

# A Level History

## OCR History A H505

### (AS H105)



## Unit Y251.

### Non-British period study

### Democracy and Dictatorship in

### Germany 1919-1963

## Booklet 4: The Nazi Dictatorship and its

## Domestic Policies



# Journey Through Democracy and Dictatorship in Germany 1919-1963



Topic	Booklet section completed	Assessment marks/ grades	Revision materials created	Confidence? ☺☹☹
<b>The Establishment and Development of the Weimar Republic: 1919- January 1933</b>				
Consequences of the First World War and the impact of the Treaty of Versailles.				
The Weimar Constitution and coalition governments.				
Challenges from Right and Left.				
The Invasion of the Ruhr and Hyperinflation.				
Stresemann and the Dawes and Young Plans				
The Golden Years: economic recovery, foreign loans, political stability improvements to working and living conditions.				
The impact of the Great Depression; elections and governments 1928-1933.				
The rise and appeal of Nazism; propaganda and Hitler.				
Papen, Schleicher and the 'backstairs intrigue'.				
Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.				
<i>AS only: interpretations skills</i>				
<b>The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship and its Domestic Policies February 1933-1939</b>				
Hitler's consolidation of power; Reichstag Fire, March Elections and Enabling Act.				
Gleichschaltung; the creation of the one-party state; Night of the Long Knives, army oath and death of Hindenburg.				
System of government and administration; censorship and propaganda, machinery of terror and the legal system, SS and Gestapo.				
Treatment of Opposition.				
Religious policies.				
Economic policies, Schacht's New Plan, Goering's Four Year Plan, public works, conscription and autarky.				
German Labour Front; Strength Through Joy.				
Policy towards women.				
Education and policy towards youth.				
Racial policies to 1939.				
Benefits of Nazi Rule				

Topic	Booklet section completed	Assessment marks/ grades	Revision materials created	Confidence? ☺☹☹
<b>The impact of war and defeat on Germany, 1939-1949</b>				
The war economy and Total War.				
Impact of bombing.				
War and Racial policies. The Final Solution.				
Morale and rationing.				
Opposition and resistance.				
Consequences of the Second World War.				
The Cold War and Potsdam.				
Division of Germany, Bizonia and developments in the Soviet Zone.				
Currency reform and the Berlin blockade.				
<i>AS only: interpretation skills.</i>				
<b>Divided Germany: The Federal Republic of Germany and the DDR 1949-1963</b>				
Creation of West Germany and the DDR.				
Basic law and Constitution of West Germany. 1949 election, economic miracle, political and social stability.				
Elections in the west, 1953, 1957 and 1961.				
Adenauer's decline and the Der Spiegel Crisis of 1962.				
West Germany in 1963.				
Foreign policy. Rapprochement with France, EEC, rearmament and NATO. Policy towards USA, USSR and DDR.				
The DDR in 1949.				
1953 uprising.				
Economic change, land reform, collectivisation, nationalisation and heavy industry.				
Social change, churches, Trade Unions, education and youth.				

Mock Exams/ Assessments (where a full exam paper is sat).

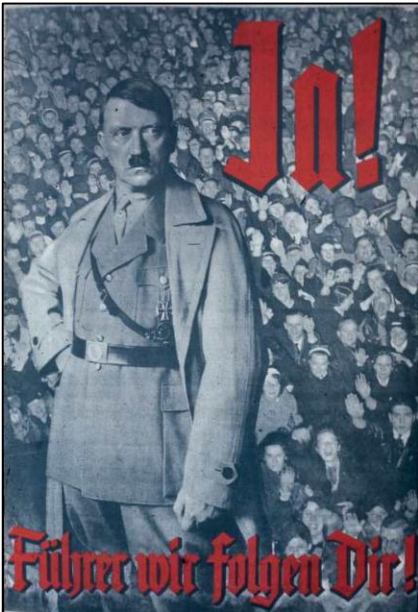
Topic	Mark and Grade	Marks away from next grade/ target grade	Target.

# The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship

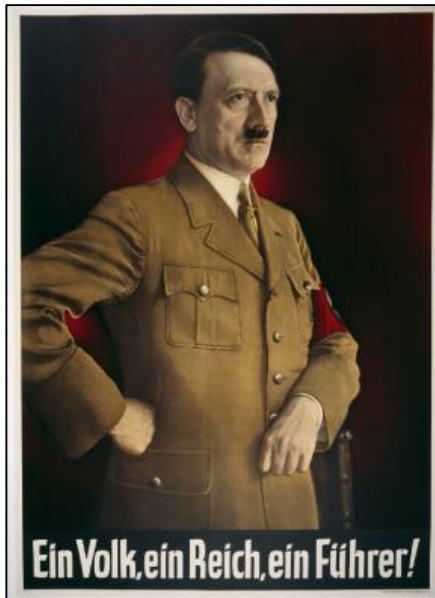
## Section 1: The Nazi system of government and administration

### Task 1: The Role of Hitler in Nazi Germany

a) What do these sources indicate about Hitler's role in Nazi Germany?



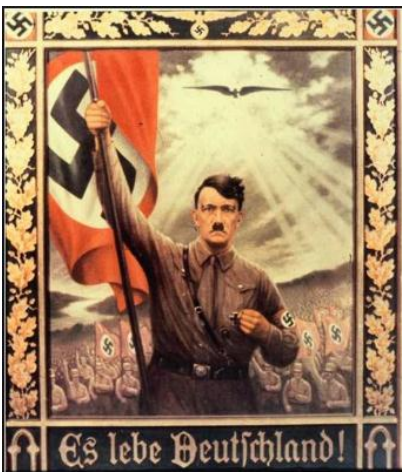
Caption: "Yes! Führer, we will follow you!" (1934)



Caption: "One people, one Empire, one Führer!" (1938)



Caption: "Adolf Hitler is victory!" (1943)



Caption: "Long Live Germany!" (approx. 1939)

Nazi theorist Ernst Huber in 1935

*The Führer is the bearer of the people's will; he is independent of all groups, associations and interests, but he is bound by laws which are inherent in the nature of his people... in his will the will of the people is realised... He shapes the collective will of the people within himself and he embodies the political unit and entirety of the people in opposition to individual interests.*

Justice Minister Hans Frank in a speech in 1938

*The Führer is supreme judge of the nation... the Führer is not backed by constitutional classes, but by his outstanding achievements which are based on the combination of a calling and his devotion to the people. The Führer does not put into effect a constitution according to legal guidelines laid before him but by historic achievements which serve the future of his people... Constitutional law in the Third Reich is the legal formulation of the historical will of the Führer.*

Write your conclusions on page 4.

✍ Write your conclusions to task 1a in this box.

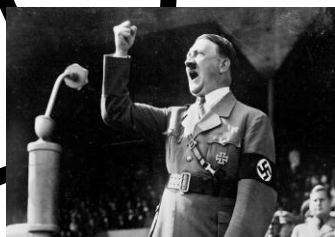
### 1b) The Power of the Führer

Use page 152-155 and the information that follows (p5-6 of the booklet) to complete the notes in this diagram.

According to theory, how powerful was Hitler himself?  
What is Führer power?

Problems with that theory

Hitler's character



Hitler's attitude towards leadership

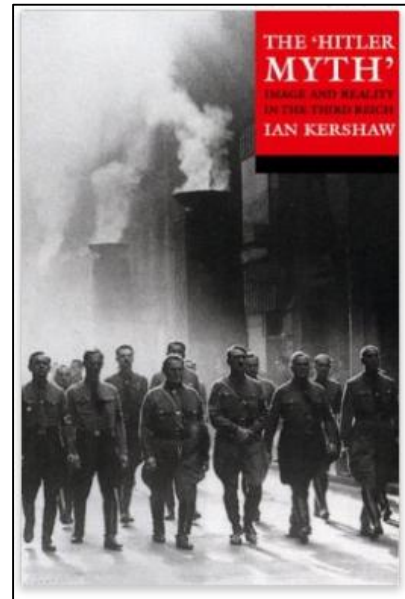
The Hitler Myth (see page 5)



## Information about the 'Hitler Myth'

From the SHP textbook *Weimar and Nazi Germany*

All historians agree that Hitler dominated Germany from 1933-1945, though they do not agree on how he exercised such power. After the Enabling Act, he was formally able to issue decrees. This gradually became the normal way laws were made bypassing the Reichstag. But, in addition, his wishes and even his official's interpretations of his wishes, served as laws. For Hitler's power was based on his unique relationship with the German people. He alone knew what the Germans wanted and he alone could fulfil their needs. His will was absolute because it was the will of the people. Thus Hitler's power did not rest just on his formal position within a system of government. It was much more elemental. It was based on his mission in history and the will of the Führer as a revelation of the German people's destiny. There should thus be no power overriding this force. There were no institutional restraints on him.



