Education, Sport and Militarism:
Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany

Thesis submitted for the award
of the Degree of PhD,
School of Education,
University of Leicester,
1980

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Acknowledgements

Gratitude to my supervisor, Bob Wight, who initially, had more faith in me than I did myself, and was at all times supportive.

To Norman Paxton and Warwick Price, respectively Heads of Modern Languages and Library Services, thanks, for treating me as a colleague, when such conduct was unfashionable. Without the staff of our library, especially those concerned with Inter-Library Loans, my task would have been impossible, whilst the informed interest of Messrs Pugsley and Isaacs was much appreciated.

Throughout the past three years, the support of my union (NATFHE) executive, and especially my personal counsellor, Harry Lahmers, has helped me in my professional problems. Moreover, being deprived of a room for some time, the assiduity of Peter Fielden, Chief Personnel Officer, in securing me one warrants thanks. However, such is the effect of habit, I have continued to process much of my thesis within the confines of the Staff Bar - and for this, apologies to any colleagues whom my typing may have annoyed. Others who deserve my gratitude are the supervisor of the Academic Typing Services of the Polytechnic, Jackie Hepworth, and my own most patient typist, Barbara Connelly.

Finally, my wry thanks to those within the hierarchy of the Polytechnic - both past and present - who victimised and harassed me - or allowed others so to do - for a period of three years. Without their pusillanimity I might well not have been finally motivated to complete this thesis.
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INTRODUCTION

Rationale:

Hence, imbuing the young with a uniting faith and tradition and placing them within a meaningful continuum - in other words, rooting the national future in the national past - this is what a people asks its schools to do. The schools should tell the story of the great men, victors as well as martyrs, who have formed the state politically as well as culturally, of the great ideas the nation has contributed to civilisation, of the battles it has fought for its survival and aggrandizement ... ¹

For the purpose of this study, education is conceived of as a process of political socialisation. This is a far from modern construct, as Aristotle has shown:

Education must be related to the particular constitution in each case, for the character of the constitution is just that which makes it specifically what it is ... the democratic character preserves a democracy, the oligarchic an oligarchy ... In all matters that belong to the whole community the learning to do them must also be the concern of the community as a whole. And it is not right either that any of the citizens should think that he belongs just to himself; all citizens belong to the state, for each is a part of the state; and the care bestowed on each part naturally looks also towards the care of the whole. ²

and one might extend this argument to suggest that the state depends upon feelings of nationalism, and enough military-economic expertise to defend and aggrandize itself. From this, it is only a short step to mooting that the state, to which "all citizens belong", will find it imperative to inculcate sentiments of
nationalism, and their manifestations as military skills and orientations.

Again, the conjoining of nationalistic outlooks and the system of education has become more overt in modern times. When Peschell said:

The victory of the Prussians over the Austrians was a victory of the Prussian over the Austrian schoolmaster.

and Von Moltke averred, "The Prussian schoolmaster won the battle of Sadowa," they were merely emphasising that modern nationalism and its attendant military imperatives are the products of modern systems of education.

Within any particular system of education, certain curricular areas are variously weighted in relation to their effectiveness as political socialisers. Obviously, the study of the national language, and its manifestations as literature and history is a prime agent in this process. My thesis is, however, that the part of the curriculum which is most effective in inculcating responses of an overtly nationalistic-militaristic nature, is that which goes under the titles of sport and physical education, although interpreted on a far wider spectrum, than in our present-day society, and for which I prefer to use the term "physical culture".
The term is widely used in Eastern Europe. It includes physical activities in the school system, the youth movements, industry, the armed forces - indeed, society as a whole. Moreover, it encompasses a far wider range of activities than those contained within the aegis of physical education and sport, as understood in the United Kingdom today. This all-but global area ranges from relatively simple physical activities; taking in events, displays and demonstrations of a physical-cultural nature; leading into the sphere of highly structured sport and physical training; reaching as far as para-military education, and even extending to productive labour.

I believe that the military function of physical culture is so immediate because of the intrinsic nature of physical activities, so interpreted - which both demand and impose affective responses on the sportsman, which are those traditionally expected of the soldier - the so-called military virtues. At the same time, such activities generate "militant enthusiasm", which is all the more a potent force, because of its unquestioning and basically anti-rational nature.

In reality, militant enthusiasm is a specialised form of communal aggression, clearly distinct from and yet functionally related to the more primitive forms of petty individual aggression, every man of normally strong emotions knows, from his own experience, the subjective phenomena that go hand in hand with the response of militant enthusiasm. A shiver runs down the back, and, as more exact observation shows, along the outside of both arms. One soars elated above all the ties of everyday life, one is ready to
abandon all for the call of what, in the moment of this specific emotion, seems to be a sacred duty. All obstacles in its path become unimportant, the instinctive inhibitions against hurting or killing one's fellows lose, unfortunately, much of their power. Rational considerations, criticism, and all reasonable arguments against the behaviour dictated by militant enthusiasm are silenced by an amazing reversal of all values, making them appear not only untenable but base and dishonourable. Men enjoy the feeling of absolute righteousness even when they commit atrocities. Conceptual thought and moral responsibility are at their lowest ebb. As an Ukrainian proverb says: 'When the banner is unfurled, all reason is in the trumpet'.

Lorenz goes further in intimating that sport might fulfil a "healthy safety valve for that ... most dangerous form of aggression ... collective militant enthusiasm". Without disputing Lorenz's view, my own point is that the collective, anti-rational aspects are central to most physical activities, and that such activities can engender all the qualities considered desirable, by what he terms a "militant ideology", and its military aims.

Central to a militaristic outlook are the concepts of elitism and hierarchy, and so when Aristotle, in questioning Plato's blueprint for society, speculated whether the ancient Cretan custom of denying the right to carry arms, and that of participating in physical education to the lower classes might be an effective ploy in social control, he gave a remarkably early example of the elitist nature of physical activities and military skills and training.
Moving back to a modern writer, Lorenz, the hierarchical nature of sport becomes apparent.

The team spirit inherent in all international sport gives scope to a number of truly valuable patterns of social behaviour which are essentially motivated by aggression and which, in all probability, have evolved under the selection pressure of tribal warfare at the very dawn of culture. The noble warrior's typical virtues, such as his readiness to sacrifice himself in the service of a common cause, disciplined submission to the rank order of the group, mutual aid in the face of deadly danger ... 8

In order to illustrate the surrogate and preparatory nature of physical culture, in relation to military imperatives, I intend to use as examples the two contemporary historical societies of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. However, I maintain that both positive and negative manifestations of this thesis can be seen in present-day societies. For instance, in an article describing the World Festival of Youth in Havana, Wilson states:

The biggest cheer raised in Havana during the World Festival of Youth, which ended last week, was for 2,000 soldiers who appeared at the opening ceremony, each one leading a five-year-old boy by the hand.

The symbolism was powerful - the educational and sporting preoccupations of the Cuban revolution go hand in hand with military prowess. 9

The interrelatedness of sport and warfare has also taken the interest of contributors to learned journals10 and is an interest not limited to, or characteristic of communist, or third world countries, as is emphasised in a recent book review.
John Springhall is one of a growing band of historians interested in the border country where education, social control, recreation, juvenile crime and the armed forces are all related.\textsuperscript{11}

It is thus that Kipling could describe war as "The Great Game",\textsuperscript{12} whilst General von Reichenau, Hitler's representative on the Committee of the Olympic Games, stated that sport was a substitute for national service, and Carl Diem could claim that "War is the noblest sport of all".\textsuperscript{13}
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4 Von Moltke, Speech, Reichstag, 16 February 1874. (Quoted in B Stevenson (ed), op cit, p1,970.


7 Aristotle, op cit, p66.


INTRODUCTION

Historical Overview:

The conjunction of sport and warfare appears to have reached its modern apogee in England. It might well surprise researchers that this was the case, when one considers the relatively unstructured military traditions of the British, compared to continental nations such as the French and Germans. However, it seems likely that the comparatively unregimented ethos of English life, and the lack of conscriptive military service, were prime movers in the growth of modern sporting functions, as Huizinga opined:

That the process started in nineteenth century England is understandable up to a point, though how far the specifically Anglo-Saxon bent of mind can be deemed an efficient cause is less certain. But it cannot be doubted that the structure of English life had much to do with it. Local self-government encouraged a spirit of association and solidarity. The absence of obligatory military training favoured the occasion for, and the need of, physical exercise. The peculiar form of education tended to work in the same direction, and finally the geography of the country and the nature of the terrain, on the whole flat and, in the ubiquitous commons, offering the most perfect playing fields that could be desired, were of the greatest importance. Thus England became the cradle and focus of modern sporting life.¹

This "modern sporting life" found widespread literary recognition, and thus, obviously, further disseminated itself, as McIntosh notes:

The cult of athleticism first received public expression in Thomas Hughes' novel, Tom Brown's Schooldays, published in April 1857 ... Already Public School education was being consciously related to success on the battlefields and the garrisons of the Empire ... It was later
in the century that the battlefield
and the playing field became closely
associated, but this forthcoming
development had already cast its
shadow before it in Hughes' novel ...
The value of games, particularly
team games, in training character
and developing qualities of value to
a ruling class was appreciated ...

As a managerial elite became more and more a sine qua non of
modern, European armies, so the relationship between the playing
field and the battleground became more highly structured and
recognised, to the extent, according to McIntosh, of performing
a "specific function".

Towards the end of the century and in
the first few years of the succeeding
one, the playing field not only made
a valuable general contribution to
government, it also performed the
specific function of training an
officer class for the army.

However, the nature of modern warfare had brought about the advent
of citizen armies, the concept of the levee en masse. This was all
well and good in countries such as France, where the majority of
the population lived a healthy, outdoor life on the land, and to
certain extent, this was also true of Germany. Moreover, both
these countries possessed a military tradition with an acceptance
of military values not evident across the Channel. Even less
advantageously, most of the British working class had exchanged
relatively healthy lives for occupations in coal mines, steel
works, factories and the back to back slums of industrial cities.
Thus it was that sport and physical training, in their modern British manifestations, became formally institutionalised, because of the military imperative of ensuring that enough of the population were fit to bear arms, as McIntosh graphically outlines.

The Boer War, quite apart from its influence on the general educational trend, made a direct impact upon physical education. The initial defeats in the field and the rejection of large numbers of recruits at home focused attention upon the physical state of the population of Britain. In Manchester in 1899 out of 11,000 volunteering for enlistment 8,000 were rejected outright and only 1,200 were accepted as fit in all respects ... * to meet the demand for greater physical fitness the Board of Education in 1902, in consultation with the War Office, drew up and issued a Model Course of Physical Training for use in the upper departments of Public Elementary Schools. This was framed on the army methods of training, and consisted chiefly of military drill, together with dumbell and barbell exercises. Schools were directly encouraged to employ instructors 'who should, if possible, have been trained in the Army Gymnastic Course', and those schools requiring further physical training, and desiring to proceed to military drill, were referred to Infantry Training 1902, a handbook published by the War Office. Thus physical training in public elementary schools was given a distinctly military bias.

*(Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, HMSO, 1904: Evidence, pp13-14)
In contemporary times - the era of physical culture - sport and physical training have moved from a general preparation for war, through a specific function of elite-preparation and beyond the process of achieving fitness for mass-mobilisation and industrial development. The relationship between sport and warfare is still real and cogent, but now the emphasis is more upon the political and economic advantages which can accrue, via physical culture, to one particular nation or ideology. Indeed, modern sport could well be categorised as war in trackshoes, because as McIntosh argues:

Sport has certain characteristics which perhaps impel it more readily than other human activities toward an association with politics. Sport, especially competitive sport tends to identify the individual with some group and the individual welcomes this identity.

This identification is, obviously, heightened by the irrational nature of physical culture, and probably desirably so, from the point of view of idealogues, because it does not convey ideas, as can art, literature and music, so that the sportsman cannot attack the governing ideology by the practice of his chosen activity, as can the artist and novelist, but only augment it. So much so, that McIntosh concludes that:

East and west sportsmen, whether they like it or not, are "ambassadors of good will" and are under pressure to vindicate not merely their own prowess but the ideology of their country. There are few governments in the world which do not accept the political importance of success in international sport.
Interestingly enough, Huizinga, who conceived of society as founded upon a play-principle, believed that it was the modern manipulation of physical culture for ideological gains, which had made:

... sport profane, 'unholy' in every way and has no organic connexion whatever with the structure of society, least of all when prescribed by the government. The ability of modern social techniques to stage mass demonstrations with the maximum of outward show in the field of athletics does not alter the fact that neither the Olympiads nor the organised sports of American Universities nor the loudly trumpeted international contests have, in the smallest degree, raised sport to the level of a culture-creating activity.7

But, according to the same writer, the methods of modern warfare "still show abundant traces of the agonistic attitude as formed in primitive society",8 and the link with the "play-culture" remains unbroken when he stated:

For it is not war that is serious, but peace. War and everything to do with it remain fast in the daemonic and magical bonds of play.9

Paradoxically, he, at the same time, denied this function to "total war", as he had previously done to sport which was "prescribed by the government".

It remained for the theory of "total war" to banish war's cultural function and extinguish the last vestige of the play element.10
Whether this is evidence of confused thinking, or not, it
evertheless does not negate the relationship between play and
war, which Huizinga illustrated at some length, in chapter five
of his work.\textsuperscript{11}

The concept of play is one of the many elements which seem to be
both logically and semantically connected with physical culture
and with militarism. Caillois' classification of games,
especially under the headings of competition (agon), chance (alea)
and vertigo (illinx), gives many insights into the sensations and
activities associated with the conjoined concepts.\textsuperscript{12} Huizinga
viewing culture as he did - "sub specie ludi" - found, at the
same time, an "agonistic or ludic element in war ... "\textsuperscript{14} Perhaps,
more disturbingly, he completely denied any biological purpose to
play.

Nature ... could just as easily have given
her children all those useful functions of
discharging superabundant energy, of
relaxing after exertion, of training for
the demands of life, of compensating for
unfulfilled longings, etc, with the form of
purely mechanical exercises and reactions.
But no, she gave us play, with its tension,
its mirth, and its fun.\textsuperscript{15}

Yet he firmly adhered the concept of sport to that of warfare in:

... an ideal of noble strife, fulfilled in myth
and legend, is one of the strongest incentives
to civilization. It has more than once given
rise to a system of martial athletics and
ceremonial social play which together adorned
real life with poetry, as in medieval chivalry
and Japanese bushido.\textsuperscript{16}
Correspondingly, Clausewitz, whilst viewing warfare more as a game of hazard - "... in which Time and Chance shuffle the cards",¹⁷ at the same time, allowed for the influence of skilled performance on the eventual outcome, in that:

... each Cabinet places its confidence in the belief that in this game it will surpass its neighbour in skill and sharp-sightedness.¹⁸

To Clausewitz, therefore, the ludic nature of war was primarily essenced in the element of luck, an element central to success in both sport and war.

We see from the foregoing how much the objective nature of War makes it a calculation of probabilities; now there is only one single element still wanting to make it a game, and that element it certainly is not without: it is chance. There is no human affair which stands so constantly and so generally in close connexion with chance as War. But together with chance, the accidental, and along with it good luck, occupy a great place in War.¹⁹

He then continued, but emphasising the real, game-element, which he found present in warfare, giving a delineation of the personal qualities, common both to game (sporting) situations, and military ones, if their outcome was to be brought about satisfactorily, in this chance-ordered environment.
If we now take a look at the subjective nature of War, that is to say, at those conditions under which it is carried on, it will appear to us still more like a game. Primarily the element in which the operations of War are carried out is danger; but which of all the moral qualities is the first in danger? Courage. Now certainly courage is quite compatible with prudent calculation, but still they are things of quite a different kind, essentially different qualities of the mind; on the other hand, daring reliance on good fortune, boldness, rashness, are only expressions of courage, and all the responsibilities of the mind look for the fortuitous (or accidental), because it is their element.

We see, therefore, how, from the commence­ment, the absolute, the mathematical as it is called, nowhere finds any sure basis in the calculations of the Art of War; and that from the outset there is a play of possibilities, probabilities, good and bad luck, which spreads about with all the coarse and fine threads of its web, and makes War of all branches of human activity the most like a gambling game.\(^{20}\)

Traditionally, in the education of elites, the military values and orientations of physical activities have been emphasised and lauded. Plato expected his Guardians and Auxiliaries to be prepared for their military duties via physical activities - "I mean a suitably simple physical training, concentrating particularly on training for war".\(^{21}\) For to Plato, physical education, like literary education was conceived of as primarily education of character.\(^{22}\)

Whilst also concerned with character education, albeit, not on so unified a level as Plato, Castiglione saw no contradiction in the use of weapons in the course of sport.
Weapons are also often used in various sports during peace time, and gentlemen often perform in public spectacles before the people and before ladies and great lords.

The preparative function of vigorous physical activity, with regard to warfare, was spelt out by him most explicitly.

There are also many other sports which, although they do not directly require the use of weapons, are closely related to arms and demand a great deal of manly exertion.

Tennis, and "performing on horseback", also received his approval, as did the abilities to "swim, jump, run and cast the stone ..."

But above all, he recommended hunting, as he believed that this most resembled warfare. This is a view also shared by Machiavelli, whose ideas were a precursor of Marshall Suvarov's dictum - "Train hard, fight easy."

He (the Prince) ought never, therefore, to have out of his thoughts this subject of war, and in peace he should addict himself more to its exercise than in war; this he can do in two ways, the one by action ... he ought above all things to keep his men well organised and drilled, to follow incessantly the chase, by which he accustoms his body to hardship, and learns something of the nature of localities ...

The importance of the "Man on Horseback" cannot be over-emphasised in examining this area. Bronowski, in describing the affect of the horse on history, suggests that the horseman offers a "symbolic act of dominance over the total creation".
At the same time, more than other human activities, the major effect of the horse was on warfare, indeed, Bronowski suggests that "warfare was created by the horse", and that even at this early stage, war and the concept of "games" had become interlinked.

The strategy of the mobile herd depends on manoeuvre, on rapid communication, and on practised moves ... The remnants of that remain in the war games that are still played ... War strategy is always regarded by those who win as a kind of game.  

This belief was also central to the educational theories of Elyot who considered that:

the most honourable exercise ... is to ride surely and clean on a great horse and a rough ... 

Such a preoccupation is perhaps understandable in an age of horse-power, but to some extent, this emphasis has persisted into the twentieth century, with the Nazis giving such activities preeminence in the curricula of their elite Ordensburgen.

Again, Elyot considered the chase to be the most valuable military sport, and the activity most related to warfare.

In hunting may be an imitation of battle ... it is also a laudable exercise ... 

And:

Surely this manner of hunting ... is the very imitation of battle ...
However, the general toughening-up process, once accepted as a prime purpose of physical training, and still regarded as a prerequisite for the warrior, also received his close attention.  

... I will now speak of those exercises, apt to the furniture of a young gentleman's personage, adapting his body to hardness, strength, and agility, and to help therewith himself in peril, which may happen in wars on other necessity.

Wrestling he considered important, whilst running was also highly regarded, and Elyot gave examples of its usefulness in ancient wars. Interestingly enough, he considered:

There is an exercise which is right profitable in extreme danger of wars ... I mean swimming.

This activity he regarded as an essential military skill, and he gave many cases of its efficacy from the classics.

The classical bias was also evident in Milton's schema to train young men "... for peace and war". He would have devoted one and a half hours per day to "exercise", and would expect them to master:

... first ... the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point. This will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath; is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage; which, being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to make them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and
make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling, wherein Englishmen are wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, grapple, and to close. And this, perhaps, will be enough wherein to prove and heat their single strength.

Eventually, Milton foresaw that sporting activities would lead directly to overt, para-military activities, again, with the horse playing a major role, so that:

... they are, by a sudden alarum or watchword, to be called out on their military motions, under sky or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then, as their age permits, on horseback to all the art of cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern strategems, tactics, and warlike maxims, they may, as it were out of a long war, come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country.

Interestingly enough, even when extolling the value of exercise per se, and whilst seeing peaceful, economic-utilitarian value in its pursuit, Milton still returned to the military imperative enshrined in physical culture:

... to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all the quarters of the land, learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil for towns and tillage, harbours, and ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and sea-fight.
Now this sporting-military connection was institutionalised into the early Olympic games.

The race in armour or Hoplite race, even though it came late into the Olympic programme, was a survival of the time when all athletic competition was part of training for war. In historic times the armour had been reduced to a symbolic helmet and shield, later to a shield alone; the distance was two stades ...

There are a few recorded instances of long-distance races run outside the stadium. The most famous of these was the Eleutheria at Plataea, a race in armour founded to commemorate the great victory over the Persians in 479 BC. The starting-point was the trophy set up on the battlefield.

In modern times this tradition is continued in the modern pentathlon, itself an event specialised in by serving soldiers, competing in the para-military skills of riding, shooting, fencing, swimming and running. Moreover, in the modern winter Olympics, the Biathlon alternates vigorous bouts of cross-country skiing with rifle, target-shooting, the weapon being carried throughout the event.

It can thus be shown that the view that war and sport possess similar valuations, and that the prowess associated with them and the training necessary for both, seem to stem from a common source, has respectable historical antecedents, reaching, perhaps, its most overt manifestation in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

However, there is another aspect of this relationship, which emerged as systems of technology grew and proliferated during the present century. More and more, the aggrandisement of the state
became to be seen as a national crusade, based on economic and material factors. Besides the traditional need of the state to prepare its citizens for the function of soldiering, the manufacture of the economic warrior was called for. This necessity has gained momentum as technology has become more complex and demanding, and in modern industrialised societies, the functions of soldier and worker have become intermingled enough for the concept of "economic warfare" to be universally accepted.

Whilst not identical in operation, the common functions of both soldier and worker are to defend, aggrandise and ensure the continuance of the state. This modern form of social organisation is based on complex rituals, techniques skills, social values and moral codes. As we shall see in the chapters dealing with the Dopolavoro and the Kraft durch Freude movements in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, respectively, and as is evident from the comparable organisations in contemporary communist societies, modern idealogues find that mass participation in physical culture, if only as a spectator, is the best preparative for the economic battlefield.
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PART 1 - FASCIST ITALY

CHAPTER 1 - HISTORICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

We want to glorify war - the only cure for the world - militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of the anarchists, the beautiful ideas which kill, and contempt for woman.¹

The above statement could well serve as the ideological leitmotiv of Italian Fascism and its manifestation as an "educative" force on the younger generation. The Futurists, indeed, were proto-Fascists, and, therefore, their obviously romantic ideas and statements may well serve as an initial platform to examine a somewhat inchoate area.

If, as Mosse maintains:

Ideologies must be linked to the concrete challenges and dilemmas of society, otherwise they would be nothing more than a catalogue of curious and irrelevant notions, wasteful both of time and energy.²

then economic factors must be primarily examined, especially as he avers that an ideology must be seen as a response to the problems of an epoch.³

At the same time, when he states that culture, "through the formulation of ideologies", becomes itself "an allegiance to a way of life", he is inferring that his "catalogue of curious
"and irrelevant notions" has some function to play in the life of a nation, which is controlled by a militant ideology.  

More so than most ideologies, however, Fascism appears to have a myriad of sources, influences and origins. Truly, as Trevor-Roper believes:

Communism leads us back, past all its heresies and derivations, to a single intellectual source. It has a doctrine, or a dogma, which can be stated and whose identity is proclaimed by all its adherents throughout the world. Fascism has no such intellectual rigour, no agreed prophets. Its origins are plural, divergent, imprecise. 

The disorderly intellectual nature of Fascism, associated with its essence as a movement of aggressive nationalism, was preserved, he maintains to the very end, because:

Communism is an international doctrine which has gradually been adjusted to differing national circumstances. Fascism is the exact opposite: a series of non-intellectual, even anti-intellectual national reactions artificially united and transformed into an international doctrine by the facts of power. 

The anti-intellectual, mass-movements, which began to appear at the end of the nineteenth century were the precursors of Italian Fascism. As Tannenbaum notes, these movements rejected both nationalistic liberalism and scientific Marxism:
putting their faith in action - or at least an activist rhetoric - rather than thought. They appeared in many parts of Europe ... but their significance lay more in their style, which would be called militant today, than in their ideology ... the point here is that both sides found the existing reality intolerable, and since the sponsors of that reality claimed that it was based on rational and scientific principles, its 'militant' opponents (always excepting the Marxists) tended to attack it in the name of other values: feeling, 'life', the 'liberating' quality of violence.7

Yet, at the same time, Fascism has, according to Rossi, primarily an economic cause, and moreover, one without historical antecedents, prior to the First World War.8 Conversely, taking perhaps a less dogmatic view, Trevor-Roper, whilst admitting economic factors, sees Fascism as a response to political fears caused by economic recession;9 whilst Rossi will only grudgingly admit that:

Fascism is not reaction pure and simple, but reaction employing mass effects, which alone are of any use in the post-war world.10

The mass effects mentioned above, having, according to Rossi, their greatest impact on the disaffected middle-class.11

It would appear, that Fascism's early unstable nature, its lack of definition, was more of a help than a hindrance, the irrational nature of the creed not being a drawback. Indeed, as Soffici declared, it was the first political movement to capture "the heart and imagination of the Italian people since
the Risorgimento. Lack of conceptual depth was dismissed as being subservient to unreflecting action. "Action has dug a grave for philosophy", Mussolini is reported to have prophetically said on his journey to Rome to take over the government.

In such a climate, myth and rhetoric were all - the primacy of the will - the determinism of the "nation" - the dismissal of analysis of received and, therefore, 'higher truths'. Into this intellectual hotchpotch the most disparate ingredients were mixed. Nietzsche's concept of the superman, elements of social-Darwinism, the theories of Pareto, Sorel, Corradini and Marinetti's Futurist "love of danger, the rehabilitation of violence as the decisive argument, and the advent of youth to power".

The worship of youth was the touchstone of Futurist propaganda, and as in D'Annunzio's speeches at Fiume, the essential core was that the strong man who dares has the absolute right to rule. Mussolini's adage that "supermen elect themselves", adequately crystallised these feelings.

What then were the corner-stones of the Fascist "programme"? Were there, in fact, ideological imperatives which can effectively be delineated? I believe they can, and premier place must be given to the worship of the state.
Against individualism, the Fascist conception is for the State; and it is for the individual in so far as he coincides with the State, which is the conscience and universal will of man in his historical existence. It is opposed to classical Liberalism, which arose from the necessity of reacting against absolutism, and which brought its historical purpose to an end when the State was transformed into the conscience and will of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the interests of the individual; Fascism reaffirms the State as the true reality of the individual. And if liberty is to be the attribute of the real man, and not of that abstract puppet envisaged by individualistic Liberalism, Fascism is for liberty. And for the only liberty which can be a real liberty of the State and of the individual within the State. Therefore, for the Fascist, everything is in the State, and nothing human or spiritual exists, much less has value, outside the State. In this sense Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State, the synthesis and unity of all values, interprets, develops and gives strength to the whole life of the people.

To this concept was added the Fascist belief in the nation, as an inevitable product of the State:

This higher personality is truly the nation in so far as it is the State. It is not the nation that generates the State, as according to the old naturalistic concept which served as the basis of the political theories of the national States of the nineteenth century. Rather the nation is created by the State, which gives to the people, conscious of its own moral unity, a will and therefore an effective existence. The right of a nation to independence derives not from a literary and ideal consciousness of its own being, still less from a more or less unconscious and inert acceptance of a
de facto situation, but from an active consciousness, from a political will in action and ready to demonstrate its own rights: that is to say, from a state already coming into being. The State, in fact, as the universal ethical will, is the creator of right.15

Whether this consciousness was shared entirely by the early Nationalist supporters of the Fascists is difficult to tell, for their posturings seemed to lead towards the race consciousness of the Nazis.

The Fascist is of our blood. When he has come more clearly to know himself, when he has arrived ... to a more conscious maturity, he will be glad to come to the side of this father.16

Moreover, it is even more difficult to rationalise Mussolini's doctrine with his earlier statements as editor of the newspaper, Popolo d'Italia.

