is actually to be honoured by a call to a university chair. With such regrettable evidence of opposition to the Nazi attitude, Lenard's struggle against Einstein sets an example. It is surely desirable that the competent officials in the Ministry of Culture should seek Lenard's advice before appointing professors of physics.²

¹ *The University Review* (April 1936), p. 4: in "German Universities," by Professor A. V. Hill, Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, and Sir Frederic Kenyon.

² Address by Professor J. Stark, President of the Federal Physical-Technical Institute (*Physikalisch-Techn. Reichsanstalt*) and of the German Research Society (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) delivered Heidelberg, December 13, 1935 (*Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte: Zentrale politische kulturelle Zeitschrift der NSDAP*, ed. by Alfred Rosen-

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Though it is true that the official Nazi attitude claims to have achieved a peculiarly German spirit in its practical as well as in its speculative sciences, it is improbable that this spirit penetrates much further than the title-page, dedication, and preface. Modern dictators can no more escape the physical necessities of existence than could Cassius' Caesar. The construction of bridges and roads cannot be Nazi on the technological side, although the practical uses to which they are put, the means of financing them, and the propagandist enthusiasm shown about them, may lead to as Nazi a product as the new network of national highways known as the *Reichsautobahn*. The following statement regarding the medical profession made by the Nazi theoretician, Ernst Krieck, illustrates a fairly clear conception of the relationship between two factors involved. "No doctor, however well versed in the technical aspects of medical science, is a good doctor unless he first realizes and discharges his duties to the political-racial philosophy of the new Germany. To make provision for this training is the chief purpose of the university."¹ At variance with this view are statements made at the recent annual congress of German medical men and natural scientists at Dresden, by Ferdinand Sauerbruch, the noted surgeon.² The *New*

berg, February 1936. It was announced in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (10.IX.36) that Lenard had been given "The Award of the NSDAP for Science." Cf. further a letter to the *London Times* (4.II.36) from the Bishop of Durham entitled "Academic Fellowship," which discusses the Heidelberg invitation in the light of Heidelberg's past and of Nazi scientific tendencies as shown in an article in *Nature* (18.I.36).

¹ From a speech on "Medicine and the Philosophy of National Socialism," quoted in the *Journal of Higher Education*, May 1936, p. 280.

² Sauerbruch was among the university teachers who professed their loyalty to National Socialism in the early days of the new regime. (Cf. *Bekennntnis der Professoren an den deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen zu Adolf Hitler und dem nationalsozialistischen Staat*, published by the *NS Lehrerbund*, Dresden, n.d. Heidegger, Pinder, Eugen Fischer were also among the signatories).

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York Times (22.IX.36) reported him as saying that the political regime would have to leave science alone or regret the consequences. A free science was the only possible one and in the long run the most useful. According to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of the same date he did not mention the relation of State and University except to say that fortunately "political" criticism had somewhat moderated, that the peculiar needs of scientific work were beginning to be generally understood, and that now, if quiet were to be permanently established, scientific work could continue. Advocates of new-fangled folk-remedies were chided, as well as young people who wanted to create "world-views" before they learned even the rudiments of science. If the address were really a "warning" to the State to keep its hands off Science, as the *New York Times* intimated, the German public never learnt it. As a matter of fact such a protest would probably be somewhat too late for the greater part of research in the field of applied science. The harm that could be done by governmental interference, especially by dismissals, has been already accomplished. It is the future, not so much of research, but of the whole process of education which appears ominous. Sauerbruch's statement simply indicates that technological experts are being granted a certain measure of extra-territoriality. But this concession implies nothing about a change in policy towards the sciences and humanities *in general*.

SPECULATIVE SCIENCE AND PROPAGANDA

Not all that is "unpractical" is eschewed. Those fields where the subject-matter of the science, although non-practical, has a certain popular appeal, and where its distortion will not endanger practical enterprises, have a peculiar type of utility too. Parts of the "speculative sciences" such as Psychology,

History,¹ or Sociology² are valuable instruments by which the "emotional engineers" of a dictatorship can strengthen their hold on the popular mind.³ The two functions attributed

¹ The new conception of History has been well summarized by a Fascist writer: "History is effective as myth and not as truth. It is not the truth of the historical fact which is of significance, but the effect which follows from it." (Brodrero in *Die Europäische Revue*, 1927; cited by Oskar Benda, a member of the Stefan George circle, *Die Bildung des Dritten Reiches: Randbemerkungen zum gesellschaftsgeschichtlichen Sinnwandel des deutschen Humanismus*, Wien and Leipzig, 1931, p. 21). Contrast Friedrich Meinecke's "Vorwort" to the 2nd ed. of his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates*, dated Freiburg, May 21, 1911: "My book rests on the opinion that German historical investigation, without renouncing its valuable inheritance of methodology, must nevertheless attain to a freer movement and more sympathetic contact with the great forces of State and Culture—that without harm to its peculiar character and objectives it may dip more courageously into Philosophy, as well as into Politics; indeed, that only by that step can its peculiar character develop, namely, to be at once both national and universal." Cf. Meinecke's powerful critique of some of the extremes of the new group of Nazi historians in his review of Walter Frank: *Kämpfende Wissenschaft* (Hamburg, 1934) in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 152 (May 6, 1935), pp. 101-2, and Frank's comment thereon, *ibid.*, 153 (November 23, 1935), pp. 15-16. Cf. further Frank's *Zunft und Nation* (Address at the Opening of the "Federal Institute for the History of Modern Germany," 19.x.35), Hamburg, 1935, p. 34. A quotation from a favourable 1929 review of one of Frank's earlier works, by Meinecke, is cleverly included by the publishers at the back.

² Sociology becomes "the theory of the structure of the Folk-Community." As a contrast to "liberal" social science, which maintained a distinction between State and Society, the new social science is really identical with State science. *Gesellschaftswissenschaft* is absorbed by *Staatswissenschaft*. (Hans Freyer: "Die Gegenwartsaufgaben der deutschen Soziologie," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, 95 (November 1934), 116-44. There is a striking contrast between the articles in this number of the Journal and a pamphlet published under the same title by the same publishers in 1932 by Karl Mannheim. Erich Rothacker's "Nationale Soziologie" (*Westdeutsche Akademische Rundschau*, 1.1.33) expresses the Nazi instrumentalist view of social science.

³ The plans for the Spring Congress of the German Psychological Association (Tübingen, 22-26.v.34), as projected in a letter from the President to the members of the Society dated Leipzig, end of December 1933, suggested a threefold division under the general heading, "Psychology of Community Life": (1) Race, the Realm of the Soul and Community, (2) Psychology of Community, and (3) Community Training. Under the last heading were such topics as "Training of the Historical Sense and National Consciousness," "Language Training," "Art

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to primitive magic by a prominent anthropologist, the relieving of the individual consciousness from unnecessary worry about insoluble questions and the organization of the community for the performance of common tasks,¹ are likewise performed by modern propaganda. Since external pressure, economic, political, or military, intensifies the need for internal co-operation, it is understandable why regimentation and its accompaniment, propaganda, should play a greater role in the life of the German nation than, say, in that of the United States of America. National characters, like individual characters, are, in large part, products of the peculiar conditions surrounding their development.²

The Minister of Propaganda in his role as national witch-doctor weaves his spells out of the material most calculated to catch the interest of his people. While the simplest themes are always hate, revenge, restoration of pride and self-sufficiency and other lowest common denominators of public sentiment, the problem of propaganda in the modern State does not rest merely on this level of appeal to instincts, elemental drives, or "residues." The modern citizen is a product of education, which means for most men "half-education." As a rule, he has been educated enough to understand the superficial relations of far more ideas than he can ever really grasp intellectually. Like the little six-year-

Training," "Will and Character Formation." A possible fourth group, "Individual Research Projects," was suggested in order that contributions "of another character might not be entirely excluded." Contributions under heading (4) were to be ten to twenty minutes long, and certain selected papers among them would be read during a half or whole day.

¹ Cf. Bronislaw Malinowski: "Magic, Science and Religion" in *Science, Religion and Reality*, edited by Joseph Needham, New York, 1925, and his address, "Culture as a Determinant of Behaviour," delivered at the Harvard Tercentenary, 1936.

² It is significant that the outstanding theorist of nationalism in its relation to the idea of individuality should have been a German. Cf. Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1908), *Die Idee der Staatsräson* (1924), and *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (1936).

old German girl of the author's acquaintance who, when told that Max Schmeling had boxed with a negro, Joe Louis, asked if that were not a "race-scandal" (the Nazi term for "Jew-Aryan" sexual relations), the products of mass-education to-day have but a half-understanding of the theories which a small minority expound and a still smaller minority invent. These theories may play many important roles in the popular mind, but not as cognitive instruments.

If this is true of the people as a whole, it is true as well of the university world and of other organs of mass education—the periodical press, the newspaper press, the stage, the screen, the pulpit, the political platform. The same word or phrase may function as an intellectual concept at the top and as an emotion-evoking slogan at the bottom. For the propaganda engineers such bi-functional words or phrases are "symbols."¹ The Nazi attack on many aspects of science is thus often a sham attack, touching only those aspects which are useful in catching the public eye. The campaign against "Jewish" mathematics and physics in Germany rests on about the same foundations of popular half-intelligent curiosity as the popularity of Einstein's "relativity theory"

¹ As an instance of "scientific" reasoning within the circle of the initiate one may take the following remarks by probably the most brilliant of the Nazi jurists, Professor Carl Schmitt, in an article entitled "What is the Meaning of the 'Legal State' Controversy?" *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Bd. 95 (February 1935), 199: "The intellectual conquest of the word and concept Legal State (*Rechtsstaat*) is a great service. Liberal thought-processes are no longer openly and directly influential. . . . The phrase 'Legal State' was always one of the most effective vehicles of liberal suggestions. So long as the powerful residues of the bourgeois age survive, the de-liberalizing and re-interpretation of the Legal State concept signifies an important victory for the new movement. . . . By means of simple verbal associations like 'National Socialist Legal State' or 'National Socialist German Legal State,' clearest of all by the formula of the Reich-Jurist-Führer Hans Frank, 'The German Legal State of Adolf Hitler,' the deep change of meaning will be established beyond doubt." As a further instance of casuistry in this field, see Heinrich Lange, *Vom Gesetzesstaat zum Rechtsstaat*, Tübingen, 1934, p. 40.

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might have among the shifting audiences of Hyde Park. The same is true in general of parts of Philosophy, History, Sociology, and other academic subjects which because of their vocabulary and subject-matter lend themselves easily to semi-popular treatment.

If such subjects are unpopular as well as unuseful, then they are treated as expensive luxuries. Ancient Egyptian history with its elaborate archeological excavations, costs the government about thirty times what German history costs per individual scientist and has negligible propaganda value: such is probably the reasoning involved if the question of allocation of funds arises.¹ There was a time when the prestige of national priority in expeditions of learned discovery led Germany to devote abundant funds to this field of scholarship, and indeed this old motive continues to play a minor role; but in the general dearth of available funds such research has inevitably suffered.

It may be said then of the humanities and the non-technological social sciences in general that they are in the process of becoming either instruments of propaganda or survive as mere echoes from the past.

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The curriculum has not only been permeated with a complex of fairly uniform attitudes, prejudices and beliefs which may be summed up under the heading "Ideology," but some of the major subjects have been revised in matters of detailed organization.² Thus far, study-plans have been

¹ "The National State will look upon science as a means for increasing national pride." (Hitler, quoted by Bertrand Russell, *Atlantic Monthly*, CLV (February 1935), p. 321.

² Cf. Ch. I, "The Ideological Reform."

provided for Law,¹ Economics, Agriculture, and the theory and practice of Journalism (*Zeitungswissenschaft*), but the Ministry intends to pursue this policy further. The main reasons, besides the desire to promote ideological consistency if not uniformity, are practical. By promoting conformity in courses offered from university to university and according to Summer and Winter Semesters the State is aiming at efficiency in vocational training; graduation certificates can by this plan be relied upon to carry the same worth from all German institutions.

The preface to the study-plan for Economics² opens characteristically by recalling the establishment of the first professorship of public administration in Prussia in 1727. Economics should return to its old ideal of service to the State and people, from which the nineteenth century with its liberalistic and international perspective had strayed.

In its formal outline the new plan requires at least six and advisedly eight Semesters of study, or three to four years. "In the first two Semesters the student is to become acquainted with the racial foundations of science. Lectures on Race and Tribe, Anthropology and Pre-History, on the political development of the German people, especially in the last hundred years, belong to the beginning of every study in the humanities."