The Nazi Party had been built on this Führerprinzip (leadership principle) and now it was applied to all of Germany. Helped by successful policies and a powerful propaganda machine headed by Goebbels, Hitler built up a peculiar form of charismatic leadership sustained by a powerful Hitler myth. This particular interpretation comes from historian Ian Kershaw in his book *The 'Hitler Myth', Image and Reality in the Third Reich*.

### What was the Hitler Myth?

A carefully cultivated image which much evidence suggests was widely believed. Hitler was portrayed as someone who:

- Personified the nation and stood aloof from selfish interests.
- Understood the German people
- Was the architect of Germany's economic miracle.
- Was the representative of popular justice.
- Defended Germany against its enemies e.g. Jews, Bolsheviks, corrupt SA, extremists.
- Was responsible for all the major successes of government.
- Foreign policy- was the rebuilder of Germany's strengths and a mighty bulwark against the nation's enemies.

### What were its effects?

The myth contributed to Hitler's great personal popularity. By the late 1930s an estimated 90% of Germans admired him. Only a small minority rejected the Hitler myth. It sustained the regime and brought most Germans together through its strong emotional appeal. It also helped to cover up the regime's inconsistencies and failures. Thus day-to-day failings could be blamed on minor party leaders, not on their great leader.

However, the myth eventually contributed to the decline of the Third Reich. Such a personalised system, without formal constraints was inherently unstable. Hitler's popularity gave him more freedom from the elites and led to a radical momentum that weakened his regime. Furthermore, in a sense, Hitler became the victim of his own myth; he came to believe himself infallible. He thus moved away from being a calculating, opportunist politician. As Kershaw comments: 'The day on which Hitler started to believe in his own myth marked in a sense the beginning of the end of the Third Reich'. Moreover, major military failures after 1941 led to declining belief in the myth.

# ■ IIB How did the Third Reich actually operate?

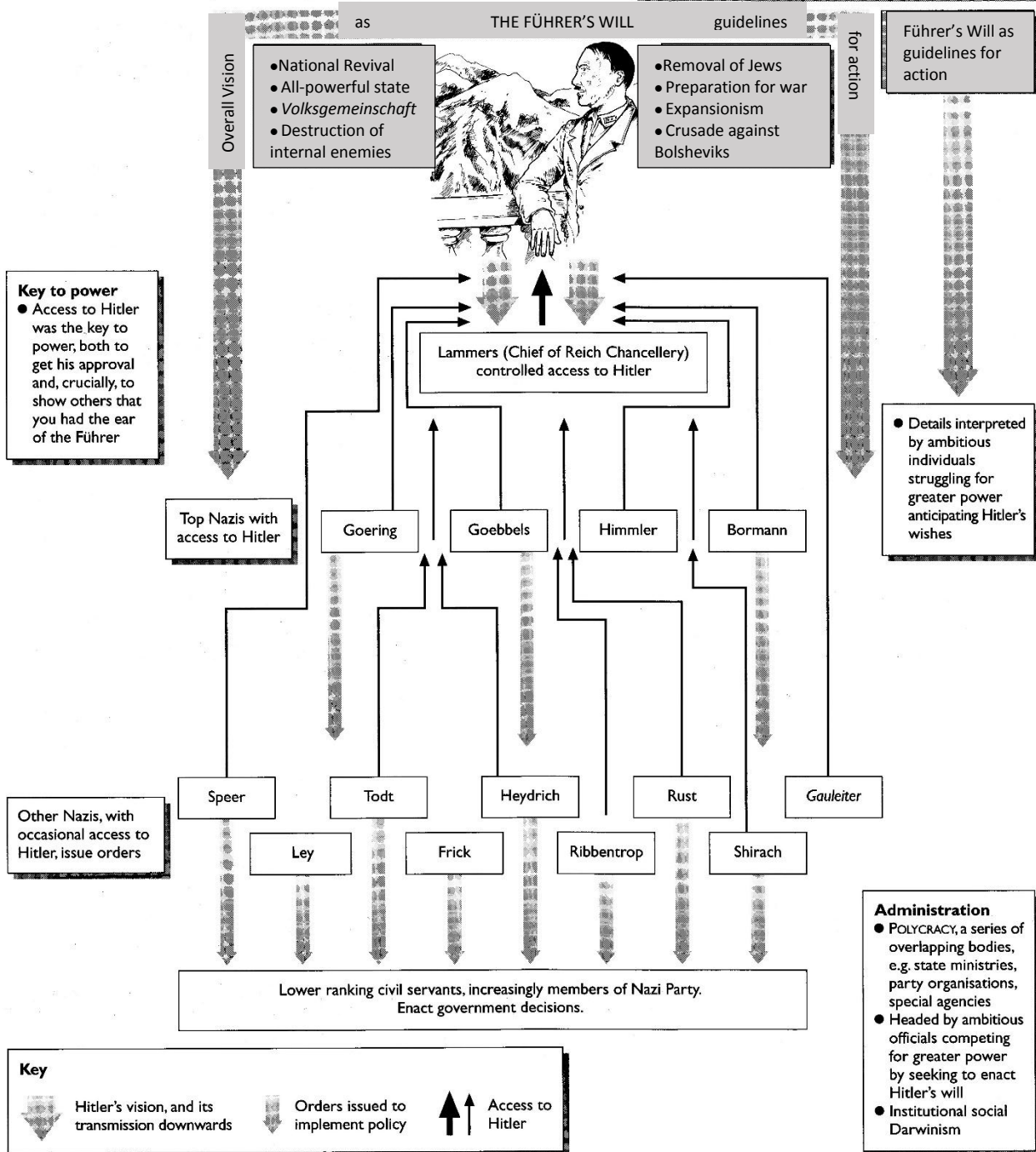
## The operation of Hitler's government: 'Working towards the Führer'

### Hitler's image

- Great national leader, knows what Germans want
- Above factional disputes
- Responsible for regime's success

### Hitler's style of ruling



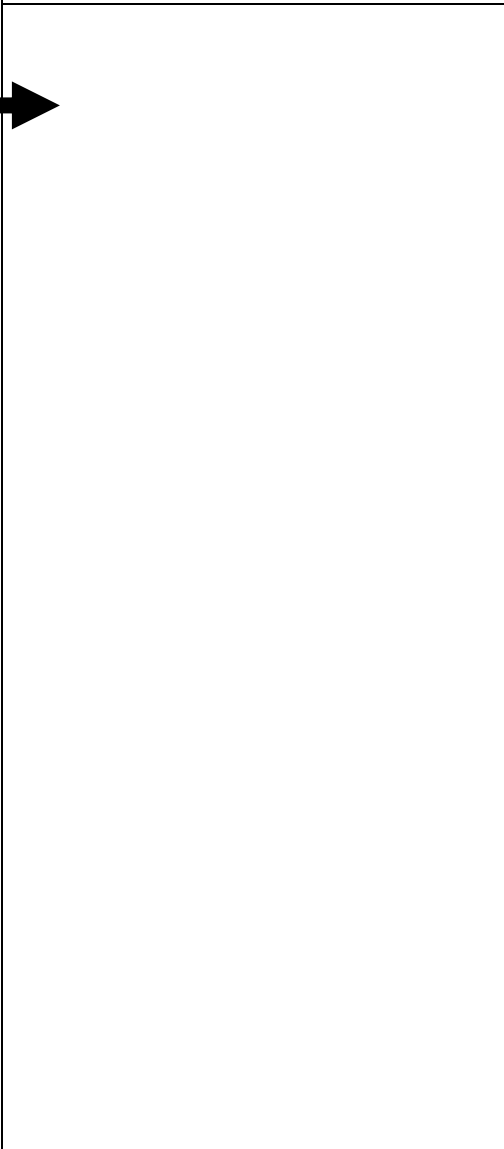
- Lazy, spent much of the day sleeping, eating, walking, endless monologues
- Rarely intervened in policy debates/decisions
- Signed series of decrees
- Increasingly involved in foreign policy
- Frequently far away from Berlin at his villa, the Berghof



## Task 2: The Party and the State

Page 156 of your textbook contains some rather confusing statements about the relationship between the party and the state- and the reason why they are so confusing is because the relationship between the party and the state was so confusing!

Try to get to grips with it by translating the following sections of the textbook into your own words.

<p>Nazi totalitarian claims reinforced by a powerful propaganda machine, deceived many people at the time into thinking that Nazism was a clear and well-ordered system of government. However, party structure and the apparatus of the German state was never clearly clarified.</p>	
<p>There was much confusion between the party and the state in Nazi government and that clash was called <b>dualism</b>.</p>	
<p>The revolutionary elements within the party wanted party control of the civil service in order to smash the traditional organs of government and to create a new kind of Germany- but there were three reasons why this didn't happen:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Many recognised that the bureaucracy of the German state was well established and staffed by educated and effective people. The "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" of April 1933 only called for the removal of Jews and opponents of the regime.</li><li>• Vast increase in party membership after 1933, increasing three-fold. Diluted the influence of the earlier Nazis further weakening the radical cutting edge of the party.</li><li>• Hitler was unclear on the issue of party and state. The "Law to Ensure the Unity of Party and State" issued in December 1933 explanation was so vague as to meaningless. Two months later, Hitler declared that the party's principal responsibilities were to implement government measures and to organise propaganda and indoctrination. Yet in September 1934, he told the party congress that 'it is not the state which commands us but rather we who command the state' and a year later he specifically claimed that the party would assume responsibility for those tasks which the state failed to fulfil.</li></ul>	



### Task 3: Dualism and State Institutions

Annotate these different groups with what their role was within the Third Reich. You will find this information in your textbook-page 157-160.

