1954

The Hitler Youth Movement, 1933-1945

Forest Ernest Barber
Loyola University Chicago

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THE HITLER YOUTH MOVEMENT 1933-1945

by

FOREST ERNEST BARBER

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF LOYOLA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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A Good Outline For a Future Thesis

JUNE

1954
LIFE

Forest Ernest Barber was born in Rensselaer, Indiana, December 31, 1922.

He was graduated from Rensselaer Public High School, Rensselaer, Indiana, June, 1941, and from Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana, June, 1945, with the degree of Bachelor of Science.

From 1945 to 1946 the author taught in Havana, Cuba. From 1946 to 1948 he taught in Athens, Greece; and from 1948 to 1951 he acted as an Education Advisor in the Troop Information and Education Program, United States Army of Occupation, Germany.

Forest Ernest Barber began his graduate studies at Loyola University in September, 1952.

From 1951 to 1953 the author taught in Chicago, Illinois, and in 1953 he went to Canada to teach.

On November 28, 1953 the author married Her Serene Highness, Eleonore Marie, Princess von Auersperg.
SPECIAL THANKS

Special thanks for the interest shown and the aid and information given which helped me write this paper are due to His Serene Highness, Hubertus Maria Friedrich, Prince zu Loewenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, who is at present a member of the West German Bundestag, and who was a leader of the "Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold" during the Weimar Republic; to Her High and Wellbornness, Maria Sophie, Countess and Noble Lady von and zu Eltz, (Born Her Serene Highness, Princess zu Loewenstein-Wertheim-and Rosenberg), a leader in the German "Caritas" Organization; to Her Illustrious Highness, Sofie Anna, Countess Waldbott von Bassenheim, (Born Baroness Poschinger von Frauenau), whose brother-in-law knew Hitler intimately till his rise to power; and to the late, His Royal Highness, Hubertus Charles William von Hohenzollern, Prince of Prussia, (the third son of the Crown Prince and grandson of the last Kaiser, Wilhelm II), who gave me the reactions of the Royal Family to both the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist government.

Much of the material used in chapter one of this thesis would never have been known by me had it not been for the kindness of the aforementioned people.
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The year was 1896, the very senility of the dissy climb to the supposed glories of the brave new world. However, in Germany, a certain professor, Ludwig Gurlitt by name, dared to say that everything was not for the best in the best of all possible worlds. He openly challenged the then prevailing bourgeois standards of education; he used subversive phrases, such as "school reform" and "independence in thought and deed." But far worse he actually said that the prevailing system was stultifying and insincere, and that parents should not impose their adult standards on the personalities of the younger generation. It was only natural that Gurlitt was dismissed just as promptly as bureaucratic routine permitted.

The burning brand of purifying dismissal, however, touched only Gurlitt; his pupils still remained. Among them was Karl Fischer, called "Crazy Fischer" by the solid citizens of Steglitz, so extraordinary a personality that his fellows began to fall under his sway.

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2 Howard Becker, *German Youth: Bond or Free*, New York, 1946, 54.
From this humble beginning in Steglitz, the German Youth Movement developed. The German Youth Movement arose at a particular historical moment as the necessary protest of a young generation against current values.

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the new century were times of vast cultural decline in Germany. There was no longer any new political-cultural development, for the Reich had been established; an idea for which people had yearned for many decades was realized, and so the life of Germany stagnated. There were the recognized values of altar and throne, which could not be called in question, and there was the profiteer element which exploited the possibilities of the political struggle in the Reich.

For youth, this meant education towards a form of patriotism which degenerated into arrogance, and towards a religiositv which was nothing but a sham, because capacity and wealth were the idols of the day. Children even wore the dress of adults. Their amusements were simply imitations of the adult mode of social life, dancing circles, visits to museums, and every kind of secretiveness.

The Youth Movement, which suddenly burst forth, was a reaction to this situation. Its first mode of expression took the form of a protest against the dominant fashions. The Youth Movement revolted against the dress which had been forced upon it and fought against the opinion that it was through smoking, drinking and flirting that the young man proved his manliness. It revolted against the literature and music which had been imposed upon it, and rebelled against the routine of daily school life, and took for its aim
the conquest of its own world for youth and the discovery of its own values which were not to be found in the grown-up world.

The Youth Movement was a bourgeois development brought about by a youth belonging to the middle class and made up of the sons and daughters of civil servants, business men, office workers and professional men. The movement began in the schools and afterward took hold in the universities; it was only at a later stage that it penetrated into the working classes.

In the grammar school of the Berlin suburb of Steglitz, which was inhabited mainly by members of the middle and lower middle class, a "shorthand" club was formed among the older boys. Shorthand did not belong to the school curriculum nor had it won its way into business life. Therefore shorthand writing had the attraction of a cryptography not known to grown-ups. Delight in shorthand was a sort of "password," and shorthand writing meant escape outside the realm of current values, to do something revolutionary. Thus it was quite natural that the members of the shorthand club soon came to feel themselves as partners in a league of friendship.

The recognized head of this group was the aforementioned young student Karl Fischer, a born leader with all the qualities, good as well as dangerous, of the fanatical sectarian. It was due to Fischer's influence that the group grew together beyond the original aim of learning shorthand. The group took to wandering. In order to escape from smoky rooms the friends wandered into the pine forests around Berlin and soon wandering became an end in itself. The name "Wandervogel" did not arise until later, and the first wanderers called themselves, after the model of the mediaeval wandering folk,
"Bachanten" and "Burschen." Fischer was given the name of "Chief Bachant" and each member of his group rendered him an oath of allegiance by a handclasp.3

The immediate expression of this revolt was that the young people in Fischer's wandering group sought to differentiate themselves from current styles of dress, custom and tradition. On their backs they carried rucksacks with a saucepan, since meals prepared by themselves in the open were preferred to those purchased at inns. They elevated an almost forgotten musical instrument, the lute, once again to a place of honor, since they were in revolt against modern musical culture, and sang out of preference long forgotten folk songs of mediaeval times or from the times of the Renaissance and the Baroque period; they despised the dance floors of the modern city youth and rediscovered the old folk dances. Their financial arrangements while on their wanderings were "primitive communist"; each person handed in his money to the communal fund and nobody had the right to use any sum for himself. They spent the night in woods or barns and developed out of the practice of their wanderings, which were called "Fahrten," a new philosophy of simplicity, unpretentiousness, straightforwardness and naturalness standing in strict opposition to the views of their contemporary surroundings which regarded capitalism in its maturity as an unassailable power and the city and its attractions as the summit of life.

From Steglitz the movement spread on to other schools in and around Berlin; the youth won adherents and Fischer suddenly saw before him his great

task: "The Kingdom of Youth." He instituted a widespread recruiting campaign throughout the whole of Germany with such surprising success that Wandervogel groups after the Steglitz pattern were formed everywhere. Soon there were dozens of local groups and the numbers of the Wandervogel (the name coined in a lucky moment in 1901 by Wolf Mayr, Fischer's first and closest assistant) went into thousands. 4

Karl Fischer's eventual fall from power came about, in spite of all his sensitivity and intelligence, because he finally proved unable to see that a number of the Wandervogel were becoming dissatisfied. The successful battled was Siegfried Copalle. A close friend of Fischer's, he was nevertheless dismayed by the rough and tumble conduct of some of the Roamers; Copalle was more refined in manner than the others, and experienced the romanticism of youth in form less gross. He became the center of a group of youngsters representing the Steglitz "pseudo-nobility"; they possessed the wherewithal to commune with nature a little more comfortably than the original Wandervogel program called for. 5

The further development of the Wandervogel took the form of a series of clubs which in various shapes approached and drew back from each other. The Old Wandervogel declined only for a while, and gained ground again. There arose the Wandervogel E.V., the Wandervogel Deutscher Bund and the Jungwandervogel, organizations which represented an entirely new type using elements

4 Ibid., 8.
5 Becker, German Youth, 61.
and selecting members from older and newer organizations.

In the course of the further development two attitudes opposed each other more sharply, the one consisting in a desire to live a life of wild journeys and rough "dems," of primitive unspiritual power outside all obligation and responsibility, while the other strove towards spiritual and artistic culture and sought it in costume, dances, songs, books and the new kind of community. The "wild fellows" stuck to the Old Wandervogel, the "renewers of culture" and the "conscious reformers of life" to the Wandervogel E.V.; but this opposition, which had in its day clefpt German Romanticism and reminds one of Nietzsche's differentiation of the Dionysian and Apollonian types, constantly broke up into separate leagues in the years before the first World War.

By the time the soft primitivists began to break away in significant numbers — namely, by 1907 — the demand for overnight accommodations on long trips became more acute. Tiny networks of overnight hostels, first effectively organized by Rudolf Schirrmann, were harbingers of the great national system of youth halting places emerging in the period of the Weimar Republic and since carried out to completion by the Nazis. By 1905 over seventy-eight distinguishable clusters had appeared, all similar in many respects.

How did the German Youth Movement become the Bundische Jugend? We can trace five stages of development:

1. The pre-war youth movement, 1896-1914;
2. The Wandervogel of the war period, 1914-1918;
3. The post-war youth movement, 1919-1923;
4. The Buendische Jugend, 1923-1933;

5. The Buendische opposition to Hitler from 1933 onwards.6

As we have seen, the pre-war youth movement is represented by the Wandervogel. With them began the struggle against home, school and church for a real independent moulding of life. Long tours through the country, singing circles grouped around camp fires, often described as the idea of the Wandervogel, touch only the outside of appearance.

They were small communities, with the group as their unit. Bunde were formed by the federation of groups. The leader was elected. Meetings of the whole Bund (Bundestag) were milestones in their progress. Elections took place there and plans for future developments were made.

The Wandervogel falls into three Bunde, the types of which persisted at least till 1945:

1. The "Wandervogel E.V." (E.V.), an organization comprising members of both sexes;

2. The "Altwandervogel" (A.W.V.), which also accepted members of both sexes but segregated them into separate groups;

3. The "Jungwandervogel" (J.W.V.), for males only.7

The groups also established Parents' and Friends' Councils to assist them in advancing their aspirations.

The Wandervogel were restricted to the youth of the educated middle class, their Bunde being generally open only to urban inhabitants and pupils

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7 Ibid., 13.
of secondary schools.

In this pre-war period the youth movement was still non-political, so far as any organization functioning in public could be. At least it did not play any deliberate part in national politics. Perhaps the Wandervogel can best be described as not political-minded, that is, they abstained from politics. We must remember that up to 1914 the youth movement was a cultural one, a renaissance. It was opposed to the bourgeoisie because it regarded them as the embodiment of everything that was warped, false, lifeless and somewhat ridiculous. The Wandervogel despised bourgeois notions of comfort and luxury which found their nineteenth century expressions in florid display and heavy plush furniture.

They did not become political until 1913, when they found themselves in opposition to the noisy patriotic celebrations of the centenary of the Battle of Leipzig. The youth movement made a stand against the patriotism of War Veterans’ Associations and military, magisterial and scholastic authorities. On the summit of the Hohe Meissner, near Kassel, the people of the three Wandervogel-Bünde and the "Freideutscher Bund" (composed of former members of the "Wandervogel") met for a demonstration in October, 1913, the climax of which was the so-called "Meissner Formula", by which the younger generation claimed the right of responsibility for shaping its own life. In addition the festival was to be dedicated to the unification of all the groups of the Jugendbewegung into a centrally directed "German Free
The "Ur Burschenschaft" which appeared so suddenly after a century's oblivion as main witness for the new developments was the foundation of the German students who in 1815 returned home from the Napoleonic wars full of idealism and determination and convinced that the time for the unification of the lost German Reich had now come. They united the territorially divided student Association at German universities into "Burschenschaften", at first at Jena and then at Heidelberg, Giessen and Berlin, and they planned to found a universal German "Burschenschaft" at a great demonstration on the Wartburg. This Wartburg Festival grew into a mighty political proclamation in which the students announced, with cheers for the Duke of Saxony-Weimar, that they stood on the side of the Liberal patriots, who demanded the conversion of the absolute states into a constitutional state and required the expression of this new liberty in a united Germany.

Represented were groups of the Jugendbewegung, reform groups such as the student total abstainers, Wyneken's free school communities and student associations, four academic associations, two progressive schools, three Wandervogel associations and three associations of "adults" who were rather to be described as friends of youth than as actually being youth itself. Among the adults, the sociologist Max Weber, Eugen Diederichs, the publisher,

8 George Kneller, The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism, New Haven, 1942, 123.

9 Borinski and Milch, Jugendbewegung, 12.
the liberal pastors Traub and Wynakken were the most noteworthy figures.

"Self-education" was the slogan under which the youth of the Meissner Festival assembled, and there it was decided to accept the famous "Meissner Formula": "The Freideutsche Jugend is determined to fashion its life on its own initiative, on its own responsibility and in inner sincerity." The Meissner Festival and the Meissner Formula became symbols for all who were in sympathy with the Jugendbewegung, the symbol of the high spirit, the mission and the promise of a new generation.

The first enemy which arrived on the scene soon afterwards was the official state power. The Bavarian Government banned the Zupfgeigenhandal (a song book) because a few prudish delegates of a Victorian outlook confused healthy forthrightness with immorality. In some places even the Wandervogel was forbidden. At a great meeting in Munich on February 9, 1914, the Freideutsche Jugend, which was supported by the university professor Alfred Weber, succeeded for the moment in warding off these attacks.10

The first World War almost destroyed the original Youth Movement. The Wandervogel leagues alone lost about 7,000 dead from their ranks. And the gulf between the soldiers from the front and those who remained behind, which was of necessity bound to occur, did the rest of what was required to make a "homogeneous movement" illusory.

But the battlefields were responsible for a further development, which was known as the Kriegswandervogel. This represents a breach in the military hierarchy, for the young men of the Kriegswandervogel met for social

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10 Ibid., 14.
evenings on equal terms without distinction or rank. Officers, N.C.O.'s and privates were linked by their common experiences in the pre-war Wandervogel. They were in the majority still only former pupils of secondary schools, but the strength of their movement was evident.

While the soldiers in the army who came from the Jugendbewegung dreamed of their pre-war experiences as of a happy past those who remained at home had to try to develop further the idea of the Jugendbewegung. This was often difficult since most of the young group leaders were at the front and the young sixteen and seventeen year old assistant leaders were for the most part not equal to a task made more difficult by the war. Here, too, the gulf opened between the Front and the Home, between the older and the younger brothers.

The Freideutsche Jugend came up against external and internal difficulties. A "Central Co-ordinating Office" of the Jugendbewegung set up in Berlin was forbidden by the imperial military authorities. And when at last the cleavages between rival groups appeared to be overcome, and the Freideutsche Jugend promised to become the great league of autonomous German youth, the front collapsed along with the Reich and the old society.

While the old bourgeoisie hid itself anxiously away and the masses belonging to the working-class movement were hoping for the fulfilment of Marxist prophecies, great sections of youth felt that a world had passed away and that now everything ought to be different from the bottom up. The flood of disillusion and the desire for new values and a new order of things smashed the old bourgeois parties and split the working class beyond repair.
It beat against the walls of the churches, schools and academies. It swept the Jugendbewegung along with it and carried it into quite fresh regions: politics and church life, learning and social work. While the election proclamations, and the new party programmes of the first year of the Weimar Republic, overflowed with soft words and promises addressed to youth, and while each one of the newly constituted bourgeois parties aimed at rearing its young in its own youth associations, an opposition formed itself in all party youth associations composed of the "young ones" who stood in close sympathy with the free Jugendbewegung. 11

Among the youth of the Nationalist and Democratic parties, among the social reformers and the Catholics, among the Protestant bible circles, among the Pfadfinder, among the youth of the employees' trade unions - everywhere the same thing happened: members of the associations got to know the free Jugendbewegung and became enthusiastic about it. Guests from among the Jugendbewegung leagues suddenly appeared in the youth groups of the old associations; a section of the youth of these associations experienced a radical transformation and found that the forms of the Jugendbewegung were the sole forms appropriate to the life and organization of youth. Violent struggles occurred, in the course of which the group which had become converted to the Jugendbewegung disassociated itself from the "senior-union" and made itself independent as "Jugendbewegung". Important leagues of the post-war Jugendbewegung, such as the religious leagues of Quickborn and the

11 Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, in talks with the author at Schloss Leinigen, Amorbach, Bavaria, in the fall of 1950.
Koengener, the "Jungnationale", the "Neu" and "Ring" Pfadfinder,\textsuperscript{12} arose in this way between 1919 and 1922. In attitude and group-life, in autonomy and decisiveness, they were no longer to be distinguished from the Wanderwogel leagues.

The years 1918 and 1919 saw the creation of a great national youth renaissance movement. The Deutschnationale Jugendbund (D.N.J.), the largest of all these youth organizations, owed allegiance to no party. The youth group of the German-National-People's Party was known as the Bismarck Youth, while the Hindenburg Youth was the youth branch of the German People's Party. The German Scouts, the "Deutsche Pfadfinderbund" (D.P.B.), were also active at that time. All these nationalist youth organizations were permeated by the youth movement spirit.\textsuperscript{13}

To the Jungdeutsche Bund, which was founded in 1917, during the war - and formed a contrast to the Freideutsche Bund which swung ever more to the left - may be awarded the credit for having imported both the form and spirit of the German youth movement to these nationalist youth organizations. The "Jungdeutscher Bund" must not be confused with the Jungdeutscher Orden, which was a nationalistic "Verband" having no connection with the Bundische Jugend.

Now, also in the so-called nationalistic section, the post-war youth movement broke its political shackles. Perhaps the split in the Deutschnationale Jugendbund and the foundation of the Jungnationale Bund (in August, 1921) constituted the most revolutionary step taken by the bourgeois

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13} Ebeling, Youth Movement, 14.
youth. It signified a break with the chauvinistic, reactionary bourgeois, the "revengeful old men" and patriotic warriors, such as the prematurely aged nationalist students.

Meanwhile in the Wandelvogel certain tendencies, such as vegetarianism, non-smoking and teetotalism, which had really nothing to do with youth movements, had become very prominent. The proclamation of these as a "Weltanschauung" and their petrification into rigid dogma produced an un-youthful effect and intolerant thinking which led them further and further away from the real youth movement, which was progressing towards new goals.