Some courses in the plan are called Fundamental and others Elective; none is obligatory. Several professors are to announce courses on the same theme simultaneously. All the courses must be allotted to the appropriate stage

¹ Cf. K. A. Eckhardt, *Das Studium der Rechtswissenschaft*, Hamburg, 1935, p. 32. ("Der deutsche Staat der Gegenwart," edited by Carl Schmitt, Heft 11.)

² K. A. Eckhardt: *Das Studium der Wirtschaftswissenschaft*, Hans-eatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg, 1935, p. 46. ("Der deutsche Staat der Gegenwart," edited by Carl Schmitt, Heft 15.)

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of the general eight-Semester plan. The student is invited, within this general framework, to choose courses as he sees fit. He is especially discouraged from seeking out those private tutors (*Einpauker*) outside the university to whom the German student in need of practical training has been in the habit of turning, partly as a protest against the often abstract and "system-building" expositions of his professors, and partly to rescue himself from the consequences of his own inattentiveness. *Bummeln* (loafing) will be frowned upon under the new regime.

The study-plan itself consists of a list of courses according to Semester and general subject-heading with official recommendations as to the importance of each course for those preparing for careers in trade, merchandising, and general business respectively, for each of which groups a special study-plan is offered. These various courses and plans are practical throughout. For those interested in the general theory of human society and economics there is little provision. The Department of Economics at the University of Berlin was incorporated in the Berlin School of Commerce, which was renamed "School of Economics," the aim being to guarantee for the student "a close binding together of theory and practice" (8.XI.35).¹ The demand that the social sciences should fulfil their role as educators for "social efficiency," that social scientists should recognize in their own work the National Socialist principle "The Common Good Before Private Good," is echoed wherever the subject is discussed.²

¹ *AB*, I, 495, n. 605; *Berliner Tageblatt*, 11.XI.35.

² Professor Dr. Lehmann (*Handelshochschule*, Nuremberg): "Die Zukunft der Wirtschaftswissenschaften im neuen Deutschland," *Deutsche Juristenzeitung*, January 1935, pp. 73 et seq.; Siegfried Fassbender: "Über die Aufgabe der Fachwissenschaften auf den Gebieten der Volkswirtschaftslehre," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Studentenschaft*, June 1934, 320-4.

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In one sense the typical instrument of higher education in National Socialist Germany is not the university but the Institute of Technology and its close relative, the vocational school. The Government unified all twenty-five of the Schools of Public Administration in Germany (6.VII.34)¹ and the keynote of the opening exercises of the Berlin School in November 1935 was the co-ordination of theory and practice to the greater glory of the nation. Students in all "Technical Schools" are now required to spend a certain amount of time in practical work.² A National Vocational School, entrance to which would be based on the National Vocational Competition, and which would train skilled workers to lead and organize their fellows, was projected in February 3, 1936.³

Germans are proud to think that, despite poverty in raw materials, their technical and inventive genius has enabled them to reach an important position among the major industrial nations of the world. They realize that, hampered as they are, the only chance to maintain themselves in this position is by superiority in technology; hence the phenomenal and somewhat nervous emphasis on the practical in the college curriculum. In the words of an official in the Education Ministry: "The National Socialist order of State will be completed the more rapidly and thoroughly the sooner and the more emphatically we rid ourselves of an overestimation of school knowledge and academic professions as well as of an underestimation of practical knowledge and practical vocations."⁴

¹ ZB, 235, n. 256.

² AB, 52-3, n. 63 (18.1.35).

³ *Völkischer Beobachter*, 3.II.36, n. 34; *Deutsche Bergwerks-Zeitung*, Düsseldorf, 7.II.36, n. 32.

⁴ "News in Brief" (published by the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*), Vol. ii, No. 1, p. 4.

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A NATIONAL STUDENT COMPETITION

A survey of the prize-winning research-topics in the nation-wide Achievement Competition (or Vocational Contest) involving some 5,000 University and *Technische Hochschule* students and some 6,000 students at Vocational Schools during the Winter Semester, 1935-6, reveals in intensified form the basic curricular tendencies favoured by the Government. Each piece of work was the co-operative product of small groups, called "teams," several working at each institution. Four main themes were proposed: The German village, A Business Considered as a Unit, The Influence of the Jew in Science and in Art, The Racial Idea as a Culture-forming Power. Apart from the projects in the Vocational Schools, which were organized according to subject, such as Civil Engineering, Iron Work, Textile Manufacture, Sea Transportation, and so forth, some of the winning projects were:

"The Organization of a Silesian Mine" (Breslau *Technische Hochschule*).

"The Penetration of Roman Civilization and Christianity into the Territory of Lower Saxony" (University of Berlin).

"Danzig Youth in the Struggle over the Free-City of Danzig from Versailles to the Present Day" (Danzig *Technische Hochschule*).

"Philip Lenard, the German Scientist, and His Struggle for Nordic Research" (University of Heidelberg).

"Clemenceau and Democratic Nationalism in France" (University of Königsberg).

This last project, which won the grand prize, was produced by a group of five, reduced from an original fifteen, and their teacher, the Lector for French. It took over two years to complete. In fact it had been begun a year before the Competition started!). It convinced the judges that

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a group of research-workers, covering an enormous mass of historical material, could effectively co-operate in the production of a single work, and that scientific research in the humanities, without in the least losing its true character, could bring students more closely in touch with their own people and serve the interests of Germany (by contrasting in this case German views with those of the French "West"). The work was published by the National Leadership of the *Studentenschaft*.¹

One of the projects which was found particularly praiseworthy was an investigation of municipal insolvency which so gratified the city fathers by its results that the student research-leader was entrusted with the execution of the suggested reform programme, an almost unparalleled instance of co-operation between a university and its surrounding community.²

While one purpose of the whole Competition was to emphasize the practical possibilities of academic work, it also aimed at recalling the student from excessive preoccupation with politics, especially student politics. On November 2, 1935, Minister Rust appealed to the students to play their part in the nation's struggle; workers of brain and of "fist" were to join hands in this competition based on Honour, and Loyalty to the National Socialist State.³ As the Reich Leader of the Nazi Student League (*Derichsweiler*) announced, *a propos* of the Contest: "The German student has an opportunity to show the whole world by this Achievement Competition that all talk of a decrease in scientific output in the Third Reich is mere empty phraseology." "The basic trait of the National Socialist student," he continued, "is that he gets more done than any previous student-generation."⁴

¹ *Berliner Tageblatt*, 22.IV.36, n. 190, and 30.IV.36, n. 204.

² *Ibid.*, 25.IV.36, 196.

³ *AB*, 476, n. 576.

⁴ *Reichsleistungskampf* (pamphlet), ed. by the *Hauptamt für Presse und Propaganda der Deutschen Studentenschaft*, Berlin, n.d. (ea. 1.x 35), p. 4.

THE RECASTING OF THE ACADEMIC CURRICULUM

The call to arms has, no doubt, done much to reinvigorate German academic life and scientific research, as it has in the past, but whether scientific truth can so easily be caught by the method of direct pursuit, and whether a policy of deliberate practicalization, especially under the direction of politically motivated taskmasters, is not to some extent self-defeating, only the future can tell. It is perhaps not impertinent to recall Wilhelm von Humboldt's words: "Science often pours out her richest blessings on life when she seems as it were to withdraw herself from it."¹

¹ Quoted by F. Glum in *Forschungsinstitute . . .*, ed. by Ludolph Brauer, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Adolf Meyer, Hamburg, 1930. Vol. i, p. 364.

CHAPTER V

THE UNIVERSITY ATMOSPHERE

THE debate between the advocates of teaching and of research as the main function of a university is perennial, but few will deny that the general university world centring on the lecture-hall, the library, and the laboratory, provides a real stimulus to creative intellectual achievement. A study of the transformation of the German university which omitted all comment on the daily extra-curricular life of the institutions would, however, indeed be incomplete.

German professors always led less sociable lives than their American or English colleagues. They carried on their researches mainly at home, not in the library, and came to the university only for classes and seminars. There was hardly such a thing as a Faculty Club in the American sense. There was not even a special faculty restaurant. Student mess-halls were created only after the War. Of course, there were no dormitories. In larger towns the professors dwelt in the suburbs, if their means permitted, while the students "boarded out" or lived at a Student-Corporation House. In the smaller towns, life in the university circle was often gay, but the student was left largely to himself and his fellows.

The principal consequences of this system were that members of the faculty tended to know only a relatively small number of their colleagues, and that the student, until he was almost ready to do his doctoral work, had little or no opportunity to become personally acquainted with his professor, whom he had been trained to regard as an unapproachable superior being, while to many of the faculty a student could not be expected to see things

THE UNIVERSITY ATMOSPHERE

except from the "perspective of a frog," as the German has it. These evils were accentuated in the period of great overcrowding just before 1933.

A MORE SOCIABLE PROFESSORiate

The new regime is striving hard to break down this old barrier between student and professor, as well as to promote a more sociable and community-spirited attitude on the part of the teachers themselves. While the reformers seem sometimes to go to extremes in their zeal, it is likely that a little more bodily exercise for the notoriously unathletic German pedant will do him no harm. An example of the struggle to socialize the professors is contained in the announcement in the Bulletin of the University of Berlin, 31.V.33, that the Ordinary and Extraordinary Professors had been accepted as members of the Teaching-Staff (*Dozentenschaft*) of the university:

"The *Dozentenschaft*," reads the announcement, "greet its new members and requests them to participate actively in its programme; in particular we call attention to the possibility of taking part in setting-up exercises every Wednesday and Saturday from 7 to 9 a.m., which are conducted under expert leadership on the University athletic fields at Westkreuz." (Westkreuz is reached by subway from the University in about twenty minutes; it would take many members of the Faculty even longer to get there.)

Apparently the attendance at these morning setting-up exercises was not very satisfactory, for on October 9, 1934, the University Athletic Board established a special course of exercises for the Faculty.¹ On national holidays the professors must appear in columns like the guilds² in the

¹ Tages-Nummer, 1306/34.

² When the lower members of the Faculty were informed that they must become "compulsory members" of the *Dozentenschaft* (about December 1, 1933) they also read: "It will be the duty of the *Dozenten-*

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Meistersinger. Four days before May 1, 1934, they received the following communication from the University:

"On the Third Celebration of National German Labour we desire the members of the University of Berlin, teachers, workers, students, clerks, and officials to reassert indeed more firmly than ever the union of all creative work in the knowledge of the high moral worth of all labour, that of the fist as well as that of the head.

So: forth to Tempelhofer Feld!

All members of the University, in so far as they are healthy and capable of marching, meet at a quarter to eight (a.m.) in the Auguststrasse. The head of the procession, which is distinguished by a banner with the words 'Karlplatz, Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität,' will be in the Gipsstrasse. Marching will be in rows of twelve. Smoking during the march is forbidden. The orders of the person in charge are to be followed without hesitation. The leading of the University group is in the hands of Glesmer, Cell-Chairman of the N.S.B.O. (National Socialist Factory Organization) and Head-Foreman of the D.A.F (German Labour Front)."

"Heil Hitler!"

PROFESSOR DR. KRÜGER,
Rector.

DR. BÜCHSEL,
Director of Administration.

To this the Rector added: "It would be a joy to me to make the acquaintance on this occasion of the members of the university, especially the members of the Teaching-Staff, who are for the most part still unknown to me."

It is not surprising that this new Rector had so few acquaintances among the teachers of his own university, since in his thirty-seven years of life he had never published

schaft to bring about a compact guild-like (*innungsmässigen*) solidarity among its members" (letter signed by Ernst Holzlöhner, *Führer* to the *Dozentenschaft*, n.d.). The use of the University Library without paying a fee was made dependent upon the possession of a membership card in the new organization (29.XI.33).

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anything that receives mention in *Wer Ist's?* (1935) and had busied himself with the pursuit of veterinary medicine.¹

Several days later, on May 3rd, the Rector requested the Faculty to attend a gymnastic demonstration of the whole student body to take place on May 8th on the University sports fields, "in order to express in this way (their) unity with the student body." On this same May 8th, the Faculty had also been requested to attend an amateur performance arranged by the English colony for the benefit of Berlin charities "in order to testify that they as university people appreciated this generous gesture of the English colony."²

The appeal to community-spirit was brought to bear on the professors even for the sake of contributing to charity. "I cannot pass over in silence," the Rector wrote to them on February 1, 1935, "the fact that along with the aim of helping to alleviate real need there also exists for us an ideal aim: to show by this act that the University does not stand aloof from the people, and that the much-vilified professor feels a bond of unity with his *Volk*." This appeal was to urge the professors to contribute more than the allotted sum subtracted from their regular salary. This charity tax ranged from 50 pfennigs on a salary of under 100 marks a month to 12 marks on a salary of 1,000 marks a month. Certain reductions were allowed to married instructors: for the wife 20 pfennigs, first child 30 pfennigs, second child 50 pfennigs, third and every later child 1 mark each.³

PRESSURE ON THE FACULTY

Pressure is, of course, brought to bear on the teaching-staff to subscribe to official journals. In a letter from the *Führer* of

¹ See his article and photograph in *Berliner Hochschulführer*, 1936, pp. 54-7.