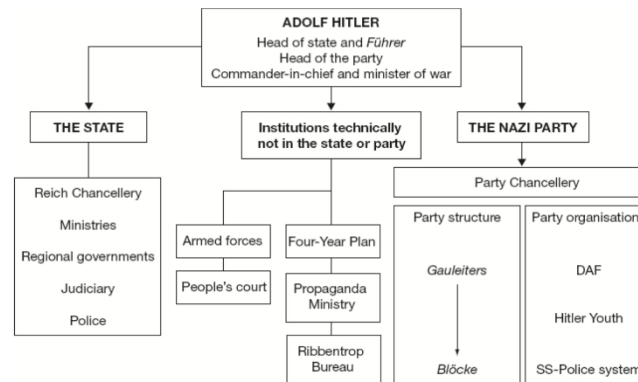


Figure 5.1 The party and the state in the Third Reich.

### Task 4: Some questions to help you understand what you have read.

- a) Complete these questions on lined paper: a) What were Hitler's strengths and weaknesses as a political leader? b) Why was the relationship between the party and the state unclear? c) Which lost out: the party or the state?

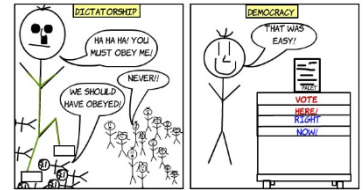
# The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship

## Section 2: "The Police State"

### Getting you thinking...

Imagine you are the ruler of a country and that you need to set up your system of policing your people.

Complete the following table as though you were leading a democracy or a dictatorship.



	Democracy	Dictatorship
Aims: what kind of society do you want your police to achieve?		
Methods: How do you want your police to maintain law and order?		
Laws: what kind of activities will be illegal?		
How openly should your police operate?		

### Task 1: The emergence of Hitler and the SS

Read page 161 of your textbook and complete the following questions.

a) Why were the SS formed?

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b) How did Heinrich Himmler (pictured) change the SS?

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c) What was the SD?

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d) How did the Night of the Long Knives affect the position of the SS?

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e) What happened to police powers in 1936 and how were they developed in 1939?

1936:.....


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1939:.....

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f) What were the four functions of SS-Police system?


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**Task 2: Policing by the Gestapo and the Kripo (page 162-163)**

a) What was the Kripo and the Gestapo?

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b) How does this Nazi town make it easier for the various different police systems to find criminals?

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**Task 3: Treatment of opponents (page 163)**

a) Imagine you are the ruler of a country again, and now you are deciding how to treat your prisoners.

What do you do?

	Democracy	Dictatorship
Aims: what is punishment supposed to achieve?		
Methods: how will you achieve those aims?		

b) How did the Nazis treat their prisoners?

Complete the box below with notes on how the Nazis treated their opponents.



**Task 4: Was Nazi Germany the SS state?**

a) What was the Waffen SS? (page 163)

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b) How did the SS become more powerful?

<p><b>The Blomberg-Fritsch Crisis (1937-8)</b> p. 174</p>	<p><b>SS Role in Law enforcement and anti-Semitism (see below)</b></p>

**What did the SS have power over? (below, and page 163-164)**

**Task 4: From the SHP textbook, *Weimar and Nazi Germany***

SS- the two most sinister initials in the world. The black-shirted Schutzstaffel were originally Hitler’s personal bodyguard. In 1929, there were only 280 members, but by the late 1930s it had become a vast organisation, a virtual state within a state, involved in most aspects of the Third Reich. In fact, the Third Reich has been called the ‘SS State’. It was, alongside the Gestapo, the most powerful and feared of the organs of repression in Nazi Germany.



On Hitler’s accession to power, the SS was authorised to act as auxiliary police. It used the Emergency Power Decree of February 1933 (which remained permanently in force) to take suspects into ‘protective custody’ and after the weakening of the SA, the SS emerged as the chief police arm of the Nazi Party. Between 1933-1939 about 225,000 Germans were convicted and imprisoned for political crimes. By 1939 another 162,000 were in ‘protective custody’ without trial. It directed its energies against all enemies of Nazism, whether political or racial, later taking over responsibility for concentration and extermination camps. It also established a vast economic empire.

By 1939 there were 240,000 members organised into divisions. The main branch was the Waffen-SS, primarily a military organisation. The Death’s Head Formations (SS-Totenkopfverbände) administered the concentration camps and formed



Death’s Head Unit badge



Panzer units. At the Nuremberg trials, the SS was declared to be a criminal organisation.

**The American historian Sax in his book *Inside Hitler's Germany***

The SS was not merely a police, surveillance, and paramilitary organisation. Its main objective, from which it derived its 'legitimate' use of force, was to create the racially pure Volksgemeinschaft (people's community)... The SS evolved from a police organisation, operating within an administrative whole to become an independent organisation... [it] became the active part of the political community, making all decisions of any political importance...

Yet the SS did not simply safeguard the new political order; in Himmler's words, it was also charged with 'creating' the new order. Police power became creative power within the Third Reich, its protective role enlarged so as to allow it to make policy beyond the limits of legitimate state activity and to fuse elements of the new racial community together... The police could do anything in the name of Volksgemeinschaft.

**Task 5: How powerful were the SS and the Gestapo within Nazi Germany?**

a) What do these sources indicate about the power of the Gestapo?

Jacques Delarue, *Nazism and German Society*

Never before, in no other land and at no other time, had an organisation attained such a comprehensive penetration [of society], possessed such power, and reached such a degree of 'completeness' in its ability to arouse terror and horror, as well as in its actual effectiveness.


Origins of denunciations of people for committing race crimes against the German Race in Würzburg, 1933-45

Source	%
Reports from the general population	57
Statements extracted by interrogation	15
Information from NSDAP and other control organisations	14
Observation by Gestapo agents	0.5
Others (unspecified)	13.5

From a documentary on the Gestapo

Interviewed in the 1990s for the BBC programme *The Nazis*, an old man from Würzburg commented: 'They [the Gestapo] were everywhere'. Records show that there were 28 Gestapo officials covering the million people living in Würzburg and surrounding Lower Franconia.

Write your answer here

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Statistics from the SHP *Weimar and Nazi Germany*

1942: 30,000 Gestapo officers

1939: 50,000 SD officers

By July 1933 over 26,000 political prisoners

1933-45: 800,000 detained for resistance.

1933-9: Courts sentenced 225,000 people to a total of 600,000 years' imprisonment for political offences.

April 1939 Gestapo claimed that 162,734 people in 'protective custody'.

1933-45: 32,000 'legally' executed.

1933 onwards: Series of concentration camps developed into a vast empire, with labour and extermination camps.

b) What was the role of the German people in the operations of the Gestapo?

Record of a denunciation by Maria Kraus of her neighbour Ilse Totzke in July 1940

Ilse Totzke is a resident next door to us in a garden cottage. I noticed the above-named because she is of Jewish appearance... I should like to mention that Miss Totzke never responds to the German greeting [Heil Hitler]. I gathered from what she was saying that her attitude was anti-German. On the contrary she always favoured France and the Jews. Among other things, she told me the German army was not as well equipped as the French... Now and then a woman of about 36 years old comes and she is of Jewish appearance... To my mind, Miss Totzke is behaving suspiciously. I thought she might be engaged in some kind of activity which is harmful to the German Reich.

Maria Kraus to Laurence Rees, the documentary filmmaker, who in the 1990s showed her the above denunciation with her signature

I do not know. My signature is correct. But where it comes from I do not know... I was talking to a friend of mine and she said 'Good God! To think that they rake it all up again fifty years later'... I mean I did not kill anyone, I did not murder anyone.

From SHP, *Weimar and Nazi Germany* (for more on this- look at page 204-205 of the books)

The meagre resources [of the Gestapo] were greatly enhanced by co-operation from the public. Local studies have revealed that over half, and in some cases over 80%, of investigations stemmed from voluntary denunciations. This could suggest strong commitment to Nazism by the German people but Professor Gellately (in *Gestapo and German Society*, 1990) has shown convincingly that most denunciations were inspired by personal rather than political factors. Denunciation to the Gestapo could be a way of getting rid of an unwanted husband or an unpleasant neighbour or gaining the resources of a Jew. Hate, greed and spite were more the motive than Nazi faith.