I start from the individual and strike at the state. Down with the state in all its forms and incarnations! The state of yesterday, of today, and of tomorrow. The bourgeois state and the socialist state. In the gloom of today and the darkness of tomorrow the only faith which remains to us individualists destined to die is the at present absurd but ever-consoling religion of anarchy.17

Borghese, however, maintains that Mussolini was ever the anarchist, and never, never, the socialist or nationalist. Mussolini's discovery, he concludes, was that anarchy can only overcome the state when it actually becomes the state.18 This is a sophisticated argument which may well explain why the machinery of Fascism was left as unstructured as it was, in Italy, until the end of the regime.
The inchoate nature of the ideology was aptly illustrated in the writings of Gentile, who emphasised the identity of thought and action, thus effectively excluding all criteria by which political action might be subject to criticism. This paradox is graphically exemplified in his comments on Mussolini's aims, when he stated that "the true resolutions of the Duce are those that are both formulated and put into immediate effect".¹⁹

This insistence on identifying the two concepts, led however, according to Lyttelton, to "their complete disociation".²⁰ He then goes on to paraphrase Gobetti's comments on Gentile's "complete lack of contact with reality", suggesting that this led to the philosopher engaging in baseless speculation, and the statesman acting on impulse, passing like ships in the night.²¹

This clinical division led to a proliferation of slogans and catch-phrases, as distinct from argument, exactly what one would expect from Ducismo - Mussolini's style of government, which was inevitably, arbitrary and brash - and apparently vital and forceful. By discovering that liberty and equality might be considered as exclusive, as well as complementary, Mussolini coined the phrase "authoritarian centralised democracy" to describe his system.²²

This group of attitudes was reflected in the behaviour of the rank and file of the Party, so much so that:
the gerarchi expressed their 'revolutionary' zeal in a group of slogans reflecting the outlook of the arditi, futurists and Fiume legionaries: Vivere non e necessario, ma e necessario navigare. ('It is not necessary to live, but it is necessary to plot a course and stick to it'); Ardisco non ordisco ('I dare, I don't just arrange'); La guerra sta all'uomo come la maternita alla donna ('War is to a man what childbearing is to a woman').

Indeed, from the founding of the Fasci di Combattimento on 23 March 1919, by a nucleus of Arditi and Futurists, the belief that political persuasion and argument should be an emotional experience, was paramount. Malaparte stated boldly that politics should be felt:

in terms of seizures, risks, dangers, adventures, not as something calculated but as boldness, as striving, as dissatisfaction with reality, as a celebration of the rite of action.

At the same time, any intellectual indiscipline was more than countered by the military organisation of the Party and its Militia. Sir Percival Phillips, KBE, special correspondent of the Daily Mail, gave an eugolisitic picture of the early Fascist Militia.

The military organisation was a marvel of completeness. I have seen the secret orders, never, before made public, which lay down to the smallest detail the duties and obligations of the Black Shirt army.
He then outlined in detail the sophisticated military machine, already in operation in the early days of Fascism. The national organisation into twelve zones was illustrated, the duties and functions of the Headquarters' Staff were delineated, and more than this, the administration down to the smallest unit or "squadra" was spelt out.

Matters of morale and discipline were also set out in the "secret orders", from relations between leaders and led, to the conduct of squadristi in public and even the manner of saluting. At all times the Fascist emphasis on the nation, the primacy of the will and the language of duty and sacrifice was evident.

The Fascist Party is always a militia. The Fascisti militia is at the service of God and our Italian country. Every soldier must serve Italy with purity, pervaded by a profound mysticism, sustained by an unshakeable faith, dominated by an inflexible will, as disdainful of opportunism and prudence as he is of cowardice, convinced of his holy call to serve his great common mother Italy, and to give her strength and purity.

The Fascisti soldier knows only duty. He has no rights, save that of being allowed to perform his duty, and duty is his only joy.

He has a moral code of his own. The usual moral code, which is prismatic, with many facets, with many meshes, is of no use to him. Honour is for him what it was for the ancient knights, a law which strives though it never reaches the apex of perfection. It must be outside, as it is always above the written or formal code.

Absolute honour is one of the laws of our discipline.
The Fascisti militia has no place for the impure, for the unworthy, for traitors.

The Black Shirt must be worn with pride and love. At all public manifestations the Fascisti must give the impression that they are the first bulwark of the nation and of being, as they are, the purest and highest force in Italy, a force that asks nothing of anyone and that knows how to die daily for its country.

This overwhelming military organisation was undoubtedly the overt manifestation of ideological imperatives. Mussolini himself, in his article in the Encyclopaedia Italiana had preached:

Perpetual peace would be impossible and useless. War alone brings all human energies to their highest state of tension, and stamps with the seal of nobility the nations which dare to face it.

The right - nay the necessity of conquest was a posture frequently expressed and lauded in the Party publication, Gerarchia.

The glorification of slavery. As is usual in the history and creation of new fighting elites, social stability is, mercifully, from time to time, achieved by the imposition of the iron laws of a minority, and the recognition of the right of conquest.

Fascinatingly enough, the high seriousness claimed by the Fascists imbued their statements on violence with a religious ambience, as when Mussolini boasted:
Noi soniamo la lira su tutte le corde:
da quella della violenza a quella della
religione, da quella dell'arte a quella
della politica. Siamo politici e siamo
guerrieri ...

We play the lyre on all its strings:
on this violence, on that one religion,
on another art, on this one politics.
We are politicians and we are warriors.

Perhaps the assertion by Jemolo that like Bolshevism, Fascism
was also a church, claiming a man in all aspects of his
behaviour, and controlling and prescribing for him in all
situations, is valid. Therefore, the following statement from
Gentile, made during an interview with a Mrs O'Hare of the New
York Times, seems less outrageous.

*L'idea fascista delle gerarchia e in parte
militare, ma in parte principale
ecclesiastica.*

The Fascist concept of hierarchy is a
principle, in part military and in part
ecclesiastical.

Even though Jemolo noted that the Fascist adulation of war and
violence, and the doctrines of opportunism, irrationality and
of rhetorical gestures and indisciplined, self-expression "are
diametrically opposed to the doctrine of Christianity", at the
same time he conceded that military and patriotic values have
often been linked to religious values in historical contexts;
while at the same time whole national traditions had consistently
identified the good Christian with the man of violence. Finally,
he gave examples of eminent Italian churchmen who clearly supported
the militarism of Fascism.
This strange conjoining of Catholicism in the "compulsory service of evil" was also remarked upon by Borghese, when he stated that the church was protected by Fascism, not because it enshrined the word of Christ, but because:

it is imperial and Roman and supplies, with the promise of a Paradise in the shade of the swords, an anaesthetic for the falling soldier.\(^{33}\)

The logic of this essential military organisation was inexorably spelt out by Rossi. Because the Party was, in fact, a military force, war was a certainty and not merely a possibility, to which everything else was subordinated. The Corporate State could only lead to war; its economic organisation being able to serve no other aim.\(^{34}\) Thus as Mussolini starkly declared at a meeting of the Corporations in 1936:

Ital\(\)y can and must attain the maximum of economic independence for peace and war. The whole of the Italian economic system must be directed towards this supreme necessity, on which depends the future of the Italian people. I now come to the crux, to what I might call the plan of control for Italian economic policy in the coming fascist era. This plan is determined by one single consideration: that our nation will be called to war. When? How? Nobody can say, but the wheel of fate is turning fast.\(^{35}\)

The necessity of war had its most insidious influence on the rising and younger generations, so much so that Borghese lamented the military nature of the education of eight-year-olds, which sent them marching on Sundays:
in black shirts or skirts, carrying real rifles from the age of eight and singing songs of hatred at an even earlier age; and it soon became practically impossible for parents and friends to find in any store a toy that was not a miniature gun or tank or other implement of war.  

Yet the ideological causes of Fascist militarism were not new. Many of the catch phrases and slogans of the squadristi were adaptations from the Anarchists and Futurists. Moreover, the personality of the Duce himself — a man who had been expelled from school for stabbing another boy, a man who had fought several duels — gave the movement a violence all of its own. As early as 1918, in Il Popolo D'Italia he had stated:

I believe that the act of a brave bomb-thrower is more useful for the purposes of humanity than all the orders of the day and all the chattering that two hundred carcasses of red cardinals can make in Rome, who arrogate to themselves the right and the monopoly to rescue the poor, bewildered and suffering humanity.  

In 1925, he told his men at Vercelli:

If necessary we shall use the bludgeon, and also steel. A rising faith must needs be intolerant.

Whilst in an article in Gerarchia, and a later interview in the Morning Post he declared that violence took on a moral nature, when in was inflicted by the state. At the same time, this point of view was given intellectual respectability by Gentile,
who argued that it was the right and duty of the state to enforce moral conformity via physical force, justifying his arguments by reference to St Augustine.⁴⁰

Thus, as Sturzo pointed out, the Fascist State had legitimised and institutionalised violence, through the organisation of the Militia, and by granting amnesties after the period of Fascist direct action, when state-condoned atrocities had been committed.⁴¹ The perpetrators of these deeds were, as Salvemini noted, a disparate body, made up of:

former arditi, legionaries from Fiume, Anarchists who had been in the war, many unemployed of various types, a few young intellectuals and idealists lost in the crowd, and a scum of scoundrels.⁴²

Above all, they were young, adventurous and motivated by the excitement generated by their war-time adventures - stirred by parades, uniforms and military symbols - contemptuous of bourgeois order and pusillanimity. At the same time, their preoccupation with passionate violence, their yen to oppress and willingness to form factions, may well have had pathological origins.⁴³

Futurism, and the poetic rantings of its apologists were specially important. The dissatisfaction of the young and dispossessed were effectively given voice and potency by Marinetti. Lyttelton suggests that the overwhelming success of the Fascist cult of youth must be viewed in the context of a widespread concern with decay:
It is rather striking how often the metaphor of the rejuvenation operation was applied to describe the effect of Fascism on Liberal Italy.\footnote{[44]}

These young men, Beals suggested that their average age was as low as twenty-three, did not achieve their objective of youthful regeneration of their country without Mussolini and his patronage, yet:

they did give Fascism its heroic, revolutionary, D'Annunzian stance. Mussolini himself openly assumed this posture ... their motto should be: live dangerously (Vivere pericolosamente).\footnote{[45]}

Moreover,

The squadristi marching song, 'Giovinezza, Giovinezza', which became the second national anthem, along with the 'Marcia Reale', vaunted grenade-throwing and dagger-wielding as well as youth as the springtime of beauty. Many squadristi thought of themselves as the successors of Garibaldi's Thousand, of the Arditi (who had used daggers and grenades during the war), and of D'Annunzio's legionnaires. Their self-styled revolutionary activism gave them a mystique that the Fascist regime preserved - albeit as mere rhetoric - long after they themselves were either tamed or purged.\footnote{[46]}

The reference to taming or purging is, perhaps most apposite, for despite the overt worship of youth, the large growth in party membership during the 1930's did not bring young men into prominent positions. Control of the party at local and national levels remained in the hands of men in their middle-age.\footnote{[47]} This, of course was in direct conflict with the wishes of most Fascists,
who objected to the controlling influence of older nationalists in the movement. The squadristi saw their struggle as a conflict of generations, and wished to see the victory of youth over established order, characterised by the older generation. A party-bureaucracy was the last thing they hoped to achieve.

For many of them Fascism continued to mean beating people with the santo manganello and performing dare-devil feats of courage.\(^8\)

Being young, and impressed by physical prowess, it is obvious that physical culture should have appealed to them, and should serve to separate them even more from the older generation. Bontempelli talked of the gulf between "the generation of gaslight" and "the generation of the bar", which preferred boxing and football to music and literature.\(^9\) The Futurists, therefore, bequeathed to Fascism this cult "... of technique, speed and sport, and the direct flattery of the younger generation".\(^50\)

Mussolini, ever the opportunisitic journalist, was swift to exploit such a movement. In a speech to his squadristi, he told them that they were the men to "persuade" unbelievers, and then went on to delineate the physical characteristics of these "action squads" in an overtly athletic manner.

\(^{*}\) A small club.
1. a lively, genial head with thick unruly hair;
2. glowing, fierce, ingenuous eyes, not unaware of irony;
3. a sensual and energetic mouth, ready to kiss with fury, to sing with sweetness, and to command imperiously;
4. elasticity of hard muscles, irradiated by groups of ultra sensitive nerves;
5. a heart like a dynamo, pneumatic lungs, the guts of a leopard;
6. legs like a squirrel, to jump over all peaks and stride over all abysses;
7. a sober, virile, sporting elegance, permissive of running, fighting and disengaging, dancing and haranguing a crowd.*

Moreover, it was held as a Fascist article of faith that this physical "ideal" could be engineered as a matter of social policy:

... as willed by the Duce, that is to say solidly structured, with finely developed firm muscles, a face with a strong bone structure, a strongly developed chin, long neck, broad shoulders and majestic thorax. 52

This athletic stereotype was often held up as the ultimate ideal by party hacks, implying that Fascism had in fact succeeded in producing a new Italian type, with an ideological outlook to match his sporting physique.

Those dandies in starched collars who get up at noon and flit from one cafe to another into the night have become rarer ... Italians under Fascism have an altogether different style: to rise at seven, to exert oneself for hours on end skiing, to return home at sunset and, after having eaten, to retire into a corner and sing a simple refrain, with a good pipe in one's mouth. 53
However, to ideologues, physical culture must always serve overt political ends, and a warning was given, that the sporting emphasis of Fascism was in danger of becoming an end in itself, to some adherents.\textsuperscript{54} This equating of national power and prestige, with male prowess in sex and physical culture was laid firmly at the door of D'Annunzio and the Futurists by Marchiori, amongst others.\textsuperscript{55}

Yet despite these apparent aberrations in a complex, military-sporting rationale, the tightly directed and, as it was conceived, the all-but symbiotic relationship between physical culture and militarism was well understood, whilst the preparative nature of sport to warfare was openly explicited by Fascist leaders.

\begin{quote}
Sport is not an end in itself. It is no longer a matter of personal choice. Organisations are not built up in accordance with personal tastes, but along military lines. In this transformation of sports, we see one of the most interesting and important phases of Fascism. Fascism avails itself of the various forms of sports, especially those requiring large groups of participants, as a means of military preparation and spiritual development, that is, as a school for the national training of Italian youth. By popularising and militarising sports requiring large groups, Fascism accomplishes perhaps its greatest governmental work. All Italian youths placed under the same discipline will begin to feel themselves soldiers. In this way there is built up in spirit a formidable militant organism which is already a potential army.\textsuperscript{56}
\end{quote}
These then were the historical and ideological imperatives behind the development of education, sport and militarism in Fascist Italy. The state and the militant nation stood at the centre of the schema. Of its nature, the nation was compelled to impose its will on others via warfare; and for such purposes had to encourage unreflecting, militarily-aggressive responses from its people - and especially the young - those most fitted by physical and psychological make-up for the pursuit of warfare. Moreover, having full understanding of the military function of physical culture, the regime extolled the virtues of games and sports, and the life of action, as distinct from that of reflection. In such a manner, even the unsuspecting sports' addict would eventually be drawn into the military organisation of Fascism, of which physical culture was only an entry point.

The total package was decorated and ornately presented in a stunning display of public ceremonial and exhibitions, party anniversaries and memorials, and repeated public spectacles. The whole was surrounded by a continuous back-drop of colourful costume, flags, banners and decorations; all designed to lull critical faculties, to bring about patriotic-militaristic sentiments. So much so that such events by nature of their mass-participatory essence became, of themselves, to be seen as manifestations of physical culture.57
Critics of Fascism observed that the movement overly relied on coercion, yet its mass, physical activities impressed, captivated and seduced even outsiders.

The movement none the less evoked a complex of rituals and ceremonies ... The roll-call of the dead comrades, the Roman salute, the banners and the 'songs of revolution', all helped to create a pseudo-religious mystique, and to give the Fascist a sense of identity and participation. The marches and mass rallies created a special atmosphere of virile cameraderie which impressed even hostile observers. To the patriotic anniversaries such as that of victory and entry into the war were added those peculiar to the movement; above all, from 1923 onwards there was the commemoration of the March on Rome, which was accompanied by a mass celebrated in the open air. The Army and the Church ... were the only organisations before Fascism which had captured the heart and the imagination, and the movement drew heavily on the experience of both in assembling its own ritual.

It was from an ideological basis such as outlined above, that the Fascist emphasis on the military function of physical culture generated its impetus.
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PART 1 - FASCIST ITALY

CHAPTER 2 - THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Work ... contributes, together with studies and physical training, towards shaping character and intelligence.

Study, physical exercises, and manual work provide the schools with the means of testing talent.

These statements from the Carta della Scuola, illustrate the unitary and single-minded bias of the Fascist Educational system.

The compulsory organisation of all aspects of the process of political socialisation was of paramount importance to the regime. Indeed, Wiskemann asserts that such a happening is fundamental to the "totalitarian conception", because, "indoctrination of the young is essential long term investment".

Again, the primacy of the state was seen to be at the centre of things, because "in the State's schools the State's authority alone mounts guard". The indoctrination of the young was also inextricably bound up with the cult of the Duce, who to some extent stood for the Fascist Party itself.

However, in attempting to use the schools of Italy for their own ends, the Fascists had to contend with the essentially conservative nature of the teaching profession, and the bourgeois nature of modern educational systems. Moreover, the differing aspirations and expectations of the various social classes, and even the anti-intellectual ethos of some of them, militated against the easy
imposition of a unified system. So when the nationalists began to wish to copy the Catholic habit of inculcating a particular set of values via the schools, their Fascist colleagues were at first saddled with what was, to them, a "nineteenth-century bourgeois elitist conception of education and culture". This could hardly have been to their liking.®

When one considers that the government boasted of upsetting conventional standards of morality, and had officially stated that it intended to make Italians tougher and more warlike, with less interest in art, less "nice", more "deadly serious", less individualistic and far more amenable to discipline than formerly - its dislike can be well understood.®

Again, the unstructured and ill-defined nature of Fascist dogma also worked against an inflexible system, when one considers that the early educational reforms carried out by Gentile in 1923, have been aptly described as:

that strange combination of genuine idealism and humanism, with a cloudy and bombastic philosophy.®

one can understand the difficulties of interpreting such guidelines in a Fascist "style".
The new Minister of Education, being totally immersed in the philosophy of Hegel, saw the schools as seminaries of nationalism.

We affirm our belief that the State is not a system of hindrances and external juridical controls ... but an ethical being ... and capable of expanding as a collective and yet individual will. The nation is that will ...

The State's active and dynamic consciousness is a system of thought, of ideas, of interests to be satisfied and of morality to be realised. Hence the State is, as it ought to be, a teacher; it maintains and develops schools to promote this morality. In the school the State comes to a consciousness of its real being.9

Central to Gentile's reforms was his notion that the knowledge of what he terms "Spirit" entailed knowledge of what education is. The nature of this concept is seen as perpetual creation, change, movement, history - thus pedagogic rules binding the teacher to a predetermined path violate the freedom of the "Spirit", and militate against the truth. It was, therefore, a logical step for Gentile to proscribe the teaching of pedagogics to teachers in training, which, of course, was in step with the Fascist contempt for theory.10

Again, with the Party's love of hierarchy, Gentile ensured that the "spirit of the reform" would be effective by increasing the state's power over education at all levels. The authority of the Minister of Education over the system was strengthened, as was that of headmasters over teachers. Although the university sector remained officially autonomous, professors lost the right to elect their deans and rectors, so that the all-powerful state
could, according to Gentile, be seen as taking on the nature of "Spirit" itself.\textsuperscript{11}

The complete unification of the system was aptly illustrated by the Libro Unico, the one, general text-book in each class of the elementary school, which covered all subjects taught, including religious instruction. Paradoxically enough, together with this apparent lack of freedom, greater choice of subject material was introduced.\textsuperscript{12}

However, the idealists who supported Gentile's reform were a minority within the Party - the majority preferring the Futurist concept of education. This aimed to concentrate on the practical, at the cost of theory. Sport and the skills of industry were to be extolled, and education should serve the ends of industry and militarism.\textsuperscript{13} Therefore, during the period 1927-31, the totalitarian aims of the regime, with regard to youth were made more difficult to achieve by Gentile's essentially, humanistic reforms.\textsuperscript{14}

But in 1936, Bottai became head of the Ministry of National Education, and by February 1939, had produced his Carta della Scuola - a blueprint for the future of Fascism. In this charter, he declared that:

\begin{quote}
practical work is to have its part in every curriculum. Special shifts to work ... in workshops and in laboratories, in the fields, on the sea, are conducive to a social and productive consciousness fitting to the corporative order.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}
So, it can be seen that the new charter intended to fuse the activities of the school, with those of the GIL, as an aid to the "cultural, political and militaristic development of the new generation". Bottai's programme had three key-stones - study, physical fitness and manual labour.

Yet if the indoctrination of youth was to be carried out satisfactorily, the Party had to make the teachers its own. The Carta della Scuola openly stated that "the formation of the teachers is the object of particular concern". Initially, the party attempted to take over the teaching organisations through oblique strategies - with invitations for teachers, especially in elementary schools, to help with the ONB, Avanguardie and OND (Opera Nazionale Balilla, The Vanguard - Youth Movements - Opera Nazionale DopoLavoro - After Work Leisure Organisation). Honours were awarded to teachers who found favour with these organisations, and from 1928, appointments and promotions were very much influenced by such activities.

In February 1929, elementary and secondary teachers had to take an oath of allegiance to the regime. In 1930, private teachers were confirmed in the Venia Legendi, (state recognition as a teacher) dependant upon their political attitude. In 1931, a mere 11 out of 1,250 university professor refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the regime. By 1932, membership of the Fascist party was legally considered a preferential title with regard to appointments. The decree, making party membership a sine qua non, with regard to regular positions in the state administration, took
effect in 1933. At the beginning of November 1934, all teachers were required to wear the uniform of some party organisation on official occasions - though not every day during school hours.

The final escape clause was closed by 1935, when teachers who had been in service prior to the decree of 1933, were required to become party members by law. The Teacher's Association (AFS) controlled all teachers, including those employed privately, and it was through this organisation that all teachers experienced Fascist party control. As well as matters of promotion, transfer and salaries, the AFS controlled teacher's leisure through the Sezione Dopolavoristica. Then, in 1937, after the legislation of the early thirties to compel party loyalty, promotions went only to party members.

After this the screw tightened, and in 1939, the Ministry of Education restricted the special commendation in their promotion ratings to those who had given "useful and concrete activity" to the youth organisations. Now, even party membership was not enough for advancement, so perhaps it is not surprising that by the late thirties many teachers had become officers in the GIL (Gioventu Italiana del Littorio - Unified Youth Movements after 1937). To exemplify this the following figures of the Milan AFS can be used. There, out of 6,780 members (all teachers were members by law), 6,430 were PNF (Partito Nazionale Fascista) members, while 2,197 were involved in the GIL.
The teachers were also expected to attend courses, lectures, summer schools and excursions, to reinforce their own training, and to better enable them to indoctrinate the masses. An example of this was the course held in Cremona, sponsored jointly by the AFS and the GIL, in October 1938. Included in the course were lectures on "the Fascist theory of physical education and mass demonstrations". Other topics included the role of the GIL in education and the best ways of bringing home Fascist reforms to the young. Such a course was not compulsory, but it constituted a "preferential title" for advancement and preferment.\(^{28}\)

In the summer of 1938, National Courses for Principals and Teachers in the Primary and Secondary Schools, were held at five separate venues, directed by the AFS. Teachers attended from between two weeks to one month, and studied the following: theory and practice of physical education, techniques of youth organisation, the importance of the military in the national life, Fascist politics, and the organisation and scope of the GIL. Again, for teachers, these courses affected promotion prospects whilst head teachers were effectively required to attend.\(^{29}\)

However, even after the PNF's triumph in making GIL membership compulsory for all students, as well as manual labour, under the Carta della Scuola, the party extremists were not satisfied. They believed that the school system and the party would only be one when all teachers were controlled and licensed by the PNF, and received the same training as the leaders in the GIL.\(^{30}\)
It is agreed that the greatest effect Fascism had on the teaching profession occurred in the elementary sector, where the teachers were very much bound up in the operations of the ONB. Whereas the teachers in the secondary sector were generally older, and according to Tannenbaum, less conformist than their colleagues in the elementary schools.

At the same time the teachers actively participated in the march of Fascism in publishing the review Diritti della Scuola (The Rights of the School), and the almanac of the AFS. This latter publication was fully five hundred pages long, and it contained:

- historical notes for each day...
- the 'realisations' of the Fascist Government, facts and figures, and phrases; excerpts from the speeches of the Duce; biographies of heroes; and a section, 'Heart of a Balilla', in which are (sic) collected anecdotes of civil bravery - rescues from drowning, first aid, fleeing horses, requests to wear the Black Shirt on a death-bed, and so on. By these means all the anniversaries, all the deeds, all the hopes, all the plans of the Government, all the doctrines of Mussolini... are instilled into the minds of the pupils. No alternative appears; none is conceivably possible.

Another thorn in the flesh of the regime until the Concordat of 1929, was its relations with the Catholic Church, regarding the education of the young. Already, in the previous chapter, the Fascist ability to confuse secular and religious responses has been remarked upon, and is even more evident in the following statement.
Another regime, a regime different from our own ... might deem it expedient to disclaim responsibility for the upbringing of the younger generation. Not so Fascism. In this matter we are inflexible. Education must be our liability. These children must be brought up in our religious faith, but we must complete their upbringing, we must give these young men a sense of manhood, of power, of conquest.34

Moreover, speaking to the Senate on the Lateran agreement, Mussolini drew a distinction between istruzione and educazione. With regard to istruzione - imparting knowledge, Fascism claimed no monopoly. But educazione - character training, Mussolini claimed as a Fascist prerogative.35

This conflict of interest was further explicated by a nationalist senator, in his reply to a statement of the Pope, in which he proclaimed the rights of the Church in the education of the young.

What would happen if in Italy alone the education of the young were directed exclusively to the conquest of the kingdom of Heaven, what time all other nations are equipping themselves both mentally and militarily for physical conquest, for the acquisition of the material things of this earth?36

This point was made with more effect, due to its mocking irony, in an article by Gentile entitled, I Come not to Send Peace, but a Sword.37

The clash of opposing creeds was to be observed in the work of the elementary schools, where:
In the religious lesson meekness, charity, patience, humility: in the reading lesson violence, national arrogance, glorification of war, deification of the Duce.

Nowhere was this inapposite juxtaposition more evident than in the Libro Unico, which from 1930 onwards, offered under the same cover:

religious instruction ... cheek by jowl with reading lessons designed to saturate the child mind with the cult of violence and militarism.

Binchy, moreover, maintained that religious instruction, as well as other subjects, could only suffer because of the imposition of PNF ceremonies, celebrations and Turni di Lavoro (Work Days), fore-shadowed in the Carta della Scuola. Indeed, that there was a tacit understanding between the Church and state to perhaps "render unto Caesar ..." with regard to the education of the young, was often remarked, whilst it was even suggested that Catholic publications were more militantly Fascist than secular ones. Whatever the overt conflicts, with regard to the education of the young, Fascism was intransigent that "The State alone can fulfil this task".