² NSDAP Reichsleitung (Hauptamt für Wissenschaft) to Rector, 30.IV.35. ³ *Amtsblatt der Universität Berlin*, 31.V.35.

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the *Dozentenschaft* of 14.II.35, the organ of the *Dozentenschaft*, 'Deutsches Wollen' (German Will), is recommended to their favour. One section of this, they hope, "New University," will become so outstanding in its treatment of science and *Weltanschauung*, that it will become the principal university journal. The taking of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, official Nazi daily, was "recommended" to all civil servants by the Minister of the Interior, 30.x.33, and the Faculties of Berlin were "reminded" of this in their official Bulletin of 15.v.35.

While some appeals come to the professor couched in conciliatory language, because they seek to awaken his sympathies and interest, others take the form of threats. Thus, a circular letter issued by the *Studentenwerk* (Student Social Service) in August 1935, asking for contributions, is addressed to "Herrn Professor Dr." So-and-so, and begins with the conventional "Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!" But a request for certain information bearing on the enforcement of the Nuremberg laws of September 15, 1935, sent to the same teacher by the Director of Administration of the University is addressed to "Herrn Dozent Dr." So-and-so, and there is no conventional beginning to this letter, which reads:

"I request you to make me a detailed statement as to whether any of your grandparents are Jewish in blood, and if so, which, and whether any of them are Jewish in religion, and if so, which.

This statement is to be given under pain of offending against the Service Oath."

MAIL FROM THE UNIVERSITY

Further summaries of the official correspondence from the University to its teaching-staff since the beginning of the National Socialist reform will serve to fill in the picture

given in the few examples already quoted. Nothing perhaps shows so well the atmosphere in which the university teacher must live and work than a reading of the mail he receives from his employers. Much of the material received deals with topics discussed elsewhere in this study. The following selected items speak for themselves:

27.X.33. Prussian *Dozentenschaft* to its Members: Said members are to report on the development of their plans for work in the following fields: (1) Race Questions, (2) General Cultural Policy, (3) Foreign Policy, Germania Irredenta (Saar, East, South-East), (4) Food Distribution Policy, (5) Settlements (*Siedlungen*), (6) Science of Defence, (7) Defensive Sports, Labour Service, Camps, (8) Studies, Student Education, (9) Training, Comradeship House, (10) University Reform (Lectures, Seminars, Practical Exercises), (11) Selection of Teachers, Advanced Teacher Training, (12) Miscellaneous.

12.XII.33. Administration of the University (*Verwaltungsdirektor*) to Part-Time Teachers and Lectors. If their net income totals less than 8,000 marks, they are entitled to an addition of 50 per cent of their tuition receipts.

30.XII.33. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree¹ of 27.XII.33: "Recently members of the Faculties and Assistants have repeatedly turned to the most varied authorities in State, Province, and Party with regard to personal matters. Such conduct is impermissible." Petitions and complaints are to go by official channels only. Failure to observe this will result in "disciplinary intervention."

8.I.34. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree of 29.XII.33. Faculty encouraged to give lectures at various camps where leaders of the Country-Year Organization are being trained. Train fare will be contributed by the State.

19.IV.34. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree of 14.IV.34. Written complaints are to be given to the Dean, who will pass them to the Rector if he cannot deal with them. The

¹ This decree and many of those which are cited in the following correspondence are not to be found in the official legislative publications. Where not otherwise indicated the reference is to the University of Berlin. "Ministerial decrees," of course, apply to all German universities.

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Rector will pass them to the *Kurator* if need be, in Berlin to the Minister. Complaints about the Dean are to be given to the Rector, complaints about the Rector directly to the *Kurator*, in Berlin to the Minister.¹ Complaints about the Dean and Rector are not permissible until after mediation of their representatives has been sought and has either been refused or given no result.

9.VII.34. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree of 5.VII.34: "To avoid confusion I decree that students who were hampered in visiting lectures and exercises during the current Semester on account of the stronger claims of athletics, Storm Trooper Sports, Labour Service, and national political training may not be rated as worse than the other students, especially in the distribution of grades."

30.VII.34. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree of 24.VII.34. A reminder of the decree of 22.VII.33 introducing the Hitler Salute. "State officials must here show the way to the German people."

26.X.34. Rector to Faculty, enclosing a Ministerial decree of 22.X.34. The Party had ruled that all students who were members of the Storm Guards or the Storm Troopers must be excused from their duties during examinations in order that they shall not fall behind other students. The Director of the Storm Troopers not only agreed but arranged for excusing students in good time for them to *prepare* for their examinations.

5.XI.34. Rector to Faculty, enclosing a Ministerial note of 2.XI.34: "In accordance with academic tradition I have no objection to the granting of permission by university teachers to other university teachers and officers of their own institution, to visit their lectures as guests and free of charge."

27.XI.34. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree of 13.XI.34, entitled "Entry of State Officials into the Federal League for Protection against Air Raids." (A campaign for membership among the university teachers had already been made about one year earlier.)²

29.XI.34. Rector to Faculty. The first of December declared a

¹ Visits by members of the Faculty to the Ministry without the previous permission of the Rector were forbidden by a Ministerial circular letter of 25.VI.35 (*Amtsblatt der Universität, Berlin*, 30.VI.35, p. 40).

² One member of the Berlin Faculty avoided only with the greatest difficulty having a warning siren affixed to his house in the suburbs.

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university holiday "as an expression of our deepest sympathy with our German sister university because of the severe blow that has been struck at her." (The reference, which in the letter remains anonymous, is to the closing of the German university at Prague by the Czech Government.)

3.1.35. University Administration to Faculty, enclosing a questionnaire with twenty questions to be carefully answered. It covers the individual's entire personal record, "racial," religious, family, educational, athletic, political, etc. Failure to fill and send it in might lead to unpleasant consequences.

15.1.35. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree of 9.1.35. In the recent past it had come to light that a number of visiting foreign lecturers held views which showed that "they did not belong to those foreigners who are desired as guests or lecturers at German universities from the standpoint of our cultural policy." Further, foreign Governments had complained about the remarks of some of these foreign lecturers in Germany. Consequently in the future all foreign lecturers must first be approved by the Minister; time must be allowed for an investigation, in some cases through the Foreign Office.

FRITZ HABER

The next letter, two days later, requires some comment, since it concerns probably the most notorious case of National Socialist treatment of a scientist. The case is so notorious that even Nazi officials in the Ministry for Education feel called upon to volunteer apologies about it before the foreign visitor has even mentioned it. The official version is, roughly, that Fritz Haber was a competent scientist, but unfortunate in that he was Jewish and had stocked the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Physical and Electro-chemistry, of which he was for twenty-two years the Director, largely with Jewish scientists,¹ thus blocking the

¹ It should be remarked that at least one reason for this concentration of Jewish scientists at the Haber Institute lay in the fact that his able non-Jewish co-workers had been one by one picked off by this or that university. Jews were as a rule less popular in the universities, and correspondingly more numerous in research institutes.

path to advancement for many promising German ("Aryan") scientists. It was to meet just such a situation that the "Non-Aryan" clause in the new Civil Service Law was made. Consequently the regime asked Haber to exchange his "Non-Aryan" for "Aryan" research assistants; Haber himself was exempted because of his great services to German industry, especially during the War, when he succeeded in inventing a process which enabled Germany to do without nitrates from Chile during the blockade; but Haber misinterpreted the governmental attitude so completely that his dismissal became necessary. Briefly, the official view is that Haber was *not* dismissed because of State intervention but rather because of his own obstinacy.

The fact that Haber chose rather to share the fate of his fellow-scientists than to continue to lead a staff composed of men, almost 90 per cent not of his own choosing, awakens little official interest. But the fact that Haber saw fit to express his bitter disapproval of the Nazi policy,¹ and that he died only four months after his dismissal, in Switzerland (which made the protest even more dramatic), has induced the Government to adopt a petty revengeful attitude to this man which is so at variance with justice that it is little wonder that some of the officials in the Ministry suffer from uneasy consciences.²

¹ Minister Rust is reported to have replied: "It is less important that a professor make discoveries than that he train his assistants and students in the proper view of the world (in der richtigen Weltanschauung erziehe)" (ca. April 1933).

² In the *Kaiser Wilhelm-Gesellschaft* memorial volume on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, January 1936 (*25 Jahre Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft*, first volume, edited by Max Planck, Berlin, 1936, p. 200) Haber is mentioned only twice by name, and his contribution to the scientific work of his institute is treated merely as an administrative matter and passed over without comment (pp. 67-9). On page 8 the nitrogen-fixation process is briefly mentioned. It is true that President Planck in his address on this occasion praised Haber unstintingly, but he was criticized for this stand in National Socialist quarters.

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In a farewell note to his former staff, Haber wrote:¹

"With these words I say farewell to the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, which was established by the Leopold Koppel Foundation at my suggestion through the work of the late Architect Ihne, and which under my leadership has striven for twenty-two years to serve Mankind in peace and the Fatherland in war. In so far as I can judge the result, it has been favourable and has brought things of value both to science and to the defence of our land. The success is to be credited to a happy selection and to the creative power of my associates. I thank them all, and hope that the Institute under its new direction may find equally valuable men as associates and that it may maintain a name of honour and merit increasing respect in the eyes of the scientific world."

FRITZ HABER

* Former Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical and Electro-Chemistry.

October 1, 1933

Many who had been friends of Haber received from their Rector on January 17, 1935, the following Ministerial communication dated 15.1.35:

"The Kaiser Wilhelm Society, in co-operation with the German Chemical Society as well as of the German Physical Society, has sent out invitations to a Memorial Ceremony for Fritz Haber on Tuesday, January 29th, at Harnack House in Berlin-Dahlem.

Professor Dr. Haber was dismissed from his office on October 1, 1933, on the basis of a proposal in which his inner attitude against the present State was unambiguously expressed, and which public opinion was forced to interpret as a criticism of the measures adopted by the National Socialist State. The intention of the above-named Societies to sponsor a Memorial Service on the occasion of the first anniversary of Haber's death must in the light of this fact be interpreted as a challenge to the National Socialist State—all the more so since special commemorations of the first anniversary of a death are given only in especially exceptional cases to the *greatest* Germans.

¹ Facsimile reproduction overleaf.

Mit diesen Worten nehme ich Abschied von dem Kaiser Wilhelm Institut, das von der Leopold Koppel Stiftung nach meinen Vorschlägen durch den verstorbenen Oberbaurat Fink errichtet und unter meiner Leitung 22 Jahre bemüht gewesen ist, im Frieden der Menschheit und im Kriege dem Vaterlande zu dienen. Soweit ich das Ergebnis beurteilen kann, ist es günstig gewesen und hat dem -Friede wie der Landesverteidigung Nutzen gebracht. Der Erfolg ist der glücklichen Auswahl und der opferischen Kraft meiner Mitarbeiter zu danken. Ich danke ihnen allen und wünsche dem Institut, dass es unter neuer Leitung gleich wertvolle Menschen zu Mitarbeitern finden und in der Achtung der Fachwelt seine Geltung bewahren und erhalten möge.

Fritz Haber
 früher Direktor des Kaiser
 Wilhelm Instituts für physi-
 kalische Chemie und Elektrochemie
 1 Oktober 1933

FACSIMILE OF HABER'S FAREWELL LETTER TO HIS STAFF

THE UNIVERSITY ATMOSPHERE

This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the sponsors have not shrunk from urging those invited to the Ceremony to appear in uniform.

I must therefore forbid all my subordinates sworn in as State officials to participate in the Ceremony.”¹

The administration of the former Haber Institute is now ordered in a strict hierarchy, more like that of an army than of a research institution, with rigid subdivisions each under its own “Leader.” Permission to work in the Institute is signified by “passes” of three colours for three classes of workers. The scientific work is strictly framed by and under the supervision of the administration. Hours of attendance must be observed exactly, sickness must be reported “before noon on the first day of sickness,” and all injuries are to be treated by the staff physician and by him alone. Outside visitors are excluded whenever possible.²

MORE LETTERS FROM THE UNIVERSITY

Three days later: 21.1.35. Rector to Faculty, enclosing Ministerial decree of 5.1.35. Since the subscriptions to German scientific journals have suffered greatly in recent years, especially abroad, this “unpleasant circumstance,” which tends to injure the potentialities and the prestige of German science, must be overcome. The principal means in this direction are (1) the striving for conciseness and rigour in the thought of the article and the elimination of dissertations, and (2) the reduction of royalties and editor’s salaries.³

¹ In spite of this official intervention the meeting took place. Employees of universities were not allowed to come. Representatives of the Press were forbidden to attend, and no Press notice was allowed. However, the hall was filled. Many old soldiers appeared in uniform. There were speeches by prominent individuals, including one army officer, and readings of speeches from those who had been forbidden to attend. Important industrial supporters of the Society were present.