The new Germany was indeed extraordinarily outspoken, not only in regard to military matters but in regard to sexual matters. Many times writers did not try to cover up their meanings in words more acceptable to foreign readers. Germany long ago earned an undesirable reputation on account of the alleged prevalence of unusual sexual practices. While there was no increase of abnormality after the first World War, still abnormality came to be regarded as a form of normality. Girls associated chiefly with girls and boys with boys; "crushes" became more and more prevalent. As the younger generation grew older, Paragraph 175 of the German Criminal Code (STGB, the law dealing with the punishment of male homosexuality) began to seep into the "humorous" journals, and in cities like Berlin, "high-class" establishments catering to adults of doubtful gender or "unusual" proclivities plied their special business.

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14 Countess Waldott von Bassenheim, in talks with the author in Bad Toelz, Bavaria, 1950.

15 Sisley Huddleston, Europe in Zigzag, Philadelphia, 1929, 260.
In the academies established for the training of officers, and into which boys sometimes entered as nine-year-olds, groups for mutual masturbation were frequently organized and bore definite club names. Further, in these same academies the older boys often persuaded or forced the younger into the relation of Leibbursch; literally translated, this means "body-lad", and the gross connotations apparently were not unwarranted. Even outside of academies and like boarding schools, conditions of this sort were by no means infrequent; ample evidence is available. 16

In January, 1914, the Catholic Center Party brought open charges in the Bavarian parliament that Eyncken's followers, and by implication, everyone adhering to the Meissner Formula constituted a pederasty club, an assemblage of overt male homosexuals.

The unhappy effects of boy-from-girl isolation became manifest here and there among the divided ranks; lads found their surging emotions rushing toward their particular hero and others who followed in his train. Even the bristling thickets of German convention, however, could not long separate Pyramus and Thisbe; by far the greater number of youth movement adherents broke through the barriers. Girls and boys roamed afield together; only a hopelessly warped minority held to the idea of Damon and Pythias.

Here and there, especially in the large cities, boys made themselves conspicuous by wearing bizarre costumes and long hair, and by mimicking female mannerisms. The "Slicks", wearing a bob or Schlurf of almost shoulder length, were especially notorious. Actions of this kind seem to be in direct

16 Borinski and Miloh, Jugendbewegung, 65.
defiance of the aggressive masculinity of the Hitler Youth, which, by the way, can quite well co-exist with homosexuality.

Jeering, calling of derogatory and obscene names, and otherwise spreading "dirt" became a frequent pastime. The League of German Girls was often called the League of Soldier's Mattresses or the League of Silly Tarts, and the members of the Hitler Youth were termed the Young Homos, the Rump paraders, and the like.17

Sexual excesses of less striking type were also on the upswing. Roughly, juvenile delinquency involving sexual offences increased by more than five-fold since the beginning of the 1939 war, if one is to believe the newspaper reports.18

There were fanatics who carried matters to extremes and who formed societies in which clothes were considered superfluous. This Adamite movement grew to a very considerable degree.

Dr. Zimmermann was one of the leaders of this revolt against clothes.19 He founded a camp at Klinberg, near Luebeck, and to it came professional men and women with their children of all ages for holidays. They got up at sunrise, took "air baths", ate fruit, walked in the woods, swam in the pond, did gymnastics, listened to lectures and to music.

Young men and women seemed bent on bodily perfection. The young men wore short trousers and open neck shirts. The young women wore one piece

17 Countess von und zu Eltz, in talks with the author at Schloss Eltz, Eltville am Rhein, Hessen, in 1950.
18 Ibid.
19 Huddleston, Zigzag, 261.
esses and dispensed with stockings. New theories about the relations of
the sexes were formed: men and women were to be comrades. It was impossible
there should not be abuses, and indeed the admission of women into these
societies was perhaps disintegrating.

The official figures on the number of Youth Hostels provided from
1911 to 1927 is as follows:

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<th>(year)</th>
<th>(shelters)</th>
<th>(guests)</th>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>1912</td>
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<td>11,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>83</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>700</td>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>1,200</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
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<td>2,074,000</td>
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<td>1923</td>
<td>1,700</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
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<td>1925</td>
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<td>1,423,181</td>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>2,283</td>
<td>2,158,204</td>
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<td>1927</td>
<td>2,318</td>
<td>2,655,292</td>
</tr>
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All these developments of the German Youth Movement were not
without their influence on the German Boy Scouts (Pfadfinder). Under the
influence of the Jungdeutsche Bund, two Bunds split off from the Deutsche
Pfadfinder in 1922 and 1923. These were the Neupfadfinder and the

20 Ibid., 262.
ringpfadfinder, Buendische Jugend. The Neupfadfinder were somewhat romantically inclined, but the Ringpfadfinder proved to be invaluable in practical matters concerning the pitching of tents and the establishment of camps.

In the following period 1923-1933, the Bunde became more disciplined. The Wandervogel blouse gave place to the shirt and scarf of the scouts. Each Bund found its own mode of expression. The hike remained the principle educational factor of the group, but camps and long tours became objectives of the Bund.

Later we may note new forms of self-expression in the amalgamations and their new names. The amalgamation of a great part of the Wandervogelbunde with the Neupfadfinder, Ringpfadfinder, the "Bund der Kongener" (a secession from the Evangelical Bible Circle in Wuerttemberg), and others, was entitled the "Bund der Wandervogel und Pfadfinder", from which the "Deutsche Freischar" originated.

Most of the German youth and Youth Movement organizations were organized in the Reichsausschuss Deutscher Jugendverbände (National Committee of Youth Organizations). The strength of the Buendische Youth within this body which included also Welfare Organizations, was according to their different character as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>60,000 - 80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>30,000 - 50,000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

21 Ebeling, Youth Movement, 18.
Outside the National Committee there were Bunde with another 15,000 to 20,000 members.

The working class youth was certainly no mere camp-follower in imitation of the Wandervogel. Amid all the change it preserved its proletarian characteristics. Its energetic retention of the mixed groups, of co-education of boys and girls at all age levels resulted in an essential difference of type and group life. Their repertory of songs, their festivals and games were only partly similar to those of the Wandervogel. And while to the middle class Jugendbewegung politics and its forces were always of a problematic nature, so that they constantly shrank back anew from decisions and commitments, the proletarian youth held fast to the class struggle, to party and trade union.

In the same way the working class youth's acceptance of the class war did not completely exclude relations with the middle class Jugendbewegung. Both groups met in youth hostels and urban youth centers, and at common youth festivals and demonstrations; they danced, sang and wandered together.

Even more there remained a kinship of form and attitude, in experience and expectation, which found expression in the verses which the young poet Hermann Claudius wrote for the working class youth but which increasingly became the symbolic song of the whole Jugendbewegung during these years:
"When we're marching side by side,
And the good old songs resound,
And the forests echo round,
Then we feel we shall succeed -
The new age marchest at our side”. 22

It is not too much to assert that in the Germany of the first post-
war years no vital young man between the ages of 12 and 20 could escape the
influences of the Jugendbewegung. Nor was this influence limited to Wandering
and singing. The expansion of the Jugendbewegung did not merely take hold of
new strata of youth but also of new realms of life. All had been overlooked
by the great crisis, everywhere the "Old Ones" had failed, and everywhere the
slogan was heard "revivification at the hands of new, unexhausted and
unspoiled men". Everywhere from politics to religion, from the school to art
and the reform of living, youth ranged itself for the attack.

The majority of the Wandervogel and the Freideutsche Jugend belonged,
however, in 1920, to none of the politically determined radicals. They
inclined towards democracy and peaceful understanding, and many of them made
some attempts to work for a regeneration of the democratic and socialist
parties. When youth, however, realised that it was impossible to influence
the powerful party machines they retired from the political battlefield into
the small community and the settlement, into new forms of school life, of
folk art and of social work. Now they were convinced that the "New Man" did
not grow up in meeting halls and street demonstrations, at party conferences
and in election battles, but only in the "group", in various forms of new
groups, and in "Lebensgemeinschaften" (community life).

22 Borinski and Milch, Jugendbewegung, 17.
There arose accordingly all over the Reich experimental schools which were directed by older members and new progressive adherents of the movement in the spirit of autonomy, all-round self-development and community life. Mention need only be made of the ambitious scheme of Hamburg school reform on the part of the Wandelkreis of the Freideutschen Schluens and Joshd. Thus several Volkshochschulen were founded by the Freideutsche Youth movement. There arose schools for gymnastics and dancing, folk-playing circles, music and song groups.

The years 1919-1923, for all the acute general distress, were a time of great idealistic creativity and enterprise, carried out with courage and sacrifice. This was only possible because of the unbroken faith in the new man, in the new realization of community, in the new life, which would create a "network of islands of culture", out of which the spirit of a new German community would grow.

This faith was in the last resort religious, and everywhere religious forces were at work. They determined the forms of group and festival of the Wandervogel, as well as those of the working class youth. They drove many sections of youth to such varied subjects as the Edda and Lao Tse, to Meister Eckhart and Rudolph Steiner. Here, too, as in politics, there was no consistent unifying thread. The many gospels overlapped and mingled with each other, contours and boundaries gave way before a crowd of young searchers who had abandoned the old confines and enclosures. Their new conception of and attitude towards life was opposed to the godless, unnatural and inhuman forms and concepts of bourgeois civilization. In opposition to the all-powerful conventions of positivism and intellectualism, it urged a
return to the springs of life. It was a faith in the binding power of the new spirit and in the experience of youth which was to transcend Right and Left and lead the people to the future together beyond the old "isms".

This tendency of the inner revolution towards extreme expression led sections of the Jugendbewegung very near to fanaticism and utopianism. And while the great leagues of the Wandervogel and working class youth, the pfadfinder and Christian youth, were soon able once more to offer their boys and girls a strict code and a solid task, which protected them from the confused impulses of a chaotic age, while the Freideutsche students of the schools of Wilhelm Dilthey, Max Weber and the Neo-Kantian philosophers were earnestly and seriously concerning themselves with the plane of higher education and learning, the delirious procession of prophets and fanatics marched through the land, intoxicating the youthful and casting a spell on the grown-ups. The degeneracy of a chaotic time in transition, and not merely of the Jugendbewegung, found its expression in the victory march of the Neu Schar (New Throng), through Thuringia, led by Friedrich Much-Lamberty.23

A feeling of bitter disillusionment and profound exhaustion remained behind. The exuberance of untrammeled inspiration and exaltation of moments of high creativity and hold festivals, of profound emotional experiences and intimate friendships could not last. The German youth experienced afresh the fate of the "Storm and Stress" geniuses of the Romantic school. Their leading figures came to grief on Reality, their settlements founderd, the intimate community groups, as they became older, could not withstand the pressure of

23 Ibid. 21.
workday life and slowly declined.

It was the tragedy of the Freideutsche Jugend that they were unable to express their rejection of the anti-democratic powers and myths and their feeling of solidarity and common destiny of youth in clear, political and realistic forms. None of the existing parties could unite themselves with youth and become a living political movement of youth. On the one hand, however, most of the Freideutsche Jugend lacked a specifically political enthusiasm, a feeling and training for political reality.

The Freideutsche Jugend had had their periods of greatness in the years 1919-1922, when they impregnated every league of youth and disturbed the slumbers of the youth secretaries of the churches and of the parties. If at that time Freideutsche Jugend had formed itself into a league, if their weekly "Junge Menschen" had then shown a political line of its own, many thousands of adherents of the newly awakened Jugendbewegung would have flocked to join them. But at that time Freideutsche Jugend regarded "organization" as beneath its dignity and limited itself to playing the part of the "leaven".

When the Freideutsche Youth had been wrecked there followed a development which in inverted form repeated the years 1919 and 1920. At that time Wandervogel and Freideutsche had overrun other youth associations, and now it was this "other type" of youth group, the revolutionised Pfadfinder and young national leagues, which left their older friends behind to wrestle with their problems, and turned towards the unproblematic forms of boyhood life and boyhood leadership. The attraction was no longer the most splendid ideal but the most vital boys' group, no longer the mystic prophet but the most competent boys' group leader. There was lively competition to attract the best
boys, to build up the smartest groups, and these constant efforts of emulating would have led to an anarchist struggle if a second element had not emerged at the same time: the new conception and formation of the "Bund".

A distinctive dress, shirt, shorts and neck cloth, uniform in cut and color, was adopted as league costume, where hitherto the various districts, groups and individuals had taken pride in giving their personality a pronouncedly individual expression. The wildly adventurous wandering acquired "style". In place of the early method of going alone as an unorganized band and despising everything reminiscent of marching, a new form of group column came into favor, and a new sort of marching song which gave preference to old riding and hunting songs, that told of the Reich and the flag, of sunny lands and the disciplined columns, of victory and death. When the groups of the Jugendbewegung sang on their journeys through the countryside, "Into the wide land we gallop, the pennant flutters in the breeze," it meant that the Lily, symbol of the Pfadfinder, had vanquished the Griffen of the Wandervogel. This flower, in stylised shape, also became the emblem of the most representative of the leagues, the "Deutsche Freischar" (German Free Troops). 24

Thus the Buende tried to gather the finest boys — the "beautiful and virtuous" in the platonic meaning — and that meant certain aristocratic exclusiveneness. On the other hand this selective principle was combined with a complete system of democratic self-government and socialist fellowship: group leaders were not appointed but chosen. They discussed all questions of the Bund together with their members, and the boys determined their group life

24 Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, as cited.
themselves. In the hiking groups money and every bit of food was pooled.

A parallel change in the type of youth and of group form is found among working class youth. It was not merely that numerous 16 to 18 year olds who found their co-educational groups too soft constantly streamed into the rough militant groups of the "Reichsbanner" youth. At the same time the new forms and methods of the "Rote Falken" group, with its blue shirt and red neckerchief, drums and fanfares resounded from Austria into Germany - all things which had previously been angrily rejected as militarism. These forms, too, as well as the ten commandments and the good deeds, were taken over from international scoutism and the group life of German Pfadfinder. 25

Every league was uniformed in costume and symbolism. For the rest, the shaping of the life of the group and of the human type aimed at was left to the district and to the individual group.

The selection of boys was in the hands of the group leaders, mainly 18 to 25 year old university students, and post-graduates, who as a rule had grown up in the league. Five to ten boys of from 12 to 16 years formed a group. The leader was their comrade, not their superior. His first task with newly recruited boys was to overcome their "respect for their seniors". This atmosphere of free comradship gave the groups their natural spontaneity and freshness - a senior who tried to protect his awkwardness behind authority could not hold his place. 26

25 Ibid.

26 Borinski and Milch, Jugendbewegung, 32.
The revolution had its day and passed, the idea of autonomy did not. The youth leagues remained independent, subject to no organization of adults; they continued to serve the cause of self-development and self-education of youth, not alien ends and interests. Now, as then, youth was led by youth, which received its instructions from no party leader and was responsible to no party.

The majority of German Jugendbewegung, both Buendische and working class youth, sided with the ideas of a world alliance of youth. They also put their faith in Gustav Stresemann as the politician striving for international reconciliation.

Even as early as 1923, the available wisps of information make it seem altogether probable that little bands of Hitler enthusiasts as yet out of close touch with the then inchoate Party had begun to take shape. Further, it can be shown that a Nazi youth group, disguised as a harmless roaming alliance, did extensive organizing and propaganda work for the Party in the region known as Vogtland (Saxony near Silesia) during 1923. In a short time the disguise was dropped, and the Nazis proclaimed the establishment, pretentiously enough, of the Greater German Youth Movement. No sooner was this done, early in 1924, than the ranks were swelled by the entry of various other youth groups who found the Hitler program attractive. At a party convention in Jocksta in the summer of 1924, funds were appropriated for an intensive propaganda campaign, and by the end of that year Nazi youth groups were shooting up throughout the region centering around Upper Saxony.27

27 Becker, German Youth, 147.
The most effective leader in this area seems to have been Kurt Gruber, a seasoned Nazi veteran. He gathered about him so many fiery-eyed youngsters who zealously fought for the Party that in 1926 Gruber, following a hint from Julius Streicher, was able to persuade Hitler that the time was ripe for the official recognition of the Hitler Youth, long active under that and other names. With impressive fanfare, Hitler announced the creation of this Party auxiliary at the 1926 Weimar convention, and proclaimed Gruber as his youth deputy.28

The top rung of the ladder was the exalted office of Youth Leader of the German Reich. The first occupant of this post was Baldur von Schirach, who at the age of twenty-seven was appointed by Hitler in June, 1933. He was succeeded in 1941 by the similarly youthful Arthur Axmann.29

The enormous electoral defeat (Sept. 1930) of the newly founded parties, the Young Conservatives and the (Liberal) "Deutsche Staatspartei", was a heavy blow to many members of the Jugendbewegung. They had banked on these parties, and the "Reichsgruppe buendischer Jugend" had even acted as one of the constituents of the "Staatspartei". They were bitterly disappointed by the election. From the very date of the election, on the other hand, Hitler began his triumphant victory march.

The relation between Jugendbewegung and National Socialism was determined from the beginning by the contempt Hitler showed towards the Wandervogel, not even excepting the small "voelkische" (race-conscious and

28 Karl Sturm, Deutsche Erziehung im Waren, Berlin, 1938, 137.
29 Becker, German Youth, 163.
nationalistic Bundes, which were very near to the National Socialist party program. Karl Gruber, the founder of the Hitler Youth, lost his leading position and was replaced by the Führer's favourite, Baldur von Schirach, because he was too much of a Wandervogel.

Baldur von Schirach triumphed, and he spiced his speeches with threats against the Buendische Jugend. So, at the eleventh hour, all the great leagues — Pfadfinder, Deutsche Freischar, Kronach Wandervogel and the Young Nationalists — joined together under Admiral von Trotha. All their hopes were now based on this one man, and his connections with Hindenburg and the Reichswolfr as a protective shield against Gleichschaltung (forced unification).