Of course, the general curriculum had to be biased in concert with the regime's aims. This applied mainly to history and civics, and to some extent to philosophy. With the remains of the greatest empire of the ancient world all around as evidence, it is not surprising that the tenuous link between imperial Rome and the imperial ambitions of the Fascists were presented conjointly. Indeed, according to Finer, the schools merely became branches of the PNF.
The following description of the "State book" for Class 1, published by the State Library shows just how little freedom of choice was left to the teacher, and just how much political indoctrination can be put onto a page:

In its edition of the Anno XVII, i.e., of 1938-39, a cover showing two children, a boy and a girl, on their way to school, wearing their uniforms of 'Wolf-cub' and Piccola Italiana. Page 5, the first meant for the children, has another picture, a 'Wolf-cub' holding an Italian flag. Among the illustrations accompanying the vowels we have an aeroplane with the national colours (ae for aeroplano). The first word the child can spell after learning the vowels is Eia (the war cry adopted by Fascism); and it is illustrated by the emblem of the Fascio Littorio. Pages 14 and 15 are the first pages showing the compromise between the two religions; on page 14 there is a Madonna and the words 'Mary! Let us love Mary'; on page 15 the same picture as on page 5, showing the 'Wolf-cub' with the flag, is accompanied by the words Mario è uomo ('Mario is a man'); under him is a Roman arch with the legend Roma. A Roma! Eroi, a Roma! ('Heroes, to Rome!') On page 21 a 'Wolf-cub' is looking at a map of Italy; underneath there are the words: 'My country, I love you. All of us love you. Heroes and martyrs, you deserve love!' On page 25 three children in uniform raise their hands in the Roman salute: A noi! (another Fascist cry). 'Let us sing a hymn: the hymn to Rome. Rome, Rome, we all admire and love thee'. Among family and country scenes, pictures of ships, aeroplanes, soldiers, and demonstrating crowds are prominent everywhere. The picture of the King and Queen are soon followed by that of Mussolini: 'Children, love Benito Mussolini. Benito Mussolini worked and always works for the good of our country and people. You have often heard your father, mother, and teacher saying: If Italy is now much more powerful than before, we owe it to him. Let us salute him all together. A noi!' Then follows the children's hero, Balilla, shown as he is
throwing his stone, and the story of his feat. 'Benito Mussolini gave all Italian children the name of Balilla. All children must be as bold, good, and patriotic as Balilla was. A picture of Mussolini kissing a Balilla (page 76) is followed by the 'declaration of love' to him by the children: 'Duce, Duce, you are so good with children, and they love you with all their hearts. You are to them like a father, you make them strong and courageous, you render them happy. Long live the Duce of Italy!' The following page shows boys of various ages in their several uniforms: 'Small Black Shirts, you are the future of our country. Strong Black Shirts, you are the defence of our country'. The Piccole Italiane of page 81 'shall become the true Italian women, courageous and proud, because they have promised so to the Duce'. After the Mass celebrated at a Balilla camp, the children pray, 'Good Jesus, protect our Country! Make it always victorious, great and powerful. Protect our King, simple and strong, and our Duce, generous and courageous, who guides Italy so wisely and righteously! Of the many Fascist stories (including the latest news of the conquest, hard and glorious, of Abyssinia, page 60), one is specially meant for the pupil, the 'Wolf-cub'. He has just learnt how to pronounce the group of letters gli, and it is right for him to practise in it with the words battaglia, mitraglia (battle, machine-gun); these follow, as a conclusion, the short tale of the 'Wolf-cub' Guglielmo, who, wearing his brand-new uniform, tells his father that he too is a small soldier of the Duce, that he will have his rifle, and do all that the soldiers do and win many medals. The father likes the voglio's (I will) of the child, but says that first of all a true soldier of the Duce must obey. The book finishes with a poem, A feast day:

Cantano i bimbi: dicono l'amore
Per te, Italia! dicon la tua gloria,
E cantano di guerra e di vittoria.

('The children sing: they speak their love to you, Italy! They speak of your glory, and sing of war and victory').
The same pattern was repeated in the book for Class 11, with pictures of armed children, stories of the Abyssinian war. In fact, "The two motifs which run all through the book are those of war and the Duce". The same spirit pervaded the books of all five forms of the elementary schools. The infiltration of Fascism into the general curriculum made inroads into the teaching of economics, geography, literature, and even into Latin grammar and mathematics texts.45

Historically, the rulers of Italy had placed great emphasis on the physical training of the young, although this orientation had lost impetus prior to the advent of Fascism. Young men of Rome were skilled in riding, boxing, fencing and gymnastics, with the military bias explicated at the age of seventeen, when they entered their period of compulsory military service, the "tirocinium militiae". In Tacitus, we can read of the "Ludi quinquennales", ordered by Nero and Cornelius Cossus during their fourteenth consulship, which were similar to the Greek Olympiads. Caesar, in institutionalising this vigorous approach to exercise, founded a "Collegia Juvenum" for the purpose of instructing young men in the use of arms.

However, by the middle ages, such passions were all-but spent, until revived by the flowering of the Renaissance. Indeed, the first universities founded during that period offered a wide range of physical activities for their students, according to classical ideals. In the cities, public games and tournaments became the rule, many still continuing to the present day. Thus
in Siena there is "Palio", whilst in Florence there is "Gioco del Calcio" among others, and Pisa retains the "Gioco del Ponte".

These manifestations became part of the fabric of the education of the young, so that Vittorino da Feltre founded a school of physical education at the court of the Gonzaga, in 1425. In 1555 Scaino and Mercuriali wrote treatises on games and drill, and gymnastics respectively.

Again, coinciding with the period of foreign domination, such emphases fell into disuse, only to be revived with the aspirations of Italian nationalism in the nineteenth century. Goberti maintained that Italians were inferior to the ancients, whose customs of exercise and outdoor life, produced a better spiritual, as well as physical type. Tommaseo went even further in stating that no country could survive whose people did not exercise. In response to these calls, in the years preceding the proclamation of Italian unity, gymnastic societies were set up in many cities, on the example set by the military school of gymnastics in Turin, and the graduates of such training proved willing volunteers for the call to arms when it finally came.

Yet this part of the curriculum, which was important to the Fascists, had not been considered important enough to include in the system by the founding fathers of Italian education. Prior to military service, few boys had any experience of games or gymnastics, whilst girls did not exercise at all. Over a period of time, physical culture was encouraged by private bodies, outside the schools.
When Francesco De Sanctis was Minister of Public Instruction, it was first mooted to introduce physical education in the schools. By the Law of 7 July 1878, gymnastics were made compulsory in all normal and elementary schools. It was stated that by these means boys might be prepared for military service. Special summer courses were arranged for teachers, whilst ex-servicemen could attend and qualify as teachers of gymnastics in secondary schools.

After legislation enacted on 26 December 1909 and 20 December 1910, physical education was to include games, rifle target practice, choral chant and "all other educational exercises for the strengthening of the body and the formation of character". Excursions to places of interest were to be led by the gymnastics teacher, and half an hour per day in the elementary schools, and three hours per week in the secondary schools had to be set aside for the subject. Moreover, proficiency in gymnastics was necessary for admission to higher forms or to leave school. By founding specialist schools of gymnastics in Rome, Turin and Naples, it was hoped to improve the status of gymnastics' teaching, but it remained a second rate subject.47

However, the advent of Fascism brought home to Italians the spiritual value of physical education. Gentile, himself had stated that a complete system of education must aim at the development of body as well as spirit.
For the pupil is not solely mind. He has a body also; and spirit and body are so closely intimately connected that the health of one is dependant on the soundness of the other.

The teacher of physical education must always bear in mind that he is not dealing only with bodies - bodies to be moved around a track. He too, is training souls, and collaborates with all the teachers in the moral preparation and advancement of mankind.

With the military impetus generated through the general curriculum, the PNF hoped to consolidate its hold on the rising generation through its emphasis on physical culture and military education. From the five year period, 1928-1929 to 1933-1934, a considerable amount of money was spent on physical education, as the figures below demonstrate.

Expenditures of the Ministry of National Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1928-29</th>
<th>1930-31</th>
<th>1932-33</th>
<th>1933-34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,066,693</td>
<td>1,113,157</td>
<td>1,330,497</td>
<td>1,321,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures for elementary schools</td>
<td>783,599</td>
<td>820,693</td>
<td>1,037,746</td>
<td>1,027,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures for secondary schools and physical education</td>
<td>199,487</td>
<td>189,753</td>
<td>189,314</td>
<td>192,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures for higher education</td>
<td>83,608</td>
<td>102,712</td>
<td>103,437</td>
<td>100,757</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* * *

40
Even under the relatively liberal atmosphere of Gentile's ministry, gymnastics, together with music and drawing were to be given primacy in the elementary schools, after the teaching of religion. Even in the kindergartens, for children between four and six, gymnastic games were included, as well as manual work, gardening, tending animals, prayers, singing, free drawing and listening to music.\textsuperscript{50}

Minio-Paluello suggests that just because sporting activities were bound up with the regime, and became, of themselves, Fascist by association, that not all big sporting organisations should have become suspect because they had progressed under Fascism.\textsuperscript{51}

However, the extent to which the PNF understood the relationship between sport and militarism, and the extent that sporting organs allowed themselves to be used is illustrated by the same author when he remarked on the later, Nazi-inspired, anti-semitic laws.

The expulsion of all Jews from the Party and Party organisations, and their exclusion from military service, followed immediately on the other restrictions. Jewish children were therefore expelled from the GIL, and consequently deprived of all physical education.\textsuperscript{52}

The Fascist authorities, realising the political advantages to be gained by widening the concept of sport to include a greater range of activities, used School Camps, After-School Institutes (Doposcuola), Recreation centres and School Associations, whose purpose was to make sure that schools and pupils received the necessary equipment for their work.\textsuperscript{53}
It is also significant to note that the only attempt to set up truly Fascist academies, on the lines of the Adolf Hitler Schools, the Napolas and Ordensburgen in Nazi Germany, occurred in the founding of the Fascist Academies at Rome and Orvieto, for the training of men and women respectively, as teachers of physical education. There were some short-lived attempts to set up schools controlled directly by the GIL - but such was the success of the two elite academies that Minio-Paluello suggested that their graduates had been so effectively indoctrinated that they would have to be scrutinised after Fascism.

But as elsewhere, physical culture had only one major function - to serve the aggressive ambitions of the state, and for this reason its logical development was to be found in military education. As with relations with the Catholic Church, the Fascists had the same technical expertise as the Communists in confusing military conceptions with peaceful ones - in this case those associated with physical education and the curriculum in general.

This deliberate confusion was illustrated at the most formal level, in a Report of a Special Committee of the Senate:

Not least because of the part it has to play in the spiritual education of Italian youth, the Army is a school whose inviolability must be jealously maintained.
At a mass level, Mussolini's rhyme characterising the Fascist conjunction of scholarship and militarism, was included in the Libro Unico - "Libro e moschetto, fascista perfetto"; while the title Libro e Moschetto was given to a popular student publication.57

Military education, per se, had not been an accepted part of Italian culture, as it was in Germany, prior to the advent of Fascism. Even after the success of the March on Rome, military education tended to be left in the hands of the military authorities and the PNF. However, the legal justification for including military education within the general curriculum had already taken place in 1934 when a law making "preparazione militare" a "parte integrante dell'educazione nazionale" was passed. Article 2 of this law stated:

La inizio appena il fanciullo e il grado di apprendere e continua fino a quando il cittadino e in condizione di impugnare le armi per la difesa della partria.

We start from the young child who is hardly able to learn, and continue as far as the citizen who is able to bear arms in defence of the motherland.

This law applied the principle that "le funzione di cittadino e di soldato sono indiscindibili nello Stato fascista". Practical instruction was to be accompanied by indoctrination.58 About this time, another law introduced courses of "cultura militare" in the secondary schools and universities. In announcing his new measure, the Minister declared that:
ogni separazione viene eliminata fra il concetto dalla vita civile e quello della vita militare.

every difference between the life of the citizen and the life of the soldier, will be eliminated.

and that:

un'intima fusione viene creata fra la benemerite organizzazione giovanili, le gloriose forze armate e la scuola.59

Our fine youth movements, our glorious army and the school will be joined intimately.

With the projected Abyssinian campaign looming, Cesare Maria de Vecchi became Minister of Education, and within a month of assuming office, in February 1935, a programme of military instruction was introduced into high schools, and in 1937 in the first two years of the university. In the licei, these courses were aimed towards producing future officers, and in the vocational schools, non-commissioned officers. It has been noted that there was little that was specifically Fascist in this programme, as distinct from the military education given in the youth movements. Active or retired officers gave lectures on "the history of war, on the organisation of armies - particularly the Italian army - on tactics and weapons".60

Eventually, all male students of secondary schools and universities were compelled to attend these courses and pass examinations in them.
The introduction of military education was not an emergency measure; the idea that war is the life of peoples, as Mussolini taught, was to have its due share, not only in international policy, or in all the military or militarised organisations of State and Party; the too pacifist spirit of schools had to be stirred by it.®

As time went on the number of hours given over to military education were increased, albeit on a scholastic basis. From 1937, the State books to be used in this subject were introduced, having been written by army officers and experts on military matters, and wireless propaganda techniques were also brought into play in this campaign. Also in line with the party precept that education should be manly, the number of women teachers in secondary schools was stringently limited.®

The military attitudes were relentlessly reinforced in the curriculum as a whole. Discipline and obedience were extolled in class readers—"Obey because you must obey".® The glamorous aspects of Fascist militarism were presented in the time-table, duly packaged for the consumption of the young and impressionable, as Bergellini's description of the departure of squadristi for the March on Rome, illustrates.

Since dawn the family had been moving about. Before going to the workshop, Dad had recleaned the rifle of his son the squadrista. Sister had sown the emblems on his shirt while Mom prepared something to give him to eat ... Only the fourteen-year-old brother moped about uneasily behind the departing one, now fondling the rifle, now putting on the black fez. And when he found himself alone with his brother he repeated his usual question: 'Why don't you take me with you?' ... A squadrista at heart, he repeated the refrain: 'Grenades, and caresses from the dagger. (Bomba a man, carezze di pugnal).®
Aggressive patriotism was, therefore, the binding force in the curriculum in which first formers learnt that "Italy is powerful and feared", whilst older children were invited to glory in Italy's triumph over the sanctions of the League of Nations, after the invasion of Abyssinia, and senior pupils started a dictation exercise by enthusing - "Italian bayonets - to our steel is entrusted the destiny of Italy and that of the peoples of Europe". Even in the general reading matter provided for the young, the young heroes manifested warlike responses and attitudes.

Whoever has been to war knows that war is a passion and that, like all passions, it produces tremendous anguish along with the wildest joys.

Despite the overt attempts at the "Fascistisation" of the schools, many traditional organisational structures remained unchanged, and "more attention was paid to the training of the intellect than to the moral discipline of the will or to technical instruction"! The Church retained its rights as a teaching body, whilst the home remained the source of moral training. Perhaps more significantly, the young men educated by Fascism "failed to provide an army devoted to, and ready to fight for, the Roman Empire of the working people".

In the light of the fact that despite having had twenty-one years to achieve their objectives, "Fascist doctrine" was never clearly articulated, this failure of the school system can perhaps be understood. Moreover, it seems more likely that committed individuals were more able to influence essentially Fascist reforms,
as individuals, than as Party functionaries. Yet despite Mussolini's avowal that Gentile's reforms were "la piu fascista delle riforme", there is little evidence of any Fascist essence in them. As Mussolini and most Fascist writers declared that Fascism was a "practical training, not a school", they may well have been glad to adopt wholesale, the work of an admitted theoretician like Gentile. Not surprising when one considers that the earliest programme of the Fasci di Combattimento spoke not one word on education. At the same time, despite his own qualifications and experience as a teacher, Mussolini's own education had been one of direct action, and both he and the PNF gave no evidence that they considered the schools important as founders of political values, and this, despite publicised attempts to bring about the "Fascistisation" of the schools until the end of 1936. The only area of the system which in any way became truly Fascist was the elementary school, whilst higher and academic education retained independance with the minimum of conformity.

Nonetheless, besides organisational changes, "physical training had come to the forefront almost everywhere", and the youth organisations combatted the inertia of both home and school in the task of character building. The exaltation of youth, which appeared to augment the potency of the youth movements, militated against the discipline of the schools, whilst the insidious use of propaganda techniques aided the acceptance of the "new Italians".

So it can be seen that despite successes in integrating the urban masses into the national consciousness, the schools did little to
provide the technically trained manpower necessary for the militant nation.\textsuperscript{73} Despite the wide changes effected in the post-primary and secondary schools, not a great deal of change was imposed on the higher education sector.\textsuperscript{74} Indeed:

\begin{quote}
The higher the student went in school, the less specifically Fascist indoctrination he or she encountered ... all they did was to add 'Mickey Mouse' courses in pre-military training and Fascist culture, which, along with the activities of the youth organisations, seemed extra-curricular to most students and professors.\textsuperscript{75}
\end{quote}

Whether one agrees with Tannenbaum's dogmatic statement or not, it does appear to be generally accepted that the regime found most support from elementary teachers, and to a much lesser extent from the secondary sector; whilst in the universities, support varied from university to university, and from faculty to faculty.\textsuperscript{76}

It seems that despite the Fascist desire to inculcate a revolutionary "spirit", the reforms imposed on the schools merely rearranged the infrastructure. The previously mentioned Academies of Physical Education were the only effective Fascist institutions founded. Rather than tamper with the essence of the schools, the authorities concentrated on making the profession more attractive to men, and to lessening the influence of women in the schools.\textsuperscript{77}

Nevertheless, the young students, with the perennial arrogance of youth, responded enthusiastically to Party propaganda belittling the bourgeoisie and extolling the military virtues - (eg \textit{Il credo del fascismo e l'eroismo; il credo del borghese e l'egoismo}\textsuperscript{78} -
The creed of Fascism is heroism; the creed of the bourgeoisie is egoism. While, at the same time, the Party planned to give each student a "Libretto personale per la valutazione dello Stato fisico". (Personal book for the evaluation of physical fitness), so that he could be properly classified as either soldier or worker, and thus further strengthened the equation between citizen and soldier.  

In general, then, the schools were important in creating the good Fascist, up to the age of eleven or twelve, and after that time the youth organisations came much more to the fore. The adventurous nature of Fascism, with its emphasis on action, processions and uniforms, obviously appealed to youth, and it was from this native enthusiasm that the PNF began its task of influencing the young with a network of organisations inculcating both military and political attitudes, from Balilla, through Avanguardisti and up to the GUF; all permeated with violent patriotism, the worship of youth and militarism. Much of the success of the youth movements was probably due to the fact that they provided physical training and the chance to experience and exercise team spirit, which the school system did not. Even when the influence of military indoctrination on Italians has been doubted, the impact of sporting education on the masses has been recognised.

Perhaps, given the time, the PNF might have established a truly Fascist system of education, just as the Nazis were commencing to do prior to 1939. However, with the time available, and
considering the inertia of the established system and its practitioners, the youth movements were the true guardians and missionaries of Fascist attitudes — the true conveyors of "stile fascista". The youth organisations were generally staffed by committed Fascists — committed by either belief or interest, but still more committed than the average school teacher. Moreover, the activities of the movements comprehended in their ambience the functions of home and school, and thus were able to counteract any adverse influences from these quarters. So that the PNF:

Through its youth organisations and associations ... exercised a power over education at least equal to that of the government's ministry.  

Therefore, in the next chapter, this nexus of youth movements, prime exponents of physical culture and Fascist military values, will be examined.
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61 Minio-Paluello, op cit, p177.
65 Tannenbaum, op cit, p202.
67 Minio-Paluello, op cit, p ix.
68 Ibid, pp x-xi.
69 Ibid, pp64-65.
70 Ibid, pl23.
72 Ibid, pp ix-x.
73 Tannenbaum, op cit, p201.
74 Minio-Paluello, op cit, p77.
75 Tannenbaum, op cit, p195.
76 Minio-Paluello, op cit, pl65.
77 Ibid, p178.
78 Tannenbaum, op cit, p197.
79 Minio-Paluello, op cit, pp129, 179.
80 Tannenbaum, op cit, p204. See also Minio-Paluello, op cit, p167.
81 Minio-Paluello, op cit, pp65-66.
82 Ibid, pp220-221.
83 Ibid, p207
84 Germino, op cit, p103.
PART 1 - FASCIST ITALY
CHAPTER 3 - THE YOUTH MOVEMENTS

The periods for scholastic and political education coincide under the Fascist order. The schools, GIL, and GUF together form one instrument of Fascist education.

Studies will be arranged in accordance with the actual physical and intellectual abilities of young people; these studies aim at their moral and cultural formation, and at their political and military preparation, in harmony with the ends of the GIL.

Physical education is given in the schools by the GIL; it follows and favours the gradual growth and physical strengthening, as well as spiritual progress. The technique of the exercises aims at a harmonious development, efficiency, a high moral standard, self-assurance, and a strong sense of discipline and duty. The GUF provides for the sport and military training of university students.

The overwhelming interest in the younger generation, evinced by the Fascists, is, according to Germino, typical of all totalitarian dictatorships. Moreover, he maintains that modern despotisms are more thorough than their predecessors, in that besides preventing the spread of subversive ideas throughout the system, they also empty "susceptible" young minds of old ideas to substitute the new philosophy. He also declares that modern ideologues believe that their "truth" will save their nation and ultimately the world.
The only way to perpetuate that truth is to raise up new prophets who understand it, receive it as a precious legacy, and are willing to fight and die for its triumph in the world. Out of the millions of younger subjects a new guardian class must be selected. Hence, the ideology, the new dispensation, demands that all the youth be courted, organised, trained, entertained, and indoctrinated, and that the few most worthy be chosen.²

This attitude was didactically proclaimed by the Duce, when he expressed himself "intractable" on the point that marriage belonged to the Church, but the results to the State. The outward show and ceremonial, emphasising this cult of youth, went hand in hand with "the fixed determination to annex the child almost in his cradle, to mould not merely his education but his character, not merely his body but his spirit".³

In their turn, the young people of Italy, particularly those pursuing education beyond the elementary stage, were themselves enthusiastic supporters of the regime, as the following PNF membership figures, given at the Rome Congress in 1921, illustrate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business men</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialists</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional men</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public employees</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private office employees</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors and marine workers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial labourers</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labourers</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landowners and tenant farmers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distribution of Party membership.

However, the growth of the Fascist youth movements can be broken down into three discrete stages. Firstly, from the beginnings of Fascism to April 1926 - then with the creation of the Opera Nazionale Balilla, until the foundation of the GIL in 1937. The proto-youth movements of early Fascism were mainly student groups, which eventually became the GUF (Gruppi Universitarii Fascisti - Fascist University Groups) and Avanguardie. Indeed, between 1919 and 1921, membership of the Avanguardie studentesche dei Fasci Italiani di Combattimento was strictly limited to students. After 1921, the name of the organisation was altered to that of Avanguardie Giovani Fasciste, and all young people became eligible for membership. In the same year the first Balilla cell was founded in Milan, for children under fourteen. Avanguardie
membership was initially low, even more so in the Balilla, and no educational function had then been designated to them. Only after the Fascists came to power was it mooted that these groups might well be oriented to sports and physical education, and in 1922, at the congress of the Avanguardie at Florence, the decision was taken to make the groups into seminaries for future Party members, and thus the political, physical and military-educational functions of the movements were defined. So that it was only after the March on Rome that the youthful party fighters became organised into modern youth movements, similar to the Boy Scouts of England, but unlike them, definitely a part of the PNF infrastructure.

This affiliation continued until the passing of the Law of April 3rd, 1926. By this the Institute for the National Balilla, for the Assistance and Physical and Moral Education of Youth, was born (Opera Nazionale Balilla - ONB). This institution soon encompassed almost all the children of Italy and effectively militated against any other youth organisations having any comparable influence. In 1929 the Institute was made a branch of the Ministry of Education, and took over responsibility for physical education in the schools, which since 1923 had been under the control of a special organisation outside the Ministry of Education. Thus the Institute had in its care all young Italians up to the age of eighteen. For those aged eighteen to twenty-one the Giovanili Fascisti was set up in 1930, whilst the Gruppi Universitarii Fascisti catered for university students. By the decree law of 1927, the Institute was given the monopoly over the young.
Per assicurare il raggiungimento delle finalità che la legge istitutiva dell’Opera Nazionale si propone, è vietata, a decorrere dall’entrata in vigore del presente decreto, qualsiasi nuova formazione od organizzazione, anche provvisoria, che si propogna di promuovere l’istruzione, l’avviamento a professione, arte, o mestiere o, in qualsiasi altro modo, l’educazione fisica, morale e spirituale dei giovani.

In order that the proposals, under the law instituting the Opera Nazionale shall be attained, any deviation from the said decree is forbidden, as is any new formation or organisation, however provisional, which sets out to provide instruction, whether introductory to a profession, art or craft, or in any manner affects the physical, moral and spiritual education of the young.

In order that the physical side of the development of the young was not neglected, each local organisation was provided with an athletic field, or the use of one. The final rationalisation occurred in 1937, when all the preceding youth movements were subsumed in the GIL (Gioventu Italiana del Littorio) directly dependent on the national party leadership.

The GIL was described as the "unitary and totalitarian organisation of the youth of the Fascist regime ... instituted in the very heart of the party". The party secretary was to be "general commander" in each commune and province. At the lower level, the administration of the GIL was divided into Giovani Fascisti, Balilla and Avanguardisti, and the parallel organisations for girls. Moreover, each section was subdivided into units which dealt with such matters as propaganda, sport, discipline and premilitary training.
Prior to the advent of Fascism, a number of associations had grown which promoted physical activities, and despite PNF propaganda to the contrary, had spread the popularity of sport, and the outdoor life in general. The Touring Club Italiano had been founded in 1894 and had 200,000 members in 1922. The Club Alpino Italiano was even older, and very popular amongst university students. The Young Explorers, founded before the first World War was based on the lines of the Boy Scouts, and was a nation wide, military-type organisation for boys. Although nominally independent of the state, this organisation was given protection by the King and the Ministry of War, and was easily orientated to military purposes. This movement soon became very popular with the upper and upper-middle classes. However, its secular character persuaded the Catholic Church to promote its own organisation - the Young Catholic Explorers, which in turn became popular with the lower classes. This movement:

While it had in common with the Corpo Nazionale the ideals of self-reliance, social-consciousness, and a friendly military obedience, it was directed rather to fostering a religious fraternity through sport than a technical preparedness to meet the practical difficulties of life with courage and a civic sense.

Therefore, the Fascists were not being as revolutionary as they would have had people believe. Well before their time, large sections of Italian youth had belonged to organisations which promoted the healthy outdoor life and the love of sport and physical culture, in its widest sense. These organisations moreover, had wide social acceptance, which must have been an aid
to the founders of the Fascist movements. Even the military bias of Fascism had been prefigured in the National Corps of Young Explorers. The Fascists, as their imitators the Nazis were to do in Germany in 1936, took over a vast infrastructure of existing groups and thereupon built their own monolithic structure.

To do this, however, they first of all had to deal with the Catholic organisations. Even before the Concordat, the PNF had decided to destroy the Young Explorers of the Church, as the following statement from Il Tevere shows.