² *Dienstvorschrift für das Kaiser Wilhelm Institut für physikalische Chemie und Elektrochemie.*

³ Cf. Oskar Siebeck: *Die Aufgabe des wissenschaftlichen Verlags in Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1934, p. 24.

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February 1935. University Library to Faculty. The "old academic custom" of presenting one's own works to the Library should not be permitted to fall into oblivion. .

20.III.35. Science Bureau of the *Studentenschaft* to the Faculty: "Most honoured Herr Professor! His Magnificence the Herr Rector has informed us that Wednesday afternoons are to be kept free for Specialty Group Work and political training. I venture therefore to request you correspondingly to cancel any lectures or classes which come into question. *Heil Hitler!*"

March 26, 29, and 30, 1935. The Faculty received three invitations to the Rectoral Inauguration to take place on April 1st. In the first, from the Rector, they were asked to wear "a dark suit or uniform." In the second, also from the Rector, they were asked to wear academic gowns. In the third, from the *Dozenten-schaft*, they were informed that attendance was obligatory and that they should appear "as far as possible in uniforms."

6.v.35. Rector to Faculty. The Minister had asked the Rector to investigate whether certain unofficial pressure was being brought to bear on professors who had been consulted by the Minister about new appointments, promotions, etc. The Minister complained that it had been evident in some cases that his consultants had not spoken their own mind. Since such a lack of candour in experts would certainly undermine the Minister's grasp of the truth of the situation, and thus indirectly weaken the scientific standing of the universities, the Rector was asked to elicit reports from members of the Faculty concerning any such pressure to which they may have been subjected since May 1, 1934, and concerning the influence of such pressure on anything they may have replied to the Minister's request for information. These reports were to be sent in within a week. Failure to do so would be construed as an offence against their Service Oath.

5.VIII.35. Student Welfare Organization to Faculty. "Give funds for the student aid! Last winter the Organization was able to help only 213 out of 305 absolutely penniless students, and these 213 had even then to manage on only 64 marks a month."

THE OFFICIAL UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

Such is the picture revealed by reading specimens from the professor's official mail. Further, a brief consideration

THE UNIVERSITY ATMOSPHERE

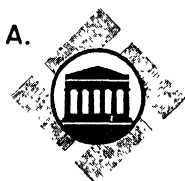
of some of the items contained in the Official Bulletin of the University of Berlin from May 15 to October 15, 1935, will give even deeper insight into the sort of atmosphere surrounding the university curriculum.¹ This Bulletin is sent by the University to all active members of the Faculty twice a month. It is a mimeographed sheet of usually four to eight pages, divided into eight sections: Personalia, relating to Faculty appointments, dismissals, promotions, transferrals, leave of absence, etc.; Rectoral Matters; Faculty Matters; Administration; Studies; Treasurer's Affairs; Announcements of the Party, Labour Front, Specialist Groups (*Fachschaften*) and the Federal Association of German Institutions of Higher Learning; and Miscellaneous. Each issue has on its first page the black Prussian eagle, grasping a sword and three bars of lightning in his talons, a swastika on his breast, and on the banner above his head the words "God With Us!" On either side of this emblem, beginning with the issue of August 31, 1935, appears in blocked letters (for the benefit of the Faculty): "Only for Official Use!" and "Publication Allowed only with My Approval!"

In the course of this five-month period (selected at random) the Faculty were forbidden to make statements for the Press about university affairs without the approval of the Rector (47) and forbidden to write any articles for scientific journals without first submitting them to him (65). They were told to regard all reports of the American Associated Press as of doubtful veracity (64). They were instructed to make the Hitler Salute on ceremonial occasions, to their own National Hymns and even to those of foreign nations (57), and they were requested to use "Heil Hitler" in their official correspondence only when "unusual formalities" were in

¹ *Amtsblatt der Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin*, 1935, Nos. 2-10. References are to pages.

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order, even if their correspondent had used it (65-6). They were ordered to report from the very first any correspondence they received inviting them to take academic positions or participate in scientific gatherings abroad (50); they were to accept such offers only with the approval



C. Amtsblatt



der Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität Berlin

Jahrgang 1 9 3 5.

Berlin, den 15. O k t o b e r.

Str. 10

A. EMBLEM OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CULTURAL UNION; B. EMBLEM OF THE SCIENCE BUREAU OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN *Studentenschaft*; C. THE HEADING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN OFFICIAL BULLETIN

of the Ministry (36). They were to report at least six weeks in advance intentions to travel abroad for scientific purposes, to lecture or attend scientific congresses or celebrations or to undertake research (32, 73-4). The Bureau for Foreign Exchange (*Devisenstelle*) allowed individual teachers to export only a limited sum of German money for such travels, but the Faculty was told that money for pictures or busts of Hitler could be taken from the University Treasury (77). All international scientific congresses in Germany would be officially planned and supervised by a Central Bureau for

this purpose,¹ which would also have charge of the participation by German scientists in foreign functions (45-6). They were informed by the Secret Police of the nefarious activities of the "Emergency Committee for German Scholars Abroad" (*Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaftler im Ausland*) which, this report ran, was organized by Jews, had flooded Constantinople with some twenty-four German-Jewish scientists,² and was now trying to entice even "Aryan" scientists away from German universities, especially those whose reduced circumstances and political isolation made them an easy prey to their temptations. They were at work especially in Turkey, the Balkans, South America, and India. Any correspondence whatsoever which came into the hands of university employees concerning this organization was to be forwarded immediately to the Minister through the Rector (15-16). They were "invited" to hear Professor Friedrich Schönmann lecture on "American-German Relations and the Jewish Question" (79). They were told that hesitation in taking the Service Oath would be considered equivalent to refusal (46), and that they could not consult or register complaints with the Minister without the previous permission of the Rector, who was instructed to send only the most urgent cases on

¹ Something of the effectiveness of this governmental supervision of scientific congresses was apparent to most foreigners who attended the "International" Population Congress, Berlin, August 28 to September 1, 1935. There were 11 English and 12 American as contrasted with 316 German members. Some delegates from foreign countries with credentials from recognized scientific organizations found themselves pushed aside in Berlin by compatriots who had made themselves useful in the diffusion of Nazi views but who were not "delegates." When statements "by foreign representatives" were made, either at banquets or in the Press, it was the sympathetic views of these unofficial delegates which were emphasized. A British man of science has commented (in a personal letter) on the published proceedings: "The volume seems to me to be a thousand closely printed pages of propaganda punctuated by trivialities and to leave all scientific matters exactly as they were" (20.VIII.36).

² In reality about twice that number! Cf. Table III above, p. 97.

to the Ministry (40). Professors in retirement were forbidden to do any teaching or lecturing before satisfying the Minister "that their political standpoint would not imperil the National Socialist educational programme among the academic youths." (37) The Student Social Welfare organization was forbidden to reply to a request for information on the question of the flooding of the universities and overcrowding of the academic professions sent out by the League of Nations Institute for Intellectual Co-operation in Paris *in case such a request were sent them*; the German Commission for Intellectual Co-operation on being officially advised by the Foreign Office to do so had already taken this stand (23). While it was generally permissible to hoist alongside the national flag those of the province and the municipality, the universities were forbidden this privilege (38). It was forbidden on pain of heavy fine to throw bouquets of flowers on festive occasions as an expression of tribute: the possibilities were too dreadful! (39). They were invited to participate in the sessions of the German Society for Defence Policy and Defence Science, of which the university as a body was a member (69).

Besides these more or less unrelated provisions circumscribing in one way or another the behaviour of the university personnel and thus giving a characteristic stamp to the non-academic university environment, one notes, turning the pages, more extensive announcements of programme or policy. One finds the entire six-semester course-plan for the Science of Journalism, beginning with "The Publicist Methods of Leadership," continuing with the "History of the Press" and "Theory of the Newspaper," and ending with "The Foreign Press," "The Theory of the Magazine" and "The New Press-Law" (18-19). A month later one finds a lengthy discussion (referring to the law of February 6, 1935) on the uses of motion pictures and films in university

instruction; a federal organization is envisaged which would distribute technical materials and advice as well as supervise the building up of film-libraries (47-9).¹ A few pages later one reads that because of the cumbersome, sometimes triplicate confusion of administration by the various teachers' organizations (*Dozentenschaft*, *Dozentenbund*, *NS Lehrerbund*) the major functions of all these bodies would be taken over by the Ministry beginning November 1, 1935, that is, especially the management of the Teachers' Camps and Academies, and the office of Leader of the *Dozentenschaft* will cease to exist (53-4). University teachers are reminded that in selecting their Assistants they are recruiting the raw material for the faculties of the future: and "to have a care for the next generation of university teachers is one of the weightiest and foremost tasks of a university" (54). An article of four pages attacks the Student Corporations for their snobbishness and appeals to them to join the ranks of the rest of the students, who are working shoulder to shoulder for the common national cause. The writer, who is Leader of the Federation of Students at Institutions of Higher Learning, admits that at one time the Corporations played a great role in Germany's revolutionary and national development, but argues that they have played their inheritance false and that it is now the Nazi students who are the real heirs of their once glorious spirit (58-61).

The Faculty reader is reminded on every page of the new spirit pervading the university. Here it is a notice that "Non-Aryan" students will not be allowed to compete for a certain honorary scholarship (69); here, that students once expelled from the university for political reasons have no chance of readmission (77-8); here, a request for a more comradely attitude on the part of teachers toward their students working for the Doctorate (76); or again, that for

¹ Cf. *AB*, I, 66-7, n. 89.

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physically unfit students a substitute service may be fulfilled instead of the usual six months of Labour Service (66-7), that exceptional cases may be excused from the three-semester compulsory athletic requirement (39), or that Labour Service for women is to be reduced to thirteen weeks for the year 1935 to make it possible for twice the usual number to fulfil their service requirements (66). The reader may be forcibly reminded of the Leadership Principle in university administration by reading that the Seminar on Eastern European History has been suddenly closed (56), that a new Pro-Rector has been "appointed" by the Minister (71), or that the leading lecturer in the History of Art at the university has suddenly "resigned" and will be succeeded by a professor from Munich (72). He may wonder why the Bulletin sees fit to tell him to read a certain French journal on "Balkan Studies" (58).

THE "DAY OF NATIONAL GLORY" AT THE UNIVERSITY

No description of the "university atmosphere" of contemporary Germany would be complete without some account of a university "celebration." The mass meeting has, perhaps, never been brought to such perfection as a political instrument as in Nazi Germany.¹ In a country where the factory wheels of a nation can be made to halt to heighten the effect of a political speech, where a factory the size of the Krupp Steel Works can be used as a rostrum from which to address the nation, where the bells of the oldest cathedrals and the latest achievements of aeronautical engineers can be counted upon to lend their dramatic in-

¹ One speaker at the University of Leipzig "celebration" which took place on January 31, 1935, declared: "The roots of our Reich-founding celebration lie beyond all rationality; they reach down into the depths of the experience of the German Man." (Hans Gerber: *Das Ewige Reich*, Tübingen, 1935.)

fluence to a campaign appeal, it would be strange indeed if the new "political university" did not reflect in some way the theatrical talents of its political controllers. In the nature of the case a description of such an event must be subjective, since its effectiveness, like that of a work of art, is for the onlooker a matter of immediacy of feeling.

During the Winter Semester, 1935-6, the University of Berlin witnessed two celebrations. The first was late in November, on the occasion of its One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary. The ceremonies opened in the morning with a dedicatory service in honour of the War Dead of the University and ended in the evening with a demonstration on the floor of Kroll's Opera House by the latest battalion from the Labour Service and with an exhibition of tumbling and gymnastics by the graduating men and women teachers of athletics.

Far more impressive was the second celebration, on the Third Anniversary of the founding of the Third Reich. Ten days before January 30, 1936, members of the Faculty received the following letter from the Rector:

Frederick-William University.

Re Celebration on the thirtieth of January 1936.