The new league met at Whitsuntide 1933, in the Luensburger Heide. As of old, it was not only in the heart that daring deeds were done; a straw figure of "Baldur" in Hitler Youth uniform was burnt. The camp was soon broken up by the Brownshirts and police. Some tense weeks followed, and it was only with a certain disquiet that preparations were made for what since the days of the early Wandervogel had remained the principal festival of the Jugendbewegung, the Midsummer Night.30

The Sunday before Midsummer Day, June 24th, was suddenly announced to be the day of the enforced transformation of the youth leagues into Hitler Youth. Many members of the Buendische Jugend will forever remember this night of the unification. In many places hostels and centers of the Bundes were stormed, looted and destroyed by S.A., S.S. and Hitler Youth. They did

30 Borinski and Milch, Jugendbewegung, 41.
not spare the flat of the "Bundesfuehrer", Admiral von Trotha. Boys of the league were manhandled and injured, a Freischaft boy in Berlin was shot. Flags and pennants were burnt on the bonfires of the Hitler Youth. Meanwhile, Saxony's great "Jugendburg", a youth hostel with one thousand beds, was turned into a concentration camp. 31

The Confessional Church adopted a song, written in 1561, with which Bundische Jugend had answered the Horst Wessel Song in 1931 and 1932:

"Awake, awake, you German land,
Long have you been asleep.
Consider what God placed at hand,
What he meant you to reap.
Gave you his richest pledge to keep -
Now must you cease at last from sleep.

"Germany, awake! Now is the hour,
Or else 'twill be too late.

"The punishment comes very sure
Though yet delayed by fate.
For look, the axe can now be seen,
Its edge is whetted very keen.
What odds if it must wait." 32

The year 1933 was the year of the first ban, the compulsory dissolution of the Bunds and their "Co-ordination" (Zwangsgleichschaltung). Hitler's victory implied that of the Hitler Youth, which became the State Youth Organization (Staatsjugend). Before the National Socialist Party seized power it was only a small, insignificant and rather unpleasant party youth association. Founded in 1926 as a junior branch of the S.S., it was a focus point for all sorts of dubious elements, some of which had been

31. Ibid., 42.
32. Ibid., 44.
expelled from the Buende, while others would never have been admitted.

On April 5th, 1933, the Hitler Youth occupied the Reichsausschuss deutscher Jugendverbaende in Berlin. On April 12th, Baldur von Schirach was appointed youth leader of the Nazi Party and on June 17th, youth leader of the Reich (Reichsjugendfuehrer) by decree of Adolf Hitler. On June 22nd, Baldur von Schirach dissolved the Reichsausschuss deutscher Jugendverbaende. He also took possession of the Youth Hostels Associations (Reichsverband fuer Deutsche Jugendherbergen). The Youth Hostels Associations in Germany had been founded by Richard Schirrmann of Altena, in Westphalia, and by the Wandervogel and other youth organizations. The Hitler Youth had never had anything to do with Youth Hostels, nor was it ever a member of the association. The third action of Baldur von Schirach was to ban all associations which had joined the "Grossdeutsche Bund". Under the leadership of Admiral von Trotha most of the Buende, and especially the great Jugendbewegungsbunde, had united to avoid the transfer of their members into the Hitler Youth. 33

At Whitsuntide (April 16th and 17th, 1933) the jamborees of the Grossdeutsche Bund in Munsterlager was broken up by Hitler Youth and S.A., and police. It was a typical example of the ignorance of the methods of the Nazis and of the culpable illusion that the generals, or admirals, would be prepared to shelter anybody from the totalitarianism of the Third Reich. The other Buende had to report to the commissioner of the Jugendverbaende inside the Reichsjugendfuehrung (Abteilung J.V.), Obergbietsfuhrer Karl Nabersberg. They were dissolved, co-ordinated or banned between June 1933

33 Ebaling, Youth Movement, 20.
and the beginning of 1934.34

On June 22nd, 1933, Baldur von Schirach installed the leadership of the Hitler Youth (Reichsjugendfuehrung) in Berlin. He also decreed the institution of a German Youth Council (Deutscher Jugendfuehrerrat) which consisted of six groups of youth organizations. One of this group was "Buendische Jugend". But the Buendische representative was never appointed and the council was never called together. The supremacy of the Hitler Youth was established by the Reichsjugendfuehrung on July 1st, 1933.

On June 21st, 1933, the youth of the Wehrverbande was compulsorily co-ordinated. Some of the sections of the Scharnhorst Youth, the youth group of the "Jungstahlhelm", in Western Germany, went over to the Buende. On December 8th, the Professional Classes' Youth (Berufstaendische Jugend) were transferred into the Hitler Youth by agreement with Dr. Ley. Three days before Christmas 1933, the Protestant Youth (Evangelisches Jugendwerk) were taken over by the Hitler Youth, by agreement with Reichsbischof Dr. Muller. On November 30th, 1934, the Gymnastic and Sports Youth underwent the same fate. The systematic movement against the Catholic Youth by the Reichsjugendfuehrung began in January, 1936.35

Towards the end of 1936 the Reich Youth Law made membership in the Hitler Youth compulsory for all boys and girls up to 18 and established the Reich leader of the Hitler Youth as supreme Youth authority, responsible to the Fuehrer only. This was intended as a blow against the Catholic Youth,

34 Ibid., 24
35 Ibid., 25
which was the only non-state organization that enjoyed a legal existence. Along with the Catholic Young Men's Association it had received official sanction by virtue of the Concordat with the Vatican in 1933, but in practice its activities were gradually limited by edicts and the methods employed by the Hitler Youth.
CHAPTER II
STATEMENTS CONCERNING YOUTH

Adolf Hitler, Fuehrer and Chancellor of the German Reich, understood quite well the meaning of the revolt which had been going on for some time in the youth groups of Germany. Perhaps better than others of his time, he understood that it was a true revolution against all the conventions and restrictions which encompassed the lives of young people. He too, had experienced these restrictions in his native village, and had seen the comradeship, both true and false, of the front line trenches during the war. As a young man in Munich after the war, Hitler witnessed the burning, bitter disappointment of youth over the so-called new world, new Germany, and new Bavaria. But above all, Hitler understood the needs and desires of the youth of his day, and recognized in them a powerful force for both creation and destruction. He was determined to utilize this force in his movement, and thus we find several references to the youth of Germany in his book, "Mein Kampf", and in his speeches. The importance of youth to the new Germany, as far as Hitler was concerned, is illustrated very well by the statement that: "Above all we appeal to the mighty army of our German youth. They are growing up at a great turning point and the evils brought about by the inertia and the indifference of their fathers will force them to struggle. Some day the German youth will either be the builders of a new folkish state, or they will be the last witness of total collapse, the end of the
The revolt against clothing and styles set by their elders, on the part of the German youth, did not escape the future Fuehrer's eye. He clearly recognized the fact that the young people were not satisfied with the conventional dress of the day, and that they did not wish to conform to the standards set by their elders. In respect to clothing and the body, Hitler wrote: "The clothing of our youth should also be adopted to this purpose. It is truly miserable to behold how our youth even now is subjected to a foreign madness which helps to reverse the sense of the old saying: 'Clothes make the man' into something truly catastrophic."

"Especially in the youth, dress must be put into the service of education. The boy who in summer runs around in long stove-pipe trousers, and covered up to the neck, loses through his clothing alone a stimulus for his physical training. For we must exploit ambition and, we may as well calmly admit it, vanity as well. Not vanity about fine clothes which everyone cannot buy, but vanity about a beautiful, well-formed body which everyone can help to build."

"This is also expedient for later life. The girl should get to know her beau. If physical beauty were today not forced entirely into the background by our foppish fashions, the seduction of hundreds of thousands of girls by bow-legged, repulsive Jewish bastards would not be possible. This, too, is in the interest of the nation: that the most beautiful bodies should find one another, and so help to give the nation new beauty."

36 Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, (tr. by Ralph Manheim,) Boston, 1947, 406.
"Today, of course, all this is more necessary than ever, because there is no military training, and so the sole institution is excluded which in peacetime compensated at least in part for what was neglected by the rest of our educational system. And there, too, success was to be sought, not only in the training of the individual as such, but in the influence it exerted on the relations between the two sexes. The young girl preferred the soldier to the non-soldier." 37

In respect to physical training, the role of the army, and military service in general, was stressed. Thus we find it stated that: "The folkish state must not only carry through and supervise physical training in the official school years; in the post-school period as well it must make sure that, as long as a boy is in process of physical development, this development turns out to his benefit. It is an absurdity to believe that with the end of the school period the state's right to supervise its young citizens suddenly ceases, but returns at the military age. This right is a duty and as such is equally present at all times. Only the present-day state having no interest in healthy people has neglected this duty in a criminal fashion. It lets present-day youth go to the dogs on the streets and in the brothels, instead of taking them in hand and continuing their physical education until the day when they grow up into a healthy man and a healthy woman.

"In what form the state carries on this training is beside the point

37 Ibid., l:12
today; the important thing is that it should do so and seek the ways and means that serve this purpose. The folkish state will have to look on post-school physical training as well as intellectual education as a state function, and foster them through state institutions. This education in its broad outlines can serve as a preparation for future military service. The army will not have to teach the young men the fundamentals of the most elementary drill-book as hitherto, and it will not get recruits of the present type; no, it will only have to transform a young man who has already received flawless physical preparation into a soldier.

"In the folkish state, therefore, the army will no longer have to teach the individual how to walk and to stand; it will be the last and highest school of patriotic education. In the army the young recruit will receive the necessary training in arms, and at the same time he will receive a further moulding for any other future career. But in the forefront of military training will stand what has to be regarded as the highest merit of the old army: in this school the boy must be transformed into a man; in this school he must learn not only to obey, but must thereby acquire a basis for commanding later. He must learn to be silent not only when he is justly blamed but must also learn, when necessary, to bear injustice in silence." 38

The idea of nationality and a national consciousness was something which Adolf Hitler earnestly desired to foster in the youth of his nation. We find this sentiment most clearly expressed in the pages of "Mein Kampf", when

38 Ibid., 413.
he writes: "Furthermore, reinforced by faith in his own strength, filled with the force of a commonly experienced espirit de corps, he must become convinced of the invincibility of his nationality.

"After the conclusion of his military service, two documents should be issued: his citizen's diploma, a legal document which admits him to public activity, and his health certificate, confirming his physical health for marriage.

"Analogous to the education of the boy, the folkish state can conduct the education of the girl from the same viewpoint. There, too, the chief emphasis must be laid on physical training, and only subsequently on the promotion of spiritual and finally intellectual values. The goal of female education must invariably be the future mother.

"Only secondarily must the folkish state promote the development of the character in every way.

"Assuredly the most essential features of character are fundamentally performed in the individual: the man of egotistic nature is and remains so forever; just as the idealist in the bottom of his heart will always be an idealist. But between the fully distinct characters there are millions that seem vague and unclear. The born criminal is and remains a criminal; but numerous people in whom there is only a certain tendency toward the criminal can by sound education still become valuable members of a national community, while conversely, through bad education, wavering characters can turn into really bad elements."\(^\text{39}\)

\(^{39}\) Ibid., ilh.
Hitler, the foregoing statements not to the contrary, recognized the need of a good character education for the youth of Germany. He knew that a nation which was all brawn could not survive. His main purpose in stressing physical education was to turn the one-sided education of the universities to the building of physical as well as mental giants. But above all he wished to stress character development in the youth of the land, as witness his statement: "How often, during the war, did we hear the complaint that our people were so little able to be silent! How hard this made it to withhold even important secrets from the knowledge of our enemies! But ask yourself this question: what, before the war, did German education do to teach the individual silence? Even in school, sad to say, wasn't the little informer sometimes preferred to his more silent school-mates? Was not and is not informing regarded as praiseworthy 'frankness', discretion as reprehensible obstinacy? Was any effort whatever made to represent discretion as a manly and precious virtue? No, for in the eyes of our present school system these are trifles. But these trifles cost the state countless millions in court costs, for ninety per cent of all slander and similar suits have arisen only through lack of discretion. Irresponsibly dropped remarks are gossiped just as frivolously, our national economy is constantly harmed by the frivolous revelation of important manufacturing processes, etc.; in fact, all our secret preparations for national defense are rendered illusory since the people simply have not learned how to be silent but pass everything on. This talkativeness can lead to the loss of battles, and thus contribute materially to the unfavorable issue of the conflict. Here, again, we must realize that mature age cannot do what has not been practiced in youth. And this is the
place to say that a teacher, for instance, must on principle not try to obtain knowledge of silly children's tricks by cultivating loathsome tattle-tales. Youth has its own state, it has a certain closed solidarity toward the grown-up, and this is perfectly natural. The ten year-old's bond with his playmates of the same age is more natural and greater than his bond with grown-ups. A boy who snitches on his comrade practices treason and thus betrays a mentality which, harshly expressed and enlarged, is the exact equivalent of treason to one's country. Such a boy can by no means be regarded as a 'good, decent' child; no, he is a boy of undesirable character. The teacher may find it convenient to make use of such vices for enhancing his authority, but in this way he sows in the youthful heart the germ of a mentality the later effect of which may be catastrophic. More than once, a little informer has grown up to be a big scoundrel!

"This is only one example among many. Today the conscious development of good, noble traits of character in school is practically nil. In the future far greater emphasis must be laid on this. Loyalty, spirit of sacrifice, discretion are virtues that a great nation absolutely needs, and their cultivation and development in school are more important than some of the things which today fill out our curriculums. The discouragement of whining complaints, of bawling, etc., also belongs to this province. If a system of education forgets to teach the child in early years that sufferings and adversity must be borne in silence, it has no right to be surprised if later at a critical hour, when a man stands at the front, for example, the entire postal service is used for nothing but transporting whining letters of mutual complaint. If at the public schools a little less knowledge
had been funneled into our youth and more self-control, this would have been richly rewarded in the years from 1915 to 1918:

"And so the folkish state, in its educational work, must side by side with physical culture set the highest value precisely on the training of the character. Numerous moral weaknesses in our present national body, if they cannot be entirely eliminated by this kind of education, can at least be very much attenuated." 40

The youth of Germany was to be trained to think independently, and to be able to take command of any situation which might arise. They were to be trained so that they would acquire courage for action. They were to be ready with an answer for any question, as also ready to assume any responsibility. Hitler wrote: "Of the highest importance is the training of will-power and determination, plus the cultivation of joy in responsibility.

"In the army the principle once held good that any command is better than none; related to youth this means primarily that any answer is better than none. The dread of giving no answer for fear of saying something wrong must be considered more humiliating than an incorrectly given answer.

Starting from this most primitive basis, youth should be trained in such a way that it acquires courage for action.

"People have often complained that in the days of November and December, 1918, every single authority failed, that from the monarchs down to the last divisional commander, no one was able to summon up the strength for an independent decision. This terrible fact is the handwriting on the wall for

40 Ibid., 415.
our educational system, for this cruel catastrophe expressed, hugely magnified, what was generally present on a small scale. It is this lack of will and not the lack of weapons which today makes us incapable of any serious resistance. It sits rooted in our whole people, prevents any decision with which a risk is connected, as though the greatness of a deed did not consist precisely in the risk. Without suspecting it, a German general succeeded in finding the classic formula for this miserable spinelessness: 'I act only if I can count of fifty-one percent likelihood of success'. In these 'fifty-one percent' lies the tragedy of the German collapse; anyone who demands of Fate a guaranty of success, automatically renounces all idea of a heroic deed. For this lies in undertaking a step which may lead to success, in the full awareness of the mortal danger inherent in a state of affairs. A cancer victim whose death is otherwise certain does not have to figure out fifty-one per cent in order to risk an operation. And if the operation promises only half a per cent likelihood of cure, a courageous man will risk it; otherwise he has no right to whimper for his life.

"The plague of our present-day cowardly lack of will and determination is, all in all, mainly the result of our basically faulty education of youth, whose devastating effect extends to later life and finds its ultimate crowning conclusion in the lack of civil courage in our leading statesmen."\[41\]

"In the same line falls the present-day flagrant cowardice in the face of responsibility. Here, too, the error begins in the education of youth, goes on to permeate all public life, and finds its immortal completion in the\[41\] \textit{Ibid.}, 416.
parliamentary institution of government."\(^4\)

"Even at school, unfortunately, more value is attached to 'repentant' confession and 'contrite abjuration' on the part of the little sinner than on a frank admission. The latter seems to many popular educators of today the surest mark of an incorrigible depravity and, incredible as it may seem, the gallows is predicted for many a youth for qualities which would be of inestimable value if they constituted the common possession of a whole people.

"Just as the folkish state must some day devote the highest attention to the training of the will and force of decision, it must from an early age implant joy in responsibility and courage for confession in the hearts of youth. Only if it recognizes this necessity in its full import will it finally, after an educational work enduring for centuries, obtain as a result a national body which will no longer succumb to those weaknesses which today have contributed so catastrophically to our decline."\(^5\)

The importance of the army as a training ground for youth was uppermost in the mind of Adolf Hitler. He saw the years spent in the army service as the culmination of all education for the youth of the land. Thus it was that he wrote: "Furthermore, real training cannot be given in consequence of the absurdly small means at the disposal of a so-called combat league for such a purpose. But the best, most reliable training should be

\(^4\) Ibid., 417.

\(^5\) Ibid., 418.
precisely the main task of such an institution. Since the war, eight years have gone by, and since that time not a single age class among our German youth has been systematically trained. But it cannot be the function of a combat league to include the old classes that have already been trained, since otherwise it can at once be reckoned mathematically when the last members will leave this corporation. Even the youngest soldier of 1918 will in twenty years be incapable of fighting, and we are approaching this moment with a disquieting speed. Thus every so-called combat league must necessarily assume more and more the character of an old soldiers' association. This, however, cannot be the purpose of an organization that designates itself not as an old soldiers' league, but as a Wehrverband (combat league), which by its very name endeavors to express the fact that it sees its mission, not only in the preservation of the tradition and common bond of former soldiers, but in the development of a military idea, and in the practical advocacy of this idea, that is, in the creation of a military body.½

Only four years after the close of the 1918 war, Adolf Hitler issued a call to the youth of Germany to join him and his storm troops in the building of a new nation. His ideas concerning education were made perfectly clear in the speech he made at Munich on the 28th of July 1922, when he said: "So as I come to the end of my speech I want to ask something of those among you who are young. And for that there is a very special reason. The old parties train their youth in the figt of the gab, we prefer to train them to use their bodily strength. For I tell you: the young man who does not find

½ Ibid., 539.
his way to the place where in the last resort the destiny of his people is
most truly represented, only studies philosophy and in a time like this
buries himself behind his books or sits at home by the fire, he is no German
youth. I call upon you! Join our Storm Divisions! And however many insults
and slanders you may hear if you do join, you all know that the Storm
Divisions have been formed for our protection, for your protection, and at
the same time not merely for the protection of the Movement, but for the
protection of a Germany that is to be. If you are reviled and insulted, good
luck to you, my boys! You have the good fortune already at eighteen or
nineteen years of age to be hated by the greatest of scoundrels. What others
can win only after a lifetime of trial, the highest gift of distinguishing
between the honest man and the brigand, falls as a piece of luck into your
lap while you are but youths. You can be assured that the more they revile
you, the more we respect you. We know that if you were not there, none of us
would make another speech. We know, we see clearly that our Movement would be
cudgelled down if you did not protect it! You are the defense of a Movement
that is called one day to remodel Germany in revolutionary fashion from its
very foundations in order that there may come to birth what perhaps so many
expected on the ninth of November: A German Reich and a Germanic and, so far
as in us lies, a German Republic."