Scouting with its varied attractions is a deadly menace to the Balilla. 88,000 children brought up to 'universal brotherhood' - we don't want that in Italy. 13

During the debates on the Lateran agreements, Mussolini had graphically explicated the conflicting interests of Fascist and Catholic control of youth. The Duce called the work of the youth movements "Education for conquest". 14 When Pope Pius XI chided him for this, he unequivocally re-defined his concept - "since hypocrisy revolts us ... education for war". 15

Actually, the Esploratori Cattolici, (together with the Societa Ginnastiche Cattolica) were disbanded by the papacy in 1927, because of the conditions set by the government for their continuation. 16 This was important to the PNF as the scouts had been the only rival to the ONB in physical culture. However, Catholic Action (Azione Cattolica - AC) an organisation of young
laymen, regrouped youth groups for boys and girls from elementary schools to university level, and had several hundred thousand members.\textsuperscript{17}

Catholic Action was, in fact, recognised by Article 43 of the Concordat, in so far as the activities pursued were "disassociated from any political party". However, as soon as the Concordat was signed, the PNF stepped up its attacks on Catholic Action. In an attempt to combat this situation, Pius XI published the encyclical - \textit{Rappresentante in Terra} - at the end of 1929. In this he averred that the Church had the right to judge what facets of education were against Christian principles. Moreover, he attacked the CNB for its emphasis on violence in its training, and its attempts to monopolise all the free time of its members.\textsuperscript{18}

In his reply, the national secretary of the PNF stated:

\begin{quote}
The Regime intends to prepare spiritually all Italian youth, from whom by a process of .... selection must emerge the future ruling class of Fascist Italy. The Fascist Revolution requires the totalitarian principle of youth education ... in order to realise its intention of enduring into the future.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

With typical direct action, on May 30, 1931, Mussolini decreed the dissolution of the youth groups of Catholic Action, and in September, the Church accepted the inevitable. Thus the papacy had given the Fascists the monopoly over physical culture, which was central to their programme, and moreover, had effectively given the Church's blessing to the Fascist youth groups - so that
eventually, priests operating as chaplains to the youth organisations, were known to celebrate "Fascistized masses". It is not surprising, therefore, that once Catholic Action had been dealt with, the Fascist youth movements developed apace.20

Some chaplains even compiled handbooks for various youth groups, managing to wed the Fascist emphasis on sport to orthodox Christian dogma. One such was by Mgr Achille Salvucci, entitled Lezioni Religioso-Morali per i Balilla e le Piccole Italiane. In this the para-military activities were defended because "many illnesses are avoided by this gradual training of the body", while the boxing exploits of Primo Carnera were used as exemplars.21

The inapposite mating of religious and military imperatives was grotesquely illustrated in the Balilla Creed, which the Holy Office categorised as "a blasphemous parody of the Christian catechism".22

I believe in Rome the Eternal, the mother of my country, and in Italy her eldest daughter, who was born in her virginal bosom by the grace of God; who suffered through the barbarian invasions, was crucified and buried; who descended to the grave and was raised from the dead in the nineteenth century; who ascended into Heaven in her glory in 1918 and 1922; who is seated on the right hand of her mother Rome; who for this reason shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the genius of Mussolini, in our Holy Father Fascism, in the communion of its martyrs, in the conversion of Italians, and in the resurrection of the Empire.23
Even the sacrament of the Mass was utilised for Fascist aims, with the willing help of sympathetic priests, and so the Catholic faith was seen to reinforce the essentially pagan and militaristic religion of the state.

A Mass held at the 1938 Campo Dux commenced with the singing of 'Giovinezza' and an invocation to the Divine Being to aid Mussolini in the quest for empire. The camp's chief chaplain then began saying Mass, with the party secretary serving at the altar. At the elevation of the Host fifteen thousand youths drew their bayonets from their sheaths and pointed them towards the sky. The service was concluded with a prayer to the Duce and the singing of the GIL anthem.24

Thus, paradoxically, the Fascists were able to use the message of love preached by Christ, as a justification for violent conquest and hatred of foreigners. This parodying of the Christian faith extended even to a Fascist Decalogue, as follows:

1. Know that the Fascist and in particular the soldier, must not believe in perpetual peace.
2. Days of imprisonment are always deserved.
3. The nation is also served even as sentinel over a can of petrol.
4. A companion must be a brother, first, because he lives with you, and secondly because he thinks like you.
5. The rifle and the cartridge belt, and the rest, are confided to you not to be ruined in leisure, but to be preserved for war.
6. Do not ever say 'The Government will pay' ... because it is you who pay; and the Government is that which you willed to have, and for which you put on a uniform.
7. Discipline is the soul of armies: without it, there are no soldiers, but only confusion and defeat.
8. Mussolini is always right!
9. For a volunteer there are no extenuating circumstances when he is disobedient.
10. One thing must be dear to you above all: the life of the Duce.²⁵

What then were the organisational structures underpinning this mobilisation of the young - how did the different facets interrelate and cohere? As from the legislation of 3 April 1926, the Balilla and Avanguardisti were dependant on the ONB, with a true military structure. Positions of command were to be filled by army officers, and rules of discipline were laid down by the Prime Minister, in agreement with the Minister of War and the General Commander of the Fascist Militia. The Avanguardisti, specifically were to receive primarily military training - indeed, four years active membership in this group was agreed as an exemption from further pre-military training.

The ONB aimed to give the young a sense of military discipline and education, some pre-military instruction, experience of gymnastics and sports, professional and technical education, and spiritual, cultural and religious education. To achieve this, eleven members and one squadron-leader formed the smallest unit - the squadra. Three squadre formed a manipolo - three manipoli a centuria - three centurie a truppa and four of five truppe a legione.
At the end of 1930 the Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento (Young Fascist Combat Groups) was created for boys aged 18-21. This organisation was controlled by the PNF, and not the Ministry of Education, like the Balilla. All Avanguardisti over eighteen, and all young people who had not been members of youth formations, prior to reaching eighteen, were enrolled in the Fasci Giovanili. This organisation was intended to prepare future party members for their duties, and together with its military-sporting emphasis, was characterised by a hierarchical organisation.

Girls were not left out of this Fascist master-plan, and the groups of girls which had been set up throughout the country, without any overall planning, were merged into three organisations - the Piccole Italiane, the Giovani Italiano and Giovani Fasciste - corresponding to the Balilla, Avanguardisti and Giovani Fascisti for boys. The general military organisation and curriculum of these units was patterned on the boys' organisations.²⁶

Until 1930, the girls' organisations were organised by the PNF, and only transferred to the Balilla Institute after that date. Their administration was governed and assisted by the Women's Fascist Group, who were mainly middle class teachers, many of them graduates of the specialist school of physical education for women at Orvieto. In the preamble to the rules of the female organisations, the ideal Fascist female was prefigured.
To prepare worthily for life the future mother of the family of new generations; to make of her a perfect mistress of the home, not only in the practical activities of everyday life, but also in the affirmation of a spirit profoundly Fascist; to assist the progress of the young women towards charm and beauty; to realise her rich and fresh energies in the domain best adapted to her ends and means, so as to form a creature endowed with the regenerative powers indispensable to the progress of the family, and thereby to the strengthening of the nation in the spiritual atmosphere of the regime.  

The final administrative reform was brought about by the decree-law of 27 October 1937, founding the Gioventu Italiana del Littorio (GIL), bringing all young people, except those in the university Fascist groups, under a unified PNF command. After this, the military nature of the organisation was overtly increased by making weapon training, for all boys over eleven, compulsory.

The aims of the new movement did not differ essentially from those of the Balilla and Giovani Fascisti, with the same emphasis on hierarchy, at the top of which were the Secretary of the Fascist Party as Commandant General, two Vice-Commandant Generals, the Head of the General Staff and a Federal Commandant in each province.
The make-up of the GIL in its various sections, was as follows:

Boys from 6 to 8 years - Figli della Lupa. (Wolf cubs)

- 8 11 Balilla
- 11 13 Balilla Moschettieri (Musketeers)
- 13 15 Avanguardisti
- 15 17 Avanguardisti Moschettieri
- 17 21 Giovani Fascisti

Girls from 6 to 8 years - Figlie della Lupa

- 8 14 Piccole Italiane
- 14 17 Giovani Italiane
- 17 21 Giovani Fasciste

Although membership of the GIL was officially voluntary, the pressures of peer group and family to join, especially through the school system, made non-membership difficult. The teachers were themselves driven into one or another of the uniformed branches of the PNF, and this obviously had its effect on their pupils.

This is even more understandable when one realises that the orario unico (single timetable), ensured that children should go to school only in the morning, leaving the afternoon free for GIL activities. Many GIL demonstrations took place during school hours, as did special GIL camps of up to two weeks duration, during term time.

Moreover:
Every Saturday afternoon of the schoolboy's time was consumed by compulsory GIL meetings, and many Sundays were used for athletic events, excursions, and, for the older youth, military maneuvers. Not infrequently, special night schools were held under party sponsorship. Summers, of course were crammed with camps.\(^{31}\)

Thus it was that the CNB and GIL were seen as the purpose-built institutions to create "fascist man", who should live in the "fascist style", according to PNF jargon.\(^{32}\) This new man took his place in the Party at the Leva Fascista, which occurred every year on May 24, the anniversary of the founding of the Fasci di Combattimento, in mass ceremonies all over Italy. After the parades, members of the Avanguardisti who had reached the age of eighteen, entered the Voluntary Militia for National Safety.\(^{33}\)

However, it is not suggested that membership of the youth groups ever reached total affiliation of all those in the relative age groups. It is recorded that membership for all ages between 6-21, in the mid thirties, varied between 70\% in the industrialised north, to 30\% in the rural and traditional south. These figures do not show that there was a much larger proportion of younger to older members. For instance, 90\% in the north and 60\% in the south of the 6-14 age group were included in the youth groups. For the Balilla in 1937, prior to the founding of the GIL, 70\% of the 6-13 age group were included and 60\% of the 14-17 group.\(^{34}\) The following figures for the Balilla from 1929-1933 are illuminating.
After Catholic Action was obviated in 1931, membership of the Balilla increased, so much so that between 1930-1937, membership all but quadrupled, as can be seen below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date and Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date and Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 1924</td>
<td>60,941</td>
<td>July 1, 1932</td>
<td>3,141,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>7,120</td>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>1,427,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>53,829</td>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>410,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1925</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>1,184,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>119,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 15, 1926</td>
<td>480,355</td>
<td>July 1, 1933</td>
<td>3,454,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>269,166</td>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>1,562,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>211,189</td>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>443,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1927</td>
<td>1,236,201</td>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>1,322,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>812,242</td>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>125,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>423,959</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1928</td>
<td>1,268,368</td>
<td>July 1, 1934</td>
<td>4,327,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>903,324</td>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>1,952,597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>365,044</td>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>535,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1929</td>
<td>1,257,782</td>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>1,637,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>933,178</td>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>200,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>324,604</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1930</td>
<td>1,687,478</td>
<td>July 1, 1935</td>
<td>4,900,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>742,933</td>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>2,121,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>303,727</td>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>677,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>550,252</td>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>1,802,549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>90,566</td>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>298,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 1931</td>
<td>2,126,169</td>
<td>July 1, 1936</td>
<td>5,510,815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>947,340</td>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>2,332,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>335,269</td>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>788,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>755,810</td>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>2,007,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>87,747</td>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>381,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July 1, 1937</td>
<td>6,052,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balilla</td>
<td>2,478,768</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Avanguardisti</td>
<td>960,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Piccole Italiane</td>
<td>2,130,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Giovani Italiane</td>
<td>483,145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the 6th October 1938, the Fascist Grand Council issued a statement granting the Secretary of the PNF a "mandate" to achieve the "totalitarian incorporation of all members of the new generation", in the "shortest possible time".  

With the decision to make membership of the GIL compulsory, under Article Two of the Carta della Scuola, on February 10 1939, the Party decided to discover what percentage of eligible youths were in fact enrolled in the GIL formations, as from May 31 1939. Figures for GIL affiliation in nine provinces are shown in the following table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Balilla</th>
<th>Piccole Italiane</th>
<th>Avanguardisti</th>
<th>Giovani Italiane</th>
<th>Giovani Fascisti</th>
<th>Giovani Fasciste</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
<td>40,634</td>
<td>48,022</td>
<td>36,346</td>
<td>26,095</td>
<td>33,496</td>
<td>37,297</td>
<td>221,800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In GIL</td>
<td>35,280</td>
<td>37,692</td>
<td>21,788</td>
<td>12,730</td>
<td>19,208</td>
<td>14,425</td>
<td>141,123</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
<td>84,956</td>
<td>102,476</td>
<td>72,992</td>
<td>57,228</td>
<td>69,589</td>
<td>81,241</td>
<td>408,482</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In GIL</td>
<td>75,654</td>
<td>81,734</td>
<td>43,359</td>
<td>27,766</td>
<td>28,809</td>
<td>20,799</td>
<td>278,121</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bologna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
<td>33,536</td>
<td>39,355</td>
<td>28,539</td>
<td>20,907</td>
<td>26,786</td>
<td>26,336</td>
<td>175,459</td>
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<td>24,509</td>
<td>23,359</td>
<td>12,804</td>
<td>5,609</td>
<td>16,718</td>
<td>6,382</td>
<td>89,381</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
<td>36,927</td>
<td>43,305</td>
<td>32,253</td>
<td>23,851</td>
<td>28,013</td>
<td>28,633</td>
<td>189,982</td>
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<td>27,293</td>
<td>25,727</td>
<td>14,190</td>
<td>6,019</td>
<td>9,817</td>
<td>5,578</td>
<td>88,624</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
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<td>383,666</td>
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<td>Eligible</td>
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<td>87,724</td>
<td>58,555</td>
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<td>55,224</td>
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<td>51,632</td>
<td>54,446</td>
<td>27,006</td>
<td>12,955</td>
<td>20,092</td>
<td>9,948</td>
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<td>35,624</td>
<td>24,262</td>
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<td>16,207</td>
<td>8,166</td>
<td>4,119</td>
<td>9,840</td>
<td>4,838</td>
<td>62,763</td>
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<td>Cagliari</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
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<td>31,647</td>
<td>20,104</td>
<td>14,331</td>
<td>20,243</td>
<td>18,145</td>
<td>132,379</td>
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<td>In GIL</td>
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<td>16,553</td>
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<td>6,482</td>
<td>3,663</td>
<td>53,143</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
<td>36,468</td>
<td>42,884</td>
<td>26,989</td>
<td>19,346</td>
<td>23,826</td>
<td>22,690</td>
<td>172,203</td>
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<tr>
<td>In GIL</td>
<td>23,100</td>
<td>19,907</td>
<td>7,030</td>
<td>4,757</td>
<td>5,125</td>
<td>4,947</td>
<td>64,866</td>
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<tr>
<td>Naples</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible</td>
<td>123,717</td>
<td>143,471</td>
<td>81,004</td>
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<td>86,114</td>
<td>587,628</td>
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<tr>
<td>In GIL</td>
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<td>54,260</td>
<td>25,618</td>
<td>7,113</td>
<td>23,551</td>
<td>7,273</td>
<td>180,430</td>
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Source: Fogli d' ordini, May-December 1939
From these figures, it might be assumed that the youth of southern Italy were less enthusiastic in their adherence to Fascism, than those of the north. The reason for this, according to Germino, was that fewer children in the mainly rural south stayed on at school after the first few grades, than did in the north. Moreover, rural youth was required to assist in farm work, and so could not attend party parades, camps and manoeuvres to any great extent.

What is agreed is that the youth of the cities proved more amenable to the techniques of totalitarian domination, than their rural counterparts. Moreover, despite the fact that more middle, and upper class youth remained members of the GIL, than children of workers and peasants, the class distinctions only became important when young people over fourteen were considered. Also, it should be noted that membership for girls dropped far more severely after the age of fourteen, than did that for boys, which considerably lowered the percentage of young people enrolled. At the same time, activities for girls were not neglected, and in 1941, three million girls attended GIL organised courses in sewing, housekeeping, nursing etc.

Prior to the founding of the GIL, Party theorists searched for a solution to the conflict between "l'autonomia della scuola con la funzione dell'ONB" (the independance of the school with the function of the ONB). Moreover this tension reached its maximum intensity with the imminence of war, with the possible
absorption of the school system in the PNF. However, even at
the end of 1928, The Times had described the ONB as "monstrous
state idolotry", to which Ricci had replied that in fact it was
"un prezioso strumento per foggiare l'uomo nuovo". (A precious
instrument in forging new man).

This absorption of the formal system of education within the
Party groupings, was shown in the propaganda that the schools had
to give to the youth movements, in formal lesson time, in the
form of history and language study. The "educative" function
of the youth movements was not disputed by even traditional
educators, nor did they claim that the school had a monopoly in
inculcating "virtu civiche, al coraggio, all'audacia, al senso
d'onore, allo sport, alla disciplina militare". (civic virtue,
courage, daring, honour, sport and military discipline).

The overwhelming grip of Party and ideology were continually
cemented by the complex ceremonies of oath swearing - even to
the extent of the oath being printed on the membership cards of
the youth organisations - the very card which was their entitle­
ment to scholarships, medical assistance and other perks.

This was further augmented by the Fascist use of community
singing and chanting, of which "There is hardly any other form
of artistic exercise which so rouses fellow-feeling and
depresses the instinct to grumble and criticise". Giovinezza,
The Hymn of the University Fascists, and the Hymn of the Young
Fascists, all official anthems, were calculated to allay
critical attitudes. Indeed the Constitution of the Young Fascists said: "Young Fascists must know and be able to sing the hymns and the songs of the Revolution".  

At the same time any collectivising activities were always viewed as subservient to the Fascist concept of hierarchy, and from their first year in the youth movements, potential leaders (scelti), were noted, promoted and given elite-training at special schools and courses. The PNF considered this of paramount importance because "it demonstrates how the Revolution gradually constructs a system for supplying a ruling class of prepared and selected persons ...".

With the creation in January 1939, of the National Centre of Political Preparation, the PNF topped its pyramid of schools of leadership, in the provinces. The centre was in Rome, and was to cater for those who "generation after generation" demonstrated the "greatest capacity for command", and to infuse them with the "spirit of the Revolution". The entrance examination included a written essay on a selected political theme, an oral examination "without specific limits as to subject matter", a "test of a military nature" and an athletic competition. Indeed, it was claimed that:
Only the educational curriculum of Plato's ideal Republic matches these schools in scope and thoroughness. This was education for the whole man.

Yet there were seminal differences, as the same writer, perhaps in contradiction to his above statement, went on to delineate.

Where Plato intended to employ moral training to free the spirit from enslavement to the baser passions, the totalitarians were bent on destroying the spirit and evoking the dionysian elements in human nature. The Platonic curriculum for the guardians was centred on metaphysics; the Fascists taught their elite to despise wisdom and to glory brute violence.\(^5\)

Therefore, it is not surprising that physical and military training were given special emphasis in the youth movements.\(^5\) As the Fascist code was essentially a warlike one:

health and strength and discipline were more necessary than anything else to those who were to become soldiers and conquerors. Physical education was organised according to a plan meant to give a regular, scientific development of the body.

This plan entailed four chronological grades of training, for both sexes, from eight to eighteen, progressing on a continuum from relatively pure, recreational-movement activities, through games and competitions, into differing types of specialised calisthenics and athletics, with a continuing bias on collective physical culture "so that not only fitness, but preparedness for military life was kept in view".\(^5\)
To a certain extent, pupils had to attend school physical training lessons, if they expected to progress to higher grades. Yet in the GIL the military bias was truly explicated. For these activities, the children had to wear uniform and were subject to military discipline and punishment. In the youth formations, instead of being organised in scholastic groups - as in the schools - they were drilled in military formations.\(^55\)

Some Fascist theoreticians had blamed Gentile and his Carta della Scuola for neglecting physical education in the schools. Yet it was his belief that the schools could not carry out the Fascist programme in this area, which caused him to entrust all physical training to the Balilla Institute, so that:

> It is easy to see why the discipline of the parade ground and the gymnasium were more congenial to Fascism than those of the classroom. Besides its exclusive control over physical education, pre-military training and organised leisure, the youth movement was also supposed to carry out political and religious indoctrination. In the rallies of the ONB the cult of the Duce could be carried to greater lengths than even in the classroom. The techniques of military and political education, reinforced by rituals such as the swearing of an oath of loyalty to the Duce, were fused to condition youth to the right attitudes of irrational submission.\(^56\)

With the demise of the Ente Nazionale per l'Educazione Fisica, the ONB under Ricci concentrated on physical fitness, while those over eighteen, with a yen for individual sports, joined the Comitato Olimpionico Nazionale Italiano, or experienced them in
the GUF. Meanwhile, team games were the speciality of the Fasci Giovanili.

After the institution of the GIL in 1937, these diverse traits were not so evident, but it seems that at least in the earlier stages, there were serious philosophical disagreements about the place of sport in the overall Fascist plan. Ricci, supported by Mussolini, frowned on competitive athletic events, (campionismo), and even had swimming pools constructed which were ten centimetres short of Olympic standards, so that they could not be used for contests.

Scorza agreed with such a philosophy, and agreed to emphasise collective activities and team sports in the Fasci Giovanili, justifying this orientation by asserting that:

the Regime has more need of fine,
tireless hikers, agile mountain climbers, and courageous sailors than of perfect athletes.

At the same time, campionismo became popular with many Italians following the fillips to national prestige from the triumph of Primo Carnera and Italian victories in the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, whilst sporting competitions figured largely in the official calendar of the Balilla organisation.57

The girls were bound by almost the same discipline as the boys, with the same paraphernalia of uniforms, salutes, military formations and sport. There was, it is true, a more cultured
approach to the training of the female Fascist, who was to be entrusted with the early socialisation of the next generation, but sports and gymnastics were to inculcate ideals of health and physical beauty in the mothers of future Fascist soldiers.

The all-embracing aegis of the ONB and GIL ate into both school and free time. Specialist activities such as skiing, horseback riding, basketball, water sport and handicrafts were offered by some branches - with local and national competitions in them in Rome during the month of May - the Ludi Juveniles, which attracted 7,000 participants in 1939. This jamboree could not, however, compare in either scale or spectacle with the huge camp held annually at the Campo Dux, outside Rome, for Balilla and Avanguardisti.

To safeguard the hold the PNF had established on the younger generation, via the teaching profession, the Fascists, by the Royal decree of November 20 1927, No 2341, established a Fascist Academy of Physical Education for men, and a Women's Fascist Academy of Physical and Youth Education, in Rome and Orvieto respectively. Regarded as institutes of higher learning, their graduates were mostly committed and intransigent Fascists, and were responsible for the emphasis on physical training and culture generally, in the youth organisations.

The male academy had extensive athletic grounds, dormitories, classrooms, a library, museum, auditorium, laboratories and meeting halls. Other buildings housed a large gymnasium - 600
metres square, halls for fencing, boxing and wrestling, and a second gymnasium.

Outside, the academy possessed accommodation for 20,000 spectators in a marble stadium, purpose-built for international matches, while the stadium in the forum could hold 100,000 persons. There were fields for soccer, rugby, athletic facilities, tennis and basketball courts, two swimming pools - one open-air and one indoor with an artificial beach. The inclusion of a riding school, a firing range and motoring facilities attested to the paramilitary orientations of the school. Moreover, on the historic setting of the Tiber, extensive provision for water based activities had been provided.

The theoretical underpinning of these physical activities was found in the large library, and in laboratories of anatomy, physiology, radiology, anthropometry, physical therapeutics, psychology and chemistry. Thus the three year course of instruction included practical work in physical culture, theoretical study, work of a military character and political indoctrination.

Prior to entry, prospective students had to pass a competitive examination. Moreover, entry requirements included physical attributes, membership of the PNF or one of its youth movements, and satisfactory vetting of moral and political attitudes of both the candidate and his family. During the three year course, besides the subjects normally studied in such a course, sessions in Fascist legislation and military technique appeared on the curriculum.
Emphasis on correct Fascist attitudes was central to the work of the Academy, and after two years of theoretical studies, they entered upon a practical apprenticeship for one year—perhaps the most important part of their training. In this period they received instruction in dealing with young people and assisted in the work of local and central offices of the Balilla Institute. Over and above this they administered camps and cruises and training courses. After successfully completing this year, the graduate joined the staff of the Balilla and was commissioned in the Voluntary Militia for National Security.

During the period from 1929 to 1934, 350 young men graduated from Rome, who went straight into the sporting-military complex of the Balilla and later the GIL. For those selected, a specialist two year course, on top of the basic two years, entitled students to receive the degree of Doctor of Physical Education.

The parallel college for women at Orvieto had similar entrance requirements and facilities, and also ran a two-plus-one year course. Numbers were less than at Rome—for example in 1934, 200 women were enrolled at Orvieto, while 500 men were studying in Rome. Moreover, the female course had necessarily less of a military orientation, and emphasised feminine physical attributes, as well as extolling the role of wife and mother.
In the pursuit of the soul of Italian youth, the PNF spared little expense, and a great aid in this aim was the use of summer camps and colonies. Indeed, by 1935, as much as 10% of the eligible age range were spending two weeks or more, each summer, in these "colonies". To enable the maximum number of young Italians to improve their physical capacity, the Balilla, and later the GIL set up a health service with dispensaries, convalescent and nursery homes, as well as camps in mountain and other areas beneficial to the health of the young.

This huge and all-encompassing organisation had its public flowering in vast public ceremonies, which themselves became manifestations of Fascist physical culture, as in the one described by Finer, comprising of 15,000 athletes, marching past the Duce down the Via del'Impero. In this Mussolini particularly applauded the boxers, for he had previously extolled pugilism as the Fascist mode of self expression. In a ceremony binding the young to ideals of physical and military conquest, twenty six Olympic champions handed over rifles, each with the name of a former champion, killed in the war or the Revolution, to twenty six Balilla, and the Duce said:

You athletes of Italy have particular duties. You must be tenacious, chivalrous, daring. Remember that when you fight beyond our frontiers, to your muscles, and above all to your spirits, is confided at that moment the honour and sporting prestige of the Nation. You must, therefore, put all your energy, all your will, to attaining the first place in all the tests of the earth, the sea and the sky.
The militaristic emphasis was also seen in the passing out parade of the Young Fascists - the Fascist Levy, which took place every year on April 21. All the elements of the youth organisations were unified in a ceremony weighted with heavy, militaristic symbolism. Firstly, the Provincial President of the Balilla gave a list of the Avanguardisti who were to pass into the Young Fascists to the Federal Secretary. Then, as Commandant of the Legion of the Militia, the Federal Secretary presented the list of the Young Fascists who were to enter the Militia. The Fascist oath was then pronounced by the Federal Secretary and the massed recruits chanted a reply. A member of the Avanguardisti was then given a membership card of the Young Fascists, with symbolic passage upwards of the other ranks. At the same time a member of the Militia gave a Young Fascist a rifle, and a Young Fascist gave an Avanguardisti a scarf in the colours of Rome. The whole ceremony ended in Giovinezza - the Fascist anthem, drums, bugles and marching.\(^6^5\)

At all times, however, the military imperative was held up to full view. Gymnastics, which were to be for girls "eugenetica", were for the male "e volta a finalita spiccatamente militari".\(^6^5\) (From start to finish specifically military). Indeed:
il moschetto non limita la sua
efficacia e la sua azione educativa
al solo vigore fisico del corpo ed
al culto del coraggio e del pericolo,
ma si estende alla fortificazione ed
all'educazione di tutta la personalità ...

the efficiency of the gun as an
educative force is not limited solely
to improving the physical vigour of the
body, and encouraging the worship of
courage and danger, but encompasses the
fortifying and education of the whole
personality ...

Thus the place given to physical culture in the overall schema
"urta l' deale quietistico e pacifistico della piccola borghesia".66
(conflicts with the peaceful ideals of the petit-bourgeois).

So that the warlike nature and uses of physical culture were
given universal primacy, and:

la funzione che emerge e caratterizza
l'istituzione e l'educazione fisica a
fini sportivo militari: i ragazzi sono
infatti impegnati continuamente in
prove agonistiche, esercitati nella
conoscenza e nell'uso delle armi, fatti
partecipare a coreografiche parate
militaresche.67

the salient function which characterises
physical education, has as its objective
the production of the soldier-athlete.
Young men are to be thrown together in
competitive trials and exercises, and
trained in the knowledge and use of arms,
all the while taking part in spectacular
military parades.

This regime, therefore, which insisted on imprinting in the
young "il sentimento nazionale e militare", had to ensure that
its dogma was continuously replicated.66 After all, Fascism,
according to its apologists, was not merely a faith— but also
action, and so the youth movements had to replace the degenerate attitudes of pre-Fascist times with a worship of "violence and military vigour". ⁶⁹

The PNF's desire to train soldiers, as distinct from leaders, led to an emphasis on the inculcation of the military virtues of obedience, discipline and order. ⁷⁰ At the same time, leaders were necessary, but the qualities for which they were chosen had nothing to do with wealth, heredity etc. No, this "aristocrazia guerriera" would depend for all its potency on its manifest, warlike qualities. ⁷¹ As for obedience, it was not seen as a positive, creative virtue, but as:

the characteristic of the strong, and the infallible sign borne by him who is born to command, and the finest quality of every fighter at the service of an idea.