"The Celebration of the thirtieth of January this year will show, in accordance with the decree of the Prussian and Reich Minister for Science, Education, and People's Culture of 16.1.36, a somewhat altered aspect as against previous ones. Apart from the fact that it will be carried through as a celebration of the entire University community, it is intended on this occasion to allow for the first time the formative will of young Germany to achieve expression in strong measure. In the first place speaking-choruses of the NSDStB (National Socialist German Student League) will take part, which have to take up their position on the platform which ordinarily is reserved for the Faculty. In consideration of this fact the usual entrance procession of the Faculty has to be omitted. Instead of the Faculty the Senate only will walk in

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before the beginning of the ceremonies and take seats in the first row of chairs.

With reference to the announcement in the University Bulletin of the twenty-first of January, may I beg to require entrance tickets from all instructors. Participation in the Celebration can only be allowed to the Gentlemen of the Faculty, this time if they have entrance cards. All those who, owing to lack of space, do not receive admission cards to the New Aula have an opportunity to listen in with all other persons active in the University in overflow meetings in Lecture Halls thirty-three and one hundred and twenty-two.

I may expect general understanding for this restriction, made necessary under the circumstances.

Please wear a dark suit or uniform."

"Heil Hitler"

(signed) "KRÜGER, THE RECTOR."

It was difficult to make one's way to the Aula doors because of the thousands of SS and SA men who were making a gala display of their black and brown uniforms in the large open space between the Opera and the University, for between drills and parades they strolled about and impeded pedestrian as well as vehicular traffic. Once inside it was necessary to wait a half-hour or so until given an entrance card; this provided opportunity for watching the multi-uniformed students, men and women, arriving, exchanging their Hitler salute with varying degrees of earnestness, and clicking their heavy-booted way into the grand University Assembly Hall—renovated from a former palace, and adorned with a huge and rather mediocre fresco showing Fichte speaking to the German Nation in the days of the uprising against Napoleon.

Some fifteen minutes after the appointed time the tread of marching feet was heard. The student Speaking Choruses took their places on the "Faculty" platform at the front of the room, flanking the rostrum and extending to the corners,

where the tips of the long red swastika banners, which hung a full hundred feet from the ceiling, just touched the heads of those next to the wall. The band of Storm Troopers in the balcony opposite them was still silent. At the appearance of the Rector and Senate, however, everyone rose and saluted, and a fanfare was sounded. Then the brown-shirted Rector—formerly an official in a slaughter-house and a veterinary surgeon by profession—sat down in the middle of the front row, and with him some ten other professors, displaying a curious incongruity in costume, some wearing (despite their instructions) the traditional and gorgeous velvet talars (gowns) and plush caps of brilliant colours, reminding one of Catholic cardinals or court nobility, while others wore the drab Boy Scout-like uniform of the SA and other political organizations. The first symbolizes a history of the universities which stretches back into the Middle Ages, the second an “age” just three years old. In the second row sat Professor Alfred Bäumler, whose theory that the Middle Ages ended definitely with the World War¹ would seem to be shaken by the living evidence before him; but perhaps by the next January 30th Celebration only brown-shirts would be allowed for the Faculty “according to decree by the Reich and Prussian Minister for Science, Education, and People’s Culture.”

As the greeting fanfare died away the khaki-clad chorus burst out in a marching song to which the flags and standards of Party and Nation were borne in and stood at the front, where during the whole ceremony they were held in state by loyal “fighting students of the Leader”—as, ideally, according to a recent official announcement on the University bulletin boards, all students should be. The chorus was singing: “Greet the Banners, greet the Sign, greet the Leader

¹ Cf. his essay, “Der Sinn des Grossen Krieges” (17.X.29), *Männerbund und Wissenschaft*, p. 15.

who created them, greet all who died for them—follow faithfully in their train. . . .” This was sung first by the entire chorus, then by each half separately, then with one half singing the first part and the other half singing the second part, and so on through many tricks of choral gymnastics until the banners were all in position, when a great climax was reached and there was silence. This silence was broken by the voice of the leader of the first chorus, who spoke in high-pitched recitative tones an impassioned declaration of loyalty on the part of the students to the Leader—the chorus responding: “Adolf Hitler!” The leader of the second chorus then took up the theme, and he, too, received a thundering response from the faithful ranks behind him. With the support of the brass band, both choruses burst forth into a stirring anthem, the words of which were printed on the programme, but which one could hear, every syllable, from the well-trained voices of the National Socialist Student League, who had, apparently, through long weeks of preparation, committed each breath and accent to memory: “We carry the Fatherland in our hearts,” they sang, “for we are the Reich and we are the dike, For people, work, and freedom alike!” After three lusty verses in the same strain there was again silence, and the speaker of the day, a local Storm Troop organizer, who was an instructor in the University as well, addressed the gathering.

He was a clean-cut, youngish-looking man with glasses and a small moustache, clad, of course, in the fashionable khaki, a sort of Nazi version of a Y.M.C.A. speaker, college football coach, American Legionnaire, and Boy Scout leader all in one. The first five minutes of his speech could well be summed up as “crowing”—over the successes of the past three years. Germany was strong, Germany was pure, and Germany was unified, but most of all Germany was proud, proud of her strength, her purity, and her unity.

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. . . German science could be proud of this achievement too, and find new life in the reborn spirit of common service. "Everything which helps Germany is worthy of our research." The scientist works with the Party and with the new German State, and the student works with the professor, and—he closed—"together we are creating in our time an eternal Germany for all time."¹

As the speaker took his seat the leader of the first chorus took up the cry even more passionately than before. To heighten the dramatic effect he spoke not to the audience but directly to the leader of the second chorus, standing a few feet away on the other side of the rostrum: "My comrade!" he called out, "we are the youth of the future!" "My comrade!" called back the leader of the second chorus, "We are the youth of the new Germany!" "And we know what our duty is to be . . ." "Our duty is to create Germany's freedom, and the freedom of Germany is the most boundless duty the dream of youth could ever dream." The entire chorus then sang:

Uns ward das Los gegeben
Ein freies Volk zu sein.
Ihm wollen wir das Leben
Auf reinem Altar weihn.
Nie soll in uns sich regen
Hass, Eigennutz und Neid.
In Eintracht wolln wir prägen
Das Bild der neuen Zeit.

and so on.

"To us the lot was given to be a free people. To it we want to dedicate our lives, on its pure altar. Hate, jealousy, and selfishness in us shall never stir. In harmony we intend to give shape to the vision of the new age. We are of the elements of the people, body and mind. That which gives

¹ Cf. the address of his predecessor of the year before: Wilhelm Weber, *Vom Neuen Reich der Deutschen* . . . 30.1.35, Berlin, 1935, p. 16.

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us the soul of brothers is Germany! Our roots plunge deep in German soil; so what we do and dare is all devoted to her.

Wir schaun mit heil'gem Glauben
Ersehnte Einigkeit. .
Wir lassen uns nicht rauben
Das Bild der neuen Zeit!
Wir habens voll Verlangen
Im Herzen aufgestellt,
Bis daß es einst wird prangen
Erfüllt vor aller Welt.

We behold, with sacred belief, yearned-for Unity. No one can rob us of our vision of the new age! With zeal have we treasured it in our hearts, until at last it will shine gloriously before the whole world!"

At the end of this stirring anthem the priest-like voice of the chorus leader chanted the closing words of this amazing lay service, in which (as one could see by the programme) not only the leaders and the choruses, but also the entire assemblage was to have a part. "On the thirtieth of January 1936 do we intend, we Professors, we Students, we Workmen, we Clerks, we Men and Women of the University of Berlin, to declare our faith in sworn communion." Everyone rose. "We believe that the Reich will come into being, if we pledge unflinching loyalty to the Leader!" The choruses and assemblage replied: "We believe!" "We demand that loyalty always show itself in deeds and never in words." "We demand." "We know that thus as a part of the whole we fulfil our duty." "We know." "All our love, gratitude, and faithfulness, all that we feel for the Leader, People and Reich, shall now sound out in our song, and kindle new strength in our breast." All then joined in singing the closing hymn: "Holy Fatherland! In our hour of danger Thy sons throng around Thee. . . .

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Our oath is witnessed by the stars; He who rules the stars will hear our cry. Ere the foreigner robs You of Your crown, we shall die for You, Germany, man by man. . . . Holy Fatherland, we may all pass on, Thou shalt remain."

Heilig Vaterland! In Gefahren
Deine Söhne um dich scharen.
Von Gefahr umringt, heilig Vaterland,
Alle stehen wir Hand in Hand.

Bei den Sternen steht, was wir schwören.
Der die Sterne lenkt, wird uns hören:
Eh der Fremde dir deine Krone raubt,
Deutschland, fallen wir Haupt bei Haupt.

Du sollst bleiben, Land, wir vergehen.

There followed an uncertain wait, as at the close of an impressive church service, but gradually the meeting broke up. . . .

It had not, it seemed, been necessary after all that the Faculty should attend. The student speaking-chorus knew better than they what the professors would have said had they been invited to speak. In fact, the speaker of the day had been simply a strong leading voice in the general chorus, and the words he spoke added very little to what the chorus chanted; he emphasized, he reiterated, he held before one's attention with a single voice what one had already heard and would hear again from the symphony as a whole. In fact, there was no one in all Germany who could have said better what the occasion required than the chorus. Indeed, it is likely that as the years go by, such inspired utterances of zeal and faith will tend more and more to assume a fixed form like a church chant or credo. When all feel alike it is superfluous to hear divers individuals expressing their

opinions—superfluous and intolerably monotonous. Much better, *much* better that the Faculty of the University of Berlin should have been replaced by a trained student speaking-chorus: it had saved the Gentlemen of the Faculty much trouble, it had ensured against slips in matters of dogma, and it had produced a more effective religious atmosphere for the ritual celebration of “the holiest hour in the nation’s history.”

Outside, lined along the whole length of Unter den Linden, stood other faithful worshippers—many thousands of the Old Guard from all over the Reich, waiting to hear their revered Leader’s voice, forming a trained speaking-chorus three hundred times more numerous than that of the University, and to offer their cries of homage and devotion to their Leader himself in the name of the entire nation. The massive University buildings now looked on in silence. Their part in the ceremony had been fulfilled.

CHAPTER VI

IN BROADER PERSPECTIVE

THE preceding chapters have attempted to describe the metamorphosis of the German University-institution under the influence of National Socialism in terms of laws, statistics, ideologies, official correspondence, Press comments, and personal impressions. They have shown that the German university has lost in essentials the signs of a free institution. The privileges which had helped preserve it from the interference of State Power have melted away. Its semi-autonomous administration and the traditional independence of its teachers have collapsed before the impact of a powerful new ethic which demands undivided loyalty to the ideals of the social community. The proponents of the new faith are imbued with an ardent proselytizing zeal. The claims of timeless *trans*-social ideals are only grudgingly acknowledged¹ and their actualization is in a very real sense hindered. In the last analysis the monopolization of the liberal scientific university by the dogmatic totalitarian State has meant a renewed emphasis on social at the expense of intellectual values. Science has, in a sense, become the *political* theology of a *secular* theocracy. Philosophy is once more *ancilla theologiae*. Dissent has become equivalent to heresy, and heresy against a State Belief is treason. The recurrent European ideal of ethical universalism, with all its inherent virtues as well as vices, has for the time gained predominance over that other European ideal, which one of the greatest Germans and, at the same time, one of the

¹ "Es gab niemals eine Qualität, die ausserhalb des Historischen stand." Gottfried Benn, *Der neue Staat und die Intellektuellen*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1933, p. 16.

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greatest opponents of ethical universalism, writing in 1520, called "the freedom of a Christian man." The time has now come to inquire into the meaning of this change. Why did it occur? And what will be its probable effect on the future?