After coming to national power, Hitler expressed the feeling which
he declared to be the sentiment of the youth of Germany toward the new
National Socialist state in his speech at Nuremberg on the 10th of September

45 Adolf Hitler, My New Order, (ed. by Raoul de Roussy de Sales),
New York, 1941, 43.
1934, thus: "A young generation is growing up and it has never experienced the
infection of our poisonous party politics, it has never experienced the
corruption of our parliamentary-democratic system: all this is alien to our
youth, it is from the outset incomprehensible. Those of advanced years may
still have their doubts, but youth is devoted to us; it has joined us in body
and soul. Youth lives in this proud Germany of the swastika, and that symbol
it will nevermore be able to tear from its heart. Youth loves the singleness
of purpose, the resolution of our leadership, and would not understand if
suddenly a mummified past were to come with utterances which even in their
language are drawn from an alien period - a language no longer spoken, no
longer comprehended. Youth is not growing up in the belief that status,
classes, professions are of importance; its faith is in a single German nation.
In their hearts there is no room for the prejudices, the conceit, the
arrogance which in former generations were the characteristics of some classes
of our people. For the young live with one another, they march together,
they sing in common the songs of the Movement and of the Fatherland: they
believe in a Germany which belongs to them all. In their ranks we shall find
the best recruits for the National Socialist Party. We see them grow from
childhood: we watch them as they develop. We can test the character of each,
we can follow their individualities, and at length we can choose from their
number those who seem to us the worthiest to take their places in the ranks
of the Old Guard."\(^{46}\)

\(^{46}\) Ibid., 294.
CHAPTER III
Baldur von Schirach AND THE HITLER YOUTH

Baldur von Schirach, in his writings concerning the Hitler Youth, always gave the credit for the establishment of the Youth organization to Adolf Hitler, as he said that the first idea for such an organization came from the Fuehrer himself.\textsuperscript{47} And as for the name of the organization, credit was given by von Schirach to Julius Streicher, whom he said also gave the name of the "Brown House" to Hitler's headquarters in Munich.\textsuperscript{48} But as it has already been stated, and as von Schirach himself stated, the first group of Hitler Youth was established by a young man named Kurt Gruber, who organized his group in a small basement in the city of Plauen.\textsuperscript{49} The idea soon spread to Franconia, where an unselfish and purposeful young man, Rudolph Gugel\textsuperscript{50} by name, soon had many small Hitler Youth groups going. The groups continued to grow, until at the time of the 1929 Parteitag, the first Reichsfuehrer of the Hitler Youth, Karl Gruber, experienced a virtual triumph when two thousand Hitler Youth marched in the ceremonies for the

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Ibid.}, 20.
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Ibid.}, 20.
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Ibid.}, 20.
first time in history. 51

It was not long after this triumph that the Evangelical Church youth organization fell under the sway of the Hitler youth. This taking over of another youth organization by the leaders of the Hitler Youth was a forerunner of many such acts which were to follow, and for this reason the wording of the agreement between the two organizations is of interest. The agreement with the Evangelical Reichsbishop is as follows:

"1. "The Evangelical Youth-work acknowledges the uniform state-political education of the German Youth through the National Socialist State, and through the work of the Hitler Youth, which is the carrier of the State-idea!"

"The Youth of the Evangelical Youth-work under eighteen years of age will be ranked in the Hitler Youth and its organizations. Whoever does not become a member of the Hitler Youth Organization, from this time on can no longer become a member of the Evangelical Youth Organization."

2. "Field sports, including calisthenics, and state-political education will henceforth be activities carried out only by the Hitler Youth, till the eighteenth year of a child's life."

3. "The entire membership of the Evangelical Youth-work organization, in their capacity as members of the Hitler Youth, will wear the service uniform of the Hitler Youth Organization." 52

51 Ibid., 20.
52 Ibid., 39.
Throughout all the transformations which went on in the various youth organizations, the one principle which was stressed above all was the idea of blind following of command. As Baldur von Schirach wrote: "They are to be educated in a form of discipline so that they will recognize that blind obedience to the commands of their leaders offer the only possibility for success."53

And again, von Schirach wrote: "It does not matter that in these days there are young people growing up outside the educational experience of the National Socialist movement with its world philosophy: but young Germany must, in its infancy, be led to the ideas of National Socialism, and become saturated with them, for through these ideas Germany has recovered her honor. We demand totalitarianism of the National Socialist youth, not only over confessional organizations, but over the entire youth of the nation."54

To aid in this education of youth in the ideas of National Socialism, Jugendherbergen (Youth hostels) were constructed in at least thirty of the Gauss (political divisions) of Germany. Baldur von Schirach gives the following figures for Jugendherbergen, and their use for four years:55

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Jugendherbergen</th>
<th>Over-night guests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>2319</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2319</td>
<td>4,320,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53 Ibid., 69
54 Oswald Dutch, Hitler's Twelve Apostles, New York, 1940, 197.
55 Schirach, Hitler-Jugend, 112.
There were four established principles which von Schirach preached over and over to his boys and girls:

1. "Blood, other and better than that of the rest of the world, flows in the veins of the youth of Germany. They are, therefore, called upon to educate themselves to become superbeings; they must fear no one, and they must never intermarry with a different race, since any other race, because it is not Aryan, must be inferior."

2. "The party stands above all else that might have importance for youth: above God and religion, knowledge and objectivity, and even above the family and its traditions."

3. "The military aims of the nation must be kept in mind; the youth of Germany must become hard and resistant, and not be allowed to forget in their incidental games the leitmotif of militarization."

4. "All study and all education, everything which children have to absorb, can only stand by virtue of its Germanic quality (Deutschum), and only acquires practical importance in connection with the great national idea."  

From their fifth birthday all boys and girls had to be absorbed by the Hitler Youth (H.J.) or the league of German Girls (B.d.M.). It has become customary to describe all German youth, even up to conscription age, as Hitler Youth, but in a more precise division Hitler Youth lasted only to the age of ten. From ten to about sixteen the young people belonged to the

56 Dutch, Twelve Apostles, 197.
National Socialist League of School Children (Schuelerbund), and after sixteen
the Students' League (Studentenbund) came into its own. Baldur von Schirach
in his capacity of Reich Youth Leader (Reichsjugendfuehrer) had under his care
all children from five years of age until they were nearly twenty. In
addition to this he was the formal leader of the Studentenbund, while the
Hitler Youth and the Schuelerbund had their own subordinate leaders
(Intifuehrer). For the sake of organization it was necessary for every
district and special group to have its own leader too, but the general
responsibility for German youth rested essentially with Baldur von Schirach.
In order to emphasize the bond existing between himself and every individual
member of the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls, Baldur von
Schirach addressed every single one of them with the familiar "Du" (the
pronoun of the second person singular, the familiar form), and every child
was constrained to be on the same intimate terms with the
Reichsjugendfuehrer, and thus, as it were, to acknowledge that he or she
belonged to the big family of youth.

No child was allowed to be lost to the party. As von Schirach said:
"No child shall set parents and family above service for the Fatherland."57
But every child was educated to believe that he belonged to a class of
"lordly beings" (Herrenklasse), that his blood was better than that of the
children of all other nations, and that by reason of this he was born for
loftier ends. By this theory new ground was broken in the relations of child

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57 Ibid., 199.
and parents, and in sexual education. As regards the latter, youth and girls had, from a very early age, to bear in mind that in their choice of a mate their superior blood was to mix with blood of equivalent superiority, and that thereby a racially valuable posterity was to be bred by selection. Not special intellectual figts or noble sentiments were to be the standard in choosing a mate, but only physical fitness and abounding health, strength and pure blood.

It was made clear to youth that they were expected to marry, to marry wisely and with a sense of responsibility, but they were not pushed or prodded. A leaflet setting forth ten commandments in regard to the choice of a marriage partner was circulated by the thousands. On the last page was a picture of a youth in knee breeches facing a sturdy, healthy young woman. Above them floating on a fleecy cloud were ten round-cheeked sleeping infants. The hint was obvious. The ten commandments were as follows:

1. "Remember that you are a German."
2. "If you are of healthy stock you should not remain unmarried."
3. "Keep your body pure."
4. "Keep mind and spirit pure."
5. "As a German, choose only a partner of German or other Nordic strain."
6. "In the choice of your partner, consider ancestry."
7. "Health is the prerequisite of outward beauty."
8. "Marry only with love."
9. "Seek no playmate but a marriage comrade."

10. "Desire as many children as possible."  

The youth leader was idolized by a large section of the German youth. Youth always seeks support in a personality which catches their imagination and can be looked up to. Baldur von Schirach answered this demand perfectly. He was young, handsome, and attractive, a good speaker, cultured and pleasant. Although outwardly he gave the impression of being somewhat gentle and feminine, yet within he was energetic, undeviating, and uncompromising. He was slavishly devoted to Hitler, for he was straightway elevated to his high position while yet in his adolescence, and so had no experience in his life apart from his unquestioning adherence to the Fuehrer.

Baldur von Schirach was by far the youngest of the rulers of National Socialist Germany, and of Hitler's most intimate acquaintances. He was born in Weimar in 1907, and was the son of the director of the theater there. He went to the Weimar Gymnasium, and was originally intended to study philosophy. But in 1924 Adolf Hitler held a meeting in Weimar, and Baldur von Schirach was among the audience. He immediately fell a victim to Hitler's peculiar fascination, and thereafter had only one aim - to get to Munich as soon as possible, and so be near his idol. In the autumn of 1927 he succeeded in getting Hitler to give some lectures to the students of Munich University, which resulted in the greater part of the students joining the

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59 Dutch, Twelve Apostles, 201.
N.S.D.A.P. (National Socialist German Workers Party). He organized his own National Socialist Students' Section, and a comparatively short time afterward his enthusiasm and talent for organization succeeded in persuading not only the vast majority of the Munich students to enter the party, but also most other universities of Germany to do the same.

Hitler recognized forthwith von Schirach's particular bent, and besides he was personally flattered by the adulation and idolatry of this young student. As early as 1928 he entrusted him with the formation of the National Socialist Studentenbund, and a year later appointed him as the representative of youth in the party management (Reichsparteileitung). It is not surprising that the twenty-one year old von Schirach immediately deserted his studies, which were certainly not so important, and devoted himself entirely to his organizing activities. In 1932, that is, before the seizure of power, about two-thirds of all German students belonged to the N.S.D.A.P., thanks to Baldur von Schirach's tireless efforts.

Baldur von Schirach was one of the few who believed that he could rely implicitly on hero worship and popularity. He mixed at all times with his following, chatted familiarly with them, was lavish with portraits and his autograph, and sought to increase his popularity by taking a special interest in every individual. In the course of the struggles of the National Socialists for power, four enthusiasts still in their youth were shot. In every part of Germany von Schirach founded hostels in memory of the dead, grandiose tombs were erected for those martyrs, and speeches were made recalling their deeds; for one of the chief aims of Baldur von Schirach was to inoculate youth with a sense of its own importance and significance to
Germany. Consciousness of self and lordliness (Herrentum) were to be enhanced by all available means. If all outstanding achievements of youth were well accentuated, every boy and girl would be stimulated and incited to similar acts of sacrifice and self denial.

Naturally it was Baldur von Schirach's task not only to see that as far as possible all children entered his organization, but also to arouse the bent for military education. In von Schirach's day young Germany had practically no other idol but that of physical fitness. In boys and girls too, by means of sport, interest in contest, camp life, and war was playfully aroused. The tiniest lad held a rifle in his hand, and at gymnastics they learned trench digging and taking cover, they had to march in rank and file, and early on in their secondary school days they were initiated into the secrets of rifle, machine gun, gun, and aircraft construction. All this required an organization, but it also demanded a particular devotion which was supplied by von Schirach, and by his sub-leaders, with sincere enthusiasm and self-sacrifice.

There is no doubt but that Baldur von Schirach gave new ideals to German youth who were previously, just like their parents, dismembered into countless coteries. He thought by this means to chain them solidly to the movement, but many educationalists who knew the rising generation were of the opinion that in this quarter a particularly great danger might be brewing for the movement and for the rulers.

Hitler declared: "After you will come a generation for whom National Socialism is all Knowledge."
Ley added: "With us the smallest boy gets a flag in his hand and cries 'Heil Hitler!' - that is the rising generation."\(^{60}\)

And Baldur von Schirach decreed that every member of the Hitler Youth should wear a dagger on which was engraved "Blood and Honor."

Baldur von Schirach married Henny Hoffman. She was the daughter of Adolf Hitler's friend and special photographer, Heinrich Hofmann. Henny lived for many years in Hitler's house, partly in Berlin, partly in Haus Wachenfeld at Obersalzberg, near Berchtesgaden. Hitler preferred to spend as many hours as possible with the von Schirach family, which belonged to his closest circle.

One of the most serious problems facing Baldur von Schirach in his official capacity as Reichsjugendführer was the guarding of the health of the Hitler Youth. And in respect to health, von Schirach meant not only a sound body, but he thought of health as a trinity of Body, Mind and Spirit. He proclaimed throughout the land that the German people could only renew themselves through their youth, and took upon himself the responsibility of caring for the health of the Hitler Youth, in body, mind and spirit. A very elaborate agreement was drawn up between Baldur von Schirach, as Reichsjugendführer and Dr. Wagner, as Reichsaerztsteführer (Leader of the Reich's doctors).

According to the agreement, which was composed of two parts, the first being concerned with medical service for the youth in the ranks, and the second concerned with medical service for the entire people, medical service

\(^{60}\) Ibid., 205.
for the nation was decreed to be "self understood". The Reichsarzt (Chief doctor of the Reich) for the Hitler Youth was to supply doctors for all branches of the Hitler Youth organization. The Hitler Youth doctors in the lower echelons of service were to be supplied by the offices of the Hitler Youth in the Gebieten (Districts). It was agreed that in case of a shortage or a serious need, doctors from the regular army were to take care of the Hitler Youth, especially on marches and various exercises, as far as it was absolutely necessary.61

In so far as it was not the special province of the Office of Medical Services for the Troops, all medical services for the Hitler Youth were to be considered within the province of the Office for Public Health.

All funds necessary to care for the health of the Hitler Youth were to come from the Office for Public Health, and the expenditure of such funds was to be certified by Dr. Wagner and Baldur von Schirach. The head of the Office for Public Health (Hitler Jugend-Dienstelle des Amtes fuer Volksgesundheit bei der Politische Leiter) was to occupy the position of Reichsarzt (Chief Doctor) of the Hitler Youth. In the Hitler Youth organization the services of the medical profession and also the services of the Social Welfare Department of the Reichs Youth Leadership (Reichsjugendfuehrung) and its subsidiary offices, was to be taken over by the new Office for Public Health (Amtes fues Volksgesundheit), and the Social Welfare department was no longer to supply medical services to the Hitler

61 Baldur von Schirach, Hitler Jugend, 207.
In order to insure an orderly control of all medical services dispensed to the Hitler Youth, it was agreed that the chief doctor for the Hitler Youth in each division was to be at the same time a member of the staff of the Gauleiter of his district. And at the same time it was made a duty of the doctors in charge of the smallest units and localities to report to their superiors any irregularities which they discovered in the health service in their particular locations.

The medical men were especially cautioned to be on the lookout for bodily stress and strain among the young people when they were on the march, or when they were located in camps, and trying to show their prowess to their leaders. The greatest care was to be given to youth in such situations so that they would not harm themselves, and a special order was put out by Baldur von Schirach to cover just this special point, in all its considerations.  

The Fuehrer did not want soft mamma-boys who dared not do anything, but rather a strong, fully trained youth. However, in building a strong and powerful body, the various leaders were cautioned not to over-strain the young children beyond their physical powers.

It was ordered that the Heimabend (a weekly meeting of all the Hitler Youth in a certain district, at which they learned political songs and

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62 Ibid., 208.
63 Ibid., 209.
64 Ibid., 211.
engaged in various activities) should not last more than two hours, and was in no case to continue past seven o'clock in the evening.

On a march, it was ordered that the smallest child in a group of twelve children was to be placed at the head of the marching column, and it was further decreed that the space between this leader and the remainder of the group was to be at least three meters. The elder leader of the group was to bring up the rear of the column, and was to be responsible for all things which might take place while the group was on the march.

![Image]

The Pimpfe (youngest members of the Hitler Youth) from 10 to 11 years of age were not to march more than 10 kilometers in one day, while those of from 12 to 14 years were not to march more than 15 kilometers per day.  

As to the tempo of the march, Pimpfe between 10 and 11 years of age were not to march more than four kilometers per hour, while those of between 12 and 14 years were not to march at more than 4.5 kilometers per hour. It was further ordered that after every hour of marching there was to be at the very least one-quarter of an hour pause, during which time the young people were not to be allowed to play or to receive instruction.

The Pimpfe between 10 and 11 years of age were on no account to be allowed to participate in over-night hikes on which they would have to sleep in tents. They were only allowed to participate in such activities if they were assured quarters in a Youth Hostel. Those between 12 and 14 years of age could participate in such over-night hikes if a dry camp site had been seen.

65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., 212.
to, and if enough straw was obtained for bedding. (For a tent sleeping twelve persons, from one-hundred to one-hundred-fifty pounds of straw was ordered).

Over-night hikes were to be so planned that the night camping site was reached by seven o'clock in the evening at the latest, and all preparations for the night were to be completed by nine o'clock. All Pimpfe were to have at least nine hours sleep.

Pimpfe of between 10 and 11 years were not to carry a pack of more than five pounds, while that of Pimpfe between 12 and 14 was not to weigh more than ten pounds. 67

All Pimpfe were to have at least two hours of rest after the mid-day meal, and all marches, journeys, exercises, sports and other types of services and duties were strictly forbidden by night.