Correspondingly, order was seen as:

Each thing in its place; a place for each thing. Order is the element which marks the place of every individual, every army every people, in the hierarchy of values; it is the most formidable arm of unsubdued wills. Those armies are victorious which carry an idea on the point of their bayonets. We carry the idea of order, rank, authority of the State, against the suicidal theory of disorder, indiscipline, and irresponsibility. ⁷²
Whilst:

Discipline consists in the respect and obedience which the Avanguardista owes to his own commanders and to the persons who are in any way set above him in his civil and military education.\footnote{73}

The legal infrastructure behind this monolithic edifice was laid on December 3rd, 1934. Then, three laws were passed which effectively coordinated pre-military and post-military education. Military education was openly admitted as an integral part of state education - part of a system which considered the roles of citizen and soldier indistinguishable.\footnote{74} This of course was a logical outcome when one remembers that "l'infallibile volonta del duce" had stated that:

Siamo diventando e diventeremo sempre più, perché lo vogliamo, una nazione militare. Poiché non abbiamo paura delle parole, aggiungeremo militarista. Per completare: guerriera, cioè dotata in grado sempre più alto della virtù della obbedienza, del sacrificio, della dedizione alla patria. Questo significa che tutta la vita della nazione, la politica, l'economica, la spirituale, tutto deve convogliarsi verso quelle che sono le nostre necessità militari.\footnote{75}

We are becoming, and, because we so wish it, will become more so, a military nation. Since we have no fear of words, we shall unite militarily. To achieve this, the warrior will show, in ever greater measure, the virtues of obedience, sacrifice and dedication to the mother country. This means that all aspects of national life - political, economic and spiritual, must all be directed to our military necessity.
Eventually, that is by the spring of 1938, all military training was given by the GIL, as were, effectively, all programmes of physical culture. Thus the vice-commander of the GIL was in direct control of separate divisions for land, naval and aviation preparation. The instructors were all trained by the GIL, but in reality, there was little change of personnel, as the same Militia officers tended to run the courses as previously, and all GIL leaders were Militia officers.\(^7^6\) Again, the hierarchical nature of Fascism ensured that besides general courses for all eighteen year olds, there should be special courses for students of "physical, intellectual, and professional" excellence, as prospective leaders.\(^7^7\)

This new elite was trained in the youth organisations in all kinds of sport, especially fencing, cycling, football, swimming and riding, and the best of them became regional champions to compete in the annual Littorio - held on the anniversary of the March on Rome. The military nature of physical culture was seen in the sailing, cycling, skiing and aviation defence sections which trained thousands of young men. Units of young men were organised in seamen's units (centurie), in towns where the practice of such skills was possible, and special schools and libraries for the study of the sea, and related trades were founded. At Anzio, a hostel for 2,500 young sailors was built, to bring together all the young sailors scattered between Venice, Bari, Naples and Cagliari, in old training ships. All the many skills and trades of the modern, military sailor were taught at Anzio. Courses in aviation were also Balilla
sponsored, and a number of provincial committees initiated pre-aviation schools for engineers and wireless operators, as well as running courses for anti-aircraft crews.\textsuperscript{78}

Perhaps significantly, the closest the Fascist regime came to producing an elite corps of leaders, dedicated to the physical, military and ideological conditioning of the young was the physical education instructors of the GIL, who were mostly graduates of the aforementioned academy at the Farnesina Palace in Rome. Many graduates of which:

\begin{quote}
\begin{center}
came to view athletics not only as a means of physical and moral development for the young but as a new lifestyle particularly suited to the militaristic Fascist spirit.\textsuperscript{79}
\end{center}
\end{quote}

After the age of eighteen, many youngsters drifted from the youth movements, except the mainly middle class minority which progressed to university and membership of the GUF. Nonetheless, the Party authorities were aware of the importance of the eighteen to twenty one year olds, and made special provision for them in the Young Fascists. In 1934 there were 660,000 members of this group, and 67,000 University Fascists - approximately 50\% of the relevant age range. The reasons for this were varied. Some were positively excluded by the authorities on the grounds of health or "moral and political fitness". Duties connected with work, especially agriculture, prevented others from joining; some were just apathetic, others were antipathetic to Fascism, whilst the rest merely wished to pursue their own interests on their own.
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aviation schools for engineers and wireless operators, as well
as running courses for anti-aircraft crews. 

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authorities on the grounds of health or "moral and political
fitness". Duties connected with work, especially agriculture,
prevented others from joining; some were just apathetic,
others were antipathetic to Fascism, whilst the rest merely wished
to pursue their own interests on their own.
The practical way to achieve this attitude came in the para-military area of their physical activities - shooting on the range, covering the countryside in flying columns, by bicycle, motor-cycle, automobile and on horseback. Learning to ski and climb in mountain regions was balanced by naval practices on the coast. The emphasis on war, weapons, uniforms and the military virtues was regularly reinforced in the journal, Gioventu Fascista, in which:

Mussolini always appears in a large photograph on the front page. He is always dressed in a different uniform or costume, often on horseback, and carrying out some symbolic civil or military function: reviewing the troops, or surveying the athletes ...

The only youth grouping outside the aegis of the GIL was the GUF, although it was securely under PNF control, yet in places like Rome, it possessed a considerable degree of autonomy. Both male and female students, between the ages of eighteen to twenty eight were eligible for membership.

The membership of the GUF had grown rapidly during the thirties, as the following figures illustrate.

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<td>October 28, 1937</td>
<td>82,004</td>
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By 1939, the GUF had 98,834 members.
Whilst there was less overt constraint on this section of Italian youth, and perhaps less rigid attitudes of mind prevailed within it, the university sector was nevertheless important in the Fascist master-plan. Indeed, the university groups were founded simultaneously with the Fasci di Combattimento in 1920, and were of a revolutionary nature and origin. In every city having a university or institute of higher education, and in every principal city of a province, a group was to be found. Anywhere with a nucleus of twenty five students could found a group. (Nuclei Universitari).

Thus by an order of the day of March 27th, 1930, the Fascist Grand Council proclaimed:

Il Gran Consiglio del Fascismo esaminando il problema dell' ulteriore fascistizzazione della scuola, applaude anzi tutto all' opera svolta dal Segretario del Partito nel campo della organizzazione degli studenti universitari, opera che ha schierato sotto i gagliardetti del Littorio la quasi totalità degli studenti delle Università italiane.

Stabilisce:

1. che sempre meglio curata l'organizzazione del GUF dando sviluppo alle opere assistenziali e di preparazione militare e alla propaganda per la formazione intellettuale fascista dei giovani.

In examining the problems associated with further "fascistisation" of the schools, the Fascist Grand Council applauds the work of the Party Secretary in drawing together the mass of Italian university students under the banners of the Littorio, more than any of his other activities.

It is decided:

1. that the GUF will concern itself primarily with the development and assistance of military preparation and propaganda, within the intellectual framework of Italian Universities.
Membership of the GUF was voluntary, but university members of the PNF and the Young Fascists could also be members of the GUF. The link with the PNF was strong enough for the Secretary of the Party to be secretary of the GUF, and the Vice Secretary appointed by him. Despite this, the GUF had less of a military character than any of the other youth organisations in the Fascist scenario, and:

regimentation and discipline were not so strict, nor was there a special uniform to be worn, apart from that of the Avanguardista or Party member.®®

The National Office of the GUF directed the School of Fascist Mysticism in Milan. This was conceived of as an academy for future leaders. Far more important in the production of a PNF elite was the weekly publication of Libro e Moschetto (The Book and the Gun), the official organ of the GUF.®® Through the pages of this magazine, Mussolini hoped to lead his assault on bourgeois values and attitudes, considered as antithetical to the revolutionary nature of Fascism. Perhaps the limited success of this mission should not surprise us, when one considers that the students extolled in the language of revolution, were themselves the children of the bourgeoisie, who had originally followed the Fascists to protect their own interests.

This publication was also the prime source of the "vendetta" against the older generation, who still manipulated power and status in Italy. In order to detach GUF members from their elders, Mussolini was "lavish with his gifts to the University Groups - scholarships, prizes, excursions and jobs".®®
The day to day activities of the GUF could be grouped under four headings: sport, financial and medical assistance, political and cultural activities. Yet even here, the privileged position of students was evident, as no one was forced to take part in these activities, except for some political ones. Even the military imperative, which was elsewhere central to the Fascist world view, was less evident in the GUF, without the emphasis on discipline and regimentation which characterised the other youth organisations. It is true that there were some special battalions of University Militia, and that the Army and Militia ensured that military courses were available, but the overall military atmosphere was decidedly low-key, with the main stress being on sporting and cultural activities. So that while not all university students were members of the GUF in the 1930's, a large minority took part in the above activities.

This is not to imply that no conflict-situations arose concerning the workings of the GUF, and indeed the initiative of Scorza who controlled the GUF, in recruiting fourteen to eighteen year olds from the schools under the nose of Ricci and the ONB in early 1931, caused severe disaffection. Moreover, as Ricci and the ONB were dependent on the Ministry, and Scorza and the GUF and Fasci Giovanili on the PNF, the conflict escalated. So that in 1935 the clash became overt over the question of the organisation of the Littoriali - athletic and cultural contests for university students - as well as the courses of political culture, when the Minister, De Vecchi demanded control. The reply from
the Secretary of the PNF, Starace, was an uncompromising as could
have been expected, and in a letter of March 19, 1935, to Mussolini,
he categorised the "unregenerate, lazy, bureaucratic bourgeoisie"
of the Ministry. He went on to assert in true Fascist style that
teachers, and particularly women, were unsuitable in the policy of
forcing "a warlike and reactionary" outlook in boys - once again
emphasising the emphasis the PNF placed on physical culture and
its military orientations.®

Indeed, the lack of warlike attitudes in the university sector
was of constant concern to the regime, and Critica Fascista
lamented that "la maggior facilita e piacevolezza dell'attivita
sportiva" (for the most part the sporting atmosphere is pleasant)
in the GUF.® At the same time, the affective nature of such
activities, with their stress on group values, self-sacrifice
and the military virtues, had no doubt made their impact at a
subconscious level, and certainly, the early enthusiasm for the
Abbyssinian adventure shown in the universities, would suggest
that militaristic responses had been planted in the GUF, and
merely needed triggering off. That this was a consideration is
shown by the way the GUF was used to propagate Fascist ideas
and attitudes amongst students and others, and in line with the
Party's conception of this movement as an elite force. Thus,
at the time of the Abbysinian war, politically reliable members
of the GUF were sent to address workers and students in secondary
schools, on matters of import to the regime. The area of specia-
lisation to GUF members was colonial propaganda, and in this area,
the GUF was delegated by the National Institute of Fascist Culture to spread the "colonial ideal" via lectures, articles and all other means.\textsuperscript{95}

Moreover, despite misgivings on the part of Party leaders, other Italians saw a great deal of warlike potential in the university sector. Remarking on the standards of public behaviour of members of the GUF, Binchy concluded:

\begin{quote}
Hitherto these, far from acting as a model to less "educated" Fascists, have excelled them only in violence and brutality; nor has the Fascist press contained anything coarser or more stupid than the official organ of the organisation "Libro e Moschetto".\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

Brutality, of course, whilst displeasing to Catholics like Binchy, was institutionalised in Fascism, and would no doubt have been seen as a positive recommendation for the work of the GUF by the PNF.

So that, even though the military potential of physical culture was recognised, it was the sporting orientation which was more overtly prosecuted, no doubt in a low-key effort to inveigle potentially hostile, highly educated individuals, into the military machinery of Fascism. Another stated objective of the sports programme of the GUF, was in the improving of the physical efficiency of the mass of students, rather than the production of champions. On the ond hand, these sporting activities were involved with the organisation of displays "of a regional and national character, precedence being given to alpine sports, in cooperation with the Italian Alpine Club, of which all Fascist
university students are members. These displays ended with an alpine week in a selected region, where teams of students competed for prizes. As a spin-off from this, a school of alpine training was set up at Bolzano with the aim of developing "hardihood, courage and sense of responsibility" amongst participants.

The relationship between the spiritual and the physical, central to the educational theories of Gentile, was institutionalised in the Littoriali. These were contests of both a cultural and athletic nature, organised by the GUF. For the sporting contests, students were selected to compete, from the Agonali contests, which took place at the GUF headquarters, and were also open to members of the Young Fascists. At the same time, this organisation ran its own cultural and sporting meetings, under the title of the Ludi Juveniles, for the pupils of secondary schools.  

But despite the lip-service paid to "culture", the GUF was mainly a recreational organisation, with regards to its operation. The football, rowing and swimming clubs, which had existed prior to the Fascists continued and even augmented their activities. As previously mentioned, the Italian Alpine Club (SUCAI), became the most popular student society - especially in the north of Italy, and received a great deal of government expenditure, and the GUF could take the credit for increasing the interest in winter sports in the Alps and Appennines. Other games which students helped popularise were football and tennis. In line
with the Fascist yen to change the social consciousness of Italian students, Party Secretary Augusto Turati invented a game called Volata, which was supposed to exemplify the Fascist style, which met with no success whatsoever.98

The particular life-style enjoyed by the GUF was graphically exemplified in the biographical novel, Giovinezza, Giovinezza ..., by Luigi Preti.99 In this novel he described how the regime segregated the young intellectuals from the working world, while, at the same time "instillando nei loro animi una concezione aristocratica della vita" (instilling in their souls an aristocratic concept of life). All this taking place under the aegis of "[la] vita dell'Italia del Littorio".100 (the life of the Italian Littorio).

In a description of a youth ceremony attended by the Duce, Preti illustrated the warlike nature of the ambience of the youth movements, with extracts of their military songs and chants.

Siamo fiaccole di vita,
siamo l'eterna gioventu,
che conquista
l'avvenire,
di ferro armata e di pensier.
Per le vie del nuovo Impero,
che si dilungano nel mar,
marceremo,
come il duce vuole,
dove Roma gia passo ..."

We are torches of life, we are eternal youth, which conquers the future with armoured blades and thought. For the life of our new Empire which exists by the sea, we will march, as the Duce commands, where Rome has already passed.
As the Young Fascists marched by they sang:

Duce, duce, chi non sapra morir?
Il giuramento chi mai rinneghera?
Snuda la spada quando te lo vuoi;
gagliardetti al vento,
tutti verremo a te ...

Duce, Duce, you will never know
death or betrayal. Unsheath the
sword when you wish, for with our
pennants in the wind we shall always
answer.

At all times the perennial encouragement to combat:

Una maschia gioventu,
con romana volonta,
combattera!
Verra,
quel di verra,
che la gran madre degli eroi ci chiamera ..."

Youthful manhood fired by Roman
determination will fight. What will
come will come as the great mother
of heroes has decided.

With the visual symbolism of drawn daggers to illustrate
irredentist slogans against the French, English and Yugoslavs,
and the perennial chorus of "Bombe a man, carezze col pugnal". 101

Yet as has been previously noted, it was physical culture in its
widest manifestations which truly characterised the workings of
the GUF. At the same time the ideological ambience of sporting
triumphs was well understood by the students, as well as the
PNF. In describing Nuvolari's victory at the Nurburgring in
1935, Preti postulated:
Il giovane tornò a casa col cuore gonfio di orgoglio patriottico da quello che resta, nella sua vita, la più meravigliosa esperienza di tifo sportivo. Ed era felice anche della gioia del duce, che mando a Nuvolari un caloroso telegramma di compiacimento. Gia, perché le contese sportive erano, per il regime, battaglie patriottiche; e lo sport doveva sempre più affermare i valori dell'Italia rinata sotto i segni del Littorio.

The young men returned home with hearts swollen with national pride, more so than they had ever felt. Never before had they witnessed such a sporting spectacle. They were also warmed by the happiness of the Duce, who sent a congratulatory telegram to Nuvolari. Obviously, the regime regarded sporting contests as patriotic battles which must ever affirm the courage of Italy, revived under the symbols of the Littorio.

Success in soccer for Italy was also lauded, whilst motor sport was seen as "uno sport italiano e fascista, ricco in ogni settore di prestigio e di vittorie". (an Italian and Fascist sport, replete with victory and prestige).

In describing how the Littoriali were used to spot talent for the 1936, Olympic Games in Berlin, Preti also demonstrated that the military imperative behind the sporting emphasis was well understood.

Libro e moschetto, fascista perfetto era il motto degli universitari, ma per impugnare bene il moschetto occorreva che la classe dirigente dell'Italia di domani temprasse il corpo con l'esercizio sportivo. E per questo il duce aveva voluto i littoriali.

The motto of the universities was "Book and gun make the perfect Fascist". So that the ruling class of Italy had to learn all about guns, and in aid of this daily trained their bodies in sport. For this very reason had the Duce instituted the Littorio.
Moreover, Preti maintained that the Sports' Littoriali had already become "l'impegno principale degli atenei fascisti". (the prime duty in Fascist academies). In which, he stated that everyone could find a place:

and the competitions, long limited to Olympic type events, were extended, in 1935, to include explosive sports, such as tennis and rugby.

Which, incidentally, Preti noted, were Italianised by the regime to "pallacorda" and "pallaovale".

Interestingly enough, whilst admitting that only a minority of students were involved in the Fascist schema of physical culture, in the larger universities, Preti averred that at the smaller institutions, and in particular at his own university of Padua, most students took part, almost without exception, in a range of activities, which would imply a wide, if uneven participation of young intellectuals in the sporting nexus of the regime.
L'Università di Padusa era piccola e gli studenti poco numerosi. Ma bisognava essere presenti ad ogni gara dei littoriali, dall'atletica leggera al canottaggio, dal pugilato alla scherma, allo sci; e chiunque non fosse del tutto negato a qualsiasi esercizio fisico si doveva improvvisare atleta e andare agli allenamenti. Non si pretendevano prestazioni di rilievo: bastava la buona volontà. Così, mentre nelle grandi Università la manifestazione interessava solo una minoranza di giovani atleticamente dotati, a Padusa i littoriali dello sport diventavano un impegno generale.

The university of Padua was small, and the students not very numerous. But it was necessary to be present at each Littoriali contest – from light athletics to canoeing, from boxing to fencing, and even skiing. Anyone unfit to participate in any physical exercise whatsoever, was still required to pretend and attend training sessions. Indeed, they were unable to get relief, even with good will. Thus whilst at the larger universities, only those athletically inclined were involved, at Padua, the sports' Littoriali became a general obligation.

Moreover, although Padua only boasted one boxer, due to his prowess he symbolised to Preti's generation of students which "non aveva ancor fatto guerre ne rivoluzioni", (had not experienced revolution or war), but which would aim "oltre la metà", (beyond the mark), as the Duce had commanded.

Such was the premium put on success in these Fascist games, that cheating was not unheard of, although with the regulations typical of the Corporate State, this posed difficulties. However, Preti detailed how a laboratory technician in the university medical school became overnight a student of medicine, so that he might compete in the discus and
javelin in the Littoriali, while a young railwayman, who happened to be provincial walking champion, was enrolled as a student engineer. Moreover, under the student leadership of one Francesco Tasinari, the GUF of the University of Padusa paid tuition fees for promising athletes, who were not "altretanto bravi studenti". (otherwise good students).

The overall picture painted, however, is not necessarily one of Fascist "high seriousness". Indeed, Preti noted that the eighteen days of the Littoriali were at his university "i piu belli dell'anno", in fact even more joyful than the celebrations after final exams. Moreover, whilst the larger universities were able to "imponevano una disciplina atletica e adeguati controlli", (impose an athletic and adequately controlled discipline), at Padusa, the sports' Littoriali seemed to be characterised by "Wine, women and song".

Interestingly enough, Preti made special note of rugby, which he saw as "esclusivamente basato sulla forza", whilst the games were always "durissimi". The violence he saw in this game was described almost like a battle.
Nelle mischie volavano i calci e i pugni; e i placages erano fatti con una violenza inaudita. Quando qualcuno cadeva a terra, non era raro che gli avversari ne approfittassero per assolargli di nascosto dei colpi capaci di sfiancarlo.

In the melees, fists and feet flew, and the exchanges were characterised by an unheard-of violence. When a player fell to the ground, it was common practice for an opponent to take the opportunity of delivering underhand yet damaging punches.

This, together with the emphasis that the Fascists put on boxing, exemplified the aggression of sport that was, hopefully, to lead into militarism.¹⁰²

That this was not always the case in the GUF, was, no doubt, due to several factors. The special treatment the students received, and the fact that an element of choice was allowed may well have militated against the achievement of the para-military standards of the other youth organisations. Preti was explicit in demonstrating the difficulties the Fascists had in inculcating military responses in a small university, where opinions were expressed to the effect that "...la milizia era una buffonata, una farsa! (That the Militia was a farce and an idiocy).¹⁰³ This should not blind us to the overlap effect of sport and militarism, explored elsewhere, nor to the demonstrable fact that the universities were prime supporters of Fascism until the very end.
And during the Second World War university graduates, including teachers and journalists, were to fight enthusiastically in the Militia.104

This then was the huge complex of interrelated youth organisations which took a hold on the life of every Italian child almost from birth, and gave the state a foothold in the most important and formative years of the child's life.

At the age of four, as a 'Son of the she-wolf', he dons his little black shirt and marches through the streets, beating a drum almost as large as himself and singing warlike songs of which he understands scarcely a word.

At eight he passes to the Balilla, first as 'scout', then a 'rifleman', shouldering his miniature rifle and learning to distinguish between squadra, manipolo and other military divisions in which he and his 'fellow-soldiers' are arrayed. His 'education for war' advances a stage further in the ranks of the Avanguardisti, where he remains from the age of thirteen to seventeen. He is then ready for the intensive training that awaits him in the Fasci giovanili di combattimento, from which at last he emerges 'a perfect Fascist' on the threshold of manhood.

At the leva fascista, the imposing initiation rite which takes place annually on April 21, the feast of the Birth of Rome (Natale di Roma, the Christmas of the Fascist religion), the doors of the Party are thrown open to him, and the regime which has so ruthlessly moulded his youth to its own pattern now permits him to occupy his rightful place as a cog in the totalitarian machine.105
To achieve this the regime had ruthlessly and systematically dismantled the rival youth movements of the Catholic Church, and there can be no doubt that it was the Fascist youth organisations - not the state school, as opposed to the Church school, nor the theoretical idealism which was the basis for Gentile's reforms - that were closest to the heart of the regime. To augment these groups the Church had to be denied all influence over the young, so that they might be brought up in an atmosphere of discipline and service to the state.  

Despite this single-minded approach, even a Catholic opponent of the regime as committed as Binchy agreed that the GIL had encouraged the practice of "honour, loyalty, clean living, fortitude, zeal, and self-sacrifice", and that the movement was instrumental in building up the "manly virtues".

Yet this could not hide the fact that these virtues were dedicated to the worship of the Duce and the glorification of war and conquest. Surprising, one might suggest, that this should happen to a people as basically gentle and humane as the Italians. Once within the cloying bonds of the youth organisations, some contamination must have been assumed, but what factors would ensure such a mass membership?

Firstly, of course must come the pressure of peer groups. Being different from other children was made more obvious by the manifestations of uniforms, symbols and parades. Moreover, the schools, paradoxically enough, seen by the Fascists as somewhat antithetical to their aims, encouraged this conformity. As a
result, the family abdicated, and the parents themselves conformed, many because of professional and employment pressures. That this "moral kidnapping" was effected by "non-rational seductions" made it no less potent.\textsuperscript{109} If, by some chance, such methods failed, parents were requested at the start of school years to enrol their children in the youth organisations. Failure to do so could lead to the loss of grants to students, and would cast doubts on the patriotism of the parents.\textsuperscript{110}

Again, from the students' point of view, there were many positive advantages to be gained by membership. The youth movements were able to award scholarships and prizes - indeed, they could even divert such funds from other sources, to members of the Fascist organisations. Besides this, there was more basic aid, in the form of food, clothing and books, free holidays, excursions and visits, special schools and academies, free libraries and special provision for the sick and the orphaned.\textsuperscript{111}

The schools were relegated to a purely service and subservient role to the GIL, the workings of which became, with time, more and more exacting of time and resources, eating into school day as well as weekends and holidays.\textsuperscript{112}

Without doubt, the early contributions of the youth movements to Fascism were most useful, for it was the young men who wielded the weapons of revolution.\textsuperscript{113} Yet later on, the main function of the groups was that of overt indoctrination. Perhaps, more important to the party ideologues, was giving to the young the sensation of being a part of a massive whole, of submerging one's
personality in a common and directed purpose. It has been suggested that such a process was a deliberate attempt to substitute the lost values of the family. Yet this Fascist "style", this new culture, was perhaps, only an attempt to catch up with other countries, whose youth had already had experience of organisations which fostered feelings of togetherness and enthusiasm - such as the United States.  

Throughout the time of the Balilla, and after in the GIL, as well as the GUF, the young had expressed most delight in the pursuit of physical culture. The intrinsic enjoyment the young seem universally to gain from such activities has already been explored, and through such enjoyment there can be no doubt that many became affiliated to Fascism per se, via association. It has been suggested that drilling and exercises became to many an end in themselves, rather than a course of political indoctrination. If this were the case, it was probably a result of the later development of the GIL as an immense Party bureaucracy.  

While sport would hopefully bring about group consciousness and solidarity, and train the desired military values and attitudes in the young incidentally, it was seen as overtly leading into military training. Before the young entered the Young Fascists, most of their military education consisted of training in discipline and required habits. It was in the Fasci Giovanili that para-military training became truly intense and ideologically motivated. However, despite the regime's designs, and due
perhaps to lack of leadership and an ambivalent attitude on the part of Mussolini himself, less the armed youth might take off where the former squadristi had left off, the "militarisation programmes of the Fascist youth organisations fell far short of their announced goals". It has been recorded that Italian youth did not like military training, and whilst accepting formal military service, were less inclined to go along with the para-military activities of the youth movements which ate into their free time. Whether one accepts Tannenbaum's statements regarding the Italians as having a "weak military tradition and strong dislike for routine discipline of any kind", the fact that university students could not be tempted to volunteer for activities as glamorous as gliding, as well as the negative reports of informers, lead one to sympathise with such a view. The total picture is supported by the attitudes of the students in Preti's novel, and one is lead to the conclusion that the regime had more impact on the attitude of youth to physical culture per se, rather than militarism.  

To a certain extent, the GIL was an influence only on those who were still within the system of education, and many teenagers were outside such boundaries. Indeed, even in September 1941, GIL leaders complained that they were unable to control such young people. With regard to the GIL activities on Saturday afternoons, many young people used this time as an opportunity to meet members of the opposite sex - particularly at the cinema,
which they would attend in uniform, rather than the meetings of the GIL. Yet other teenagers had other pastimes which compelled their loyalty on Saturdays - but most of the younger boys and girls felt cheated if they could not partake in the GIL activities, and wear their uniforms as a part of a vital, unified whole. Tannenbaum gives the testimony of a former GIL member who stated that the organisation provided both himself and his colleagues with release from school-work, and satisfied their need for fellowship, physical culture and contact with the opposite sex.