THE DEEPER BACKGROUND

The roots of National Socialism, as Professor Ernest Barker pointed out,¹ lie deep in the sociological structure of the modern world. The vast increase in the mere mass of population under any one Government's jurisdiction, the invention and spread of new means of rapid communication affecting both the movement of persons and the transfer of ideas, and the influence of public education on all classes of society—these three factors provide the setting for the more immediate modification of "the distribution of property, the system of class relationships determined (or mainly determined) by that distribution, and the social balance between the different factors in that system" brought about by the great upheavals of the War, the kaleidoscope of parties and Cabinets, the inflation and the depression. Added to these for Germany was the threat from the East of a proletarian philosophy of society which increased middle-class anxiety and thus strengthened the Nazi movement. Discussing Germany in a passage written about 1922, an English historian characterized her as "tougher in fibre than her Western neighbours yet equally shaken and exhausted: a land of sheep without a shepherd, rushing hither and thither seeking for a direction and a *Weltanschauung*, her amazing powers of industry and concentration and her rich and turbid life of feeling running to waste for lack

¹ "The Social Background of Recent Political Changes," *Sociological Review*, XXVIII (April 1936), 117-32.

of channelled guidance. . . ."¹ Ten years later a German scholar, addressing an audience at Rome on the one hundredth anniversary of Goethe's death, could still speak of "the sense of a world in decay, which in these days so manifoldly disturbs our minds, the impression of a great turning of the times, threatening from ahead, the constant abandoning of even the immediate past, the disturbance of our time-consciousness . . . that over-anxious expectancy of a something new and utterly different which is to come. . . ."²

An American political scientist and psychologist summarized *post facto* the origins of the Nazi regime thus: "Smarting under the humiliation of defeat, burdened by the discriminatory aftermath of Versailles, racked by the slow tortures of economic adversity, ruled in the name of political patterns devoid of sanctifying tradition, the German mentality had been ripening for an upsurge of the masses."³ Finally, a French philosopher, reflecting in 1935 on "la séduction des dictatures," remarks: "They know that the man of the new, post-war epoch is, above all, an anguished man (un homme angoissé),⁴ living in the uncertainty of to-morrow, demanding to be relieved from the effort of thinking and of making decisions for himself, in whom physiological misery and profound demoralization have

¹ Alfred Zimmern in *The Legacy of Greece*, ed. by R. W. Livingstone, Oxford, 1922, p. 339.

² Werner Richter, *Zu Goethes Hundertjährigem Todestag*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 31-2. It would be interesting to know to what extent the pessimistic cosmogonies elaborated in the post-war epoch were a result of this atmosphere of social decadence. Attention may be called to Planck's well-known statement: "The principle of entropy is the principle of death." The very multiplicity of speculative cosmogonies and philosophies of history in this period is perhaps a manifestation of despair.

³ Harold D. Lasswell, "The Psychology of Hitlerism," *The Political Quarterly*, IV (July-September 1933), p. 373.

⁴ The *Angstmensch* theory of the German philosopher Heidegger offers a parallel.

developed a latent instinct of servitude, a need for being regimented (*encadré*) and commanded."¹

The ominous character of this pre-Nazi atmosphere is so universally recognized that one cannot ignore the perils facing German culture and higher education, even without the more obvious interference of the new Government.² It is generally admitted, by German scholars as well as by others, that the universities of 1932 had fallen from the level of brilliance they had attained in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when Helmholtz, then Rector of the University of Berlin, could boast that Germany alone among European countries cherished the ideal of complete freedom of scientific discussion within her universities; when Kuno Francke, speaking of "the intellectual and religious independence of German character," could write, "Absence of constraint in scientific inquiry and religious conduct is indeed the very palladium of German freedom"; and when (as early as 1820) the future diplomatist and historian, George Bancroft, as one of the first Americans to study at a German university, had written to President Kirkland of Harvard University: "No Government knows so well how to create universities and high schools as the Prussian."³

¹ Louis Rougier, *Les mystiques politiques contemporaines et leurs incidences internationales* (Publication de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, Geneva, No. 15), Paris, 1935, p. 80. The author refers in the passage quoted to the fine book by Drabovitch, "La séduction des dictatures et la fragilité de la liberté," in *Mercure de France*, 1934.

² Cf. Karl Bräuer, *Die Tragödie der deutschen Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, Jena, 1933, especially pp. 27-32 (end); Hermann Hess, *Sitte und Kultur im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, Hamburg, 1932, p. 222; Edmund Schultz, *Das Gesicht der Demokratie, Ein Bilderwerk zur Geschichte der deutschen Nachkriegszeit*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1931.

³ H. Helmholtz: *Über die akademische Freiheit der deutschen Universitäten*, Berlin, 1878, pp. 21-3. Kuno Francke: "Bismarck as a National Type," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXII (October 1898), p. 566. M. A. DeWolfe Howe: *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft*, New York, 1908, Vol. i, p. 92. The peak of American student attendance at

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The reasons for this decline are many. Besides those already suggested, the influence of the physical and mental privations forced by the War on many a man who had been and would be intellectually creative can hardly be exaggerated. The universities are dotted with men even to-day who suffer from some physical ailment, a bodily wound or impaired vision or a badly functioning digestive system, directly or indirectly a result of the War. In addition, of course, should be mentioned the actual losses, not only in the War but in the influenza epidemic which followed it. It is highly probable that the War death-rate in academic ranks, which constituted a large part of the corps of reserve officers, was higher than among non-academics; the loss is most noticeable in the ranks of scholars and scientists who to-day are between the ages of 40 and 50.¹ Add to these basic physical influences the economic degradation of a large part of the middle and upper classes, the traditional patrons of science and the arts, firstly because of the evaporated War loans and secondly because of the inflation of 1922-3, and one begins to visualize the feebleness of the material structure on which the university tradition rested. By a curious paradox, in Germany, where the universities were entirely State-supported, the young teacher (*Privatdozent*) had always to begin his career at least partly on his own resources, whereas in the United States even institutions

German universities was reached in 1880-90, but the subsequent decline was no doubt partly due to the increasing prestige of American institutions. (C. F. Thwing, *The American and the German University*, New York, 1928, pp. 42-3.) In his article on "The German Universities at the World's Fair" in *The Monist* of October 1893 (IV, 106-20) Paul Carus asserts that "academic liberty has left an indelible stamp on the German university," which he hails as a veritable "temple of science."

¹ Cf. W. A. Neilson's Phi Beta Kappa address, "The American Scholar To-day," delivered at the St. Louis Opera House, January 1, 1936 (*The Key Reporter*, Spring 1936, pp. 37-8).

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which derive no part of their income from the State have never, as institutions, demanded that young teachers support themselves by private means. The liquidation of middle-class vested incomes thus had a much more direct effect on the university staff than would be likely in the United States.¹

The semi-proletarianization of the middle-classes had the further effect of modifying the class structure of the student body and the student temperament. University education became for many the last means of maintaining a certain social prestige. The net effect of this shifting in the economic centre of gravity of the student body, as well as of the thronging of the university lecture-rooms, was not only a degradation of the scientific but also of the social standing of the institution.

CRISIS MENTALITY

When one considers, all in all, the series of extra-academic shocks which had buffeted the university since 1914—military, physical, physiological, psychological, political, and economic—it is little wonder that the scientific level had sunk from that of the peaceful and prosperous four decades before the War. One of the saddest aspects of the contemporary situation is the state of mental depression shared by many intellectuals—those “in” as well as those “out”—which makes them, psychologically at least, resemble an intellectual proletariat. The academic investigator and teacher

¹ Heinrich Brüning (later Chancellor) remarked prophetically in a lecture on the critical condition of the academic before a Student Conference in Göttingen in 1920: “It is in any case evident that in a country where the capital basis melts away no large academic class of outstanding quality can in the long run maintain itself.” Quoted in F. Degenfeld-Schonburg, *Geist und Wirtschaft: Betrachtungen über die Aussichten der deutschen Akademiker*, Tübingen, 1927, p. 100.

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requires, above all men, a certain measure of quiet and harmony in his mode of life; external conditions must be secure in order that his ideas and intuitions may have opportunity to ripen and fructify. Yet the world of the old style German academician to-day is anything but secure, anything but quiet, and anything but harmonious. His perspective of the world about him, once identical with that of the comfort-loving bourgeois, now, resembles rather that of the worry-ridden proletarian; and just as the proletarian, because of his personal insecurity, has a natural inclination toward a fatalist or at least a determinist philosophy, so to-day even the German university professor, whose predecessors preached gospels of universal peace and world-reason, looks out blackly on a world ruled by ruthless political, economic, and psychological forces. "We are but the straws in the wind; the responsibility for the future lies in the hands of the dictators." For men in such tragic plight, haunted perhaps by the thought of suicide, scientific pursuits offer little appeal, nor are they indeed, in many cases, fit to undertake scientific work.

GO-BETWEENS

But it would be misleading to imply that the academic temper of contemporary Germany is uniformly pessimistic and fatalist. There are a few who, despite all adversity, remain content with their books, their friends and their music. Others, while deeply depressed, seek to secure concessions on the part of the regime, "to save what they can," while continuing in their own work, believing that a dictatorship, like a bad storm or a bad cold, will not go away any the sooner because one worries about it.

APOLOGETICS (HALF-TRUTHS)¹

Most of the rest, who, whether Party Members or not, stand close to the official view of things, are naturally far from pessimistic. For them the situation has been saved. True, they recognize, some of them, the darker side of things, but this they attribute to the pre-Nazi heritage of evils which under their influence are rapidly being surmounted or which made certain of the harsher aspects of the Nazi programme "necessary" in order that higher goals might be achieved. These men usually begin by reminding the foreigner of the three major facts of modern German history: first, the lost War and the incompetent Government which slipped in after the fall of the monarchy while the flower of the nation was still at the Front; second, the ignominy and hardship suffered at the hands of her victors in the long post-War period when Germany writhed under either military invasion in peace-time or financial tribute-slavery; third, the tearing up by the roots of the solid conventional ranks of the cultured classes as a result of the inflation, a consequence of governmental incompetence which left the entire lower and most of the middle bourgeoisie in an economic vacuum, and which can never be forgotten or forgiven. There is no danger that German culture will be destroyed by the National Socialist Revolution, they say; or, if there *is* danger, then perhaps that culture was so feeble that it did not deserve to live. After all, intellectual activity is something planted so deep in human nature, especially in Germans, that it can no more be destroyed

¹ Some might prefer Pareto's term "derivations" or Mannheim's "ideology," or even the somewhat old-fashioned term "rationalizations." The subject-matter of the following section consists of propositions asserted as true by supporters of the National Socialist regime, whether or not the persons asserting them believe them to be true, and whether or not, objectively speaking, they *are* true. (Cf. V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, New York, 1935, §§7-14 et seq.)

than breathing or digestion. And one must not forget, they continue, that culture has a bad tendency to lose touch with actuality, and, as Goethe said, men let themselves become complacent entirely too easily. If, therefore, the reasoning seems to be, the Lord sends Mephistopheles to stir men up, why should He not send National Socialists?

Des Menschen Tätigkeit kann allzuleicht erschaffen,
Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
Drum geb' ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
Der reizt und wirkt und muss als Teufel schaffen.¹

National differences must not, of course, be overlooked; Germans are not Englishmen, nor Englishmen Germans. But (it is argued) with the restoration of Germany to her place in European politics, as the natural and powerful bargainer and keeper of the balance between East and West, and especially as the vanguard of Europe against Russia and Bolshevism, these extreme tendencies now dominating, which were necessary to restore national pride and self-confidence, will even themselves out, and foreigners will see German culture and science taking their place in the world as before, and possibly it will be a younger and fresher type of culture by virtue of the new youthful revolutionary spirit that has gone into its rebirth.

So much for general apologetics. With regard more specifically to the university situation there are some five current "apologies." Some insist that the universities were rotten inside.² This explains both why they collapsed with

¹ *Faust*, I, 340-3.

² A quotation from Ernst Krieck dating from 1932 will illustrate not only the nature of this criticism but also something of the almost untranslatable invective employed in making it. "Nowhere any longer a whole, a congeries of disunited fragments, inflation of students, of teachers, of subjects and materials, withal a sinking in the calibre, especially in the teaching staff, which often scarcely produces even a somewhat average group of successors. A sinking above all in character and bearing (*Haltung*). . . . The juggling word-twisting Epigon-

so little resistance (as contrasted with the Church) and why a thorough house-cleaning was necessary. Some argue that the salaries paid to full professors were disproportionately large and that there was collusion between the Ministry and certain favourites in "guaranteeing" tuition-receipts far in excess of what the receipts from the students actually enrolled would have given. Entire faculties, in return for some such Ministerial concession, would bestow an honorary degree on the Minister or his more amenable Assistants. A certain Ministerial Director under Becker and Grimme, it is recalled, had received no less than seven honorary degrees during his term of office. Others argue that the professors had lost touch with the world about them and with their students. They were, therefore, poor teachers and feeble patriots. Sometimes the Nazis apply the old argument against over-specialization at the expense of "the whole man" or at least of the socio-political obligations of every man.¹ In all these criticisms there is undoubtedly an important element of truth.

A second criticism holds that the universities had become hot-beds of radicalism, and a third, which for many amounted to the same thing, that they were hot-beds of Judaism. It is said that the Social Democrats in 1918 had an almost mystical respect for the universities, from the faculties of which they had been generally excluded. "If we can only *win them* to our cause, we shall have won all," was the theory. In 1933 the National Socialists appear to have

philosophy, the self-complacent cultural-crisis-journalism, the salon-scepticism and pulpit-nihilism of the teaching class has grown to be a veritable burden, which can only serve to pollute people who come into contact with it. Let us leave it to the fashions of idle salon-ladies, but not to Youth." *Völkischer Gesamtstaat und nationale Erziehung*, Heidelberg, 1932, p. 36.