The flood of denunciations contributed to a radicalisation of the Gestapo's actions. Increasingly, the Gestapo could not investigate cases properly, so it resorted to arbitrary arrest, preventative custody and torture. Gestapo operations became more random, dependent upon the decisions and priorities of individual officers. Ironically, this created greater opportunities for opposition and non-conformist behaviour.

Thus the Gestapo was essentially a reactive institution, dependent upon the willing co-operation of the Germans.



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**Interpretation Practise! Answer on lined paper.**

c) How correct is Jacques Delarue when he claimed that the Gestapo had "attained such a comprehensive penetration [of society] and possessed such power"?



d) Was Nazi Germany truly "an SS state"?

### Task 6: Conclusions via the Truthometer

Normal rules apply: go over the statements and place them on the truthometer. Make sure you have a fair explanation of why you have placed them where you have.

The Statements: ● The Nazi regime was quite definitely not in the position to engage in comprehensive surveillance or perfect repression. ● There was nothing that could protect individuals in Nazi Germany from the secret police ● Nazi Germany was an SS state ● The Nazis had the consent of the German people in their actions against the people in the Third Reich.



# The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship

## Section 3: Propaganda and Censorship



### Task 1: The aims and challenges of Nazi Propaganda

a) Put words in Goebbels' mouth! What were the aims of propaganda in Nazi Germany? (use page 166 of your textbook).



### b) CHALLENGE: Technology, political support and today

If you read Source E on page 166, you will discover some interesting phrases that Goebbels uses.



“We must not allow technology to run ahead of the Reich but the Reich must keep pace with technology.”

“We are living in an age when policies must have mass support.”

“It is their [the leader's] duty to tell the masses what they want and put it across to the masses in such a way that they understand it too.”

- i. What do you think they mean? Write that next to the phrase.
- ii. How does this link to politics today? Do they link at all? Do some link others not?
- iii. Were the Nazis forerunners of the 21<sup>st</sup> century modern politician?



Write any conclusions on lined paper.

### Task 2: Different Aspects of Nazi Society used as propaganda.

Use your textbook pages 166-173 to add notes to the diagram, but this is really a fascinating area to have a look at in more detail as part of your personal research (e.g. you could look up some of the films/ people etc. mentioned such as *Der Ewige Jude*, Leni Riefenstahl and Hermann Hoyer).

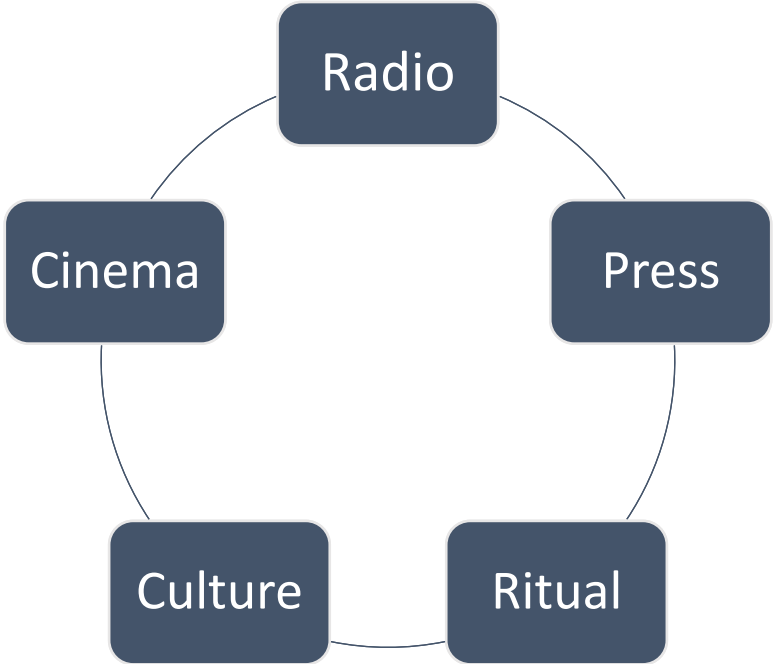
The smaller boxes link to the ones on the diagram in some way (e.g. the Berlin Olympics were televised, there was a film and publicised on the radio). Identify where censorship also takes place.

One place you could look is the German Propaganda archive. Either type in <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/ww2era.htm>

or scan the QR code. There are also useful resources on the History website- <http://history-groby.weebly.com/germany-1919-1963-democracy-and-dictatorships.html>.



Berlin  
Olympics



Music

Literature

Visual  
Arts

Public  
Festivals



**Task 3: Conclusions about Nazi Propaganda**

a) What evidence can you find that Nazi Propaganda was successful? Use page 172-173, and complete the table below.

Evidence that the Nazis were successful	Evidence that the Nazis were unsuccessful

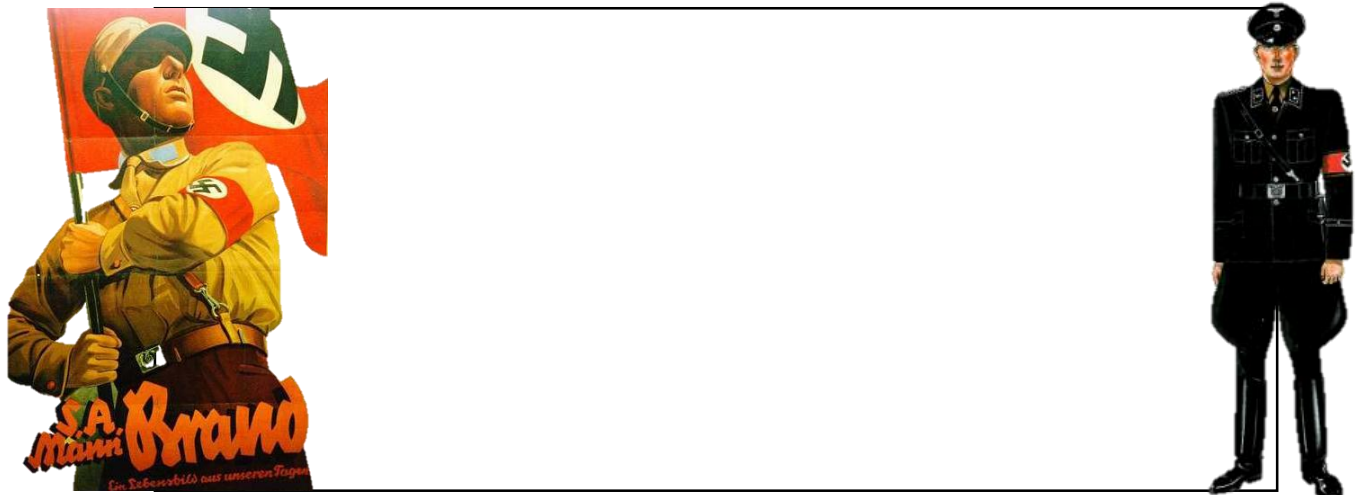
b) Was the Third Reich more dependent on the systematic use of terror\* or propaganda for control of the people?

This is an example of a question that could be a 10 mark question or a 20 mark question.

<p><b>10 mark format</b> Which of the following was of greater significance in controlling the German people?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Terror</li> <li>ii. Propaganda</li> </ul> <p>Explain your answer with reference to both (i) and (ii).</p>	<p><b>20 mark format</b> “Terror was the main method of controlling the German people during the Third Reich”. How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.</p>
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a) Pick one of these questions and plan it out in the box below.

b) Answer this question on lined paper.





# The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship

## Section 4: The German Army

Task 1: Complete the note taking task in the boxes below.

<b>The Army's role in the Nazi accession to power (page 173)</b>	<b>The Army's cooperation with the regime (page 174)</b>
<b>What was the Blomberg-Fritsch crisis?</b>  <b>What was the effect of the Blomberg-Fritsch crisis?</b>  <b>Do you agree that it was the "Night of the Long Knives without bloodshed"?</b>	
<b>How far were the army able to influence political developments? (page 175-176)</b>	
<b>Can the army be blamed for their role within the Third Reich? (page 176)</b>	

# The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship

## Section 5: The Economic Recovery

### The Three Phases of the German Economy

Phase	Key People/ Policies
<b>Recovery (1933-1936)</b>	Hjalmer Schacht, control of capital, Reich Food Estate subsidies, Reich Entailed Farm Law, state investments (Law to Reduce Unemployment), Reich Labour Service, , attempts to sort out the balance of Trade, The New Plan, Mefo Bills.
<b>Rearmament (1936-1939)</b>	Guns or Butter, The Four Year Plan
<b>War (1939-1945)</b>	Military Expenditure, economic mobilisation, armaments, Rationalisation Decree, Central Planning Board

### Task 1: The aims or problems of the German economy

Identify which of the following are aims (what the Nazis would like to achieve) or problems (what the Nazis had to deal with).

Hitler had no real understanding of economics, and there was a lack of direction or coherent economic policy. It was reactive, rather than proactive or planned.

To use deficit financing to create jobs and create demand in the economy (spend money to make money).

Agricultural depression was worse. Agricultural prices, farmers' wages and incomes fell sharply, forcing some to sell off their farms.