However, Germino has maintained that although the total affiliation of the young of Italy was not achieved by the Balilla/GIL, "nevertheless Fascist attainments in this area were impressive". Indeed, he quotes statistics which show that the GIL had a larger following than its parallel Nazi organisations in 1939. He quotes from the biographies of four men who served in the Fascist youth movements, stressing that the long arm of the PNF stretched to outlying and rural areas, and the young people who emerged from these groups in the thirties have been portrayed as totally Fascist. After the Ethiopian War, the tempo apparently quickened, so much so that:

A constant round of political indoctrination sessions, rallies, military drills, parades and athletic events was forced upon the student. The occasional youngster who was hostile to Fascism felt himself to be utterly isolated.
Whatever one's prejudices, it has to be openly admitted that the Nazis considered their youth movements to be based on Fascist models, and that Hitler, himself bestowed high praise on them.\textsuperscript{121}

More practically, the Balilla/GIL was extremely useful in Italianising racial minorities, such as the Germans of the South Tyrol and the Slovenes of Fiume.\textsuperscript{122}

Overall, the Fascist youth organisations were a powerful, vital and dynamic force amongst the young of Italy. With their emphasis on the worship of the state, and love of the Duce they made real emotional links with Italian youth. The effect of such emotions on the young, and those who witnessed them was remarked upon by Ojetti, in describing a scene from a public appearance by Mussolini.

\begin{verbatim}
Accanto a me due giovinetti in camicia nera hanno le lagrime agli occhi. Se Mussolini vedesse queste lagrime, ne sarebbe piu orgoglioso che degli applausi.\textsuperscript{123}

Beside me, two youngsters in black shirts had tears welling from their eyes. If Mussolini had been able to see these tears, he would have been prouder of them than of his applause.
\end{verbatim}

By appealing to the inherent nobility and self-sacrifice of youth the PNF led them into the Fascist militaristic concept - firstly through collectivising the individual members and giving them opportunities to practice group activities and experience team spirit, not catered for in the school system. Then, capitalising on youth's love of physical culture, they encouraged its practice, at all times as a precursor to industrial militarisation and the agressive aggrandisement of the state.
Outside the schools and the Balilla/GIL, were only the old, and perhaps those most antithetical to Fascism, but still important enough for the total state to care. The provisions made for the socialisation, albeit tardy, of the older generations in industry and society in general, will be considered in the next chapter.
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PART 1 - FASCIST ITALY

CHAPTER 4 - INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY

The Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro was founded with the object of:

- promoting the healthy and advantageous employment of the free hours, of the intellectual and manual workers, by institutions directed to develop their physical, intellectual and moral capacity; and to provide for the increase and co-ordination of such institutions, furnishing them and their members all the necessary assistance. ¹

The necessity of a totalitarian regime establishing a moral domination over all aspects of the life of the individual has often been noted. Moreover, the compulsion that the ideologues feel to assert national pride and prestige via sporting triumphs, is only balanced by the need to improve the physique of the nation, against the day of actual battle.²

To this end, and as an adjunct to their comprehensive envelopment of youth, the Fascists set out to use physical culture, in its widest manifestations, for their own ends of social control, through collectivising, disciplining, and essentially toughening the militant nation in general.

Yet despite claims to the contrary, there is evidence that participation in sport, if not widespread, had at least been well-established long before the advent of Fascism. In fact, in the late nineteenth century, sport had been an English export into Italy. It has been suggested that Englishmen set up the first
Alpine societies as early as 1858, although the Italian Alpine Club dates from 1863. Milan saw the foundation of the first cycling club in 1870, whilst the first soccer club was formed in Genoa, by both Englishmen and Italians in the early 1890's. By the turn of the century, fox-hunting had reached Italy, and by 1903 a golf society was operating in Rome.

This impressive rate of development was noted by the Times, on 10 July 1929.

In mountaineering, cycling, and fencing the Italians have long excelled, and some of the climbing feats performed by the Alpini during the war made a great impression upon their colleagues of the Allied Armies. From the very outset bicycles were received in Italy with an enthusiasm that has never died down. Since the war, sport, and more particular games, have developed remarkably. In Italy, as elsewhere, the greatest increase in popularity has been won by football. The small clubs founded by foreigners resident in Genoa, Turin and Milan between 1893 and 1899 have spread all over Italy. Italy was already in line with other countries in devoting more attention to sports of all kinds.

At the same time, the correspondent did give the Fascists credit for discouraging the image of the "loafer in cafe or wine-shop".

In modern industrialised societies with highly developed economic systems, leisure is seen as all-important in the building up of a mass-consciousness, commensurate with the economic and military aggrandisement of the state. The Fascists could not leave this important task to any other agency, and
especially not the Catholic Church. Thus the Secretary of the PNF, who was also chief of the OND (Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro), could realistically preach the following aim.

To go towards the people, to educate them, to elevate them; to make them love their soil, their country, their family and their home; to inculcate in them the desire to know the true face of their Fatherland by traversing its roads and standing with new eyes before its infinite beauties, bringing it to the mountains and the sea, mighty bulwarks, different and secure, of the frontiers of its land; to make them expert in swimming and climbing, for the eventual necessities of its warlike to-morrow! To sever, in joyous and innocent sports competitions, their muscles from apathy ...

The OND, probably the most popular of the Fascist institutions, was founded to counter the cooperatives, mutual aid societies and People's Clubhouses (Case del Popolo) within the free labour movement. These had flourished in the post-war era, and also became popular again after the murder of Matteotti, in 1924.

There were many societies giving workers the opportunity for physical exercise. For example, every place of any importance had a Society of Excursionists, many of them united in the Unione Operaia Escursionisti Italiana (UOEI). Other national associations were the Federazione Ginnastica Italiana, the Federazione Italiana Sports Atletici, the Federazione Italiana per il Gioco del Calcio, the Federazione Italiana Rari Nantes, the Regio Automobile Club d'Italia, the Lega Navale, the Lega Aerea Nazionale and the Regio Rowing Club Italiano, amongst many others.
It was obviously imperative that the total state had to control this area of leisure activities, where social welfare and control were inextricably welded together. At first the OND was controlled by the PNF and later by the Corporations, and although the socialist organisations in the cities attempted to withstand the forcible take over, they were unable to do so. Moreover, the Fascists also absorbed the Company Clubs (Circoli Aziendali), which had been founded by various industrialists for their workers.\(^8\)

Of course, it could be suggested that the OND was not, strictly speaking, a patriotic society, but rather an organisation devoted to social welfare.\(^9\) However, within the Fascist scheme of things it was inevitable that such a structure, which overtly claimed to use, more fruitfully, the leisure time of the workers of all classes, should, in essence, be run in "accordance with the Fascist policy of enhancing national values".\(^10\) Moreover, it was inevitable that such values would reinforce the message of the Fascist state.

The OND also performed some cultural functions, which were mainly the prerogative of the Instituto Nazionale di Cultura Fascista (INCF). However, the main agent of Fascist socialisation and control, outside the youth movements, was the OND, which, according to Starace, "must provide physical, moral, and artistic education, technical instruction, and moral assistance to the great masses of people". Six central committees were set up to run the organisation, and these covered the organisation of local groups, sport, excursions, education and art, assistance and
financial administration. Interestingly enough, the huge sports complex contained under the aegis of the Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano (CONI), remained outside the OND, but its myriad of sporting functions had to be coordinated with the Fascist organisation.\textsuperscript{11}

The range of activities offered by the OND was mammoth in its breadth, and drew into its nexus a larger percentage of the Italian people than any other Fascist organisation.\textsuperscript{12}

It fosters sports, arranges excursions, builds theatres, and organises theatrical companies among workers, trains orchestras and choruses, holds both cultural and professional night schools, and furnishes motion pictures.\textsuperscript{13}

After initially confiscating their first resources, later on, the OND built many sporting facilities and other buildings. In 1931, membership fees were reduced by 50%, so much so that by the late 1930's:

every town and village, even in much of the south, had a Dopolavoro clubhouse with at least a refreshment counter, and athletic field, a small library, and a radio; many of these centres had elaborate athletic equipment, auditoriums for plays, films and songfests, and, most popular of all, miniature travel agencies, that arranged daily outings, tours to other cities and vacations at resort "colonies" on the Adriatic, all at reduced rates.\textsuperscript{14}
In 1926, membership of the OND was only 280,584; 440,000 in 1927; 1,400,000 in 1930; 1,772,085 in 1931; 2,809,985 in 1936 and 3,831,331 in 1939. Of the 1939 total, 1,581,313 were employed in industry - 559,048 in banking and commerce, 879,389 in agriculture - 308,223 in transport and 503,538 in miscellaneous occupations, mainly state employed.  

Indeed, by the late 1920's it was estimated that 39.25% of the population had become members. Statistics gathered in 1927 judged that 62.37% of members took part in sport, 34.75% in other forms of recreation, 27.12% in excursions, 25.30% attended night schools, 16.38% favoured the dramatic groups and 16.38% supported the musical organisations. The actual number of participants in the varying activity areas is illustrated in the figures below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Education</th>
<th>Artistic Education</th>
<th>Popular Culture and Folk-lore</th>
<th>Professional Education</th>
<th>Assistance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sport; Excursions</td>
<td>Music, Cinema, Radio, Theatricals, etc</td>
<td>1932 156,022 53,370 471,785 15,390 29,970 32,351 187,335</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>227,361</td>
<td>665,107 14,862 52,353 36,270 159,412</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is probable that the majority of OND members joined for the social and financial advantages to be gained from membership. However, it is also possible that apolitical people, besides being socialised into a mass-consciousness, were also impressed by finding the regime
willing to cater for the activity of their taste, and were perhaps thus, to some extent "Fascistised".\textsuperscript{18}

Even though the military essence of the Balilla/GIL was not overtly explicated in the OND, the Fascists made members of the organisation aware of the military imperative enshrined in sport.\textsuperscript{19}

The alternative function of sport as a political opiate was also understood by the PNF, which contemptuously stated:

\begin{quote}
What was wrong with our working people before the war was that they used to think and talk too much about politics. They were all right when they were working, for then their minds were on their work; they were all right when they were asleep, for then they didn't think at all, at least consciously. Their leisure hours were a danger to the whole nation.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

Thus the sporting patchwork that was Italy, prior to Fascism, had to be contained, unified and organised under PNF control, or else go to the wall. So that in 1925 all athletic and sports societies, choral societies, bands, university extension groups, night schools, circulating libraries and pleasure clubs were forced to join a national body, with a government appointed directorate.\textsuperscript{21}

Moreover, when a year later the Italian National Olympic Committee was absorbed by the Party, there was surprise expressed in Italy and shock abroad. People could not conceive of sport as political. Perhaps this should not bring about too much surprise, when one hears people even today, who ought to know far better, make the assertion that one should keep sport apart from politics. However, the Fascists had no doubt as to the rectitude of their actions, and the secretary of the PNF replied:
Since everything which is Italian is placed under the nation's flag, it was only logical that the sporting world should likewise be ranged under its shadow.\textsuperscript{22}

Moreover, it was obvious from its manifest actions that the regime fully understood the concept of physical culture in its widest aspects, by conjoining collectivising activities, generally regarded as the pursuits of the aesthete, with mass sporting occasions and tourism. Indeed, whilst not fitting into a tight definition of "sport", tourism is a manifestation of physical culture, and was the most impressive contribution of the regime to the OND. In this area there was a multiplication of short journeys from home, as well as "mass travel to distant places". Under the encouragement of the OND, the railway companies organised excursion trains (treni popolari), and facilitated the travel of organised parties at week-ends - sometimes numbering up to several hundreds. It was estimated that an average of 100,000 people a year travelled on these special cheap outings, to Naples from Milan, to the Dolomites from Bologna, to Rome from Genoa etc. Again, at all times the collectivising nature of the activities was paramount in bringing about:

Acquaintance with the beauties of their own country, the destruction of sectionalism and parochialism, the bringing together of masses of people from distant parts ... \textsuperscript{23}
Yet the sporting range offered to OND members was in no way limited by thus widening the concept, to involve forms of activity not traditionally classified as "sport". This emphasis, it is suggested, made the movement attractive to young workers outside the range of the GUF, at which age many took up sport seriously. This also led to the organisational measures one might have expected from the Corporate state, and to some obvious bad taste. For instance, Italian tennis players had to wear the black shirt and give the Fascist salute in international matches - football was claimed as a native Italian invention, and administered via a tightly structured bureaucracy, including a chief referee in Rome with a golden whistle - while Starace's invention of his game Volata, said to epitomise the Fascist "style", showed how ridiculous such posturings could become.24

This monopolisation of sport became, ever increasingly, the subject of PNF control and patronage, so that "il weekend" became "il sabato fascista" in 1935. This control extended even down to club level, and encompassed even the most minute of administrative details. Amusingly enough, the many English residents and tourists did not seem to be perturbed by this development, until their precious game of golf was enveloped. So that on 15 April 1934, The Observer, formerly a supporter of Mussolini, remarked upon the fact that only Italians could be officials and committee members of golf clubs - permission had to be sought from above before organising inter-club matches,
whilst all non-Italians had to pay a daily tax, and obtain an identity card to use an Italian course.\textsuperscript{25}

Moreover, the emphasis on physical culture apparently led to some successes in sport which the regime was not slow to exploit, and the PNF was not slow to ally itself with the heroes of soccer, tennis, motor sport, cycling and boxing — although the Italian press received instructions never to show Primo Carnera on the canvas — a posture he adopted often after his short-lived victory over Jack Sharkey.\textsuperscript{26}

Some foreign observers swallowed the Fascist line quite uncritically, as the correspondent of The New York Times illustrated when he opined that: "Italians, as a whole, are endowed by nature with excellent physique, but in past years they did little to exercise their bodies". Going on to give credit for any success, in this area, to the PNF.\textsuperscript{27}

However, more sanguine observers might well have taken note of Italian successes in sport before Fascism, as did Salvemini, implying that much of the Party propaganda was merely a well-managed charade.

To sports, thus distorted in purpose, the Fascist Government has given all possible encouragement. Italian champions, trained and maintained at Government expense, have in recent years been among the first in many international contests. In the Olympiad at Los Angeles in 1932, Italy came second only to the United States and held first place in certain categories of sport, namely, fencing, cycling, pentathlon, gymnastics, and
shooting. Yet, in precisely the same categories in which she distinguished herself in 1932, precedents can be found in 1920. For example, in 1932 she took the seventh place among the competing nations in track and field sports; in 1920 she had stood sixth. One-fifth of her points in 1932 were due to her prowess in fencing; in 1920 the London Times (August 20th) contained the following comment:

'Italy gained a great victory over France in the foils team matches. Both teams were represented by their most expert foil fencers, and no more brilliant display of foil fencing has been seen in modern times'.

In the Olympiad of 1932, Italy won the title for shooting; in March 1920 an Italian was proclaimed world champion in the international shooting contest at Monte Carlo. Still another achievement of Italian sportsmen in 1920 - the year of "Italian Bolshevism"(!) - was the winning of the Schneider Cup by an Italian aviator, a victory that was repeated by Italy in 1922.

Despite the publicised desire of the PNF to break down class differences in the new Corporate order, and the fact that there were probably as many lower-middle class members of the OND as there were workers, there was evidence that the different social groupings sometimes preferred different kinds of activities. Moreover, Finer asserted that over a third of members were salaried, and, therefore, likely to work at less tiring occupations than manual workers, and to have more leisure time.
As a committed anti-Fascist, Finer can perhaps be forgiven his ideological standpoint, yet the majority of observers seem to agree that the OND gave most working class city dwellers their first experience of modern mass leisure, "from roller-skating to ballroom dancing, from community singing to tourism". Of course, to the regime, such activities and orientations had primary messages of political indoctrination to convey. At the same time, the main agents in conditioning modern mass-man into a complex, modern total society, which he would be required to serve either in the front line or at the lathe were:

companies like Ansaldo and Fiat, more than the Fascist regime itself, that helped to integrate Italian workers into the national society through its leisure-time activities and to give them the beginnings of a feeling of identification with a modern institution outside their family or home town.

These "modern examples of social mobilisation" ensured that their workers gave them unconditional loyalty, and thus ensured that the regime who controlled them via the Corporations received the same. In the region of Genoa, there were twenty-four sections of the OND affiliated to Ansaldo, with at least 50,000 members scattered throughout the company's ship-building, armaments, steel, railway construction and other heavy industry. Prefiguring modern sponsorship, Ansaldo was responsible for bowling matches where the players wore uniforms with the company name emblazoned on them.
Correspondingly, political values were reinforced in even the smaller villages, where the OND rooms might be the only meeting place, yet essentially, a Fascist institution with the paraphernalia of Mussolini's picture, PNF propaganda for reading material, the Fascist flag - all calculated to make members feel inextricably bound to the regime. Cunningly enough, the formation of sporting, cultural and pleasure societies gave one of the few opportunities for the more talented members of the working class to show any initiative in the public sphere, and:

the OND gave them the feeling that their initiative must be subordinated to the initiative and will of the central organizers, and in the last instance, of the Duce. This sense of totalitarian discipline with all its freezing consequences was brought home very much more to the more active-minded; while the others accepted as a gift from above what they would not have been able to obtain otherwise.\(^{12}\)

It has been argued that under Fascism, there was no clear-cut division between the concepts of education, on the one hand, and political indoctrination on the other.\(^{33}\) This can be aptly illustrated in the work of the Istituto Nazionale di Cultura Fascista (INCF), which came to take the place of the Universita Populare, which had been annexed into the OND in its relative infancy. The activities of this institute multiplied throughout the years of Fascism - mainly in the form of public lectures, often free and covering a wide range of cultural topics, with political indoctrination playing a large part. It would seem, however, that this organisation became a mainly
This is graphically illustrated when one realises that despite having branches in all major towns, and comprising 200,000 members in 1941 - over half of them were involved professionally in some kind of teaching. Indeed, the last chief of the organisation, Camillo Pellizzi, maintained, in only 1966, that the main activity of his institution was to "keep in contact with universities and high school teachers ..." This, of course, was in line with the PNF's concept of hierarchy, and the importance of the intelligentsia as forerunners of Fascism. Moreover, it fits in with the aforementioned suggestion that many non-Fascists might be caught in the ideological trap, by association. The same suggestion also holds good for the more populist work of the OND, which no doubt impressed many workers with the apparent concern the regime felt for them in its programme of physical culture, and on a far greater scale than the work of the INCF.

Overall, it would appear that Fascist attempts to regiment Italians met with varying degrees of success, depending to a large extent on class and regional differences. They seem to have been most effective in small towns, where the podesta, party chief, school principal, physical education instructor - and probably the notary, pharmacist and doctor as well - were enthusiastic Fascists.
Yet it could be maintained that to regiment the physical and cultural life of Italy, and especially to use physical culture as a means of political socialisation, might be counter productive. This viewpoint would maintain that:

those who voluntarily submit themselves to the effort required by the discipline of their own cultural and athletic enthusiasms will make the most reliable and tenacious followers - and leaders as well.  

Such a view was, however, anathema to the PNF, and compulsion to participate took various forms. Even in order to play bowls or go fishing, it was necessary to join a club affiliated to the OND, and to pay dues. In his turn, the member might enjoy privileges, such as reduced railway fares, and cheap entrance to the theatre and cinema. Workers in industry were also pressured by their unions to join, and overt compulsion was not unheard of, as the following statement by the President of the OND in the Fiat factories in Turin, made in the presence of the Provincial Secretary of the Fascist Party, and reported in La Stampa, demonstrated:

Last year the number of employees in the Fiat voluntarily joining the Dopolavoro reached 75 per cent; as a consequence the provincial secretary of the Party was able to acknowledge the fitness of our organisation, making enrolment compulsory.
The lack of expertise of the party Gerarchi, who ran the organisation up to 1937, when Mussolini himself, took over, in the fields of recreation and popular education, was supposedly responsible for what Tannenbaum calls "The mediocre quality of Dopolavoro activities and the lack of opportunities for self-improvement ..." Whether this is true or not, there can be no doubt that it was in the field of physical culture, in its widest interpretations, that the OND made its most potent impact on the life of Italians. In all places of any size, OND programmes concentrated on the particular activities which most appealed to the local inhabitants. Some of the activities had been established prior to Fascism, and no doubt others would have established themselves organically:

but it is certain that if skiing, lawn tennis, and swimming became popular with thousands and thousands of workers, this was largely due to the ample possibilities open to such a big organisation as the OND and to the enthusiasm of some of its leaders.

Generally speaking, away from the military orientations of the youth movements, sporting forms, for the mass of the population were encouraged and directed away from the dilettante to the professional, and to spectatorism, as yet another overt manifestation of physical culture. Truly, the Fascists realised that only the high-level, mass-observed forms of sporting activity could draw crowds big enough to make the occasion meaningful, as a manifestation of political socialisation. At the same time, only huge, regimented crowds could provide the
revenue to make such occasions viable. Thus the regime, in line with its propaganda about Italy as a modern, industrialised nation, used such events, organised at national and international level by CONI, to draw the allegiance of the mass of the population into its own concept of the state, as a huge, collectivised, military-industrial complex.41

Credit can be given for some of the "good" points which were, however, incidental outcroppings, even if some of the claims of the regime, in regard to the sphere of physical culture have been accepted by opponents. However, just as the physical culture given to the young was, at all times, militarily oriented - so the organised recreation of the work force was meant to submerge the individual in a collective societal and industrial exercise, which would be the underpinning of military conquest.42
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How then are we to attempt to évalué the measures taken by the Fascists to produce mass-man, with a consciousness imbued with a worship of the state, and the determination to protect and aggrandise it, by dint of work or warfare? How can one évalué success in such a complex area without predetermined guidelines? Perhaps the best way to commence is to examine the central concerns of Fascism, and to look at the results of the processes of social change, which they implemented.

Despite the regime's uninterrupted concern with hierarchy, the schools of Italy failed to produce a new ruling elite. Gentile, had forlornly hoped that this would occur naturally, after his reforms, via sheer intellectual excellence. However, after he left the Ministry, his admittedly, high standards were abandoned. All the PNF could hope to achieve was an oblique strategy of infiltration of the schools through the Balilla, which was attached to the Ministry. Yet only in the area of physical training was this ploy really noticeable, with the instructors providing the essential link. Outside the encapsulated rural areas, the dichotomy of Ministry schools and Party youth remained.

This difference of orientation reached the proportions of conflict at school level, and both teachers and Balilla instructors distrusted, and perhaps disliked one another. This undoubtedly had an effect on academic standards, especially when one takes
into account the disruption of the school curriculum by Balilla activities. Indeed, in September 1928, Codignola, in what can only be construed as an overt attack on the youth movements, protested that:

he who has the illusion that one can achieve a political education by parades ... by distracting pupils and masters from their daily tasks, by the rhetoric of the meeting and, worse still, by police inquisition into the secrets of conscience, has nothing to do with Fascism, and is an agent provocateur who is digging a grave for the ideals which he claims that he wishes to diffuse.

In 1933, the same writer spoke of "imaginary political needs" which militated against school discipline and study.²

With the advent of the GIL in 1937, as an organ of the PNF, the separation of the functions of the school and the youth movements became formally separate. From that time, the GIL was to provide the future, Party leadership, despite the fact that Bottai had intended to unite school and youth organisations by his reform, but this did not occur in the time available.³ As had occurred in the days of the Balilla, however, the work of the schools was continually affected by the extensive programme of GIL activities.⁴

With regard to the universities, it has been suggested that the only impact of the GUF was on extra-curricular activities.⁵ Yet the overall effect of Fascist propaganda on the better educated Italians cannot be taken lightly. Guiseppe Berti chronicled his own experiences as a serving soldier in the Fascist Militia in
North Africa. The tendency of university graduates to fight in
this particular branch of the services is made apparent from his
autobiography. He himself found the translation from "professore
di lettere" to Militia officer, quite rational, and he tells of
the commanding officer of the second Black Shirt Regiment, who
was a graduate pharmacist. Later on he remarked on the
connection between the Militia and the GIL, as well as noting
meeting a fellow officer, a true intellectual, whose Fascist
principles were acquired in the GUF of Rome University. Whether
because of, or despite the scattering of graduates in the
Militia, Berti found that on the whole, their morale was superior
to Italian army troops.  

For the rest of the population, the programmes of the OND had
their effect throughout the whole of Italy, and on all quarters
of society. Together with the National Institute of Fascist
Culture, the Dopolavoro encompassed the mass of adults, in an
attempt to compensate for any anti-Fascist influences elsewhere.

Whether this succeeded to the satisfaction of the PNF is unlikely,
but the effect on the young and more impressionable was more
pronounced. During the late thirties, teenage students were more
likely to have Fascist attitudes than not, having come through the
ONB and elementary school. This influence was extended in 1935,
when Balilla activities were impressed on all secondary schools,
so that:
from the point of view of ideological, political and psychological character building, no less than in terms of simple numerical affiliation, or physical and military training, it seemed that fascism had succeeded in the goal of shaping the nation's youth in its own fashion.®

and:

Most competent observers ... today agreed that the youth emerging from these groups in the 1930s were enthusiastically Fascist, and the younger generation was one of the bulwarks of Fascist strength.10

With the coming of the GIL in 1937, the physical education instructors of the youth organisations received equal status with school teachers, without having any responsibility for school administration. In the section dealing with the training of these instructors, their strong Fascist sympathies were remarked upon. Moreover, in the rural elementary schools, run after 1928 by the ONB, the teachers were nearly all officers in the youth movements, and so PNF influence was obviously widespread.11 At the same time, it is worth noting that any speculative conclusions based on biographic sources, refer mainly to middle-class, urban-based, students.

Despite these doubts as to the effects of Fascist indoctrination:

Even those who think that this task was only partially successful among the older generations regard the result obtained among the young as a remarkable success.12
Yet even within the adult section of the population, the PNF was moving towards a totalitarian model of social consciousness, especially through the use of physical culture. From the nineteenth century, English, concept of sport, as an elite pastime, where taking part was all-important, the twentieth century had brought about the growth of spectator sports, where winning and record breaking were paramount. This occurred in Italy in the 1930s, where soccer became a passion. To the Marxists, this development, at first, was categorised as another "opiate" foisted on the masses to disguise the true nature of society. But as they began to see the prestige to be gained from sporting success and prowess, and the almost technical way that champions could be produced - the Communists, together with the Fascists, and other ideologues, began to see sport as a means of manufacturing mass-man, and of social control. Together with the aforementioned, military imperative, connected with sporting forms, physical culture was envisaged as initiating workers into the technical techniques, laws and customs that they would have to deal with in the technological world the total state would create. Moreover, whilst subjecting workers to rules and structures which would aid their political socialisation, the participant would, paradoxically, be given some form of relief and distraction. So that the Fascists, as were later the Nazis could be said to:
understand and exploit fully the efficiency of technicised sport in making their citizens into conformists and mass men.\(^1\)

In using sport, especially that aimed at the young, the Fascists aimed to develop character before intellect. Interestingly enough, the admittedly, rigorously intellectual, though short-lived reforms, introduced under the Carta della Scuola by Gentile, were supposed to bring about the same effect. The machinery set up by the Fascist state was, no doubt, of great value in the pursuit of this aim. Yet the "character" to be formed was not one that was to glory in creativeness and daring, but one which was imbued with obedience to Fascist ideals — in fact a "Fascist character".\(^1\)

If there were areas where Fascist socialisation and control had failed, this may well be due to the difficulty in disciplining, as distinct from civilising the Italians. Throughout history, their country had been the theatre for wars and conquerors, yet the Italian people had developed an intrinsic individuality and an antipathy to regimentation, not found in Germany. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons why the comparable programme of events in Nazi Germany, although in many respects a frank imitation of Fascist techniques, was more effective in terms of stated objectives, as the next section will illustrate.
REFERENCES

1 Tannenbaum, op cit, p204.


3 Tannenbaum, op cit, p204.
See also Minio-Paluello, op cit, p132.

4 Germino, op cit, p4.
See also Piccoli, op cit, pp15ff.

5 Tannenbaum, op cit, p196.

6 Berto, G. Guerra in Camiciia Nera, Milano, Garzanti, 1967, pp9, 19, 26, 40-41, 64.

7 Minio-Paluello, op cit, p132.

8 Tannenbaum, op cit, p187.

9 Germani, op cit, p349.

10 Germino, op cit, p82.

11 Tannenbaum, op cit, p187.

12 Germani, op cit, p350.

13 Tannenbaum, op cit, pp145-146.


15 Finer, op cit, p431.
PART 2 - NAZI GERMANY

CHAPTER 1 - HISTORICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

At first this movement [nationalism] was diffuse: Concepts were confused and contradictory, the quest found no satisfactory answers and above all no goal to which all could pledge themselves. Then came Nazism - Hitler and all his slogans, which, with grandiously simplified formulations, provided an answer for every question, a certainty for every doubt, an enemy for every hatred, a goal for every impulse to action, an interest for every self-seeker, a flag and an enlightening word for every idealist. At last the young burghers knew where they stood. Unburdened with the experience and misgivings of age, trained by the war to quick, tough decisions, they could throw themselves into the task.