¹ For the history of this theory see Georg Steinhausen, "Fachmenschen und Arbeitsmenschen als geistige Typen des letzten Menschenalters," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 204 (June 1926), 288-304.

succumbed to a similar mystical admiration of the political significance of the universities, but in an opposite way. Then the theory was, "If we can only *crush them* we shall have crushed all." The attack on Jewish professors had many roots. Partly it was felt that Germany had become "a paradise for the Jews," and that they had abused hospitality by worming their way into all sorts of key positions, such as professorial chairs, from which they conspired with one another to exclude German candidates and advance their fellow Jews. As in the classical American ditty the native of pure stock finds to his chagrin that all the best of everything had been "taken up by the Portuguese, the Aye-talian, the Armenian and the Greek," so the "Aryan" German felt that his chances for getting ahead were seriously impaired by the presence of this "alien race." The half-conscious realization that much of this priority was a reward of merit simply added insult to injury. (The Jews, who constituted less than 1 per cent of the German population, are said to have held 12 per cent of the professorships and more than 25 per cent of the Nobel Prizes. But how can a Nobel Prize be won except by merit?)

Fourth, it is maintained that the university faculties had degenerated into a nest of quarrelsome cliques or schools, which tyrannized over their own university, where they held a monopoly, and had nothing to do with their rivals in others. For the graduate student or young instructor who disagreed with his professor there was no chance of promotion. It was claimed as a saving grace of the Nazi Revolution in the universities that this "tyranny of the schools" had been broken up. This argument is a favourite one with the Nazi apologists because they can point to a similar degeneracy in university faculties of other countries and periods and feel the full weight of their historical mission. What other countries call "academic freedom," the Nazi

argues, is, therefore, only a sham. This argument is exactly parallel to those bearing on State control of the Press and liquidation of the Jews. What goes on in other countries under the guise of freedom is, they say, really a control of public opinion by moneyed interests and their Presses, or, in the case of Jews, a social ostracism and discrimination no less real because it is not legal. That there is a difference in degree so important that it amounts to a difference in kind between open competition among varied interest-groups, whether it be in the field of academic discussion, control of public opinion, or competition for social prestige, and a dictatorship of one uniform dogma backed up by all the power a modern State can employ, the Nazi apologist is loath to grant. Most Germans assume the Hegelian doctrine of Freedom, which leads to such typically paradoxical conclusions as that indicated by Professor Martin Heidegger in his Rectoral Address at Freiburg, May 27, 1933, namely that students could find true "academic freedom" only by being "bound" in three ways: to the Folk-Community, by Labour Service; to the Nation, by Military Service; and to the intellectual needs of his people, by Science Service.¹

Fifth, against the criticism that "scientific objectivity" has been abandoned, they reply that there is no such thing.

¹ Heidegger: *Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität*, Breslau, 1934, pp. 15-17. The Hegelian doctrine runs as follows: "Freedom is only negatively conceived when it is represented as if the subject were to limit his freedom against other subjects in such a way that this mutual limitation would leave each one a little spot where he could let himself do as he liked; on the contrary, Law, Morality and the State, and only these, are the positive realization and satisfaction of Freedom. Behaving as one likes is just what Freedom is *not*. . . . All education is directed toward the end that the individual should not remain in the subjective, but become objective in the State. . . ." Hegel quoted by Kurt Singer in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, 56 (1932), II, 1218, in an exceedingly interesting article, "Die geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung des italienischen Faschismus," pp. 1203-21.

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It was a prejudice of an age which also believed in free competition between labourers, businesses, and countries. It has passed away with the age of liberalism which gave it birth. The importance of "unconscious presuppositions," of the "inarticulate major premise" in all thinking, was pointed out by isolated thinkers long before the Nazi regime.¹ They have simply drawn the logical conclusions and recognized the demise of objective science as a *fait accompli*.

Here, again, a partial truth is stretched so far that it becomes not a whole truth but a truth with so large an admixture of falsity that its validity may be seriously questioned. Supposing all science is subjective, especially in fields of knowledge where human emotions are easily awakened, does that imply that all subjectivity is the same, on all questions, even for all loyal members of a national group? Still less can it imply that all the subjective prejudices of all members of a national group *should* be the same, either for the sake of science or for the sake of the nation.

THE REAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS²

The above official explanations of and apologies for, the Nazi university reform may be left without further comment. What *were* the basic factors involved? It may fairly be argued that they were three: a resentment of economic competition by Jewish professors; a feeling of national insecurity and distrust of certain university teachers as groups and as individuals, especially those on the Left-Wing or Jews; and plain personal pique and desire for

¹ E.g. Eduard Spranger, *Der Sinn der Voraussetzungslosigkeit in den Geisteswissenschaften*, Berlin (Akademie der Wissenschaften), 1929, p. 31.

² Some might prefer Pareto's term "sentiments."

revenge. While there is a certain element of truth in many of the official assertions regarding the "rotteness" of the Faculties (their isolation from actualities and student-life and their nepotism), the political danger of certain groups on the Faculties, the "tyranny of the schools," and lastly the shallowness of the old views of the possibility of attaining objective truth, especially in the social sciences, these criticisms may be regarded mainly as rationalizations of the three basic factors just mentioned. This view is borne out by the consideration that every one of the five official criticisms could be countered by equally potent criticisms of the present university regime, some of which would be exactly parallel. The professors have certainly been brought closer in touch with socio-political actualities, and with student life,—but at what cost to their intellectual productivity? Who would seek to deny party politics, nepotism and collusion between the Ministry and the universities to-day? Minor dissenting political groups have been eliminated, it is true,—but at what cost of underground hostility on the one hand and loss of intellectual, social, and cultural stimulus on the other?

Supplementary to these more immediate psychological factors was a deep-seated sentiment of the futility of intellectual activity and of the bankruptcy of the German Christian cultural tradition. This feeling of the inadequacy of human reason, epitomized in the German contrast between *Intellektualismus* and *Geist*, was enhanced by the experience of recent cultural European socio-political disruption and by the inescapable sensation of frustration forced upon the unemployed intellectual. This spirit of discontent led on the one hand to despair, on the other hand to revolt. Both formed a basic part of the disquieting psychological background from which the Revolutionary passions developed.

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THE BALANCE-SHEET

The time has come to make an estimate of the losses and gains involved in the whole institutional transformation. For convenience this final balance-sheet may be summed up under twenty heads, ten "plusses" and ten "minuses." (The numerical statement is quite incidental; it implies no quantitative "calculus.") It will be noticed that the minuses are almost all losses directly or indirectly to science (in one instance to the personalities of the Faculty) and only very indirectly to national policy, whereas the plusses are only by a stretch of the imagination gains to science but rather involve the general conditions of student life, the situation in the social world influenced by the university, and the fortunes of national policy. The balance-sheet shows then a net gain for Germany, in so far as it is not counteracted by the losses to science, and a net loss to science, in so far as it is not counteracted by gains for Germany.

GAINS

Under the gains, as a result of the Nazi university reform, may be noted first of all the control of student enrolment, with its consequent limitation on the numbers attending classes and lectures, thus indirectly aiding the scientific curriculum of the institution. Following from the numerical control of university attendance is, or will be, a vastly improved condition with regard to unemployment in the academic professions. Third, there is a distinct quieting of the superficial university scene. There are no more student riots such as the political squabbles and anti-semitic attacks which had so unsettled German university life in the post-war period and such as have led on several occasions

to severe embarrassments at the universities of Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, and elsewhere. Further, the unfortunate split of the Faculties into political factions has, of course, been overcome.¹ There is quiet and superficial security, even if to some it is the quiet and security of a vice. Fourth, there is probably an elimination of some academic "loafing" of dawdlers, who spent their time in beer-drinking bouts and other more or less innocent amusements, using university attendance merely as an excuse for economic idleness. Even those students who took their academic work more seriously may have found a stimulus in the new atmosphere to increased efforts at self-training. Fifth, the continual harping on one's duty to State and community, while it bores some students, provides a simple orientation plan for many whose life-ideals are as yet inchoate and whose enthusiasm is as yet unspoiled. Sixth, and certainly to be commended, in so far as it is not over-emphasized, is the new university sports programme. Physical fitness is no mean goal if properly co-ordinated with general and vocational training. There is some doubt, however, if the Germans will ever properly understand the difference between *sports* and *athletics*; the one is a form of play involving physical proficiency of some sort, while the other is the mastery of a physical discipline for its own sake or for the sake of health or physical preparedness. Seventh, more typical of their activity than the word *Sport* (which the Germans have adopted from the English) is the hybrid German invention Wehrsport, or athletics carried on with the end of being physically prepared for military service. The training of the student body in a new spirit of defence-mindedness (*Wehrhaftigkeit*) as a contrast to the apathetic, dilettantish,

¹ Cf. *Die deutschen Universitäten und der heutige Staat*, by W. Kahl, F. Meinecke and G. Radbruch, "Recht und Staat in Geschichte und Gegenwart," 44, Tübingen, 1926, p. 39.

over-intellectual attitude of many students is considered by a large proportion of Germans as perhaps the major achievement of the *Hochschulreform*. Eighth, with the new emphasis on athletics and defence-mindedness should be mentioned the new system of using the university as the last stage in a great programme of eugenic selection of the future ruling class of society. Through careful breeding and careful environmental conditioning, the National Socialist university is to play its role in the biological and psychological regeneration of the German people. Ninth, in addition to all these points one may speak in general of the stimulus to the whole university atmosphere of the proddings of the Mephistophelean Nazis. Many a sleepy country college has been aroused to new life by the feeling of the watchful eye of a reinvigorated Ministry upon it, and many a doddering teacher has tried under this goad to bring new life into his lectures or his writing. This invocation of the forces of Hades is, however, a sad commentary upon the apparent inefficacy of influences closer to the divine. Finally, it can hardly be denied that *in so far as they have succeeded in preserving unimpaired what science they need for practical ends*, they have gained in political stability by their university reform. As training schools for the nation's leaders the institutions of higher learning have been brought thoroughly into line with the sentiments and ambitions of the national Government to an extent certainly never reached by the Republic and approaching indeed in this respect the unity of cultural and national ideals aimed at under the Empire.¹

¹ Friedrich Meinecke has recently referred to "that fructifying symbiosis of Science, National Life and Politics, which had so great an influence between 1832 and 1871," and which, he adds, was by no means completely extinct after 1871. (*Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 152, p. 102). Cf. also Meinecke's war-time essay, "Um Welche Güter Kämpfen Wir?" in Eduard Meyer, *Deutschland und der Krieg*, Berlin, 1914, and Otto

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The drawback to this summary of gains lies in the proviso—"in so far as they have succeeded in preserving unimpaired what science they need. . . ." How well have they succeeded? What has science suffered while the national policies flourished?

LOSSES

The losses in scientific man-power have been analysed in the preceding pages, and, while the numerical losses were found to be somewhat less than is widely supposed, a sheer loss of 15 to 20 per cent is no inconsiderable item for any educational system, especially since it involved many of the outstanding men of German science. Nor has the corresponding loading of the university budget with supernumerary pensions been without influence in decreasing the funds available for scientific research. But far graver than the pure numerical loss is the hidden burden of self-deception, hypocrisy, and compromise. No true greatness is likely to emerge where there is such a pall of petty revenge¹ and of heartless oppression as now hangs over the university scene in Germany. These three factors affecting especially the Faculties and their scientific facilities allow one to presume that the actual scientific work and even technological competency of the country as a whole will suffer, although the achievements of German technical genius have dazzled the world in the past and may well, "under the

von Gierke, "Krieg und Kultur" (18.IX.14) in *Deutsche Reden in schwerer Zeit*, Berlin, 1914, pp. 75-102.