Field sports were also to be strictly controlled. Organised exercises were not to last more than fifteen minutes per day, while sports in general were not to occupy more than three hours of the day, of which time at least one-half hour was to be used as a rest period. During rainy weather no sports were to be undertaken in the open.

Pimpfe between 10 and 11 years of age were not to be allowed to run races of more than sixty meters, while those between 12 and 14 years of age were not to run more than 100 meters. 68

Night guard duty was strictly forbidden for Pimpfe between the ages of 10 and 11 years, while those of 12 and 14 years were permitted only one

67 Ibid., 213.
68 Ibid., 214.
hour each. All night marching, night sports and night alarms were forbidden activities. It was permitted to have sports activities during the twilight period, but it was at the same time ordered that these activities were not to exceed a period of two hours.\footnote{Ibid., 215.}

The Hitler Youth organization was to be the basis for the work of unifying Germany. All boys and girls were to enter their respective groups of their own free will, on the 20th day of April, in the year in which they celebrated their tenth birthday.\footnote{Ibid., 221.} They were to remain for a year in a group composed of young boys or girls of their own age group, and were to carry out their set exercises and examinations together. From year to year the young people advanced through the various stages of the Hitler Youth and other organizations, until at the age of twenty or twenty-one they went out to do their year of labor service (Reichsarbeitsdienst) and their service in the armed forces (Wehrmacht).\footnote{Ibid., 222.}

To complete the character and body building education of the young folk of Germany, the Reichsjugendfuehrer, Baldur von Schirach, and the Reichssportfuehrer, Baron von Tschammer und Osten, entered into an agreement in Berlin, on the 28th of July, 1936.\footnote{Nationalpolitische Lehrgaenge fuer Schuler, Denkschrift des Oberpraeidenten der Rheinprovinz, Frankfurt am Main, 1935, 219.} This agreement declared that it was the duty of the organizations under their control to care for the character and
body building education of the German youth until their fourteenth year. However, no special division was to be set up to undertake this work, but it was to be handled by the then existing organizations. Young people between the ages of fourteen and eighteen were to have their own organization which would continue the character and body training they had already received. This special group was called the Deutsches Reichsbundes fuer Leibesuebungen (the German Reich's League for Body-building).
CHAPTER IV

THE HITLER YOUTH ORGANIZATION

The law making the Hitler Youth a State agency was promulgated on December 1st, 1936. Its provisions were as follows:

Preamble

The future of the German people depends upon its youth. The entire German youth must, therefore, be prepared for its future duties. The Reich government, therefore, has decided upon the following law which is hereby decreed:

Article 1

The entire German youth within the territory of the Reich is brought together within the Hitler Youth.

Article 2

The entire German youth, outside of their homes and school, is to be educated in the Hitler Youth physically, spiritually and morally in the spirit of National Socialism and for service to nation and national community.

Article 3

The task of educating the entire German youth within the Hitler Youth is entrusted to the Reich Youth Leader of the National Socialist Labor Party. He thereby becomes "Youth Leader of the German Reich." He has the status of a chief Reich office with its seat in Berlin and he is immediately responsible to the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor.

Article 4

The legal decrees and general administrative measures necessary
for carrying out and amplifying this law will be issued by the Führer and Reich Chancellor.

Berlin, December 1, 1936.

By this simple process the entire youth of the German Reich was at once incorporated into the Hitler Youth organization, at the head of which stood Baldur von Schirach. All youth organizations other than the Hitler Youth were forbidden, even those of the confessional churches, the Catholic Church, and the groups of Jewish youth. After this date no youth group could have a legal existence in Germany outside the Hitler Youth, and those which did exist were forced to do so "under ground."

According to statistics which were put out under the heading of "The German Youth Before and After the Hitler Youth Struggle for Their Totalization", there were in Germany in 1933 about eleven youth groups, each with approximately the same number of adherents. This list contained the following named organizations: the Jewish League, the Communist League, the Socialist League, the Catholic League, the Evangelical League, the Buendische League, the League of Professions, the League for Body Building, the Peoples League, the National Political League, and the Hitler Youth. According to the same statistic, in 1936 there remained only three of the aforementioned leagues: The Jewish League, the Catholic League, and the Hitler Youth. 76

The growth of the Hitler Youth as an organization was rather slow from 1926 to 1933, while the years 1935 and 1936 witnessed a huge growth in the number of members this organization attracted. According to statistics given,

75 Henri Lichtenberger, The Third Reich, New York, 1937, 316.

76 Max Eichler, Du bist sofort im Bild, Erfurt, no date, appendix 1.
there were in 1926 about two thousand members of the Hitler Youth. At the first national meeting of the Hitler Youth in Bad Sterben, in 1928, there were slightly less than one-quarter million members. At Easter time in Brunswick, in the year 1932, there was a ceremonial consecration of thirty-two Hitler Youth flags, and at this time the organization counted about three-quarters of a million members. When, on the 13th day of April, 1932, the Hitler Youth organization was forbidden, one million members were claimed. At the Reichsjugendtag (National Youth Day) celebration held at Potsdam on the first and second of October 1932, slightly less than one and one-half million members were enumerated; while on the 30th of January 1933, when Adolf Hitler became Reichskanzler (Chancellor of the Reich) there were just slightly more than one and one-half million in the organization. When the Hitler Youth took over the various German youth organizations on the fifth of April 1933, the membership suddenly increased to two and one-half million. When the office of "Jugendfuhrer der Deutschen Reiches" (Youth Leader of the German Reich) was created in 1933, there were already three and two-thirds million children in the group. The incorporation of the Evangelical Youth League on the 19th of December 1933 brought the total to slightly less than five million. At the consecration ceremony for Hitler Youth Flags in Potsdam, held on the 24th of January 1934, the membership had slightly passed the five million mark. At the same type of ceremony, held in Munich on the 15th of September 1934, there were five and two-thirds million members. The incorporation of the Turn and Sport Leagues on the 30th of November 1934 brought the total membership up to exactly six million. The consecration ceremony of Hitler Youth flags held in Marienburg on the 24th of January 1935 saw the organization membership standing
at six and one-quarter million; while by the time of the so called "Adolf Hitler March to Nuernberg" during the months of August and September of 1935 the count was six and one-half million. The final figure given was for the flag consecration ceremony held in Bamberg on the eleventh of September 1936, by which time the membership in the Hitler Youth had slightly surpassed the six and one-half million mark.77

The yearly progression of young people through the various stages of the Youth Organization was as follows: on the twentieth of April in the year during which their tenth birthday fell, the youth of the nation entered the Deutsche Jugend (German Youth), and at ten years of age were placed in what was known as Jungzug IV (a group of twelve children). At eleven years of age they progressed into Jungzug III, while at twelve they advanced to Jungzug II, and at thirteen entered Jungzug I. These four groups of Jungzugs were collectively called a Faehnlein. On the following twentieth of April, the children were transferred to the Hitler Youth, and on reaching the age of fourteen years entered Schar IV (a group of thirty-six children). At the age of fifteen years they advanced to Schar III; while on their sixteenth birthday they became members of Schar II, and at seventeen years of age entered Schar I. These four Schar were collectively called a Gefolgschaft. On the ninth of November, the youth who had passed their eighteenth birthday entered the ranks of the National Socialist Party, becoming members of the S.A., (Brown Shirts), the S.S., (Storm Troops), or the N.S.K.K., (National Socialist

77 Ibid., Appendix 2.
Motor Corps). This major step having been taken, the next duty of the youth was the National Labor Service, which lasted six months for boys and one year for girls. The last step in the ladder was the army service, which lasted for two years, before wartime.78


For the Jungvolk, each Gebiet was divided into Jungbann, which were composed of Jungstamm, which were composed of Faehnlein, which were made up of Jungvorge, which were composed of Jungschaften.

For the Hitler Jugend, each Gebiet was divided into Bann, which were composed of Stamm, which were composed of Gefolgschaften, which were made up of Schar, which were composed of Kameradschaften.

78 Baldur von Schirach, Hitler Jugend, 223.

79 Eichler, Bild, 79.
For the Jungmaedel, each Obergau was divided into Jungmaedeluntergau, which were composed of Jungmaedelring, which were composed of Jungmaedelgruppe, which were made up of Jungmaedelschar, which were composed of Jungmaedelschaft.

For the Bund deutscher Maedel, each Obergau was divided into Untergau, which were composed of Maedelring, which were composed of Maedelgruppe, which were made up of Maedelschar, which were composed of Maedelschaft.

The organizational plan of the Youth Leadership of the German Nation and of the National Socialist German Worker's Party was as follows: first came the N.S.D.A.P. itself, under which were the offices of the Director of Physical Education for All German Youth, and the Youth Leader of the German Nation and the N.S.D.A.P.

Under the Office of the Youth Leader came the offices of the Legal Adviser, the Adjutant, the Youth Hostels, the Brunswick Academy for Leaders, the Girls' Sports School, the Adolf Hitler Schools, the Langemarch Committee, the Memorial Committee, and the Youth Library.

Also under the Office of the Youth Leader was the office of the Chief of Staff, who had under him the offices of the Leadership Schools, Inspection, the Construction of Youth Homes, the Munich Liaison Office, the Cabinet Liaison Office and the Legal Adviser.

Also under the Office of the Chief of Staff were the following

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80 Ibid., 79.
administrative departments; Physical Training, Physical Fitness, Female Youth, personnel, Social Work, Ideological Training, Health Leadership, Radio, Press and Propaganda, Foreign Affairs, Trips and Roaming, and Excursions. 81

Thus we see that all German youth from the age of four to ten years was enrolled in the Kinderschule, at which time the boys went to the Jungvolk, while the girls went to the Jungmaedel. At fourteen years of age the boys joined the Hitler Jugend while the girls entered the Bund deutscher Maedel. At eighteen years of age the boys went to the Labor Service for six months, while the girls had to serve for a period of one year. At nineteen years of age the boys could enter the National Socialist Order Schools, though they still had to serve two years in the armed force. The girls joined what was called the National Socialist Women's Union instead.

The formal education of children was along the following lines: all children between the ages of six and ten had what was known as Grundschule (Primary school). After that, those who were destined to learn a trade went to the Volkschule, progressed to the Mittelschule, and finally entered the Vocational Schools. However, if they showed special qualities of leadership, they might transfer from the Volkschule to the Adolf Hitler Schools, from whence they would enter the National Socialist Order Schools, where all expenses were paid by the government, and the graduates of which were assured positions with the government.

If the young child was destined for the university, after finishing the Grundschule, he would enter the Hoehere Schule (Higher Schools), and from

81 Becker, German Youth, Appendix 1.
thence progress to the University. However, if he showed special qualities for leadership, he might transfer from the Hoahere Schule to the Adolf Hitler Schools, where he would be educated from the age of twelve to eighteen, and from whence he would progress to the National Socialist Order Schools.

The breakdown of the hours of study and subject matter at a school for Hitler Youth leaders, over a period of three weeks, that is, one hundred and seventy hours, is as follows: thirty-seven hours were devoted to political education; three hours were devoted to a discussion of the political events of the day; seven and one-half hours were devoted to the "Heimabend", in which they sang folk songs, told tales and sagas, and learned the Germanic traditions. Five hours were devoted to learning how to conduct a "Heimabend"; five hours were devoted to singing; seven and one-half hours were devoted to public discussion; sixteen hours were spent in learning to shoot small arms; forty hours were spent in body-building exercises, and forty-nine hours were devoted to field sports of all kinds.82

Examples of practical experiment in the production of a future elite appear in the Adolf Hitler Schools and the National-political Training Institutes (Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt), the N.P.E.A. or "Napoli" schools, as they were popularly known. The selection of candidates for these schools has nothing to do with social or financial status, for once enrolled the boy became a ward of the state. A constant elimination based on rigid requirements of character attainment and physical prowess, with all their political connotations, left a residue of the most able and the most qualified

82 Eichler, Bild, Appendix 3.
Each district (Ortsguppe) was to have its Adolf Hitler School, this institution being the first stage in the training for a future Fuehrer career. It was planned to erect thirty-two schools, of which at least seventeen were built. The schools were to train boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen. They were to be selected from the mass of the people without regard for social position, financial status, or other consideration. Each district was to make its own appointments. These young aspirants were tested and again selected by the district authorities, to be ready to pass a final examination featuring perfect health and good physical condition. Not even the slightest health deficiency was to be tolerated. Six hundred scholars for each school, making about four thousand altogether, were to be trained for coming Fuehrers. Their education was free of charge, the party assuming the main cost of living, clothes, uniforms, books, as well as pocket money. The course of instruction was worked out by the Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg together with the Reichsorganisationsleiter and Reichsjugendfuehrer. There was no certificates at the end of the course, no testimonials and no examinations. The scholar either maintained a high calibre of character and mental achievement throughout his career or left the school altogether. The Adolf Hitler scholar was also obliged to join the Hitler Youth, if he was not a member. 84

Concerning the Napoli schools Reichsminister Rust said: "We have

83 Ernst Krieck, Nationalpolitische Erziehung, Leipzig, 1938, 448.
84 Frankfurter Zeitung, November 24, 1937.
made these schools experimental institutions for our ideas. We practice in these boarding schools a new national, social and commercial education. We further character education by severe demands on physical achievement, without renouncing the general training of the intellectual side.85

In the Adolf Hitler schools the National Socialist movement created its own educational system, which was not transferred to state authorities but was retained under party control and administration. This was the more exclusive school of the two. After passing all the tests of the Hitler Youth organization, including proof of marked adaptability for leadership, the boy entered the school at the age of twelve, to stay there six years at the expense of the party. Completing the Adolf Hitler school found the boy in the same position as any secondary school graduate except that after a period of seven years, that is, when he was twenty-five, he might if married and a member of the party apply for admission to the Ordensburg, or "Castle of the Order," a name given by Dr. Ley, leader of the Labor Front. The Castles, it was planned, would take approximately one-fourth of the Adolf Hitler scholars for four more years of leadership training.86

The thousand most able and best qualified (out of four thousand original Adolf Hitler scholars) were to be selected as the elite of the National Socialist Ordensburgen. The educational program of the four castles which were built was to last four years, and to consist of character, physical

86 Frankfurter Zeitung, November 24, 1937.
and mental training. At the age of twenty-nine a further selection was contemplated to produce Junkers, leaders of leaders.

Theoretically, the elite principle is a natural outcome of the National Socialist belief in the inequality of man. The rule of the majority gives place to the rule of personality, or even of the type. It is a principle of differentiation involving a chosen few which hierarchically establishes itself around a leader. It is also a logical response to the aristocratic principle of nature, which fosters the eternal privilege of energy and strength. Finally, it rests on the belief that inequality is endowed with creative values which, if man carefully heeds, will establish him in his proper position in society's new pyramid. Although the creed of National Socialism tolerated no class distinction, it did tolerate a caste, and this caste was composed of a nationalistic elite.
CHAPTER V

EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN THE THIRD REICH

Youth simply had to be Nazi. Youth organizations and the schools were the two methods used to achieve this aim. The Hitler Youth organization only became important within the party after its founder and leader, Kurt Gruber, was superseded in 1930 by Baldur von Schirach, who along with the deputy Party Leader Hess was numbered among Hitler's most intimate friends.87

Mr. Charles William Domville-Fife, an Englishman visiting the south German city of Garmisch in 1942, gave the following picture of the Hitler Youth in action: "Although the boys' camp among the pines near Garmisch presented much the same appearance as a similar camp of English or American scouts, it was undoubtedly better organized and equipped....Over all the medical and sanitary side of the camp life presided a local doctor of repute who visited and inspected the camp, testing drinking water, and performing other essentials without payment. All food was stored in a square pit so covered as to prevent rapid deterioration through damp, change of temperature or exposure to the sun's rays and insects. Every evening there was a roll call and the ceremony of saluting the national flag."88

"Life in the camp appeared to be one of healthy exercise at sports and games, but absolute discipline was maintained."89

"The youth of Germany actually does belong, body and soul, to Adolf Hitler. They hang his picture over their beds or by their writing tables, they write him intimate, personal letters quite of their own accord; they brook no obstacles, so eager are they to greet their leader. And, while most adults who visit Berchtesgaden cannot walk up to Hitler himself or to his home, "The Berghof", the children can do so. The stalwart S.S. men in their trim black uniforms with silver braid trimmings, members of the Fuehrer's body-guard, discreetly look the other way and let them slip through."90

"You may ask, what has the organization accomplished up to now? For one thing, German youth has been led away from loading in the streets and visiting unwholesome places of amusement. Dissipation is now a rarity among adolescents. No Jung Maedel and no boy belonging to the Young Folk group are allowed to be out in the streets alone, in uniform, later than seven o'clock in the evening in the winter or eight o'clock in the summer. The Young Folk meet only in the afternoon."

"The boys are dressed in brown, the girls in white blouses and blue skirts."91

89 Ibid., 235.
90 Ibid., 237.
91 Ibid., 239.
The following extract from an issue of "Hitlerjugend", a journal issued in Darmstadt for the Third Division (Hesse), illustrates the nature of the appeal made to the German youth. If there should be a disposition to discount this kind of literature as mere verbalism, it must be remembered that it was only part of the persistent indoctrination of youth which formed a large part of the work of the school in such subjects as German language, history, and geography, and that it found its concrete manifestation in the physical activities of the Hitler Jugend, which was probably more potent in molding young minds than any literary appeal.

"Youth is Yearning"

"Youth is today more alive than ever. Out of it there are struggling forth to the light seeds of new forms of existence. In hearts joyous for the future there burns hot and glowing will to create, to live, to form, and to build. Faith, struggle, and work are the virtues which inspire the German youth of today in Faust-like creative urge.

Our State is a State of youth. Dreamed, longed for, and won by youth and led by youth

We once demanded:

We desire unity, freedom, and brotherhood. We do not wish that a conscienceless clique alien to the people and the blood should hold power in its hands against and without regard for the people.

We desire at the head a leader, a true leader, into whose hands the people willingly and gladly places power and of whom it knows that he will not abuse it but will apply it to the benefit and advantage of the people as a whole.

We desire that the supremacy of the old be broken, that the supremacy of the cavaliers, of the "old gentlemen", and of bureaucrats be ended.

We desire, we demand, that the door and gate be opened to youth and that it be allowed to develop.
We desire, demand, and insist on: Decency, cleanliness, honesty, freedom and justice. Handclasping and the spirit of comradeship and the possibility of doing ourselves what is expected and demanded of us.