The above quotation aptly implies the facile manner in which the Nazi creed conquered young Germany, and many of its elders. However, perhaps the quotation itself partakes of a common facile nature. Indeed, how can we believe that a nation as cultured and steeped in intellectualism as the Germans, could go over completely to a dogma so obviously bereft of critical awareness of the real world, and with so little capacity for logical development?

Consider that whilst the idea of world domination was not a stated aim of National Socialism, its very nature would force such a role upon it. Moreover, beneath the slogans and central to the ideology, was the basic tenet that all values and doctrines, whatsoever their national or intellectual origins,
would have to be destroyed. Viewed as such, the National Socialist world view offered no coherent pattern of social behaviour, and, "no consistent picture of its operation, structure, and development". So that, as a result of having basic aims to fulfil, its ideological programme consisted of a continuous adjustment to continually varying objectives. Unlike Communism, whose credo is delineated in a "series of categorical and dogmatic pronouncements", Nazism lacked the basic bedrock of theory, and instead, substituted for this the cult of the leader, the mysticism of the "volk" based on blood and soil, out of which the militant nation-state was born, with its worship of militarism and conquest.

With such a dearth of ideological content, control of the "volk" was all-important, so that:

The Nazi system is, accordingly, set up to control completely all activities and all thoughts, ideas and values of the entire German nation. It seeks to "co-ordinate spirit", or point of view, and to "co-ordinate structure" of all the economic machinery of the state. To these ends it embodies three principles: "the leader principle", "the authority principle", and "the total principle". The first two mean centralisation of the power to direct from on top, with each "leader" having a final and unabridged control over appointment, removal, and all activities of all subordinates under him. Authority is from the top down; responsibility is from the bottom up. This is a complete reversal of democracy in spirit and form. The third, the "total principle", means the extension of such control over all members of the population in all their activities - work, leisure, and recreational - and over all the forms and media for the expression of any point of view whatsoever.
It has been posited that National Socialism had primarily, an economic origin, whilst others have declared it to have been one of psychology. Perhaps more satisfactory is the view that:

Nazism is an economic and political problem, but the hold it has over a whole people has to be understood on psychological grounds.

Even so, within Germany itself, there were differences in response to the new creed, with the working class and Catholic middle class accepting Nazism, without any real enthusiasm, whilst the lower middle class, comprising mainly small shopkeepers, artisans and white collar workers, greeted the new ideology avidly. Yet among these social groupings it was the younger members who were more active, and more amenable to Nazi propaganda with:

its spirit of blind obedience to a leader and of hatred against racial and political minorities, its craving for conquest and domination, its exaltation of the German people and the "Nordic Race" - had a tremendous emotional appeal, and it was this appeal which won them over ...

Amongst the lower middle class, the qualities they held dear predisposed them accept Nazism because of:

their love of the strong, hatred of the weak, their pettiness, hostility, thriftiness with feelings as well as with money, and essentially their ascetism. Their outlook on life was narrow, they suspected and hated the stranger, and they were curious and envious of their acquaintances, rationalising their envy as moral indignation; their whole life was based on the principle of scarcity - economically as well as psychologically.
After the First World War, economic problems threatened the middle classes, causing anxiety and hatred within them, thus producing a desire to submit to a supreme authority, whilst wishing to dominate those without any power. Hitler, in fact, the archetypal authoritarian figure, was the mirror for many of the middle class. The true nature of the authoritarian figure has been described as:

the simultaneous presence of sadistic and masochistic drives. Sadism was understood as aiming at unrestricted power over another person more or less mixed with destructiveness; masochism as aiming at dissolving oneself in an overwhelmingly strong power and participating in its strength and glory.

The strange paradox of the sado-masochistic craving for power on the one hand and the yen to submit on the other, has been seen as the psychological basis for the "Fuhrerprinzip" - the contempt of the elite for the masses and the submission to higher powers - as Fromm described the Nazi power-structure.

A hierarchy was created in which everyone has somebody above him to submit to and somebody beneath him to feel power over; the man at the top, the leader, has Fate, History, Nature above him as the power in which to submerge himself. Thus the Nazi ideology and practice satisfies the desires springing from the character structure of one part of the population and gives direction and orientation to those who, though not enjoying domination and submission, were resigned and had given up faith in life, in their own decisions, in everything.
For a nation like the Germans to be entrapped in an ideological mess such as Nazism, however, the ideology must have had roots far deeper in the national consciousness, than did the relatively superficial and modern posturings of the anarchists and Futurists, out of which grew Italian Fascism. Mussolini, it can be said, foisted a compelling, but shallowly rooted ideology onto the Italians. Despite the visible attempts of PNF hacks to give historical respectability to their creed, their programme could claim no true links with the past greatness of the peoples of Italy.

German National Socialism was, almost certainly, a different scenario. The Germans, whilst achieving nationhood relatively late on a historical continuum, could point to an ancient and uninterrupted consciousness of being German. The German language and its attendant culture were kept alive in strongly-held pockets, outside the nation states of Germany and Austria. Having had no readily identifiable boundaries to reinforce their Germanism, such as the Italians possessed in sea and land-locked Italy, the widely-separated Germans clung to their language and customs over centuries.

Therefore, one of the primary antecedents of German nationalism was Luther, admitted by Thomas Mann as the creator of the modern German language, through his Lutheran Bible. Indeed, Mann identified certain Luther-like traits in Hitler's own language, when he remarked upon the "specifically Lutheran, the choleric coarsness, the invective, the fuming and raging, the
extra-ordinary rudeness", concluding that Luther was both anti-European and overtly nationalistic.⁵

Moreover, Luther's strong sense of original sin made him pessimistic about human progress, producing "this nation of inborn Protestantism" which "is beaten up like a dog and submissive like a beggar".⁶ When one considers that the Reformation was strongly nationalistic, in reaction to the international ethos of medieval Europe, Luther can also be held responsible for the separation of nationalism from the concept of political liberty, and the birth of the German racial (volkisch) interpretation of liberty.⁷ Thus, never having mated the concept of nationalism with that of liberty, to the inward looking Germans, freedom meant the freedom to be German, and from this intellectual arrogance grew the contempt for Europe which was to lead to its enslavement.⁸

Yet this egotism was not something to which other races were immune. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, author of The Foundations of the Twentieth Century, had exhorted the Germans not to be like other nations. Completely under the influence of Wagner and Gobineau, he predicted that Europe's future depended solely on the Germans.⁹ This contempt for all things not German was continually reinforced by the academics, so that Fichte opined, "To have character and to be German is, no doubt, one and the same thing",¹⁰ whilst von Treitschke reinforced this view with the opinion that the Germans were on a higher plane than other nations.¹¹ That such chauvinistic views found favour with the generals can come as no real surprise, and the rabid Pan-German, General von Bernhardi confessed that no other nation:
possesses an excess of vigour, enterprise, 
idealism, and spiritual energy, which 
qualifies it for the highest place ...\textsuperscript{12}

This compounded arrogance continued unabated up to, and 
throughout the Nazi period, with respected writers unashamedly 
purveying views such as the following.

One nation must excel the others, one 
nation must lay down an imperial law 
and a European order. Only the German 
nation can be the embodiment of the 
new imperialism. If only two Germans 
were to live in Poland, they would be 
more important than the millions of 
Poles. Only a Europe lead by Germans 
can become a peaceful Europe.\textsuperscript{13}

Yet another intellectual quite calmly delivered himself of the 
view, that as Germany was the heartland of Europe, "hence our 
duty and right to lead Europe to a new European order".\textsuperscript{14} These 
views were reinforced by members of the Tat Circle, who were 
associated with the review of the same name. Indeed, its editor, 
Hans Zehrer, said in 1932 that his journal would aid the younger 
generation in its aims, in order to ensure that:

Liberalism, parliamentarism and 
capitalism must be liquidated. We 
are striving for a great unity of 
nationalism and socialism.\textsuperscript{15}

It is obvious to anyone of an analytic frame of mind that such 
statements are far from cogent, and to discover the origins of 
the mental climate from which they developed we must look to 
the essentially German preoccupation with Romanticism. Indeed, 
the Germans have been characterised as:
the people of the romantic counter-revolution against the philosophical intellectualism and rationalism of the Enlightenment - a revolt of music against literature.

A hundred years after this counter-stroke, as an observable result:

German romanticism broke out into hysterical barbarism, into a drunkeness and a paroxysm of arrogance and crime which now finds its horrible end in a regional catastrophe, a physical and psychical collapse without parallel.¹⁶

Observably, this anti-rationality, this "immoderate extravagance, an unbridled lawlessness and wildness", had been present in the Storm and Stress of the eighteenth century, in the romanticism of the early nineteenth century, in the Young German movement and finally in National Socialism, "which is not only Prussianism but also the last degeneration of the inborn romanticism and mysticism of the German",¹⁷ whilst others have largely blamed the German romantic movement for the Second World War.¹⁸

This negation of reason, and worship of all things German, together with complete contempt for all that was not so, led to a "volk-based" nationalism, rooted in "blood and soil", with the Jews, and all other "subhumans" as universal folk-devils. Yet again, however, these attitudes were part of German history. Indeed, at Nuremberg, in 1946, Julius Streicher openly speculated whether the Allies would have tried Luther, had he been alive, as he had advocated the burning of synagogues, which instruction Streicher had obeyed.¹⁹ To Luther, as later to Hitler, all his
enemies were monsters, including Catholics, Jews, Slavs and non-Germans.

Wagner, whom Hitler much admired, was an open and rabid anti-Semite, whilst Gobineau didactically asserted that the composition of humanity was one of:

unequal races which cannot be equalised. The noblest race can rule the inferior ones but it cannot make them equal to itself, by mixing with them, it can only become less noble itself.\textsuperscript{20}

In the same vein, Chamberlain, in a feat of mental gymnastics, attempted to present Christ as an "Aryan", going so far as to categorise world history as a battle between Aryan-Germanism and the Jews.\textsuperscript{21}

Prefiguring Hitler, and one of his first models was the Burgomaster of Vienna, Karl Lueger, who founded the inaptly named Christian-Social Party, on an anti-Semitic platform. Another Austrian was the politician Baron Schonerer who had openly declared:

\begin{quote}
We Pan-Germans regard anti-Semitism as the key point of our national ideology, the strongest expression of genuine national persuasion. It is the greatest idea of our century.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

Georg Lanz, a defrocked Austrian monk who then turned to pagan-racialism, was another precursor of Hitler. At the beginning of the century, he founded Novi Templi, a secret order, open to those of pure Aryan descent, with blond hair and blue eyes. Later
on he published a racialist review, called Ostara, which Hitler read avidly. His new knightly order had its headquarters at Ordensburg Werfenstein, over which, in 1907, he hoisted a swastika flag.  

Surprisingly, intellectualism offered no immunity to such ideas, and Giselher Wirsing and Berthold Vallentin, a Jew by birth, and both members of the elite Tat Circle, were enthusiastic for Nazism. Ludwig Klages, another anti-Semite, published a damaging book entitled The Intellect as Enemy of the Soul, in which he ridiculed reason and intellect in true Nazi fashion. August Winnig, another writer enthused about the heroic and martial qualities which he found particularly Germanic and blamed the Jews, as universal anti-nationalists for the birth of Communism.

So that when Hitler came to explicate his doctrine in the writing of Mein Kampf in 1925, he could look back on several popular and intellectual authorities with the same views, and as the sycophancy of intellectuals and academics illustrated throughout the Nazi epoch, he would also be guaranteed continuing reinforcement of his views. Hitler and the Nazis combined these disparate elements into a "theory" of race - in which the strong must always master the weaker, not only on a personal level, but also on a racial level. The stronger race will survive and aggrandise itself through war and conflict, through an essentially heroic mode of existence and a contempt for humanitarian values. The continued survival of the stronger race was inextricably bound up with Aryanism - for the Aryan was seen, almost exclusively, as the initiator of all culture, and the purest of the Aryans were, of course, the Germans.
As might have been expected, when the Nazis took power, they institutionalised such views in their educational system.

Blood and soil, as fundamental forces of life, are however the symbols of the national-political point of view and of the heroic style of life. But by them the ground is prepared for a new form of education ... Today, when youth stands bowed at the tomb of its heroes, it is aspiring to heroic conduct and a mode of life true to the conception of heroic realism.  

The enmeshing of the mystical concepts of blood and soil in militant racial-nationalism provided the emotional base the Nazis demanded for "Lebensraum", which was central to the Party programme, as a demand for "land and soil for the nutrition of our people and for the settlement of our surplus population", which was, in fact an apologia for colonisation.  

Yet the militant nation, based on race, had, of necessity, to have an all-powerful leader. Since Bismarck, the Germans had been conditioned to the idea that "the great statesman at the helm will settle all political questions". Thomas Mann found Bismarck "an expression of German powerfulness", and compared him with Luther, whilst Buchheim traced Hitler's authority from Bismarck through to Wilhelm II. 

That such views were in common currency in Germany can be seen from various writings. E M Arndt pleaded for "another great tyrant and inspired general who, conquering and annihilating, would mould the Germans into one Mass". Spengler pessimistically prophesised the approach of new and dark powers, a novel
imperialism based on no known tradition, with democracy becoming dictatorship and art being replaced by technology, the whole being ruled by absolute overlords. Moreover, he extolled young Germans to give "devotion to a Fuhrer", which, he maintained, would be a decisive factor in future warfare, so that:

The best Germans, and not only they, are waiting for a man into whose hands they can put the fate of our country.

Therefore, the young had to "educate themselves as material for great leaders and be ready for impersonal sacrifice. This, too, is a German virtue". That such a deterministic view was endemic in German society is illustrated in the case of Nietzsche, who whilst denying the purity of the German race, and criticising Bismarck for producing "national nervous fever", still detested democracy, and called forth his concept of the superman, on which both Mussolini and Hitler modelled themselves. In such a climate, Hitler could quite calmly claim that "All that I say and do is history".

Some authorities have found National Socialism in Germany to be "archetypical in its totalitarian quality". This necessitated "the dictator":

who is centrally concerned with and in charge of this ideological commitment; he may be the author and interpreter, as Mussolini and Hitler were, or its interpreter, like Stalin and Mao. Hence the identification of the party with its leader is mental as well as emotional, and the nature of this relationship has often been misinterpreted and obscured by calling it "charismatic", when it is more strictly speaking ideological and inspirational.
The totalitarian leader insists on interpreting the ideas on which the movement is based, and in Hitler's case, Mein Kampf became the Nazi Bible. Moreover, despite suggestions that Hitler's real power was somewhat limited, authorities such as Bullock incline to the view that Hitler's power was all-but absolute, not surprising when one considers that a book entitled, The Fictitiousness of the Weimar Constitution, by one Wilhelm Stapel, could receive a warm welcome in its attempts to undermine the Republic, and to beg for, "with a good conscience ... a Fuhrer".

Therefore, the Nazis conceived of society as divided into leaders and led, and the state as a product of history, which in itself was the creative sphere of great individuals. This state, based on race and blood must give authority to the "best" blood, and eschew democratic (ie Marxist/Jewish) principles. Absolute authority with complete responsibility were a necessity if the leadership was to be valid and unquestioned.

In many ways, this cult of the leader could be said to be called forth by the German worship of the state, which can be laid squarely at the feet of Hegel. He called the state "the incarnation of moral reason ... God's will becoming present, spirit unfolding itself as the real form and organisation of the World". He held similar views on the great men of the world, who were "the Geschäftsführer of the world spirit", who show little concern for human values, in their striving towards:
Thus the doctrine that the ends justify the means was given respectability, for "a nation is moral, virtuous, vigorous while it is engaged in realising its grand ends".

Such inflammatory outpourings found ready support, and Fichte, in his Addresses to the German People, told the Germans that they were to become a model for all other nations for eternity, because only they had preserved their nationality, had a truly national language and literature, and faith in both the spirit and the infinite. Thus the Germans were the chosen people, the "Urvolk".

After Hegel, August Stahl became the apologist of the Prussian state, coining the aphorism, "Authority, not majority". This soon became a popular slogan throughout Germany, leading to the complete deification of Prussia by von Treischke, who defined the state as "firstly power, secondly power, and thirdly power". In a complete negation of individual freedom and moral considerations, he declared:

The individual must be a member of his state and, consequently, have the courage to take also the mistakes of the state upon his shoulders. There can be no question of the right of the subject to resist an authority which he considers to be immoral.
Thus it was that to von Treitschke, "the State is power not justice or freedom", and, logically, "feebleness is the one unpardonable sin". Not surprisingly, therefore, all individuality was to be subsumed in the Nazi order.

In practice the principle means the subordination of all life, material and spiritual, to the interests of the State; religion, language, economics, law, society, culture, science, and education, and everything is organised under a hierarchy of leaders, themselves chosen by and subordinate to the Leader (Führer). Hence the Kulturkampf, against both Protestant and Catholic; hence the regimentation of literature and the arts (music, painting, sculpture, architecture, the theatre, the moving picture, and the radio) ... hence the rigorous control of education from the lowest to the highest levels ... the suppression of free thought ... extended even to the universities ... active contempt for the intellect and reason ... national propaganda or the nationalisation of truth ... despite the high level of popular education.

The revival of national idealism in Germany, which found its apogee in National Socialism has been laid at the feet of such disparate theorists as Hegel, Schlegel, Lagarde, List, Lange, Nietzsche, von Treitschke, Chamberlain and many others, from the starting point of Fichte. It has, however, been pointed out that prior to Fichte, Herder had found in the Germans alone, a true insight into the nature of philosophy, an idea, moreover, taken up by Schiller, in his poem entitled German Greatness. Even the work of Froebel and Pestalozzi, when interpreted by Nazism gave support to the concept.
Interestingly enough, even though both the Fascists and the Nazis had enshrined the concept of the state as a central tenet of their ideology, due to the peculiarly "racial" nature of National Socialism, Hitler deprecated the state, as it then stood, in Mein Kampf. In his chapter on the state he pronounced that it must possess values which are "essentially based on race", and so, "the state must, therefore, regard the preservation and intensification of the race as its highest task". In this way, Hitler viewed the state as an end to a means, and not as an end in itself.

The quality of the state cannot be evaluated according to the cultural level or its power in relation to the outside world, but solely and exclusively by the degree of this institution's value for the nation involved ... a state can be designated as bad, if, despite a high cultural level, it dooms the bearer of this culture in its racial composition.

Within the totalitarian construct of society, only one party was allowed to interpret the state ideology. In such a situation, Friedrich questions whether "a totalitarian leader's following may properly be called a party". He, eventually, prefers to call it a Herrschaftspartei or ruling party, and to some extent, this structure would fulfil the functions of the state.

In order that this would continue and prosper, the support of the young was essential, and according to the psychohistorians, the Nazis were extremely fortunate, in this respect, in the timing of their movement. Psychohistory uses: 
dynamic psychology to integrate political and economic explanations with past experience, patterns of repetition, and the irrationality of conduct in times of anxiety, deprivation, and stress.

The Great War obviously had a traumatic effect on those brought up during it, and after Versailles, the Nazis were able to appeal to the inordinately large number of young people in Germany. In the early 1930's the proportion of young adults was very high, due to the high birth rates of twenty to thirty years previously, and their ranks had not been decimated by the war. Moreover, their number had been swelled by immigrants fleeing from territory ceded at Versailles and from abroad, especially Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Emigration legislation passed in America, together with re-emigration to Germany due to the Depression, ensured that in 1933, the age group 20-45 was the largest in German history, and in 1933 it reached a peak of 41.5%.

This therefore, made for social unrest because:

the economic depression hit Germany at the worst possible time: employment was shrinking precisely at a time when the employable population reached its postwar peak.

There is also strong support for the view that this generation was more overtly aggressive and violent than previous ones, and this has been explained as "acting out" behaviour, caused partly by suffering the traumas of the First World War. Another factor detailed by the psychohistorians is that during the war, the innate aggression of the young received apparent sanction from adult behaviour. Moreover, there were problems associated with the prolonged absence of the father and the emancipation of
Thus is postulated the theory that the deprivation German children suffered during the Great War and the suffering caused by the Great Depression in the thirties were directly related.

This relationship is psychodynamic: the war generation had weakened egos and superegos, meaning that the members of this generation turned steadily to programs based on facile solutions and violence when they met new frustrations during the depression. They then reverted to the phase-specific fixations in their child development marked by rage, sadism, and the defensive idealisation of their absent parents, especially the father. These elements made this age cohort particularly susceptible to the appeal of a mass movement utilising the crudest devices of projection and displacement in its ideology. Above all it prepared young voters of Germany for submission to a total, charismatic leader.\(^5\)

Yet lest this explanation might seem too deterministic, and to be a way of explaining away manifestations of the human soul, the fact cannot be obviated that German youth had its idealism and passion, its yen for adventure and self-sacrifice, its generosity of spirit, and not least importantly, its innocence. In their covert and overt appeals to the young, the Nazis were, perhaps, again sounding a chord which had echoed before in German history. Thomas Mann maintained:

\begin{quote}
German deeds were always done out of a certain mighty immaturity, and not for nothing are we the people of the Reformation. That too was a work of immaturity ... where would the world be if maturity were the last word? We shall in our immaturity inflict on her many a renewal, many a revolution.
\end{quote}
Later on in the same work, he has his young Germans considering themselves as the "young" nation of Europe, and goes on to suggest that "the German is the eternal student".⁵⁴

After 1806, the German universities were pervaded by romanticism and mysticism, and despite the founding of the German Empire, this manifestation lived on. In 1899 the Youth Movement was founded, which:

represented an attempt to escape from the controls of politics, of adults, and of urban life, and a desire to return to nature and the simple life.

Yet, whilst also based on rampant romanticism, the movement stemming from the nationalist university students:

was inspired by a yearning to emancipate the country from "the shame of the Versailles Dictate", to free Germany from alien influences, and to restore their country to her ancient traditions and greatness.

Paradoxically enough, it has been maintained that the very romanticism which can be called upon to explain the rise of the Youth Movement, with its ideals of individualism and self-expression, which were later enshrined in the ideals of the educational system of the Republic, was still the basis of the Nazi Revolution, which had "run its course from the extreme of individualism to the extreme of nationalism".⁵⁵
There was also a more sinister and more purposeful nature to the nationalist student movement, many members of which after 1919, were ex-army officers who found refuge in the universities after Versailles. To be fair, some of the thousands of surplus officers found employment abroad as mercenaries, others took up careers at home for which they were not really suited, and some others joined the many, illicit, private armies. However, this still left a huge surplus, which found its spiritual home in the universities, where it swelled the ranks of the many reactionary societies, in which, carrying arms, they took part in military exercises, often with the tacit consent of the authorities, and even perpetrated political murders. That this was so is not surprising in the illiberal ambience of German university education, where all the factors leading to National Socialism were all-but institutionalised, and reaction, nationalism, militarism and anti-Semitism were acceptable.\(^56\)

Perhaps significantly, the progress the Nazis made in recruiting university students ran well on ahead of their success with the rest of the population, and can be said to have been the Party's first, mass breakthrough. In 1929, the Nazi Student Organisation (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Studentbund) won more than half the possible votes and dominated the governing student bodies at the universities of Erlangen and Greifswald. In 1930, the Nazi students gained absolute majorities at the universities of Breslau, Giessen, Rostock, Jena, Konigsberg and the Berlin Technische Hochschule. These preceded the Nazi triumphs in the Reichstag elections of 1930.\(^57\)
Yet these reasons alone cannot fully explain the hold which Hitler and National Socialism took on the youth of Germany, in a manner which went far beyond what is now termed, political affiliation. This younger generation had lost all ties with its elders, and were promised a "new order", based on new values. Despite the fact that what the Nazis called "new", could be shown to have roots stretching back into German history, via the concept of the racial leader who despised mere political programmes, the young were given a new sense of belonging and a feeling of community.

Indeed, it can be truly stated that the Nazis made the young an object of worship, and the young in turn, embraced National Socialism with a religious fervour because:

the Nazi message spoke to men in the sphere of their religious understanding, and gave them a new conception of their value and of their place both in the cosmic order and in the society around them.

The religious essence of Nazism is readily demonstrable from the speeches of its leaders, and the passionate statements of its adherents, and despite any lack of analysis, the certainty and intrinsic belief conveyed were none-the-less potent.

The young were promised an end to uncertainty, a new way of life as from an infallible source, and, moreover, a source which also claimed some form of an eternal nature - "We go with the Fuhrer feeling we have passed from mere existence into inexhaustible life". Rather than a compartmentalised
existence, young people were enveloped in a comprehensive whole where:

- art and our music, our buildings and our teachers must give themselves to the underlying purpose of National Socialism and the resurrection of Germany.

The overtly religious symbolism of a resurrected Germany was complemented in a fever of Führer-worship, worship of a leader who offered no policies, but himself to believe in. Even when apparently descending to practicalities, the language of National Socialism was exhortative, and of a spiritual and never discrete nature.

Germany before Hitler had no use for its youth. What of a country that lets its youth rot in the streets? The Führer has made all youths realise that each of them has a great purpose in life. Also it is not big and vague like the international youth movements which are only a fantasy in the mind. It is something you can recognise and in which you can play your part at once. And you play your part no longer only for yourself. It means sacrifice and hard work.

Even the thought of sacrifice was presented as noble, because it was in the cause of fellowship, a fellowship which had a racial destiny. Again, just as the concept of evil was common to other religions, so to the young Nazi, his enemies were presented as evil - and especially the Jew. Finally, through ceremonies, rituals, songs and uniforms, a truly religious symbolism was achieved.
Yet the purpose behind this spiritual awakening had a very precise and concrete end in view. It was to militarise the young of Germany, and through them the whole of the nation. Nor was this too difficult a task, because it has often been remarked that the Germans, unlike other nations, enjoy soldiering, drilling, and above all, obeying orders.\(^5\)

Whether this is true or not, the influence of Prussia - "the prototype of a military autocracy" - had permeated throughout German society and culture. As early as the seventeenth century, there was a standing army in Prussia, and by 1756, Frederick the Great had an army consisting of one in seven of the able-bodied men in his kingdom. Through the introduction of the potato, the sandy soil of Prussia could support a large population, and so the less sophisticated, but more disciplined Prussians were able to become the leaders of the other German states, and to spread "Prussianism", which has been defined as:

blind submission. It is a philosophy of a military Order that sought primarily to maintain its position against the possible revolt of the conquered. It is the spirit of an army carried over into a bureaucracy and into society itself. It is the predominance of a single will - leadership in the narrowest sense. Therefore it is a cult of efficiency, chiefly efficiency of a military type.

However, before this stark creed could gain adherents in areas which had had a tradition of culture for a thousand years, it had to be given philosophical respectability, and for this there was Hegel. In Prussia, Hegel found his model of the metaphysical
state, and lifted questions of politics into the realms of religion. For his conception of the state, founded by "world-historical" figures, took to itself the nature of the "World Spirit" or "Absolute". To rebel against the state was rebellion against the Almighty, so that normal human beings could only achieve any form of significance in the service of the state, which was the hub and central meaning of existence. Thus, a Nazi educator could proclaim:

The core of the national totalitarian state will be a political-military elite ... The ruling elite ... will thus be organised in definite form from the start; controlled with rigorous discipline, imbued with the common and compelling national world outlook, trained to honour, willingness to fight, loyalty, readiness for service and sacrifice, devotion to the whole, severe mode of life and strict conduct, and the values of national, military and political life: soldierly in public life and its conduct. Subordination and obedience, courage and bravery, straightforwardness, truthfulness and honesty, social sense, military in will and body ...