War debts, reparations and inflation had destroyed German banking before 1929. Afterwards, foreign investment was gone, German share prices collapsed and five major banks had closed in 1931.

Nazi 25 point programme issued in 1920 included statements like profit sharing, old age insurance benefit and nationalisation of businesses.

Unemployment was high- in 1932, 5.6 million were unemployed. Unregistered unemployed actually around 8million.

Hitler had told his Cabinet in February 1933 to 'avoid all detailed statements concerning an economic programme of the government'.


*Wehrwirtschaft* (defence economy)- being ready for war.  
Autarky (self sufficiency).  
Not being reliant on imported goods and being able to make substitutes (ersatz) at home.

Industry had declined during the Depression. Businesses had cut production or collapsed.

The German economy had depended on trade in manufactured goods, but the Depression had slowed down global trade dramatically. Germany's selling of manufactured goods had declined rapidly.

**b) What were Hitler's economic aims?**


Write your conclusion here:

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**c) Which problems do you believe to be the most important ones for German stability? Explain why.**


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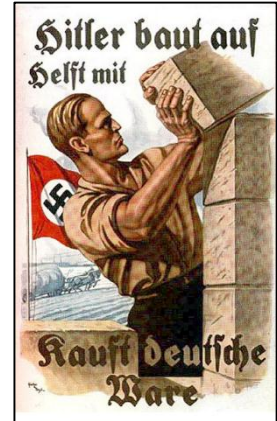
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**d) Do you think Hitler is well prepared for the task?**

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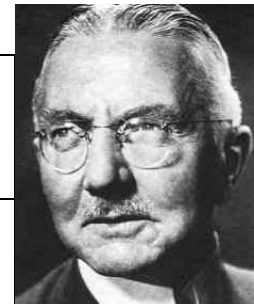


Hitler is Building- Help him! Buy German goods. 1933 poster

**Phase 1: Recovery. Task 2: Recovery under Schacht**

a) Use page 177 of your textbook to complete the following table.

Who was Hjalmer Schacht and what qualifies him to run the economy?	
What condition is the German economy in when he takes it over?	

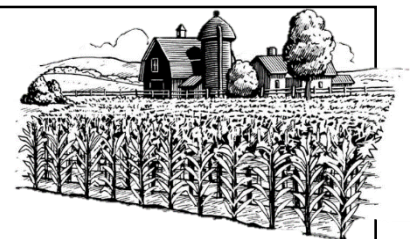


b) What does Schacht do? What evidence is there that he failed or succeeded?

Use page 177-179 to complete your notes on the issue and remember to highlight any successes or failures.



Banking and Control of Capital



**State investment: public works**



c) Germany had an impressive economic recovery between 1933-1936 (according to your textbook). What evidence do you have of this in your notes?



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d) What problems did the German economy still have (page 180)?



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**Task 3: Schacht's New Plan**

Using the reading from *Access to History* (page 180-182) to explain how successfully Schacht prevented excessive imports and funded rearmament (using the dictatorial powers he was given). Be mindful that this table continues on page 24 of this booklet.

Ao1a: Method (make sure that you describe these methods).	Ao1b: How successfully did Schacht manage to prevent excessive imports/ deal with economic problems?
Bilateral trade treaties	
The Reichsmark Currency	



Mefo Bills	
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**Phase 1: Conclusions about the Recovery Phase**

**Did the Nazis successfully create full employment during this period?**

Financial Wizard Schacht is musing on his success in creating full employment.

Use page 93-94 of OCR History A Germany Democracy and Dictatorship 1919-1963 to add evidence to Financial Wizard Schacht's mumblings and musings.

What they don't know is that I have used all manner of wizardry and trickery to make it appear like the economy is recovering... I hope they don't spot this;


Although, Weimar did some stuff too (ssssshhhh!)

Look! I have created full employment! Here is all the evidence;

Although, credit goes to other Nazi policies...

**Phase 2: Rearmament and the Four Year Plans- Task 4**

a) What does Schacht want to do following the initial recovery period, in order to keep the economy stable? (page 182-183)

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b) Who are Schacht's suggestions going to upset in Nazi Germany? Why?

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c) Look at Hitler's secret memorandum that he sent to Goering in 1936. Why do you think Goering was in and Schacht out?

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d) The Guns or Butter debate  
What was meant by "guns or butter"?

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e) What were the arguments for and against "guns or butter"?

10  
Evening Standard, Wednesday, December 30, 1936

Guns		Butter
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f) What were the objectives of the Four Year Plan? (page 183)

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What is autarky?



### Task 5: Interpretations of the economy in Nazi Germany

Being able to analyse interpretations is an important part of the AS exam, but is always worth practising as those skills will turn up in the Russia section of the full A Level.

The main skill the examiner is looking for is your use of the wider context to produce a comparative analysis of the two interpretations that they have given you. You need to be aware of the key areas for debate and be able to make judgements on those interpretations- often based around how convincing those interpretations are in those arguments.

Practise these skills on the three interpretations on page 186-187 of your textbook.

Summary of the interpretation	Evidence that supports the interpretation	Evidence that challenges the interpretation
Interpretation 1: B.H. Klein- limited war preparations.		
Interpretation 2: Tim Mason- overheating pressures		
Interpretation 3: Richard Overy- a massive economic mobilisation.		
Significant similarities between two or more of the interpretations.	Significant differences within the interpretations.	
Overall: which of the interpretations is most convincing on the success of the Nazi economy?		

# The Establishment of the Nazi Dictatorship

## Section 7: The Nazi Volksgemeinschaft

**Task 1: What is meant by the Nazi Volksgemeinschaft?**

a) Look at page 193 of your textbook and the sources below. Can you defy all other historians and produce a definition of the term Volksgemeinschaft?



Put your definition here

**Task 2: Appealing to the industrial workers**

a) Read the section on the industrial workers on page 194. What were the main problems that the Nazis had in winning them over?

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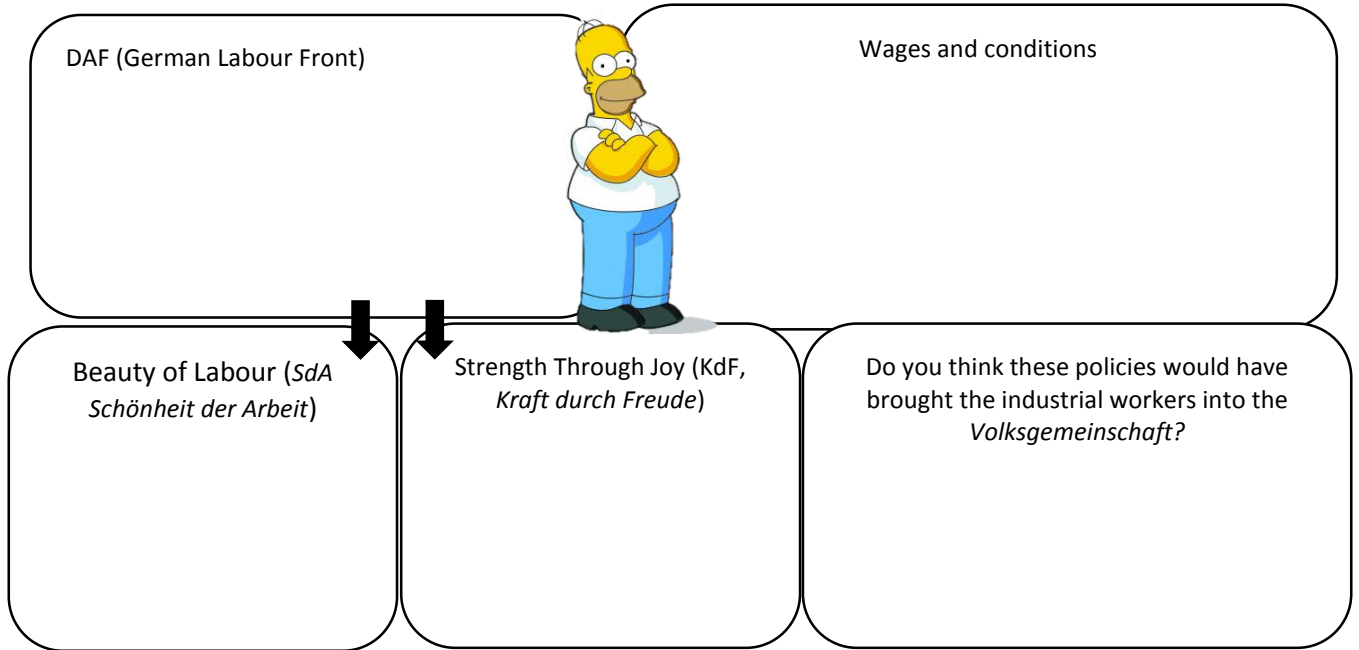
b) How did they go about it?