All this we have attained. By brave and hard effort we have won it. Hard was the struggle. Great and terrible was the sacrifice. The best of us remained. Gave blood and life.

Still it is not for us, us young ones, to say much about our services. Youth is ever impulsive. Youth will ever reach to new heights. Youth knows no height that cannot be climbed.

We are advancing ever further and for us there is no halting so long as there is more to be done. We wish to become still abler, ever greater in body and soul, stronger and healthier and our inner sentiment, our comradeship, our love of people and fatherland shall and must become finer and more spiritual, steadier and unconquerable.

There is something that is peculiar only to the German, but always in particular to the German youth, which compels him to step forth from the narrow sphere of his group, to win for himself his home, his fatherland, his people and beyond these to embrace the world, so that he may become quite clear about and conscious of his being and his ideal and purpose in life.

That is the yearning which grips the Nordic man, which permits him to search for fulfillment and completeness, which is in his blood and never leaves him.

That is the yearning which summons him to action, which urges him into the community of brave and loyal comrades, which proudly looks for a leader to serve them as a model, who gives them with his blood what their yearning hearts demand from him.

This yearning forges bands of comrades, who set out to win victories in the battle against all that is hostile, bad, hateful and common.

This yearning, the yearning for action and the urge for upright, living Germanism it was which drove us to Adolf Hitler. We felt that what he said in his great speeches, what he wrote was fermenting, living, stirring in our blood.

This yearning it is which, now that the battle is over,
does not permit us to rest and sit back but makes us strive for our souls, for the souls of all German youth. This yearning it is which drives us, warns us, compels us to unify and complete the task begun with the will to new service and new unfolding of power for the sake of the bequest of our leaders in the fight and of our comrades who fell in the struggle for freedom after the War.

Youth is storm, inspiration, fire, flame. Youth is resounding battle-cry, faith, impelling strength.

Youth is yearning.

Without this yearning we would be and would become nothing. Yearning called forth the leader. Yearning created our movement so proud and glorious.

Much has been achieved. Much remains to be done. Our struggle, our longing, our yearning goes on further in and with the cry:

Germany and ever again Germany.

"WE WILL"

"We will be free, a people which within and without possesses freedom to live and the right to live. A youth which has chosen faith in the people as its guiding star and which gives its blood for this people.

We will be true in order to be able to defend freedom.

We will be pure, for faith in the people alone is like a ship without a steersman. Purity ennobles the people, gives it strength and the possibility of creating itself anew. Youth must know that only a pure body and spirit ensure the future of the people.

We will never forget that a people can only live if it safeguards the purity of its blood.

We will believe that the welfare of the German future depends only on us, for only belief in ourselves can give us strength for the struggle and for victory.

We will cultivate the sense for simplicity in the people, since phantasy and phrases produce festering cancers in the bodies of the people. Pride should be hateful to youth in
order that they may not lose sympathy for the people.

We will never break our oath of loyalty on our flag; rather will we disappear with it; for honor can be lost only once.

The brand of Cain for treason will never be set on the brow of German youth.

We will become leaders who with faith in the people will point the way to youth, just as the struggle for the German future demands so that the Reich may arise.

Our Flag Waves Before Us
(Words by Baldur von Schirach)

Yes, by our fists there falls
Everything that opposes us.
Youth! Youth! We are the soldiers of the future
Youth! Youth! Bearers of deeds to come.
Leader! We belong to thee;
We are thy comrades;
Our flag waves before us;
Into the future we advance man by man.
We march for Hitler through night and need
With the flag of youth for freedom and bread.
Our flag waves before us.
Our flag is the new day!
And the flag leads us into eternity!
Yes, the flag is more than death! death!" 92

Doxologies of this type supplied the spiritual and emotional foundation from which the practical preparation in field sport and small-arms training derived its significance for the participants. The Hitler Youth extended and strengthened what the school did through instruction in German language, biology, geography, and history to build up the proper attitude of

92 Hitlerjugend, Oberbann 3, Darmstadt, September, 1933.
blind obedience to the regime. There was, indeed, no break in gauge between the two, each represented a different method of attaining the same ends.

The revolt of National Socialism against inherited concepts was supported by a private yet portentous Weltanschauung (world outlook), and idealistic but also expedient philosophy of life. It is an elusive term, for interpretations such as "philosophy of life", "attitude towards things", or "standard of values" hardly conveys the subtler meaning; its implications are to be taken on a spiritual rather than a factual basis. In other words, what the term conveys is not a definition of reality; it is more nearly a feeling. One does not know what it is so well as what it stands for; one can only really know the attitudes it represents. "It is a portrait of the world and man, even though it receives its justification in faith."\(^3\) But Weltanschauung was for all practical purposes an expression of faith, in many ways a religion, which in its broader sense included an elevation of man and his natural and proper position in the world.

The distinctive character of National Socialist Weltanschauung lay in a system of values and concepts of the goal of life determined by what were conceived to be the natural instincts and qualities of the German people. This point of view was not a personal philosophy, either preconceived or actually experienced by an individual; it covered rather the individual's relationship to the source and meaning of things, this larger element being in turn not something individually conceived or enjoyed, but in its very nature shared by

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all the people. What originated within one kind of people or race was to be shared by that kind. "Weltanschauung is always 'Folk' Weltanschauung". It was not only present in the imagination and activity of the individual German, but above all manifested itself in the habits and institutions of the entire Volk.

The State was the guardian of its Weltanschauung; education was its propagator. The modern school had to build, form, and shape its human material in accordance with this attitude. Weltanschauung became, therefore, the universal subject of education, and the state as patron of education was responsible for its content. The teacher, too, was no longer merely a civil servant. His heart had to be with the state and its Weltanschauung. He had to belong to the Third Reich.

The whole idea of National Socialist Weltanschauung centered around the idea of race, the concept being that race itself had soul, mentality, and those qualities which made for national progress and development. The characteristics of race, more especially of the Nordic race, were those desired by the National Socialists, so that all state theory and government action were aimed to guarantee the racial qualities and ideals intrinsic in every real German. If National Socialism produced anything really new in German civilization it was this idea of racial integrity and race reverence, even religion, which influenced state theory and determined action. Arguments

95 Ibid., 103.
on the biological and anthropological validity of National Socialist race theory are to be found in abundance. Its consequences were far reaching and involved great social issues together with ultramodern social legislation. In fact, much of German civilization was filled with the ideal of perfecting the Nordic man, the Nordic race, education became the chief agent for organizing and disseminating these ideas.

In National Socialist thought, the Volk was dynamic, unchanging, and alive. The Volk idea was not seen in perspective, from an external point of view. It was the point of view, and its moving spirit arose from the realization that since a people has life, it must obey the eternal laws of nature and life. 96

The German government during the Third Reich was a one-party system. National Socialism was by law the only party recognized or tolerated, the creed of the party in its general connotations having become the accepted version of the state idea. 97 The government owed its origin and foundations primarily to the tenets of the political party which gave it being. Historical precedent, where it existed, was more a symptom than a determinant.

It is hard to grasp the real significance to the average German of the National Socialist revolution. The political system in Germany was not based altogether on the social philosophy of a political party. It is true that the Party Program acted as a sort of constitution upon which a new

96 Theodor Wilhelm and Gerhard Graefe, German Education Today, Berlin, 1937, 5.

political order was established, but in the light of National Socialist Weltanschauung, National Socialist ideology was much more of an attitude than a political doctrine. It was this attitude rather than a mere contradiction of theories which separated National Socialism from traditional philosophies. National Socialism arose chiefly as a pragmatic, activist movement, not as an organization based on hypothetical, critical, and skeptical concepts. The German movement was one of ex-soldiers. It became the embodiment of the feelings, the "more or less vague reactions and desires of the younger generation of the post-war period."98

National Socialism, as it found concrete expression in a party program was largely the result of a unique mental situation in which these ex-soldiers and others found themselves, when indisposed or actually unable to cope with the ideology of the republic. A product of liberalism, based on tolerance and conditioned by reason, the Weimar government failed to embody the absolute ideals and passionate enthusiasm which alone could have carried this group with it. These youths were sick of relativities, of complexities, of reasoning, and of rational self-criticism. They wanted an absolute, the Simple; they wanted action.99

It is very easy to misunderstand the extent and character of individual freedom as envisaged by National Socialism. Liberalism sees the


99 Ibid., 114.
individual sacrificed completely for Volk welfare, and not without justification. But the fundamental premises of individual freedom are wholly different in National Socialism from those of democracy, so much so that the freedom of the individual German in the Third Reich was considered even greater than that enjoyed in a democracy.

Where democracy asserts the equality of individuals, National Socialism upheld the individualism of unequals; and this was the starting point of its constructive philosophy, which set up a society of individuals in the form of a pyramid. Thus in National Socialist Germany, the individual was free provided he willed as the Volksstaat willed. Personal freedom, it was believed, was never productive unless it came from, and was associated with, the community which made it possible, for, it was believed, man could enjoy freedom only when it was nurtured and protected by a community, which was both the producer and consumer of its benefits. Several corollaries were implied, among them:

1. There is no better freedom than that controlled by a state as the governing representative of the Volk.

2. The state furthers individual freedom by reconciling petty individual conflicts.

3. Individual freedom is but temporary; Volk is eternal.

4. The real German is not by nature given to will contrary to Volk-will. 100

A sense of freedom must prevail in the schools to stimulate

voluntary performance and accomplishment. A sense of freedom was proclaimed to be the best thing people possessed, something which must not be killed by laws, decrees and threats. But freedom had to respond to the teachings of political experience in the leadership-fellowship principle, and the hard demands it imposed for its own existence.

"Kultur" is an elusive term. The German word "Kultur" is not synonymous with the English word "culture." Alfred Baeumler has offered an authoritative definition of what "Kultur" was to National Socialists, and how it was to be applied to educational theory. He claimed that "Kultur" existed in such a system only where people had become used to "consuming and using certain goods." A certain manner of living, eating, dressing and other factors in daily life distinguished the cultured person from the uncultured. To the National Socialist, having "culture," or being "cultured," had fateful consequences. With the increase in production and variety of goods consumed, desires grew more extensive, but man does not necessarily grow with his desires. Instead of becoming greater, stronger, and more courageous, he is apt to become smaller, weaker, and more cautious. Whether he partakes of the material or spiritual things of life is really beside the point. The fact is that he receives, experiences, and consumes, whereas he should in a genuine Kultur be something, create something, and do something.

In the center of every real "Kultur" stands the active human being. It is not abundance of goods or extensiveness of comforts that define

101 Alfred Baeumler, Politik und Erziehung, Berlin, 1937, 123.
"Kultur"; it is rather the circumstance and surroundings in which people grow up, their relationship to each other, how much strength and courage they have to take hold of their fate and live it. The liberal conception of culture fails because it depends on goods and not on human existence.102

"Kultur" exists only where life has gained a decisive, unified and lasting form. National Socialism considered this the original and pure conception of "Kultur." It taught that all cultures were founded on an original order of things which must not be arbitrarily tampered with. The mere accumulation of treasures, inventions, arts, and sciences makes civilization the master of man, but National Socialism sought to break through all this to get at the natural and lasting relations of men among men, men with women, youth with age, young people among themselves.103

Youth movements such as the Hitler Youth were nothing new to Germany; in fact the Germans have been characterized as the people with a youth movement. It is quite probable that Germany will always have a youth movement, so long as we mean thereby an active and independent spirit among the rising generation. However, youth movements before the Hitler Youth were founded on motives entirely different for the most part from those responsible for the Hitler Youth. The Hitler Youth had its own particular characteristics.

In contrast to former youth movements the Hitler Youth was not romantic; it did not dwell largely on the past. On the contrary, its members

102 Ibid., 124.
103 Ibid., 125.
felt themselves highly aware of the realities of the day and seemed to follow closely the somber words: "For our youth there is no ease of carefree play, no blithe immunity.... We come to birth in the midst of a struggle, and in the midst of the struggle, vanquished or victorious, we die." With no other youth league tolerated, the Hitler Youth became a creative force in all departments of life. United under one head, with common aims and methods, it was the spirit of the community, the spirit of the state, and as such was directly nourished and supported by the state.

Dedicated to overcome everything that remained of bourgeois forms of expression in Germany by new National Socialist forms, all conscious values embodied in the Hitler Youth carried their Nordic character. Honor was everything, and with it was bound silent obedience, courage, and unquestioning loyalty. This youth swore to know no other will than the will of the Leader, and no greater loyalty than loyalty to him and his standard. Toughened by all kinds of climate and vigorous outdoor life, though sensitized at the same time to the arts and German folklore, the boy consecrated himself to the soldiering of Adolf Hitler, and his future to the welfare of National Socialism.

The National Socialist attitude toward the church was established time and again by government action; but there was probably no area of German civilization in a state of greater doubt than that of church-state relationship. It appeared that the people were willing to accept political, economic, and even social changes, but that they did not feel very binding their


obligations to the state will in religious matters. Clerics daring openly to oppose National Socialism were severely dealt with, and were in many cases entirely removed from contact with their congregations. The church had to suffer a weaning away of its youth, and a gradual but telling destruction of its school program in favor of the new state training.

National Socialist Germany renewed the struggle in the matter of denominationalism in the public school system which began a hundred years before. In the words of Walter Lande: "What the German Empire did not wholeheartedly wish to achieve (since the monarchy was allied with Protestantism), and what the (Weimar) Republic could not achieve (since liberalism and socialism needed the support of the Roman Catholic Church), this, National Socialism has undertaken to bring to an end."106

National Socialism as a religion met with greatest approval in younger circles, who in turn felt that the church had failed to provide for the more material necessities of life.

The importance of pure racial stock, in particular the preservation of the Aryan race with its "heroic values", its "higher culture", its achievements in art, science, and technique, form part of the religion of the new National Socialist Germany. In fact, the Aryan man is alone the founder of the real "higher" humanity, and "consequently represents the original type of what is understood by the word 'man' (Mensch)." He is the Prometheus of mankind, according to Hitler.107 In this so-called Nordic religion, in which

106 Lande, Education for Dynamic Citizenship, 111-112.

107 Hitler, Mein Kampf, 317.
only pure Germans could participate, racial "unitarianism" was the most important principle; cross-breeding was a sin against the racial Holy Ghost; while the degeneration of the Aryan race through "hereditary sin" marks the end of Germany and the Germans. 108

This, then, was the religion of National Socialists: faith in themselves, their mission, and their own accomplishments. Placed by God on earth as Germans, for them Germany was the end-all of every divine inspiration. 109

The changes in the social background of National Socialist youth came as a preliminary to general school reform. Up to 1937, and largely as a result of political upheaval in 1933, the schools were in a state of uncertainty and temporary confusion. There was a distinct lack of any clear-cut program set by the central authorities. 110 The delay was deliberate, the object being to condition youth to National Socialism first through experience and practice, and afterward by theory. It was felt, for example, that active participation in farm work in the Landjahr movement would make youth conscious of the soil and his beloved land far more quickly than any lectures on the subject. 111 A program of sports and play with direct instruction in National Socialism found its mark more shrewdly and with much better results than the

108 Wilhelm Hauer, Deutsche Gottschau, Stuttgart, 1936, Hl.

109 Friedrich Miller, Deutsche Erziehung im neuen Staat, Langensalza, 1936, 34.


111 Ibid., 272.
program of indirect instruction, which the school might offer. Moreover, the
spirit of community life is best promoted when members work and play together
twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The lasting emotional effects of
community singing, dancing, and storytelling need little comment. The great
stimulus that experience can give to the learning process is a psychological
commonplace.

Increased emphasis on physique and character would seem to involve
diminishing attention to matters of the intellect. The length of the school
day was not increased; in fact, the decreased regard for the intellectual side
of school life was wholly apparent in the simplified demands on students in
their home study. There was an actual law to the effect that students were
not to have homework more than four days a week out of the six.\textsuperscript{112} Moreover, the original nine years spent in secondary school suddenly became eight. It
is not difficult to guess the feeling of adolescents toward purely
intellectual attainment, when one considers that the party had plans for every
available minute of their time. Leading National Socialist educators defended
this policy. They maintained that a boy's time was simply more carefully
scheduled, that instead of being wasted in aimless pursuits, his day was made
to include a good balance of all the activities that form a well-rounded
adult.

The shifting of emphasis in the higher schools is more easily
explained than in the elementary schools, where attendance is compulsory for
children of all mentalities and capabilities. There were, however, at least

\textsuperscript{112} Richard Muench, "Physical Education in Germany", \textit{Internationale
two alleviating circumstances: first, the low leaving age (around nine years) and second, the fact that the state made fewer demands on children under nine. But the great problem of elementary education lay elsewhere. This branch of the system concerned itself more and more with problems of life in the National Socialist state; it was not a preparation for the higher schools. There, if anywhere, was expressed the earnest desire to mold the child into the pattern which would develop the best in him, and at the same time render him a useful member of the national community.\textsuperscript{113}

The new educational reform of National Socialism might be interpreted as a "transformation that could no longer preoccupy itself with the acquisition of intensive but often useless knowledge in this or that single branch of study." The new education had to aim above all at a "clear mental grasp and survey of cardinal forces, and a profounder insight into the relation of details to the whole."\textsuperscript{114}

German students who wished to become teachers were discouraged and even barred from higher institutions if in the opinion of the authorities they were physically, mentally, morally, or racially defective. Examinations became more strict as the student progressed, so that in the end only those who combined the following qualifications in the greatest degree were allowed to teach: I. National Socialist Weltanschauung including the accepted

\textsuperscript{113} Gerhard Graefe, \textit{Year Book of Education}, 1-2.

\textsuperscript{114} Herman Schwarz, Christentum, \textit{Nationalsozialismus und Deutsche Glaubensbewegung}, Berlin, 1934, 62-64.
There were two types of schools for the training of elementary school teachers: the Hochschule für Lehrerbildung, which was usually coeducational and sectarian, and the pedagogical institute which was incorporated or affiliated with the university. In order to enter a typical teacher-training university, the candidate ordinarily had to have twelve years of school training, and had to pass a very selective examination. Besides this, he had to furnish proof of his German citizenship, his Aryan descent, his activity in "storm groups" and voluntary work service. His personality had to be "adapted"; he had to be proficient in athletics; and he had to be able to sing and play some instrument. Female candidates were subject to requirements which were equally rigid, but in place of political activity, they had to produce evidence of their proficiency in sewing, housekeeping, and cooking.\textsuperscript{115}

The training of the elementary school teacher consisted of four years in the Volkschule, eight years in the secondary school, two or three years' compulsory service for the Reich (work service and the army), two years' professional training and probation, and a final examination on common sense teaching problems. At the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, the teacher was permanently accepted.