¹ Cf. (to cite a few examples) an attack on Ferdinand Tönnies, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 2.II.33, and on Heinrich Mann, *ibid.*, 19/20.II.33; "Leider kein Märchen: Lebenslauf eines Professors der deutschen Literatur," *ibid.*, 24.II.33, 2te Beiblatt (an attack on Werner Richter); and Walter Franck: "*L'incorruptible*, eine Studie über H. Oncken," *ibid.*, 3/4.II.35.

stimulus of hard necessity, continue to do so in the years to come. The major reason to doubt the achievements of German science in coming generations, given a continuance of present tendencies in higher education, lies in the destruction of the traditional academic atmosphere, a delicate combination of factors which is a result of long evolution and the loss of which may work serious harm for scientific instruction and research in the future. While the loading of the curriculum with new extra-curricular obligations, both for student and teacher, is not by any means of negligible importance in this respect, it is slight in comparison with the implications of the wholesale annihilation of free discussion on principle, the prescription of an official dogmatic *Weltanschauung*, the politicization of the classroom, and the creation by governmental fiat of uniform study-plans from university to university. Where a difference in opinion may call down the retort of being a traitor to one's people, complicated pedagogical institutions like the Seminar (a German invention) lose all point. Where scholarly seclusion and abstraction from the troubles of the world are denounced as political sins, one may legitimately fear for the future of scientific activity. Finally, where a national policy in its educational institutions leads to such universal condemnation by the scholarly world abroad and at home as has that of the National Socialist Government,¹ the great value that lies in the open exchange

¹ Cf. the controversy in the English Press, especially *The Times*, during February 1936 as to whether the English universities should accept the invitation of the University of Heidelberg to send delegates to its 550th anniversary. When finally all the English universities had refused, the Rector of Heidelberg withdrew the invitations (with the exception of that to Cambridge), arguing that what had originally been intended as a gesture of friendship had been made a political issue, thus causing regrettable embarrassment to those Englishmen who had urged acceptance. The invitation was withdrawn, he said, to relieve these gentlemen of their embarrassing predicament. Cambridge was excepted because, it was stated in the Nazi Press, it had sent "a friendly reply"

of ideas and collaboration between scientific workers of different professional trainings and different cultural backgrounds becomes less and less possible. Germany is rapidly falling into a quagmire of intellectual provincialism.¹

One of the leading German educational philosophers has recently summed up his disappointment with the Nazi reform by asserting that the German universities, which once bestowed their best features on their sister institutions in the United States, have now taken over the worst features of these.² They have become obsessed with athletics. They have succumbed to the limited ideal of vocationalism. They have subjected the curriculum to a regimented uniformity surpassing the worst evils of the text-book mania. And,

(*Völkischer Beobachter*, 2.II.36). Thus the German public in general was given the false impression that Cambridge alone among English universities had accepted. The Cambridge refusal was announced in the *London Times*, 28.II.36, and the withdrawal of the invitation, 3.III.36 (cf. the editorial "Heidelberg Withdraws"), the following day. On 26.II.36 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* had announced that Cambridge would probably refuse. The *Times* correspondence and some other material bearing on the controversy have been printed in *Heidelberg and the Universities of America*, New York (Viking Press), 1936. This volume was reviewed by H. J. Laski, *The New Republic*, 11.XI.36. Condemnations by other scholars, such as Étienne Gilson in the *New York Times* of 14.IX.36 or in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, 10.X.36, and even in his speech at the Harvard Tercentenary, are so frequent as to defy enumeration.

¹ Harvard's refusal of the Hanfstängl offer of a scholarship for Americans to study in Germany is symptomatic. Similarly, Germany had no official delegate to the Harvard Tercentenary Celebrations, since the nine German scholars who "had been allowed" to attend had also been informed by their Government that they were under no circumstances to act in such a way as to convey the impression that they were "representing" their country. On the recent occasion of presenting the Kaiser Wilhelm Society the sum of \$655,000 pledged in 1930, Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, stated: "The world of science is a world without flags or frontiers. It is quite possible, however, that the Foundation would not have made the grant if it could have foreseen present conditions in Germany" (as reported in the *New York Times*, 24.XI.36).

² Cf. the challenging critique of R. M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America*, New Haven (Yale University Press), 1936.

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least forgivable of all, they have submerged all the fine, free play of the human intellect under the dull, stupefying vapour of ideological conformity.

THE FINAL ESTIMATE

Thus one conclusion stands out unquestioned: science as a whole has lost by the change. A second conclusion stands out scarcely less clearly: Germany has gained something. Will Germany continue to gain despite the loss to science? Will she perhaps find a way out of her trials which will allow her to achieve again the distinction of a great civilization—the attainment not only of those things which are necessary for existence, but also, as the teacher of one of the world's greatest rulers once taught, those rare and delicate values which constitute "the grace of life"?

One final point. However much one may dislike the cultural and scientific effects of the National Socialist Revolution, one must view the whole transition as an outgrowth of an environment heavily weighted with tragedy—with mistakes, misunderstandings, failures, resentments, and passionate hatreds. The seeds which history sows grow straight and tall, or deformed and stunted, as historical conditions permit. "It seems," one of the greatest of modern German historians once wrote, "as though the State *must* sin"¹ for the sake of preserving its existence. Germany has succeeded in preserving her existence amid a flux of circumstances where many a lesser nation would have collapsed. The "Wacht am Rhein" has been re-established, and of *this* Germans have good right to be proud. The stigma which, for many, mars the new national banner may perhaps

¹ Friedrich Meinecke: *Die Idee der Staatsräson*, 2nd ed., Munich and Berlin, 1925, p. 15

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be due to as many factors and to as many groups and nations as was the great conflict out of which this dictatorship grew. To condemn Germany alone for the "sins" committed in the name of National Socialism is to perpetuate the fatal error of Versailles.

APPENDIX A

LAWS RELATING TO FACULTY DISMISSALS

THE pretexts offered in the Civil Service Law of April 7, 1933,¹ are (1) inadequate training (§2); (2) political unreliability, especially membership in the Communist Party (§§2a, 4); (3) "Non-Aryan" descent, unless the official, (a) was in office before I.VIII.14, or (b) fought in the World War, or (c) lost a father or a son in the War; (4) reorganization of work, simplification of administration, etc. (§§5, 6). The First Supplement of the Law, four days later specifies that an official is "Non-Aryan" if one or more grandparents were of Jewish blood, "especially if they professed the Jewish religion" (§2). The Law of January 21, 1935² justifies removals and transferrals of university teachers on the general basis of a "fundamental reconstruction of the universities," the particular method used being the abolition of a professorship or professorial chair (officially referred to by the euphemism "wegen Wegfalls des Lehrstuhls"). The First Supplement to the Nuremberg Citizenship Law (15.IX.35) of November 14, 1935³ further defines who, as a "Jew," is excluded from holding a State office. (The term "Non-Aryan" has dropped out of the official discussion.) A "Jew" in this sense may belong to any of five categories. He is a Jew (a) if descended from at least three full-Jewish grandparents; "full-Jewish" means either having full-Jewish "blood" or belonging to the Jewish religion. He is a Jew if descended from only two full-Jewish grandparents and is either (b) a member of the Jewish religious community, or (c) married to a Jew, or (d) a child of a marriage with a Jew in the sense of (a) contracted after the Law for the Protection of German Blood of September 15, 1935,⁴ or (e) a child of an extra-marital union with a Jew in the sense of (a) if the child is born after July 31, 1936. Exempted categories are thus descendants of only one full-Jewish grandparent, and even descendants of two full-Jewish grandparents if they are not vulnerable under headings (b), (c), (d), and (e) above.

¹ RGB, 175.

³ RGB, I, 1333-4.

² RGB, I, 23.

⁴ RGB, I, 1146

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Not exempted by *this* law are those Jews who had fought in the World War.¹

As to the enforcement of these provisions, all those of the law of April 7, 1933, were to have been put into effect by 30.IX.33 except those touching on reorganizational matters, which were to have been enforced by 31.II.34. By a supplementary law of 22.IX.33² the limiting date for all the provisions was set at 31.III.34. The law of 21.I.35 was to be valid until 31.XII.37. The "Nuremberg" Supplementary provisions of 14.XI.35 were to have effect on the last day of 1935.

What provision did the State promise to make for these dismissed Civil Servants? Those dismissed under the "Non-Aryan" and "political" clauses of the law of April 7, 1933, were not guaranteed pensions unless they had been in office at least ten years. Men "relieved of their official duties" by the law of 21.I.35 were to receive their lawful salary but no tuition fees, i.e. the *Kolleggeld* accruing to a professor according to the number of his "hearers," in some cases "guaranteed" to a professor by the State as the equivalent for the tuition of a fixed number of students, whether he had them or not, and amounting (usually) to about one-fourth of his total pay. In point of fact the salary itself has been cut so that the "retired professor" receives as a rule about one-half his former income. Occasionally even this has been denied or arbitrarily withdrawn. The Nuremberg First Supplement applies to Jewish war veterans (whose previous exemption therewith became obsolete) the general guarantees of 21.I.35: they were to receive even in retirement their full salary (if of pensionable magnitude), without, however, advancing according to the age-scale, until the age of 65, when their pensions would be recalculated.

It is significant that the Nuremberg laws of September 15th and their two supplements of November 14 and December 21, 1935,³ are signed by Hitler, Frick, and Hess. Despite their

¹ Marriage to a Jew is sufficient cause to keep a candidate from achieving the "right to teach" ("Reichs-Habilitationsordnung," 13.XII.34, AB, I, 12-14, n. 11, and "Änderung der Universitätssatzungen," 18.X.33, ZB, LXXV, 277, n. 340), but not sufficient to deprive office-holders of their positions.

² RGB, I, 655.

³ RGB, 1524. The Second Supplement makes explicit inclusion of all regular teachers at "*wissenschaftliche Hochschulen*," and in addition all honorary and "nichtbeamtete ausserordentliche" professors as well as "*Privatdozenten*."

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importance for the universities in that they led to the dismissal of all those Jews who had previously been exempted as war veterans, none is signed by the Minister of Education, nor is their incidence on the university Faculties mentioned in the Ministry of Education Bulletin *Deutsche Wissenschaft*.

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APPENDIX B

NATIONAL SOCIALIST STUDENT MENTALITY

THE newspaper weekly of the *Studentenbund*, called *Die Bewegung* (The Movement) stands, in its degree of radicalism, somewhere between Rosenberg's *Völkischer Beobachter* and Streicher's anti-Semitic *Der Stürmer*. It delights in unearthing old scandals and praising new virtues. Particular enemies of the "old times," such as well-known pacifists or republicans, are mercilessly dissected and ridiculed in word and drawing. Popular Nazi professors and organization leaders are shown in the best light: Professor Alfred Bäumler, e.g., in a gymnasium suit with other students and teachers in a photograph entitled "The Team Has Appeared!" Professor Ernst Kriek "cleaning his boots" (13.IX.35), or the *Studentenbund* Leader Derichsweiler in a snowball fight (20.IX.35). Minor matters are treated as momentous issues: e.g. the displaying by a Munich art dealer of a "Portrait of an SA Man," which was felt to be a deadly insult because the individual portrayed looked like a "poor idiot" (13.IX.35). The stopping of a gentleman who wanted to attend a club dinner on a Nazi holiday by an SS guard is regarded as an act of heroism (27.IX.35). Traditional academic and bourgeois traits are made to appear ludicrous: good taste, tone, refinement, social discrimination, and the subordination of all except scientific criteria in matters touching on academic personnel.

One article entitled (in Bavarian dialect) "Does That Really Still Exist?" makes fun of a Munich student organization with the name "Catholic Bavarian Student Association Rhaetia." "Catholic Bavarian indeed! In these two words is exposed the whole black messiness of attitude of these 'gentlemen.' . . . A Bavarian Student Association! There we have gentlemen with an horizon limited by the River Main. They're probably still dreaming the oh so lovely dream of an independent Catholic Bavarian State? No, Gentlemen of the Rhaetia, these times are gone once and for all! . . . For your information: We recognize no Catholic or Protestant, Bavarian or Prussian students, but only fellow *Germans* and Comrades . . ." (20.IX.35).

Another article, "The Individualist," runs as follows: "He has

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such a cared-for exterior! Just as if right out of the egg, for his pocket-money permits him that. He is the product of generations of bourgeois education. He's become somewhat tender in the process, or more brutally put, 'decadent.' He grew up under the protection of nurses and governesses. Upper school was already terrible, to have to sit so in the midst of a crowd of young fellows so few of whom had had 'nurseries.' They were rough-necks, and he was oh so tender. Just a little music, just a little drawing, just a little Schopenhauer, and immediately you were a Beethoven, a Michelangelo, a new Philosopher in the making. Now you were mature. That was down in black and white. Called the School Graduation Certificate. Now you were free! Sublimity! Finally the individual for himself. But, hard luck, young friend. In the meantime the Republic had shaken itself to pieces and a new State arisen... What please, Training? What, Labour Service? Military Service? O Lord, he is oh so tender, and of course he has his own work. Drill-trousers? Pick and shovel; O Lord, even a gun? Must that be? Community spirit? Yes, Uncle Casimir was always speaking about it. He was a Corps-Student. Then possibly one could busy himself in such a Corps? What please? The Kösener S.C. has disbanded? It exists no longer? But, Great Heavens! Where is there then still a secure corner for an Individualist?" (27.IX.35).

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