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c) What did they do for the industrial workers? (page 194-5)



**Task 2: Appealing to the Peasants and Small Farmers**

a) Why was it easier for the Nazis to appeal to the farming community? (page 195)



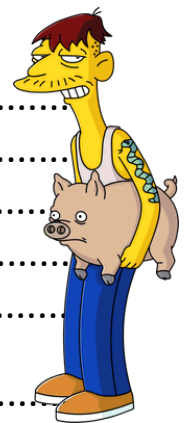
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b) Richard Darré- what was his role and his aims?



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c) How did he go about achieving those? What were the Nazi measures that followed? (page 196)



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d) What was the impact of these agricultural policies?

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e) Do you think the peasants and farmers were won over the *Volksgemeinschaft*?

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**Task 3: Everyone else- the landowners, the *Mittelstand* and Business.**

a) Complete the table below with how successfully you think the Nazis convinced these groups to join the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Make sure that you also include the methods used and what (if anything) they thought of the Nazis before this. Use pages 196-198.

Landowners	
<i>Mittelstand</i>	
Business	



b) On a sheet of plain paper create a *Volksgemeinschaft* mind map. Leave space for women, young people and the Church. Complete your section on the workers including a short summary of the different groups, the different methods, the different success and failures and then a conclusion-how successfully did the Nazis bring the workers into the *Volksgemeinschaft*?



### **Young People: For or Against the Nazis?**

**An article that appeared in History Today magazine, by Detlev J.K. Peukert (a lecturer in history at the Universitat Gesamthochschule, Essen).**

During the twelve years of the Nazi state three separate age groups passed through adolescence, that is the years between the fourteenth and eighteenth birthdays. Each group had its own distinctive experiences. Those whose adolescence fell in the years 1933-36 had already had important, formative experiences before the Nazi seizure of power. They were in the front line for incorporation into the Hitler Youth and the so-called Volksgemeinschaft (racial community) of the Third Reich. They had also experienced the economic crisis of the early 1930s and were therefore quite receptive to the benefits offered by the rearmament programme (particularly after 1935-36), as well as to the ideas of Fuhrerstaat (leadership state), with its promise of an end to 'party squabbles', and of the 'restoration of national greatness'.

The young people of the period 1936-39 had no such memories. They had gone through schools that bore the stamp of National Socialism. For many, adolescence shaped by the Hitler Youth was something taken for granted and to which there was no alternative. Against group comradeship and leisure activities, occasional irritations in the form of brutality and intolerance, drill and demagoguery, were often insignificant. And what is more, the Hitler Youth – as a rival to the traditional authorities of home and school – could to some extent serve as a 'counter-authoritarian' sanctuary. Involvement in its activities thus offered simultaneously the promise of making a name for oneself but also growing pressure towards uniformity. This latter feature grew stronger as the Hitler Youth became more bureaucratic, as its leadership corps grew older, and as the use of coercion to draw remaining young people into the organisation increased.

The age group whose adolescence occurred during the war years 1939-45, experienced particularly the empty aspects of daily life in the Hitler Youth, characterised by coercion and drill. Quite a few youth leaders were conscripted into the army, and from 1942-43 onwards many club buildings and sports fields were destroyed by the bombings. With this 'war generation' the grip of National Socialist institutions was simultaneously at its most far-reaching and increasingly repellent.

National Socialist youth policy aimed to secure the younger generation's total loyalty to the regime and their willingness to fight in the war that lay ahead. All competitors had to be eliminated and Nazi forms of organisation and militaristic education developed. These tasks were to be achieved with the distinctively Nazi combination of compulsion and prohibitions on the one hand and incentives and enticements on the other.

In practice, contradictions arose between these objectives of youth policy, and particularly between the different methods of realising them: contradictions which fragmented and obstructed what appeared at first sight to be a uniform programme of totalitarian assimilation. For example, military conscription robbed the Hitler Youth of many badly needed older youth leaders. Competition between the rival authorities of school and the Hitler Youth gave rise to areas of conflict in which young people could play one off against the other. And, not least, the ideological content

of National Socialism remained much too vague. Fragmentary notions of racial and national arrogance were mixed up with traditional pedagogic humanism: the model of the front-line soldier mixed up with the idea that there was an especially profound and valuable 'German' culture; backward-looking agrarian Romanticism mixed up with enthusiasm for modern technology.

The life stories of young people under the swastika often contain the most contradictory impressions. If there was any common denominator, it was an education in the reckless, ruthless pursuit of genuine or inculcated interests.

The following extract hints at how this came about:

*“No one in our class ever read Mein Kampf. I myself only took quotations from the book. On the whole we didn't know much about Nazi ideology. Even anti-Semitism was brought in rather marginally at school – for example via Richard Wagner's essay 'The Jews in Music' – and outside school the display copies of Der Sturmer made the idea questionable, if anything.... Nevertheless, we were politically programmed: to obey orders, to cultivate the soldierly 'virtue' of standing to attention and saying 'Yes, Sir', and to stop thinking when the magic word 'Fatherland' was uttered and Germany's honour and greatness were mentioned”.*

War seemed 'normal'; violence seemed 'legitimate'. Hitler's foreign policy achievements between 1936 and 1939 had accustomed the Germans to regard the combination of violent posturing, assertion of their 'legal right' to wipe out the 'shame of Versailles', and risk-taking as a recipe for success.

The main arm of National Socialist youth policy was the Hitler Youth. By the end of 1933 all youth organisations, apart from the Catholic ones (which for the time being remained protected owing to the Nazi government's Concordat with the Vatican), had been either banned (like the socialist youth movement) or 'coordinated' more or less voluntarily and integrated into the Hitler Youth (like the non-political bundisch youth movement and, in late 1933/early 1934, the Protestant organisations).

By the end of 1933, therefore, the Hitler Youth already contained 47 per cent of boys aged between ten and fourteen (in the Deutsches Jungvolk) and 38 per cent of boys between fourteen and eighteen (in the Hitler Youth proper). However, only 15 per cent of girls between ten and fourteen were organised (in the Jugendmadelbund and only 8 per cent of those between fifteen and twenty-one (in the Bund Deutscher Madel). The Hitler Youth Law of December 1st, 1936, called for the incorporation of all German youth, and this was backed up with growing pressure on those remaining outside to enrol 'voluntarily' – until two executive orders ancillary to the Hitler Youth Law, issued on March 25th, 1939, made 'youth service' compulsory.

In the years immediately following 1933, many did not regard membership in the Hitler Youth as compulsory. The Hitler Youth built upon many practices of the youth organisations of the Weimar period, offered a wide range of leisure activities, and, at the lower levels (which in the everyday running of things were the most important), was led not infrequently by people who had had previous experience in other youth organisations. In addition, the Hitler Youth uniform often provided the chance to engage, sometimes quite aggressively, in conflict with traditional figures

of authority: the teacher, the father, the foreman, the local clergyman. For many young people in the provinces, where the youth movement was not widespread before 1933, the arrival of

the Hitler Youth often meant the first access to the leisure activities in a youth organisation, the impetus to build a youth club or sports field, or the opportunity to go on weekend or holiday trips away from one's narrow home environment. The emancipatory openings for girls were even greater. In the Bund Deutscher Madel girls could escape from the female role-model centred around family and children – a role model which, for that matter, was also propagated by the National Socialists. They could pursue activities which were otherwise reserved for boys; and if they worked as

functionaries for the Bund Deutscher Madel they might even approach the classic 'masculine' type of the political organiser who was never at home. Such opportunities remained limited, however, and were withdrawn increasingly owing to the Nazis' general discrimination against women. Yet these groups undoubtedly proved, in many practical day-to-day respects, to be a modernising force.

With the consolidation of the Hitler Youth as a large-scale bureaucratic organisation, and with the gradual ageing of its leadership cadres in the course of the 1930s, the movements' attraction to the young people began to decline. Political campaigns within the Hitler Youth against those who had been leaders in the Weimar youth movement and against styles and behaviour allegedly associated with that organisation, led to the disciplining and purging of units.

The campaign to bring everyone into the Hitler Youth ranks brought in those who previously had proclaimed their antipathy simply by their absence. Disciplinary and surveillance measures to enforce 'youth service' made even harmless everyday pleasures such as meetings of friends and cliques criminal offences. Above all, the claim of legal power by Hitler Youth patrols, whose members were scarcely older than the young people they were keeping track of, provoked general indignation. And in addition, even before the outbreak of war, the Hitler Youth concentrated increasingly on premilitary drill.