The training of the secondary school teacher differed from that of the elementary school teacher in that his higher education, involving a period

of from eight to twelve semesters, terminated in the doctor's degree. After this, he spent two years in a seminary connected with a secondary school, the obvious purpose being to experience the life of a teacher before accepting a permanent position. The long awaited appointment came five years later, when the candidate was about twenty-seven years old, and was dependent upon the demand. 116

Objectivity, freedom of research, and impartiality in learning in German higher education found new and revolutionary interpretations under National Socialism: they were not essential characteristics of science or scientific method. Since all scientific systems of the past have been supported by certain fixed beliefs as to the meaning of the world and man's function in it, it is human personality and a standard of values that become the basis of science.

The new autonomy and liberty of science under National Socialism lay, apparently, in its power to act as intellectual organ of the vital forces of the people and their historical destiny. Its aim was to present them in accordance with accepted laws of truth.

116 Voelkischer Beobachter, Munich, July 15, 1938.
CHAPTER VI

YOUTH AND RELIGION IN THE THIRD REICH

The inevitability and course of the Church conflict is only intelligible if the relation of the National Socialist Party to the State be clearly grasped. The National Socialist Party as a whole with most of its leaders adopted an anti-ecclesiastical and even anti-Christian attitude, as did the Social Democrats in earlier times. Such a position might have led to the abolition of Church privileges in the form of endowments or establishments, but it would not have involved that which could properly be called a persecution. It was the claim of the Party to be alike the sole representative of the State and in itself a quasi-church that led inevitable to the 'persecution'.

The Church conflict was not a struggle in a free state between two groups within the state with access to press and platform for their debates. Rather, the church faced a party group which was highly organized, omnipresent in the state, and in possession of all political and physical power, and which in view of its Weltanschauung, believed and proclaimed as a political gospel, was itself a 'political church'. The religious Church stood over against the political church.

With Catholicism as such National Socialism declared itself to have no quarrel, but 'political Catholicism' it would not tolerate. The Church struggle, therefore, was concerned with a political, not a religious, issue.
The Church was persecuted, if persecuted is the right word, not as representing the Christian religion but as a political opposition. This point was made over and over again. It was true as the terms 'politics' and 'religion' were defined by the National Socialists; but it was false according to the general acceptance of the terms.

The case against the Church as 'political was authoritatively set forth by Victor Lutze, who under Adolf Hitler was Chief of Staff of the Storm Troops. His argument was: "The totalitarian claims of the National Socialist philosophy cover the life of every individual and will brook no opposition. We have no time to be reformers of religion or of the Church. It is nonsense that we want to introduce a new heathenism. Suggestions of that kind are simply a cloak under which Center Party politics may advance against the National Socialist philosophy. The hypocrisy can be seen from this, that, whereas the Catholic District Leader Gemminder was buried without a priest, and German mothers have been refused Communion simply because their sons belonged to the Storm Troops, yet the mass-murderer Kuerten lacked neither Communion nor burial. Where would the Churches be today but for Adolf Hitler and National Socialism? It is we who have rolled back the tide of Atheist Communism; the Churches, therefore, have no right to sabotage our work. Is it to be taken amiss that we have no understanding for priests who in forgetfulness of their duty offer prayers for those accused under the Currency Laws?"

"We National Socialists do not mix in Church affairs, and we will not have the Churches mixing in ours. Our kingdom is of this world. We are therefore concerned with everything that affects the German in this world. Ideas about another world are a man's private affair. In our State, according to the
principle of the great Prussian king, every man may find blessedness in any way he pleases. In the field of religion the Churches have unqualified freedom. Our faith as National Socialists is in the eternity of the German People, in the right of the idea, and the righteousness of the mission, of the Führer. It is our faith that has made it possible for faith in the Almighty to be taught in Germany today:117

The German Concordat, issued in proper form on July 8, 1933, was solemnly signed on July 20th and ratified on September 10, 1933. The important elements in the Concordat were as follows:

Under Article I the Church was guaranteed freedom of faith and of the public exercise of the Catholic religion. The state maintained that this article was strictly kept; but the Church lost the right to educate her youth, which she understood to be included under this article.

Article III provided that a Papal Nuncio was to be appointed for Germany, while a German ambassador was to be sent to the Vatican. However, as the Papal Nuncio was regarded as the representative of a foreign power, Catholic Bishops, in discussing the inner situation of the Church in Germany, would be in danger of a charge of betraying secrets to a foreign power, and as such, guilty of treasonable conduct.

Article IV guaranteed the freedom of the Pope and the bishops to communicate with the faithful and to publish such documents as the episcopal pastoral letters. This article was broken by the state on the plea that the Pope and bishops intruded into political life, which was not true.

117 Victor Lutze, Reden an die S.A., Munich, 1936, 2 ff.
Under Article V the clergy were required to serve the protection of the state in the same way as public officials, while in return they were guaranteed protection from insults or interference. This article, too, was constantly violated by the state.

Article IX guaranteed the demand of the Church for the secrecy of the confessional. This clause was denounced in the controlled press, and the Gestapo claimed that it did not apply to them when they demanded secret information.

Article XIII declared that Catholic parishes, parish unions, diocesan associations with their institutions and foundations and their properties should remain or become public corporations. This article was rendered nugatory by a series of devices.

Article XIV limited the active clergy to German citizens. The state claimed the right to veto on general political grounds in the case of episcopal appointments.

Article XV guaranteed the religious orders and associations from limitations in their pastoral, educational, and charitable work. Under all these heads the orders and associations were in fact hindered or rendered impotent.

Article XVI gave the oath required of bishops. It was a general oath of loyalty which bishops could take without scruple of conscience.

Article XVII confirmed the principle that the property and other rights of public corporations, of institutions, foundations and associations of the Catholic Church were guaranteed in their possessions according to the common laws of the realm. The phrase had no meaning in Germany, because all
the fundamental rights that gave to the phrase its real basis and background were abolished when arbitrary ministerial ordinances received the power to set aside the common law.

Article X1IIII agreed that, should the state wish to alter any of its obligations, this should be done by mutual agreement; traditional rights were to be regarded as titles in law, and compensation would be offered. This article was rarely observed.

According to Article XXI religious education in the Catholic schools was to be given according to the principles of the Catholic Church. Religious instruction was to include the inculcation of patriotic, civil and social duty in the spirit of the Christian law of faith and morals. The article may be said to have been violated when the Catholic schools were suppressed or turned into National Socialist schools.

By Article XXIII the rights of the Church to then existing Catholic schools and to the provision of new schools was safeguarded. Since National Socialism explicitly claimed the sole right of education, this article can only have been agreed on by a completely mutual misunderstanding.

Article XXIV declared that teaching in Catholic schools should be in the hands of Catholic teachers and guaranteed that there should be no interference with the professional training of Catholic teachers. Early in 1938 the last of the Catholic Teachers' Training Colleges was turned into a government institution.

By Article XXXI those Catholic organizations and associations which served exclusively religious, purely cultural and charitable ends and as such were subject to ecclesiastical authority were protected in their
establishments and activities.

By Article XXXII the clergy were debarred from membership in a political party or activity on behalf of any party.

By Article XXXIII it was agreed that the affairs of Church and clergy were to be ordered by Canon law except in so far as the Concordat dealt with them. Further, in case difficulties arose in respect to the interpretation or application of the Concordat, they were to be settled by amicable agreement. 118

Adolf Hitler greeted, rejoiced in the settlement made by the Concordat. In the course of 1933, once the Saar plebiscite was over, the state began to increase its demands to have the sole education of the nation's youth, to make devastating and organized attack upon the Church under the Currency Laws, to make increasing attempts to drive the Church within the four walls of the Church buildings and to shut the Church out from participation in the life of the nation, to suppress Church papers, to forbid any criticism of National Socialist ideas, and to threaten imprisonment when the persons or ideas of the party were criticized. Yet neither side was prepared to declare open war. The Pope was unwilling to denounce the Concordat, and the state was unwilling to treat the Church as a public enemy.

The year 1936 marked a gradual worsening of the situation between Church and state. The currency trials were still in progress, the immorality trials blackened the year, the elimination of the Church from the education of youth whether within school or outside was carried much further. The apparent

118 Reichsgesetzblatt, September 18, 1933, Part II, No. 38, 679-90.
defeat of Dr. Hauer and the German Faith Movement early in the year meant only that the Church, instead of having to face an open enemy, had to meet an insistent attack from under cover.

As the year 1937 closed, the Pope in his Christmas Eve address to the cardinals and senior Roman clergy asserted that in spite of denials there was grievous and sore persecution of the Church in Germany. "Not often before has there been persecution, so heavy, so formidable, so grievous and so sad in its more profound effects. It is a persecution in which neither constraint of violence nor pressure of threats nor tricks of cunning nor lies are wanting."119

Terms of the legislation which was planned against the Church were well known. The Concordat was to be denounced. Baptism was not to be recognized as constituting legal membership in the Church; none were to be deemed members except through personal and spontaneous declaration. All religious propaganda with processions and pilgrimages was to be forbidden. All correspondence between the episcopate in Germany and the Vatican was to pass through the hands of the German government. The religious Orders were to be organized under government control and were to have no part in education. All state financial support was to be withdrawn. All priests were to be Aryans, and no Jew was to be baptized. Any religious bodies amongst whom

immorality was found were to be at once dissolved, and their property confiscated. 120

Thus the Catholic Church in Germany entered into a dark cloud, but it was unafraid.

The Christians in Germany were in the main divided into two great Communions, the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church, in so far as it stood by the famous Synod of Barmen held in 1934. Only the German Christians and their sympathizers were here unrepresented. But the Evangelical Church must be understood to include two groups, one of which might be called "Confessional" and the other "Regional". The Confessional Church is to be distinguished from the intact Regional Churches where, as under Bishop Marahrens in Hanover, the framework and constitution of the church was to a large extent preserved, and where German Christians were not set in local control of the church machinery by the government. It must be understood, however, that even the Regional Churches were only relatively free from government control and interference. The government assumed complete control of all Protestant church finances. But whereas the Confessional Church in Prussia had to organize a separate make-shift machinery, the intact churches maintained their pre-National Socialist structure and organization.

National Socialism, it was carefully pointed out, took the standpoint of a positive christianity, not of any particular type or definition of positive Christianity. Article XXIV of the Party Program did not deal with

the existing churches at all nor with their representatives, but simply with Christianity in general. The Party would not and could not involve itself in controversy about the Being of the Divine, about dogmas, forms, and symbols. To live, to labor, to sacrifice for the people and for Germany constituted positive Christianity in the sense of the Party Program.

There is no doubt but that the National Socialists were willing to tolerate and even commend any form of Christianity which, in their view, eschewed politics, that is, which accepted the politics of the government. The sect or movement of the so-called German Christians attempted to combine Christianity with National Socialism and received support and approval from Adolf Hitler himself. This movement stood for an unqualified affirmation of the world of thought of National Socialism and of the Christian inheritance. The German Christians were, as an organized body, not numerous. They were, however, of great importance in Germany because by favor of the government their representatives were put in control of the Evangelical Church organization.

The German Christian position may be summarized as follows:

1. The German Christians did not, at least in intention, question or repudiate the Christian faith. They assented to the ancient creeds of the church and the confessions of the Protestant Revolt, though they regarded these in language and substance as having little relevance. They represented themselves as good Lutherans.

2. In regard to the Old Testament they said that it was of value to the faith in so far as it afforded an understanding of the Saviour's life, Cross, and Resurrection.
3. With regard to the Jewish question, the acceptance of the "Aryan Paragraph" was self evident, for "Christ was not the offspring and fulfiller of Judaism, but its deadly enemy and conqueror."

4. The distinctive element in the teaching of the German Christians was their attitude to the myth of Blood and Race, to the National Socialist philosophy in general, and to the person of Adolf Hitler. It was their view that these new conceptions were not in any way at variance with the essence of the Christian faith, and indeed, that they constituted a rediscovery or new revelation of the meaning of the Gospel.\[121\]

The following "Credo" was promulgated by the National Reich Church:

"We believe in an eternal New Reich.

We believe in the new world view, which during the great struggle of German humanity with all the peoples of the earth was born in the heart of a man named Adolf Hitler.

We believe that Almighty God restored to this soldier, who was blinded in the World War, the sight of his eyes; and we believe, perceive, and experience now in this man, who was sent to us, the Savior and Leader of our German nation, our Reich, and our People united by blood.

We believe in his almighty, holy, scriptural work Mein Kampf; we swear to follow according to our best knowledge and ability all his commands contained therein; and, in so far as we truly fulfill them, we believe that we dare confess: "Master, we stand before thee, free from sin!"

We are pledged both body and soul to our Leader, Adolf Hitler, and to our German People, and we swear publicly and

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\[121\] Karl Schmidt, Die Bekennnisse des Jahres 1933, Goettingen, 1934, 102.
in unison, "Adolf Hitler, we shall remain true to thee." 122

The same group issued a Thirty-Point Church Program, as follows:

1. "The National Reich Church of Germany categorically claims the exclusive right and the exclusive power to control all churches within the borders of the Reich; it declares these to be national churches of the German Reich.

2. The German people must serve the National Church. The National Church is absolutely and exclusively in the service of but one doctrine: race and nation.

3. The field of activity of the National Church will expand to the limits of Germany's territorial and colonial possessions.

4. The National Church does not force any German to seek membership therein. The National Church will do everything within its power to secure the adherence of every German soul. Other churches or similar communities and unions particularly such as are under international control or management cannot and shall not be tolerated in Germany.

5. The National Church is determined to exterminate irrevocably and by every means the strange and foreign Christian faiths imported into Germany in the ill-omened year 800.

6. The existing churches may not be architecturally altered, as they represent the property of the German nation, German culture, and to a certain extent the historical development of the nation. As property of the German nation they are not only to be valued but to be preserved.

7. The National Church has no scribes, pastors, chaplains, or priests, but National Reich orators are to speak in them.

8. The National Church services are held only in the evening and not in the morning. These services are to take place on Saturdays with solemn illumination.

9. In the National Church German men and women, German

122 Stewart Herman, It's Your Souls We Want, New York, 1943, 49.
youths and girls will acknowledge God and His eternal works.

10. The National Church irrevocably strives for complete union with the state. It must obey the state as one of its servants. As such it demands that all landed possessions of all churches and religious denominations be handed over to the state. It forbids that in the future churches should secure ownership of even the smallest piece of German soil or that such be ever given back to them. Not the churches conquer and cultivate land and soil but exclusively the German nation, the German state.

11. National Church orators may never be those who today emphasize with all tricks and cunning, verbally and in writing, the necessity of maintaining and teaching Christianity in Germany. They not only lie to themselves but also to the German nation, goaded by their love of the positions they hold and the sweet bread they eat.

12. National Church orators hold office as government officials under civil service rules.

13. The National Church demands immediate cessation of the publishing and dissemination of the Bible in Germany as well as the publication of Sunday papers, pamphlets, publications, and books of religious nature.

14. The National Church declares that to it, and therefore the German nation, it has been decided that the Führer's Mein Kampf is the greatest of all documents. It is conscious that this book not only contains the greatest, but that it embodies the purist and truest ethics for the present and future life of our nation.

15. The National Church has to take severe measures in order to prevent the Bible and other Christian publications being imported into Germany.

16. The National Church has made it its sacred duty to use its energy to popularize the coeternal Mein Kampf and to let every German live and complete his life according to the book.

17. The National Church demands that further editions of this book, whatever form they may take, be in content and pagination exactly similar to the present popular edition.

18. The National Church will clear away from its altars all crucifixes, Bibles, and pictures of Saints.
19. On the altars there must be nothing but Mein Kampf (to the German nation and therefore to God the most sacred book) and to the left of the altar a sword.

20. The National Church speakers must during National Church services propound this book to the congregation to the best of their knowledge and ability.

21. The National Church does not acknowledge forgiveness of sins. It represents the standpoint which it will always proclaim that a sin once committed will be ruthlessly punished by the honorable and indestructible laws of nature and punishment will follow during the sinner's lifetime.

22. The National Church repudiates the christening of German children particularly the christening with water and the Holy Ghost.

23. The parents of a child must take only the German oath before the altar. This oath is worded as follows: The man: "In the name of God I take this Holy oath that I (name), the father of this child, and my wife, are of proven Aryan descent. As a father I agree to bring up this child in the German spirit and as a member of the German race."

The woman: "In the name of God I take this Holy oath that I (name) bore my husband a child and that my husband is the father of this child and that I its mother am of proven Aryan descent. As a mother I swear to bring up this child in the German spirit and as a member of the German race." The German diploma can be issued only to newly born children on the strength of the German oath.

24. The National Church abolishes confirmation and religious education as well as the communio, the religious preparation for the communion. The educational institutions are and remain the family, the schools, the Hitler Youth, and the Union of German Girls.

25. In order that school graduation of our German youth be given an especially solemn character, all National Churches must put themselves at the disposal of German youth. The Hitler Youth day will be on the Friday before Easter. On this day only the leaders of these organizations may speak.

26. The marriage ceremony of German men and women will consist of taking an oath of faithfulness and placing the right hand on the sword. There will not be any unworthy kneeling in National Church ceremonies.
27. The National Church declares the tenth day before Whitsunday to be the national holiday of the German family.

28. The National Church rejects the customary day of prayer and atonement. It demands that this be transferred to the holiday commemorating the laying of the foundation stone of the National Church.