The belief that the Hitler Youth successfully mobilised young people is only half the story. The more the Hitler Youth arrogated state powers to itself and the more completely it drew young people into its organisation, the more obvious became the examples of deviant behaviour among adolescents. By the end of the 1930s thousands of young people were turning away from the leisure activities of the Hitler Youth and finding their own unregimented style in independent gangs. Indeed, they defended their independence all the more insistently as Hitler Youth patrols and the Gestapo increased their pressure. In 1942 the Reich Youth Leadership had to admit:

*“The formation of cliques, i.e. groupings of young people outside the Hitler Youth, has been on the increase before and, particularly, during the war to such a degree that one must speak of a serious risk of the political, moral and criminal subversion of youth”.*

The leadership could not now make the excuse that the people involved had been conditioned by the Weimar 'system': by 'Marxism', 'clericalism' or the old youth movements. The adolescents who made up this opposition in the late 1930s and early 1940s were the very generation on whom Adolf Hitler's system had operated unhindered. Amidst the wealth of evidence of unaccommodating behaviour, two groups stand out particularly clearly, groups

which shared a rejection of the Hitler Youth but which differed in their styles, backgrounds and actions: the 'Edelweiss Pirates' (Edelweisspiraten) and the 'Swing Youth' (Swing-Jugend). The first Edelweiss Pirates appeared at the end of the 1930s in western Germany. The names of the individual groups, their badges (metal edelweiss flowers worn on the collar, the skull and crossbones, pins with coloured heads), their dress (usually a checked shirt, dark short trousers, white socks) and their activities all varied, but were based upon, a single underlying model. 'Roving Dudes' from Essen, 'Kittelbach Pirates' from Oberhausen or Dusseldorf (named after a stream in the north of Dusseldorf) and 'Navajos' from Cologne all regarded themselves as 'Edelweiss Pirate' groups. This agreement took on real meaning during weekend trips into the surrounding countryside, where groups from the whole region met up, pitched tents, sang, talked, and together 'bashed' Hitler Youth patrols doing their rounds.

The opposition – the Hitler Youth, Gestapo and the law – also soon categorised the groups under a single heading, having first wavered in case the 'youth movement' (bundisch) label would save them the bother of having to analyse new, spontaneous forms of oppositional activity and construct corresponding new sets of prohibitions. It soon became clear, however, that although it was possible to spot precursor groups and so-called 'wild' bundisch organisations in the early 1930s, there was no continuity of personnel (the 'delinquents' of 1935-37 long since had been conscripted to the front) and there was no direct ideological line of descent.

The Edelweiss Pirate groups arose spontaneously, as young people aged between fourteen and eighteen got together to make the most of their free time away from the control of the Hitler Youth. The age composition of the group, with a clustering around it of younger children and older war-wounded men and women in reserved occupations, was not fortuitous: boys of seventeen and eighteen were conscripted into the National Labour Service and then into the Wehrmacht, while at fourteen boys reached the school-leaving age and could thus escape from the immediate, day-to-day sphere of Hitler Youth control. They were taking their first steps into work – as apprentices or, thanks to the shortage of manpower caused by the war, increasingly as relatively well paid unskilled workers. To an increased sense of self-esteem and independence the continuing obligation of Hitler Youth service up to the age of eighteen could contribute very little. The war reduced the Hitler Youth's leisure attractions: instead there was repeated paramilitary drill with pointless exercises in obedience, which were all the more irksome for being supervised by Hitler Youth leaders scarcely any older than the rank and file, yet who often stood out by the virtue of their grammar- or secondary-school background. 'It's the Hitler Youth's own fault,' one Edelweiss Pirate from Dusseldorf said, explaining his group's slogan 'Eternal war on the Hitler Youth': *'every order I was given contained a threat.'*

The self-confidence of the Edelweiss Pirates and their image among their peers were unmistakable, as an Oberhausen mining instructor found in the case of his trainees in 1941:

*"Every child knows who the KP [common abbreviation for Kittelbach Pirates] are. They are everywhere; there are more of them than there are Hitler Youth. And they all know each other, they stick close together... They beat up the patrols, because there are so many of them. They don't agree with anything. They don't go to work either, they're always down by the canal, at the lock".*

The overriding factor common to these groups was the territorial principle: they belonged together because they lived or worked together; and a gang usually consisted of about a dozen boys and a few girls. The fact that girls were involved at all distinguished these oppositional groups from the strictly segregated Bund Deutscher Madel and Hitler Youth. The presence of girls at the evening get-togethers and on the weekend trips into the countryside gave the adolescents a relatively unrestricted opportunity to have sexual experiences. In this respect they were much less prudish than their parents' generation, particularly the representatives of Nazi organisations with their almost obsessive fixation on the repression of sexuality. Nevertheless, sexual life in these groups was no doubt much less orgiastic than contemporary authors of official reports believed, or wanted others to believe, when they sought to construct a trinity of delinquency out of (sexual and criminal) degeneracy, (anti-organisational and antiauthoritarian) rebellion, and (political) opposition.

The high point of the pirates' free time was the weekend, when the young people could go on hikes. Armed with rucksacks, sheath knives and bread-and-butter rations, sleeping in tents or barns, they spent rare free time with like-minded young people from other towns – although always on the watch for Hitler Youth patrols, whom they, prudently calculating their own strength, either sought to avoid or taunted and fell upon with relish.

An important reason for this need to get as much space as possible, as often as possible, between themselves and their everyday conditions was the wish to avoid the 'educative' incursions of adults and the daily experiences of denunciations, spying, orders and punishments by National Socialist institutions that were directly bound up with these incursions. The youth movement's old reason for hiking – to withdraw from the pressures of the adult world – was intensified and given a political dimension in the Third Reich. It is an astonishing fact that quite a few of these adolescents took long journeys during their holidays, as far as the Black Forest and the Tirol, to Munich, Vienna and Berlin – and this was during wartime, despite bans on travel, restrictions on freedom of movement caused by the system of food ration-cards, and police checks. The youths made ends meet with casual work, hitched lifts, joined up with other hitch-hikers, and in the process demonstrated the existence and vitality of informal structures of support and communication even in the bureaucratised war economy of the Third Reich.

If the long holiday journeys and shorter weekend trips opened up realms of experience that were normally out of the reach of working-class children (especially during the war), the daily meetings after work made possible the development of distinctive identities that marked off the working-class youth subcultures of the Edelweiss Pirates from the dominant, official culture of the Hitler Youth. At these evening gatherings people chatted, told stories, played the guitar and sang songs – especially hiking songs or popular hits about foreign lands, adventure, tough men, beautiful girls. No cliché from the world of commercial entertainment was left unused. Nevertheless, the Edelweiss Pirates appropriated these banal stereotypes for their own ends. For one thing, they were not singing the Hitler Youth songs prescribed as 'suitable for young people' or the fighting songs of the chauvinistic German military tradition; they sang adult hit songs, which dealt with adventure not allowed the young, with eating, drinking and love. The Edelweiss Pirates developed a remarkable knack for rewriting lyrics – inserting new phrases, lines or whole verses which catapulted their own lives into this dream world. The Edelweiss Pirates turned the traditional

songs of the hiking and youth movements to similar use. They adapted or reworded these songs and used them as signals of protest, either because the songs themselves were disapproved of or even banned by the Hitler Youth or because the names of supposed foes in the original texts were replaced with those of the Nazis, Gestapo or Hitler Youth.

The war years brought an increasing number of clashes between the Edelweiss Pirates and the Hitler Youth. On July 17th, 1943, the Dusseldorf-Grafenberg branch of the Nazi Party reported to the Gestapo:

*“Re: 'Edelweiss Pirates'. The said youths are throwing their weight around again. I have been told that gatherings of young people have become more conspicuous than ever [in a local park], especially since the last air raid on Dusseldorf. These adolescents, aged between 12 and 17, hang around into the late evening with musical instruments and young females. Since this rift-raff is in large part outside the Hitler Youth and adopts a hostile attitude towards the organisation, they represent a danger to other young people. It has recently been established that members of the armed forces too are to be found among these young people and they, owing to their membership in the Wehrmacht, exhibit particularly arrogant behaviour. There is a suspicion that it is these youths who have covered the walls of the pedestrian subway on the Altenbergstrasse with the slogans 'Down with Hitler', 'The OKW [Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, Military High Command] is lying', 'Medals for Murder', 'Down with Nazi Brutality' etc. However often these inscriptions are removed, within a few days new ones reappear on the walls”.*

The conflict grew; on the one side was a power apparatus whose drive for perfection led to ever more irrational measures of coercion and surveillance; on the other, gangs of young people who had nothing in their favour apart from their large number and their ability to retreat into the hiding-place of everyday normality. The Gestapo and Hitler Youth brought to bear an armoury of repressive weapons that ranged from individual warnings, raids and temporary arrest (often followed by release with the public branding of a shaven head) to weekend detention, corrective education, referral to a labour camp, youth concentration camp or criminal trial. Thousands were caught in the net; in a single day, on December 7th, 1942, the Dusseldorf Gestapo broke up the following groups: 28 groups containing 739 adolescents in Dusseldorf, Duisburg, Essen and Wuppertal, including the Cologne Edelweiss Pirates whose so-called ringleaders were publicly hanged in Cologne-Ehrenfeld in November 1944. Indeed, as the curtain was coming down on the Third Reich, the 'Reichsfuhrer SS' and head of the German police (Himmler) issued a decree on October 25th, 1944, on the 'combating of youth gangs', the last in the long series of bans and prosecutions in the attempt to defeat the protest movements.

As long as the Nazis needed armament workers and future soldiers, they could not exterminate German youth as they exterminated the Poles and the Jews; they were forced to use more sophisticated treatment – for their ideological concept of the 'healthy stock of German youth'. But a subculture without organised structures only rarely throws up 'ringleaders' who can easily be singled out. An alternative way of organising free time, which many observe and with which very many more of the same age sympathise, cannot be penalised in blanket fashion. A sceptical attitude towards work, authority, order and morality can be dealt with punitively in individual cases, but not when a considerable portion of the

younger generation begins to subscribe to it. Therefore the institutions of the Nazi state reacted to the Edelweiss Pirate movement with manifest uncertainty. Some state functionaries regarded the offences as silly childish pranks, a result of the degeneration of youth caused by the war and the waning appeal of the Hitler Youth, deprived of its leaders by military conscription. Others smelled large-scale conspiracy and looked for secret organisations, instigators behind the scenes – in other words, projected their own familiar schemata onto a movement they did not understand. But the Edelweiss Pirates were neither simply 'deprived children' nor unimpeachable political resistance fighters. They displayed behaviour that deviated from the desirable social norm with a political rejection of National Socialism, and its maintenance of an authoritarian, hierarchical and militaristic way of life.

All Edelweiss Pirates rejected the Nazis; indeed, this rejection and the elements of an alternative life-style defined them. Few, however, had a definite political point of view, something one can hardly expect in the case of fourteen to eighteen-year-olds. They seem, rather, to have set their own experiences as a group against the specific and abstract demands which National Socialism made on them. None of the Edelweiss Pirates were content with mere passive rejection of Nazism; they wanted to do something against the Hitler Youth, but only a few went beyond everyday acts of petty provocation. These few, however, stuck Allied propaganda leaflets they found in the woods into people's letter boxes, or joined organised resistance groups. In Dusseldorf in 1942 Communists, including the Communist Party leader Wilhelm Knochjel, made contact with Edelweiss Pirates such as Werner Heyden, received reports on popular opinion from him and gave him stickers and leaflets to distribute. In Cologne-Ehrenfeld in 1944 Edelweiss Pirates joined an underground group which in the maze of bombed streets and houses offered shelter to German army deserters, prisoners of war, forced labourers and prisoners from concentration camps. They got supplies by making armed raids on military depots, assaulted Nazis and took part in partisan-type attacks – one of which indeed claimed the chief of the Cologne Gestapo in the autumn of 1944. Thus, members of the Edelweiss Pirate movement spanned the whole range of nonconformist behaviour, from conscious non-participation to open protest and political resistance. The common denominator in all these activities was the creation of a divergent subculture among sections of working-class youth. This derived its political pungency from two sources: in the first place, the rigid power claims of National Socialism could tolerate no deviant behaviour; and secondly, the conflict could also be seen crudely in terms of class conflict between the working-class Pirates and the bourgeois National Socialists.

The Edelweiss Pirates rebelled against the Nazi authorities and regimented leisure; their songs, their style of protest, their demeanour indicated that they had seen through the phraseology of the Volksgemeinschaft. A quite different form of popular culture developed among young people from the upper middle class: the 'Swing' movement. Its adherents took every opportunity to avoid volkische music and the 'moon-in-June' triviality of German hit tunes in order to listen to jazz and swing numbers, either on records or with live bands. Initially some of these events were allowed to take place in public; then, when Hitler Youth officials took offence at them, they were banned. In one internal Hitler Youth report about a swing festival in Hamburg in February 1940, which was attended by 500- 600 adolescents, one can hear all the leitmotifs that pervade the lamentations of authorities faced by the jazz and rock cultures of the twentieth century:



*“The dance music was all English and American. Only swing dancing and jitterbugging took place. At the entrance to the hall stood a notice on which the words 'Swing prohibited' had been altered to 'Swing requested'. Without exception the participants accompanied the dances and songs by singing the English lyrics. Indeed, throughout the evening they attempted to speak only English; and some tables even French. The dancers made an appalling sight. None of the couples danced normally; there was only swing of the worst sort. Sometimes two boys danced with one girl; sometimes several couples formed a circle, linking arms and jumping, slapping hands, even rubbing the backs of their heads together; and then, bent double, with the top half of the body hanging loosely down, long hair flopping into the face, they dragged themselves round practically on their knees. When the band played a rumba, the dancers went into wild ecstasy. They all leaped around and mumbled the chorus in English. The band played wilder and wilder numbers; none of the players was sitting any longer, they all 'jitterbugged' on the stage like wild animals. Frequently boys could be observed dancing together, without exception with two cigarettes in the mouth, one in each corner...”*

With the ban on public functions, the swing movement shifted to informal groupings where, naturally, its character became more sharply defined. Swing clubs sprang up particularly in big cities: Hamburg, Kiel, Berlin, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Dresden, Halle and Karlsruhe. Their members were predominantly middle-class adolescents with enough schooling to be able to use the English lyrics and bits of foreign slang. Like the Edelweiss Pirates, who had used German-language hits against the National Socialists, so the Swing-Jugend picked up mainstream jazz that was quite permissible in variety shows and dances and radicalised it: they made it into an emblem of a youth culture that rejected the Hitler-Youth ideals, stripped it of its domesticated dance-floor character and favoured hotter varieties of what in Nazi parlance was termed 'negro music'. Dance music gave way to hot jazz; steps as learned in dancing classes gave way to free, spontaneous rhythmic movement, erect posture and tidy dress gave way to 'jitterbugging', hair 'down to the collar' (to quote the same Hitler-Youth report) and a cult of 'slovenliness' and 'sleaziness'.

The characteristics of the swing scene reflected the difference in social background between the offspring of the urban middle class and the working-class Edelweiss Pirates. The latter met on street corners and in parks, outside the confines of the parental home yet within a neighbourhood territory. The swing boys and girls had the money, clothes and status to be seen at bourgeois city-centre night clubs, as well as homes that were large enough for them to indulge in their 'jitterbugging' and 'sleaziness' when their elders were out. They had gramophone records; they could get hold of chic English-looking clothes. A relaxed regime in their parents' houses, or lack of night-time supervision offered ample opportunity for gaining sexual experience. Reporting about the swing groups, the Nazi authorities stressed the incidence of promiscuity, group sex, sexual intercourse involving minors and, above all, unabashed pleasure in sexuality which was denounced as moral degeneracy. The wording and tone of such internal reports as a rule said more about their authors and readers than about the actual behaviour of the adolescents. Things were taken too literally that perhaps were only bragging; isolated 'incidents' were generalised. Even this caveat, however, does not alter the fact that the sexual behaviour of these adolescents clearly deviated from National Socialist acceptability.

The swing youth were not antifascist in a political sense – their behaviour was indeed emphatically anti-political – but both Nazi slogans and traditional nationalism were of profound indifference to them. They sought their counter-identity in what they saw as the 'slovenly' culture of the wartime enemies, England and America. They accepted Jews and 'half-Jews' into their groups – another outrage for the Nazis – and gave ovations to visiting bands from Belgium and Holland. The very disgust shown by the authors of the Nazi reports and their dramatisation of events indicate that Nazi officialdom felt attacked at the heart of its concept of itself and of the state. This is the only way, too, to explain the reaction of Heinrich Himmler, who wanted to put the 'ringleaders' of the swing movement into concentration camps for at least two or three years of beatings, punitive drill and forced labour. These alternative forms of social behaviour within the Third Reich show that considerable sections of the younger generation held themselves aloof from National Socialism. When the Hitler Youth seemed to have established itself officially, with compulsory membership, it was met with apathy and rejection on the part of many adolescents, who were constantly to be found along the border line between passive and active insubordination. Despite various forms of repression, opposition groupings seem also to have been attractive to many adolescents who did not actually join them.

Furthermore, the everyday experience of National Socialism, for both working-class and middle-class youth, and their need to give expression to their identity, ran so contrary to what National Socialist ideology and its encrusted organisational structures had to offer, that the creation by young people of their own cultural identity and alternative styles naturally made itself apparent above all in the realm that was important for their age group: namely, leisure. These subcultures demonstrated that National Socialism, even after years in power, still did not have a complete grip on German society: indeed, sections of society slipped increasingly from its grasp the more it was able to perfect its formal means of organisation and repression.

The two central projects of National Socialist social policy – the abolition of class division through feelings of belonging to a 'racial community' (Volksgemeinschaft) and the smashing of the perceived threat to traditional values from modernity and internationalism – seem to have run aground even before the end of the Third Reich loomed ahead with military defeat. National Socialism unintentionally paved the way for these manifestations of modern youth culture. Its power was sufficient largely to destroy the traditional forms of working-class and middle-class cultures. In their places, however, National Socialism could offer only military discipline, an anachronistic ideology and a stifling bureaucracy. The National Socialist blueprint for a future order failed to shape society in its image.