29. The National Church will not tolerate the establishment of any new clerical religious insignia.

30. On the day of its foundation the Christian cross must be removed from all churches, cathedrals, and chapels within the Reich and its colonies, and it must be superseded by the only unconquerable symbol of the Hakenkreus (swastika)." 123

The German Faith Movement even went so far as to publish an "Aryan Nine Commandments" which were supposedly taken from Nordic mythology, as follows: 1. "Honor the Deity; 2. Honor thy ancestors and thy descendants; 3. Honor the great men of thy people; 4. Honor thy father and thy mother; 5. Do not dishonor thyself; 6. Be loyal to thy people. 7. Do not steal; 8. Be truthful; 9. Be helpful to the noble." 124

Wilhelm Hauer, a leader in the German Faith Movement, proposed a liturgy for the ordering of the name consecration of children; for the youth dedication, and for the consecration of marriage and of the dead. The Name Consecration was to take place under a large old pear tree, around which a circle was to be formed with benches and chairs, in the middle of which was to stand the basket, decked with blue and yellow flowers, in which later the child would be laid. To begin with "No little blade grows on earth" was to be sung to an accompaniment of violin, 'cello and flutes. Then the nurse was

123 Ibid., 297.

to hand the child over to the mother with a certain form of words." The mother was then to enter the circle and thank God for the child. But she was also to thank the Fuehrer:

"Thanks to thee, Fuehrer and friend; for on confident course, in troubled times thou didst send us, therefore souls found thee".125

Then, also in verse form, the mother was to express the hope that the little one would grow, would manifest boldness and open-hearted love, and would show itself thankful to parents and kindred. Thereupon the father was to hold the child in his arms while the children sang. He was then to give the child into the arms of its great-grandmother and then of its grandmother. Then the godparents, one after the other, were to take it and give it their good wishes.

The godfather was to say:

"Wolf's cub...
may life keep you sound in body and soul,
that strong and bold thy
step may go into the German future."

The godmother was to say:

"Seek and keep ever within thee
the yearning for what is holy.
It makes your good fortune and helps you
to conquer pain and disappointment."

Another speaker was then to say:

"Thou art not today
and art not tomorrow.
Thou art 1,000 years before
these and art 1,000 years
after thee.

One thousand years before thee
have guarded your blood,
that thou becamest just
what thou art.

Guard thy blood, that
the generations that come
one thousand years after thee
have cause to thank thee!"126

The grandmother was then to lay the child in the flower-decked
basket. Next the speech of dedication was to be delivered, concluding as
follows:

"Therefore we salute thee, thou child, in the
congregation of those who wait and those who fight, with
the wish that you will one day dedicate yourself to the
eternal voice of their people and to be obedient to it.
All powers and goodness and nobility that were ever bodied
forth in German lands rule over thy ways. Hail to thee!"127

At the end of this discourse all were to rise and salute the new-born
child with the German greeting. The ceremony was to conclude with a song in
which all were to join.

The Youth Dedication was ordered with no less solemnity. Choir,
speaker and congregation were to take turn about, then was to follow an
address, after which the speaker was to turn to the young people with these
words:

"Drink the wine's dark strength,
Which flows through your soul,
Creating in the inmost being
A holy sense of responsibility.

126 Ibid., 97.
127 Ibid., 97.
Then pray, yet pray only
To yourselves, and you conjure up
Out of your own nature
A spirit who hears you.

To God the Lord it is a triumph
When you do not wilt before him.
When instead of kneeling down
Dumb in the dust, you stand lordly.

When proudly like the tree
You do not bow down under blossom
When only the burden of blessing
Drives you down to the dust.

Remove the wine. He who is not yet aflame
Is not worthy of its kiss!
But he who himself comes from the fire
Has already for long been gloriously aglow.

Only one pleasure befits you:
Only that course through storm and night
Which out of your own dark breast
Makes a heaven of stars."

When the vows of the young folk were received by the leader of the movement, the young men and women were to speak in chorus, making the following confession:

"We love the day with the sun's brilliance,
We love the night garlanded with stars.
Let us love delight, teach us to love trouble,
Teach us to love life; birth and death!
Give us purity and strength for the fight
Use us as instrument which makes the new things out of the old."129

In conclusion the congregation was to sing the following adaptation of a hymn:

128 Ibid.
129 Ibid., 98.
"If all become unfaithful, yet we continue true;
That still upon the earth a banner wave for you,
0 comrades of our youth, images of a better time,
Which has consecrated us to manly virtue and love's death.

Will never to fall away from us, always be nigh to us.
True as the German oaks, as moonshine and sunshine;
One day all our brothers will clearly know
And they will turn to the source in love and loyalty.

You stars that tranquilly look down, be witness to us,
If all our good brothers keep silense and trust to false gods:
We shall never break our word, never be like knaves,
But will preach and speak of the Holy German Reich."130

The Marriage Consecration had the same liturgical framework. There were some opening words by the minister of consecration, who began:

"Hear how an old song of the Edda speaks to us of love's joyful destiny decreed by the eternal powers. According to Nordic wisdom it lies like slumber on the soul of the woman till the man's love stirs it to waking life. And for the man the deepest secrets of life remain hidden till his loving wife reaches to him the draught of knowledge...."131

There was to follow the reading of the song from the Edda. In this song, at the end of it, Sigurd declares:

"...I swear that I want thee for my wife, thou art my heart's desire!" And Sigrdrifa answers: "Thee do I most desire to have, even if I could choose among all men!" And this they confirm with oaths."132

130 Ibid., 99.
131 Ibid.
132 Ibid.
In the address which was to follow, important passages were to be read out of Nietzsche's "Zarathustra." Then was to follow the act of consecration:

"And now step forward and exchange rings as a symbol of your union in wedded love."\textsuperscript{133}

The minister of consecration was to hand to the bridegroom the ring of the bride, and he was to put it on her finger, and to the bride in the same way the ring of the bridegroom. Then the pair were to take right hands while the consecrator pronounced over them these words:

"Mother Earth, who lovingly hears us all,
And Father Heaven, who blesses us
With his light and his changing weather,
And all the good powers that inhabit the air,
They rule over you
Till your destiny is fulfilled."\textsuperscript{134}

The ceremony closed with a "Heil to you."

At the Consecration of the Dead, the course to be followed was: the coffin was to be solemnly borne on a hand cart before the mortuary, under the escort of six torch bearers and the cemetery superintendent was to lead it to the grave. Then the torch bearers were to take up positions at the head of the grave. The relations and those who were to speak were to go to the foot of the grave. The coffin was then to be placed over the grave, but not lowered. Then, after poems had been recited, the speaker was to go up to the grave and say:

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 100.
"Eternal creative power,
Thou inflamest our life
To battle, to completion."

We lower the torches,
That they go out,
As thy life went out.
Farewell!"135

At the same time the torches were to be thrust into prepared holes in the ground. The minister of consecration was to throw three handfuls of earth down into the grave and say:

"Loyalty to the earth,
Loyalty to the God in us,
Loyalty to the eternal 'Die and Become!'"136

After all those present had thrown a spade of earth into the grave, together they were to take their way back into the village, "the way into life."

135 Ibid.
136 Ibid., 101.
CHAPTER VII.

OPPOSITION TO THE HITLER YOUTH ORGANIZATION

As has been stated, at the eleventh hour the various German youth groups recognized the peril which was facing them, and united under the common leadership of Admiral von Trotha. But the various leagues, the Pfadfinder, Deutsche Freischar, Kronach Vandervogel and the Young Nationalists, were no match for the National Socialist Party and the Hitler Youth. With the taking over of all youth organizations and all youth facilities, such as hostels, the Hitler Youth organization gained momentary control over the destiny of all German youth. Considering all the fanfare and ceremony, things which are naturally attractive to youth, it is astonishing that any of the old fighting resentment against the Hitler Youth could long survive, especially when we consider that the youth who fought against the Hitler Youth soon outgrew the designation "youth", and were replaced with younger folk who had never known anything but the colorful pageantry of the National Socialist Youth Movement.

What resistance did develop was small and scattered. That it did develop we know full well, but up to this time it is almost impossible to document it, because in the first place it was quickly extinguished, along with the ring-leaders, by the Gestapo, and secondly because it was hushed up so that very little information was known even inside Germany.

We do know that there was a student revolt in Munich in February 1943. It was led by two students, Hans and Sophie Scholl, who had been fighting the Party since their high school days. At the University of Munich they were
members of a group which carried on a pamphlet campaign known as the "Letter of the White Rose." It is claimed that a connection existed between them and the Catholic periodical "Hochland." They published a manifesto on February 18, 1943, calling upon the German youth "to avenge and to atone" so that they could contribute to a "new spiritual Europe." 137

There were two other anti-Hitler Youth organizations which have become known to us. One was the "Edelweiss" group, and the other was called the "Pack". It was reported that in Krefeld, at least thirty percent of the Hitler Youth were secret Edelweiss members. It is a well known fact that the concentration camp at Neuwied, on the Rhine River, was reserved exclusively for teen-age boys, at least during the period, April, 1944. It has also been reported that at a trial in 1939, a Gestapo agent testified that "at least two thousand boys and girls throughout the Reich" were organized in "The Pack". 138

With the entry of the Occupation Forces into Germany, all forms of the Hitler Youth dissolved, as did all other organs of the National Socialist government. Under the sponsorship of the American forces, a youth group was set up in the American Zone of Occupation, called the German Youth Activity. This organization supplied German youth with a meeting place, provided social entertainment, and various types of sport equipment. The fact that it has not met the demands of German youth is due to a lack of understanding on the part of American officials who dealt with the youth problem. However, considering the attitude of the vast majority of American troops in Germany, not to mention

137 Hans Rothfels, The German Opposition to Hitler, Hinsdale, Ill. 1943, 12.
138 Ibid., 14.
their behavior, it is a wonder that the "GYA" was able to draw as many children of the "ex-master race" as it did. That there will be no lasting benefits to the German youth from this organization is a foregone conclusion.

In the British and French Zones of Occupation, there was no attempt made by the occupying powers to do anything for the German youth. In the British Zone all former youth facilities were taken over by the British Armed Forces, and the same was done by the French in their Zone. While the British have done nothing one way or another for the youth of Germany, the French have earned for themselves more undying hatred, for they brought thousands of young French children to Germany, installed them in former German youth facilities, prohibited German children from even going near these quarters, and took much sorely needed food from the German market to feed these children of the Occupation.

As was to be expected, it was the Russians who really tried to attract the youth of Germany. A special youth organization called "Freiedeutsche Jugend" was established under Communist auspices wherever possible, and everything was done to entice the young people into the organization. Pretty blue uniforms were provided, at a time when clothing was impossible to get, and brilliant blue flags with golden suns on them were given to the children to carry in parades. That the children of Germany did not flock to this organization, even to receive its free hand-outs, is a tribute to the good sense of the German youth.

It must be recorded that in the Russian Zone of Occupation the Freiedeutsche Jugend has simply stepped into the shoes of the old Hitler Jugend. The children in the "German Democratic Republic" (Eastern Germany) are now
being indoctrinated in Communism just as they were indoctrinated by National Socialism. All young people whether they wish it or not, are forced into the ranks of the Freiedeutsche Jugend.

It is difficult to get accurate information on this organization as all East German publications are retained in the Soviet Zone, and by Russian law are not permitted to circulate in other zones. The bear seeks to hide his dirt from the eyes of the world.

Given a chance, German youth will again come into its own. Several small groups have been formed, and once the Occupation has been lifted, it is to be expected that the young people of Germany will again seek their future in community action, under leaders of their own choosing.
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This Publication gives a very clear insight into the problems facing a young person desiring to enter the teaching profession in the Third Reich. All the requirements are set forth, and the various trials and tribulations of teachers are fully taken into accord.

Hitlerjugend, Oberbann J, Darmstadt, September, 1933.

One of the official publications of the Hitler Youth Organization, this magazine gives a perfect idea of how the young people of Germany were attracted to the Hitler Youth, and how they were held, by activities which naturally would attract and hold young people.


Contains many highly interesting articles by former leaders or highly placed persons of the Third Reich. These articles deal, in the main, with the changing conditions and requirements in the field of Education.

Nationalpolitische Lehrgaenge fuer Schueler, Denkschrift des Oberpraesidenten der Rheinprovinz, Frankfurt am Main, 1935.

Contains much revelant material in regard to the Hitler Youth Organization in the Rheinland. Of especial interest were certain graphs and charts concerning the youth hostels in this part of Germany, and the number of people who used them.

Reichsgesetzbblatt, September 18, 1933, Part II, No. 38.

This issue of the laws of the Third Reich contains the text of the 1933 Concordat with the Vatican.


Here are to be found examples of how the young people of the Third Reich were encouraged to marry well and to raise large families. People wishing to marry could secure rather large loans, repayable in children, rather than money.


Perhaps one of the most important writers of the Third Reich, Alfred Baeumler produced highly important works in the field of political education. This work gives a good idea as to the new trends in educational philosophy, geared to the political requirements of the day.
Becker, How ard, German Youth: Bond or Free, New York, 1946.

A most interesting account of the German youth movement. Mr. Becker certainly delved deeply into the history of the German youth, and produced a very fine history of their movement. Perhaps the best work on the subject written in English.


A factual account of the rise to power of the Hitler Youth in Germany. Much valuable information which was not found in other places was located here. A very difficult book to obtain, but well worth the effort.


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Highly interesting publication, consisting of pictures and graphs. It begins the life of the Nazi at birth and takes the individual right through to death. All the various phases of life and activity in the Third Reich are dealt with. Very interesting and informative.


Contains valuable material relating to the neo-pagan groups in Germany during the Third Reich. These movements were more or less supported by the government, and so fell with the government at the end of the war. No trace of them is to be found, and thus information is doubly hard to obtain.


Gerhard Graefe was another important writer in the Third Reich, and his articles have the power of authority behind them. This article is quite interesting as it gives official ideas as to the new education for German youth.

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Wilhelm Hauer was one of the prime moovers in the neo-pagan religious movement in the Third Reich. There is some mystery as to why he suddenly dropped out of the movement, shortly before the war began. His works give a clear indication of the new religious trends under the Nazi government.


This book is more or less a continuation of the one above. However,
Here we have three leaders in the new religious movement putting their ideas down in a small volume, which makes for rather confused reading. It is difficult to tell exactly what these men wanted.

Herman, Stewart, It's Your Souls We Want, New York, 1943.

In this volume are to be found many splendid examples of the new religious outlook in Germany. The author must have had copies of neo-pagan literature which have now been all destroyed. Material of this kind was absolutely not obtainable anywhere in Germany when I was there.


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Hitler, Adolf, Mein Kampf, (tr. Ralph Manheim), Boston, 1947.

Who should know better what he wanted for the Third Reich than Adolf Hitler himself? That the world did not believe what he said and wrote was not his fault. A rather dull book, but necessary for an understanding of National Socialism.

Hitler, Adolf, My New Order, (ed. Raoul de Roussy de Sales), New York, 1941.

The collected speeches of Adolf Hitler. Very dull reading, in the main, but no better source of information is available.

Kneller, George, The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism, New Haven, 1942.

A very good book dealing with many phases of National Socialist education in all of its ramifications. The part dealing with the Hitler Youth as such is rather skimpy, but then, the author was not primarily interested in this subject, and only had to treat it as one of the many activities of the Nazi government.


One of those books which are so common in Germany, and so impossible to read. More pseudo-mystical-metaphysical-philosophy was published in the Third Reich than was necessary. These books do give a nice picture of the confused German mind at work trying to make ruin out of chaos.

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A sound picture of the new national-political education which was being spoon-fed to the youth of the Hitler Reich. All values had to be
re-assessed in order to bring them into line with the official National Socialist political philosophy, and this work does it quite well.


Walter Lande certainly should know what he is talking about, as he was at one time in the German ministry of Education. His article is thus not only interesting, but authoritative.

Lutze, Victor, _Reden an die S.A._, Munich, 1936.

Herr Lutze was the chief of the S.A., and his speeches reveal much of what was in the minds of the leaders of the Third Reich. While all speeches are necessarily dull after they are delivered, these do contain interesting passages well worth the reading for the insight they give into Nazi officialdom.


As physical education played such an important part in National Socialist education, and in the Hitler Youth in particular, it would be impossible to fully understand the movement without some idea as to the place of physical education in the general program. This article does it as well as any.


The Church militant really had to be militant during the Third Reich in order to remain a Church at all. The volume gives an interesting picture of the struggle of the Church Christian against all the forces of National Socialist Germany.

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A very thin volume, of necessity, as most of the people who opposed Hitler did not live long enough to tell the tale. What information it does contain is about all there is to know, up to this time, about resistance to the Hitler government and its various agencies.


An interesting treatment of a most difficult subject. The whole idea of a youth movement is something so ethereal that it is difficult to get on a concrete basis for historical investigation. Writing an article like this must be equivalent to interviewing an Irish fairy.

The title of the book might well be, "Ask the man who owns one". Baldur von Schirach has produced here the most valuable work concerning the Hitler Youth which I have ever seen — but then, why shouldn't he have done so? As leader of the whole movement he is bound to be the best authority.


No list of books would be complete without at least one author named Smith, even if we must settle for Schmidt. This volume deals with the happenings during the year "one" of the Nazi era inside Germany, and is valuable for this reason only.

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Another of those books which sought to reconcile the conflicting elements in Christianity, National Socialism, and the new German religious movement. That the book does not do so is not the fault of the author, who really tried, but rather the fault of the three ingredients, which would not mix.


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An eye-witness account of life in Germany just prior to the outbreak of war. The author was a very good observer, and was not swayed by political bias in reporting what he saw. An interesting book, just to read.

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Short articles of a biographical nature concerning the twelve men who were closest to Adolf Hitler, the man and the leader. The article on Baldur von Schirach was quite interesting.


Konrad Heiden has long been a friend of the German people. His works are known the world over, and are well written, without recourse to the current hates and prejudices of the day. It is interesting to note that the Occupation Forces will not allow Mr. Heiden to enter Germany.

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A really good picture of Europe in general, and Germany in particular, just at the time when it was really going down "for the third time." Her information seems to be accurate, and her writing is at least interesting to read.


Contains a very good history of the National Socialist movement in Germany. This book is probably as good as any written on the subject, from a general interest point of view. There are certain Nazi documents translated in their entirety which I did not find elsewhere.

(NEWSPAPERS)


Report of the Pope's speech, done into English.

Frankfurter Zeitung, Frankfurt am Main, November 24, 1937.

Many interesting speeches given by Nazi officials which are now difficult if not impossible, to locate.

Osservatore Romano, Rome, December 12 and 13, 1938.

Always of interest to read, because it contains intimations of
official Vatican policy.


Still the world’s best newspaper. Its reports are generally factual.

Voelkischer Beobachter, Munich, July 15, 1938.

The more-or-less official paper of the National Socialist government, In reading its pages one gets the more radical side of the Nazi movement.