Truly, a perfect exposition of the so-called military virtues, and centrally mounted in the Nazi system of education.

In the case of Prussian militarism, Luther could not be blamed as a cause, yet the church which bears his name to this day, certainly collaborated with the militarist establishment during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The true initiator of this movement, however, must be Bismarck, who unified Germany by militarism, and set Germany on a militaristic path which ended in 1945.
This impetus did not go unremarked in Europe as a whole, for in 1788, Mirabeau declared that "La Prusse n'est pas un pays qui a une armee, c'est une armee qui a un pays". Yet the arrogance of the Germans grew unabated. The historian Friedrich Meinecke said during the Napoleonic wars that a Prussian lieutenant "went through the world like a young god, and a reserve lieutenant like a demi-god". A follower of Fichte, Fritz Bley, wrote in 1897 - "No doubt we are the best warriors on earth", whilst von Moltke, on receiving a textbook on International Law, penned the following reply:

Eternal peace is but a dream, and not a beautiful one for that matter; war, however, is part of God's cosmic order. The most noble virtues of man blossom in wars, courage and resignation, a sense of duty and the willingness to sacrifice. The world would sink into materialism without wars.

This overwhelming sense of the military was further reinforced by writers glorifying German feats of arms, up to and even after the start of the Second World War. Despite the fact that philosophers such as von Treitschke, Fichte, Schopenhauer, Hegel, Hartmann and Nietzsche were the intellectual support of German militarism, it was the generals who interpreted it. In 1935, von Ludendorff said: "War is the highest manifestation of the racial will to life". Whilst the massed ranks of the Hitler Youth echoed:

We know that we belong to a warlike race. Our lives are empty without war, and our honour cannot thrive.
The general, however, who truly organised these pernicious views was the notorious Pan-German, von Bernhardi, who in 1912 wrote a book entitled, Germany and the Next War. Moreover, he, more than the others, delineated the part which education and physical culture would have to play in military preparation, which was later carried to such lengths by the Nazis.

To Bernhardi's Darwinian frame of mind:

War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be disposed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advance­ment of the race, and therefore all real civilisation.

In order that the nation might be ready on the day of battle, Bernhardi was in favour of "a progressive development of popular education", in order to maintain physical and mental health. The intellectual standards of the young were also to be raised, but purely as an "expedient", due to the increased demands of modern warfare. Without any hesitation, Berhardi had no doubt in positing a military function to popular education, "in order to meet these demands [ie those of modern warfare] fully, the people must be properly educated".

But the life of a serving soldier requires a good standard of health, and the General was peturbed about the deleterious effects on the prospective soldier which factory work, poor urban housing, the "pleasure-seeking town life" and alcoholism
might have. With regard to alcohol, he suggested severely
taxing and curtailing the right to sell the product. He also
suggested that attempts should be made to improve housing, and
to regiment the young away from "a life of amusements", yet
this was no altruistic sentiment, but militarily utilitarian,
as was his encouragement of physical culture.

In Munich, Bavarian officers have
recently made a praiseworthy attempt
to occupy the leisure time of the
young men past the age of attendance
at school with health-producing
military exercises. The young men's
clubs which Field Marshall von der
Goltz is trying to establish aim at
similar objects. Such undertakings
ought, to be vigorously carried out in
every large town, and supported by the
State, from purely physical as well as
social considerations. The gymnastic
instruction in the schools and gymnastic
clubs has an undoubtedly beneficial
effect on physical development, and
deserves every encouragement; finally,
the system of universal service should
have been made an effective reality.
It is literally amazing to notice the
excellent effect of military service
on the physical development of the
recruits.

Bernhardi, however, did not give the primacy to sport which
modern ideologues do and in his opinion, "Strenuous labour
alone produces men and characters", and so he was antithetical
to shortening the working day, and, more significantly, to
"crediting sport with an exaggerated value for the national
health".
Throughout his book, Bernhardi consistently refused to accept the English concept of "sport", and maintained that this was all the more important in a time where hard physical work was becoming less and less of a necessity. In such circumstances:

society and the State must vie in taking care that work does not become play, or play work. It is work, regarded as a duty, that forges men, not fanciful play. Sport, which is spreading more and more amongst us too, must always remain a means of recreation, not an end in itself, if it is to be justified at all. We must never forget this. Hard, laborious work has made Germany great ...

He admitted that sport had achieved a health-improving effect in England, but he also believed that in usurping the place of work, this had made the English into a nation of "gentlemen at ease and of sportsmen".

The almost religious commitment to military ideals, so typical of Prussianism, was most clearly illustrated in the General's conclusions. Spiritual development and hard physical work must go together to create the healthy nation. The spiritual ethos must also be trained in the schools, which he saw as necessary precursors to successful military education. Such sentiments read strangely to us today, but did not to Germans who could believe that they had a great duty to civilisation to fulfil, but only "by the sword". 

The Nazis, in their interpretation of latent German militarism, did accept the concept of "sport", but then converted it to their own specific ends, towards the inculcation of the "heroic" in the life of Germany. Using the emotional props of uniforms, badges, parades, mass physical activities, flags, songs and symbols, both a national resurgence and the military spirit were encouraged. Realising that in the total state, sport could be manipulated for ideological aims, they set about reorganising physical education as a part of military training. Para-military activities such as Gelandesport and Wehrsport took up a great deal of the time of the young. Other curricular areas were revised to imbue the young with aggressive and patriotic sentiments, whilst in the Hitler Youth, physical culture and manual labour took up much of the available time.70

The militarisation of education was aptly illustrated in the school text by Professor Edwald Banse, entitled Germany Prepares for War: A Nazi Theory of "National Defense", so that in line with Nazi ideology, the principles of military science (Wehrkunde, Wehrwissenschaft) formed part of the curriculum in schools and universities. Moreover, knowledge of these areas became a requirement for admission to the teaching profession.

The new science is therefore raised to the level of a kind of national philosophy, which claims the first place among all the sciences throughout Germany ... For this purpose, the science of defense must become a recognised subject of instruction ... This involves the immediate foundation of chairs of Defense ...71
Actually, in response to unfavourable comment in the foreign press, the Nazi authorities announced that they had discontinued the use of the book in schools. Whether this was so or not, certainly similar books were in use throughout the Nazi period.\textsuperscript{72} Dr von Arnim, a professor, and S A Oberführer, gave even more explicit reinforcement to this standpoint by remarking:

\begin{quote}
In the youth of our people ... the will to defense has been aroused. We are no longer prepared to be an object of world events and no longer willing to tolerate every insult and to shiver at the frown of other states. But the will to defense is not enough; here military knowledge must be brought to make clear to the masses the lamentable military situation to which the Versailles Treaty and the readiness of the former system to carry it out have reduced us.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}

It should not come as a surprise to us that the Nazis were able to attach such elements to the curriculum, despite their non-"educational" ethos. Indeed, the welcome which the academics and intellectuals of Germany gave to National Socialism, was servile in the extreme. In 1933, the professors published a manifesto supporting Hitler, which read:

\begin{quote}
The nation will tomorrow vote for nothing less than its future. Is this a relapse into barbarism? Certainly not! It is the clear avowal of untouchable independence. It is the rejuvenation of a refined youth. The nation wins back the truth of its being.\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}
Time and again the Nazis saw men with reputations as thinkers, pander to their own mess of racialism, nationalism and militarism. Writers such as Bartels and Soergel, academics like Peterson, Cysarz, Kindermann, Krieck, Lenard, Stark, Muller, Spann, Eibl, Lortz, Vahlen, Staemmler, Gross, Hirsch, Wundt, Kohler, Grunsky, Klemmt, Heyse and Weinhandl, by their writings and statements, prostituted their calling and reinforced the anti-intellectual stance of the Nazis, implying that the elements of National Socialism were embedded in the German psyche.⁷⁵

Thus it was that the principles underlying Nazi education were seen to be clear-cut. Initially, these principles rejected out of hand anything which smacked of "liberalism". Once this was realised, the doctrine of force as the ultimate argument was institutionalised in the power of the racial state, which was manifested in the person of the Führer. The cult of brute force and the will to power of the strong man were seen as goods in themselves, and not just means to an end. The army, therefore, assumed the highest position in the life of the nation, for as Hitler was a manifestation of the state, and expressed the will of the state, the army served the state and, paradoxically, the nation became the army. Hitler himself, stated that the object of Nazi education was the production of the political soldier, and in pursuit of this, values such as intellectualism, urbanity, aestheticism and femininity had to be eschewed, as forces of decadence.⁷⁶
The Nazi view of women, whilst directly conflicting with the liberal ethos of Weimar, again had roots in German history, and the aphorism, credited to Bismarck, that the sphere of women comprised of "Kirche, Kinder, Kuche", (Church, children and the kitchen), graphically illustrated this. With regard to the superiority of the male and male pursuits, the views of Hitler dominated.

"Emancipation of women" was invented by Jewish intellectuals ... If the man's world is said to be the State, his struggle, his readiness to devote his powers to the service of the community, then it may perhaps be said that the woman's is a smaller world. For her the world is her husband, her family, her children, and her home. But what would become of the greater world if there were no one to tend and care for the smaller one? ... No, the greater world is built on the foundation of this smaller world ... The two worlds are not antagonistic. They complement each other, they belong together just as man and woman belong together.

We do not consider it correct for the woman to interfere in the world of the man, in his main sphere. We consider it natural if these two worlds remain distinct. To the one belongs the strength of feeling, the strength of soul. To the other belongs the strength of vision, of toughness, of decision, and of the willingness to act ... The sacrifice which the man makes in the struggle of his nation, the woman makes in the preservation of that nation in individual cases. What the man gives in courage on the battlefield, the woman gives in eternal self-sacrifice, in eternal pain and suffering. Every child that a woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people ... Whereas previously the programmes of the liberal, intellectualist women's movements contained many points, the programme of our National Socialist
Women's movement has in reality but one single point, and that point is the child, that tiny creature which must be born and grow strong and which alone gives meaning to the whole life-struggle...  

Yet whilst deprecating the product of the intellect, the arts and culture could be used for ideological ends. Nor was this orientation alien to the German way of life, as can be shown by the following statement of the Kaiser.

The theatre is also one of my weapons; when I came to the throne ten years ago, I had firmly determined that the Royal Theatre should be an instrument of the monarch like the school and the university.

Taking this a stage further, Goebbels elevated politics to the status of art, perhaps not surprisingly from the master-practitioner of propaganda.

Politics too is an art, perhaps the highest and most comprehensive there is, and we who shape modern German policy feel ourselves in this to be artists who have been given the responsible task of forming, out of the raw material of the mass, the firm concrete structure of a people. It is not only the task of art and the artist to bring together, but beyond this it is their task to form, to give shape, to remove the diseased and create freedom for the healthy.

Hitler himself, expected the new, physically healthy, German type to be represented by artists, because "The artist does not create for the artist. He creates for the people ..." Therefore, the sole function of art was to symbolise the living development of
the nation, and, as "A new epoch is not created by litterateurs
but by the fighters, those who really fashion and lead peoples,
and thus make history ..."®

Science, as well as art and culture generally was also to be
sacrificed in the aim to produce the heroic superman.
Objectivity was to be rejected and science was to be determined
by Weltanschaung (world view).® The pursuit of scientific
truth was also discarded, because:

The true freedom of science is to be
an organ of a nation's living strength
and of its historic fate and to pre­
sent this in obedience to the law of
nature.®

The superman, the construct of Nietzsche, "fertilised two great
national movements: National Socialism and Fascism".® Moreover,
there could be said to be similarities between the administrative
structures of both regimes, especially on a corporate basis.®
Yet unlike the Russian Revolution which made a complete break
with the past, the Italian Fascists proclaimed a return to the
ancient ideals of Italy through the Corporate State, whilst the
Nazis offered a return to former values based on blood and soil,
yet declared the total product a new creation, despite the fact
that:

all that is left of these professions
is the emphasis on race purity, on
militarism, and on the totalitarian
state, and for Germany none of these
elements is novel ... but what is new
is the utilisation of force and violence
and all the arts of propaganda and mob
psychology to enforce acquiesence ...®
The dismantling of the social structures erected by Weimar was not a difficult task for the Nazis - for the very openness of pre-Hitler Berlin led to its enslavement. Being reluctant to use force, Weimar, as had other governments in the past, found that when it came to the sticking point, it possessed none.\textsuperscript{86}

But its opponents, with their appeal to youth, their love of violence and danger, their disciplined aggression based on mythical appeals to the good of the national state, founded on blood and soil, were ready to act violently, and after that to put into operation a programme of socialising young Germany and its elders, which would ensure the survival and extension of their world view.
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No doubt, youth has no respect for knowledge. It will respect only the tough guy. He who is a tough guy among the teachers will know how to turn the stuffy schoolroom into a rousing experience. He who is not is hopeless.\textsuperscript{1}

The intellect is a danger to the shaping of the character. We are not on earth for the purpose of cramming our skulls with knowledge. That is only too unimportant ... We must fulfil our destiny. Bring up tough guys, that is what the business of the high schools should be.\textsuperscript{2}

As with its general philosophy, the Nazi theories of education betrayed a basic irrationality, which, as the previous chapter illustrated, was not new to German culture. From the close of the nineteenth century, German educators had been heard spreading their creed of the primacy of the soul over reason, of spirit over external reality, of subjectivity over objectivity. There were reverberations of these beliefs amongst Nazi educational theorists, who eventually took their irrationality, or even anti-rationality through to complete nihilism, to produce a system designed to overwhelm the individual in total subjection.

The prime object of this system was obviously the young, and one well understood by Hitler.
When an opponent declares, "I will not come over to your side," I calmly say, "Your child belongs to us already ... What are you? You will pass on. Your descendants, however, now stand in the new camp. In a short time they will know nothing else but this new community."

This is not surprising when one recalls that even as far back as 1925, during his imprisonment in Landsberg, Hitler devoted a section of Mein Kampf to his concept of education. It is generally agreed that Hitler's views hardly changed after this time, and that the Nazi regime attempted to implement them with great conscientiousness. In the chapter entitled "The State", the philosophical guidelines behind Nazi education were clearly explicated.

Primarily, Hitler maintained that, "nationality or rather race" was contained in the blood. All culture was based on racial values, and thus the state had to devote itself to the "preservation and intensification" of the race. Thus the state was but a means to a racial end. This view was enthusiastically adopted by Nazi educators.

The National Socialist philosophical revolution has replaced the illusory image of a cultivated personality with the reality of the true German man, whose stature is determined by blood and historical fate. It has substituted for the humanistic conception of culture, which had continued in vogue up to very recently, a system of education which developed out of the fellowship of actual battle.
Depending upon the importance, therefore, of the racial element encompassed by the state for the furtherance of human culture, the state's duty to preserve the nation was more or less greater. Thus the German Reich, receptacle of the noblest of the Aryans, inherited the loftiest task of not only preserving the nation, but of raising it to a world dominating position.

For this purpose, marriage had to concentrate the "best" racial elements, and to "declare the child to be the most precious treasure of the people". Yet this child, besides being racially sound, had also to be healthy, and so only the healthy should beget offspring. Conversely, a healthy person should not be without children. Paradoxically enough, this was presented as a "nobler age", in which instead of taking care in breeding animals, the main task was to be that of "elevating man himself".

In order to nurture the "best racial elements", the unborn child and his mother would be cared for prior to birth, as well as during and after. Then would come the process of education, which had firstly to:

consider and promote physical health;
for ... a healthy, forceful spirit
will be found only in a healthy and
forceful body.

Thus the training of mental abilities would only be secondary to the cult of the body, which was seen as spiritual training, and indeed, even intellectual education was to concentrate on
the "development of character ... promotion of will-power and determination".

In Hitler's folkish state, physical training was not seen as an individual responsibility, or as a recreative option, but as "a requirement for the self-preservation of the nationality, represented and protected by the state". Despite this completely utilitarian motive, or perhaps because of it, Hitler gave some thought to the organisational problems associated with implementing a schools' programme of physical training. He berated the lack of time given for the subject in pre-Nazi secondary schools, and stated a belief that "the young man" should have an hour each morning and afternoon, devoted to it, "covering every type of sport and gymnastics". Above all, the young man had to learn to box, because:

There is no sport that so much ... promotes the spirit of attack, demands lightening decisions, and trains the body in steel dexterity.

Unlike some contemporaries, Hitler did not regard boxing as a crude form of duelling, nor duelling as superior:

But above all, the young, healthy body must also learn to suffer blows.

Because, essentially:

sport does not exist only to make the individual strong, agile and bold; it should also toughen him and teach him to bear hardships.
Moreover, to Hitler, the physical qualities called forth by successful soldiering were the true basis of courage, which gave one the conviction of superiority, and:

This self-confidence must be inculcated in the young national comrade from childhood on ... Through his physical strength and dexterity, he must recover his faith in the invincibility of his own people.

This overseeing of the young would extend even to the clothes which were considered suitable for exercise, and for this educators had to exploit vanity.

Not vanity about fine clothes ... but vanity about a beautiful, well-formed body which everyone can help to build.

The responsibility of the state for physical education would not abate at the end of formal schooling, but continue to be a state responsibility between school and compulsory military training. Indeed, Hitler envisaged this development of physical training as an adjunct to military service, so that:

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.
Typically enough, after pages on the physical preparation of young men, Hitler, turned his pen to the female, long enough to remark that her education should also emphasise the physical, and that the goal of female education must "invariably be the future mother".  

Only after physical preparation did Hitler turn his attention to the rest of his ideal school curriculum. He berated the schools of the time for over-burdening young minds with more information than could be fully retained, as well as subjects which would be irrelevant in later life. As for languages, and French in particular, he recommended that students should be given a "general foundation", thus the increased time in the curriculum would be gained for physical training. History he envisaged as based on race:

> For we do not learn history just in order to know the past, we learn history in order to find an instructor for the future and for the continued existence of our own nationality.

As he did science:

> Science, too, must be regarded by the folkish state as an instrument for the advancement of national pride.

Overall, he seemed to be recommending what would today be called a "core" curriculum, of "general, scientific instruction", with the optional possibility of "thorough specialised and
detailed training", relevant to the candidates later career. The time saved by thus culling the curriculum would, of course, "benefit the training of the body, of the character, of the will power and determination". Finally, in compulsory military service, Hitler foresaw the completion of the "average German's normal education".8

These views were echoed sycophantically by Nazi educators, who could quite easily equate lack of learning with the process of education. Extolling the importance of "character", Hans Scherrm could deliver himself of the following confused statement.

The goal of our education is the formation of character. We don't intend to educate our children into becoming miniature scholars ... Until now we have transmitted to them too much knowledge and too little of human nature. The real values resting in the German child are not awakened by stuffing a great mass of knowledge into him ... Therefore, I say: Let us have, rather, ten pounds less knowledge and ten calories more character.9

The Fuhrer's concentration on "character" was also shared by the Inspector of the Napolas (See Chapter 3) - the special political training schools of the Nazis, who valued this quality far higher than "great intellectual gifts", and who preferred to enrol in his institutions:

the lively youngster who comes from good parents with hereditary virtues, who is physically sound, full of courage, and brings with him spiritual exuberance and alertness.10
Hitler's continued insistence on training the body for a military purpose was included in school texts, where the young men were reminded of their Führer's task "to be slim and slender, quick like a greyhound, tough like leather, and hard like Krupp's steel". With this military imperative, which dominated Hitler's thinking, superceding the traditional role of the schools, it is not too surprising that a school principal could write, as early as 1934:

We German educators must rid ourselves altogether of the notion that we are primarily transmitters of knowledge. A coming clash of arms will be the test of whether the German teaching profession has become a useful member of the German people in the Third Reich.12

Therefore, just as the concept of hierarchy dominated Fascist education, so the Nazis were obsessed with the elite principle, and the training of the future elite, which would allow the Party to continue to rule the state. In Italy, the state and the PNF ran in harness together, but in Germany it could be said: "The party commands the state", and so it logically followed that: "The leadership principle means primarily leadership education".13

The authoritative work on the training of this elite, Nationalpolitische Erziehung (National Political Education) presented this elite as a military grouping, founded on race, governed by "character" and operating on a military/heroic plane.14 Yet before the Nazis could implant this system, they
first had to destroy that of the hated Republic, and its despised liberal ethos.

Under the Republic, freedom and self expression, aesthetic and creative work were favoured before intellectualism. Individuals were not expected to fit into a particular mould, and activity methods were encouraged rather than drill. At the same time, education was seen as being rooted in the soil of the people, although without the racial bias of the Nazis, and although loyalty to the nation was the ultimate aim of the system, international understanding was also encouraged.

Such a system was obviously unacceptable to the Nazis, who equated its liberalism with Marxism. Moreover, the individual was conceived of in a way which would threaten their monolithic concept of the state, and without specific, political indoctrination, national unity could not result, especially as there were a number of different schools and systems, which did not give character-training and willpower primacy over intellectual training.

Nazi educational theories were securely based in German Romanticism, which found its home in extreme nationalism. The interests of the individual were to be subsumed in the corporate, national whole, based securely on historical traditions, and given motive power by the disillusionment and sense of injustice generated after Versailles. So that by 1937, the Reich Minister of Education could shorten the period of secondary education, and make the following, cold-blooded decree.
The elementary school has along with the other kinds of schools and with the organisations of the Party, the Work Service and the Army, to educate the German youth for the National community and for full pledge to Leader and Nation.  

To achieve this, of course the full cooperation of the teaching profession was necessary, and traditionally, German teachers had supported the power of the state. In fact, as far as the Nazis were concerned, the teaching profession was one of the most reliable sections of the community, and in 1936, and before the moratorium on Party recruitment after the Nazis came to power was lifted, 32% of all NSLB (Nazi Teachers' League - Nationalsozialistische Lehrerbund) members belonged to the Nazi Party, twice as high an incidence as that found amongst the Nazi Civil Servants' Association. Moreover, whilst only 6% of civil servants belonged to the Party's political leadership corps, 14% of teachers were members. At the top of the Nazi pyramid, seventy-eight Kreisleiters and seven Gauleiters and deputy Gauleiters were former teachers. Besides this, many teachers were active in the Party at local level, where their respectable status gave good cover for less savoury Party members. In fact the speed with which former Social Democrat teachers accepted positions in the Nazi Party gave rise to a popular joke, which ran:

Q. What is the shortest measurable unit of time?

A. The time it takes a grade-school teacher to change his political allegiance.
Perhaps allied to this groundswell of feeling was an anti-intellectual bias, following logically from the Nazis' desire to overturn all accepted values. Generally speaking, in the rural areas, the only members of the community who had progressed beyond elementary or trade-school level, were the priest and the teacher. With the Nazis preaching the primacy of "blood" over reason, the worker with brain obviously suffered a loss of status.¹⁹ This was reinforced by the inflation of youthful egos vis a vis their teachers and elders, through Hitler Youth propaganda, which hammered home to the young the fact that the future belonged to them.²⁰ Despite this, 11,000 teachers acted as part-time Hitler Youth officials, mainly in the country, and it has been suggested that one of the motivating factors in this was an unease lest their pupils' leisure time should be completely dominated by the Hitler Youth.²¹

At the same time, a parallel has been drawn between the influence of the German schoolmaster on national achievement, and the effect of the "playing fields of Eton" on British military and colonial success.²² The Nazis found that the teachers they inherited were antithetical to the liberal ethos of Weimar, and most of them had grown up, been educated, and had their personal values formed under an authoritarian regime.²³

The Nazis were swift to encourage these attitudes, and realising that to produce the ideal Nazi, the teachers must first be converted, they set to work with this object specifically in mind. In the first edition of a monthly publication for
teachers Weltanschaung und Schule, the desired qualities for the teacher were spelt out.

National socialism sees in the profession the centre of gravity of political existence ... The aim of this periodical is to develop from the profession of teacher the type of political German who realises that he can only fulfil himself through the inspiration derived from the Weltanschaung.

In this edition, the Minister of Education, Rust, contributed an article on Racial Selection and the School, where what was required from the teachers was fully explicated. The military virtues, central to National Socialism were given primacy, and it was stressed that teachers had to read the journal and act upon it, if they wished to keep their jobs.

Even in play the games and exercises must be so designed as to bring home ... the lessons of war and defence. The boys' natural desire for activity, for testing his strength, is utilised not merely for the physical preparation for war, but for its psychological acceptance. By developing the childish fights or Red Indian games of the younger child into mimic battles for the older boy and the adolescent, all the terms and technical details connected with warfare are made to sink unconsciously into the mind and are accepted unconditionally. That which cannot be taught in school is taught in the Youth Camp, and "Weltanschaung und Schule" does not fail to give instructions regarding the spring exercises, nearly all of which are to take the form of Battles.
It is not surprising, therefore, that the Nazis dismissed or imprisoned those teachers associated with radicalism, and effectively regimented the rest of them. With regard to the teaching unions, they were disbanded without ceremony and they were incorporated into the National-Socialist Teachers' Union, with severe losses of previous rights. Moreover, through the shortening of the school programme, and the expected involvement in Party works, teachers found themselves with extra work to do. Also, all teachers had to swear on oath of allegiance to the new master of Germany, as follows:

Adolf Hitler, we swear that we will train the youth of Germany that they will grow up in your ideology, for your aims and purposes, in the direction set by your will. This is pledged to you by the whole German system of education from the primary school through to the University.\(^{26}\)

In November 1936, Rust, the Minister of Education opened the first of eight special training colleges. The life of the teachers in training within these institutions was completely in line with Nazi principles.

In the training of the school-master, sport and work in the labour camp are necessary before admittance to the second examination ... The form of the new school will be distinguished by the new training of the German teacher. Life in the Teachers' Training College is a permanent service under the flag. It is characterised by a martial attitude.\(^{27}\)
The Bavarian Minister of Education, Hans Schwemm, reinforced such views in a speech to teachers.

Without military will a German school is impossible. A pacifist teacher is a clown or a criminal. He must be exterminated.

In November 1936, the Volkischer Beobachter praised the new training institutions, dwelling on their military organisation and orientations, especially the camps "where lecturers and students are united as common soldiers". With no shame whatsoever, Minister Rust reinforced, in a teachers journal, the stark nature of Nazi pedagogy.

The teachers of the future ... must be trained to be men capable of bearing arms and ready to carry them, ready to be able to evoke in the children in their care the same military spirit, the same military will. The National-Socialist type of teacher is the soldier type.

Yet even before these innovations, teachers were fully controlled and coordinated by the regime, and there is little evidence that this was in any way opposed. As early as January 5, 1934, requirements for admission to teacher training were revised to include political, religious and racial criteria. Besides educational qualifications, service in political organisations and voluntary service were required. Candidates were then interviewed and examined as to musical ability and skill in instructing in gymnastics, athletics and sports, whilst females had also to be competent in teaching needlework and housecraft.
Before graduation, teachers were encouraged to spend at least six months in the voluntary Labour Service (Arbeitsdienst), and if willing to take the leaders' course they were allowed to spend a whole year in the service. There was the added incentive that Labour Service counted as part of the three year period of probationary service for teachers. Agricultural work, in the light of the Nazi emphasis on blood and soil was recommended for all teachers.\textsuperscript{33}

Again in 1933, the school principal was again restored to the position of absolute power within the school, which he had lost to collegiality under the Republic, and even though the teachers council (Lehrerkollegium) was still retained, it soon had only an advisory capacity.\textsuperscript{34} Aptly enough in November 1933, it was decided in Prussia that teachers in state schools had to belong to some Party organisation, to wear uniform on ceremonial occasions and to take part in Wehrsport and Gelandesport.\textsuperscript{35}

Of course, to the Nazis, coeducation was anathema, yet this did not lead to secure career prospects for women teachers. There was pressure mounted generally on married women to quit the professions, and in Prussia in 1934, vacant teaching posts were offered firstly to war-wounded male teachers - except in prestige subjects, such as physical training and biology.\textsuperscript{36}

The Italian Fascists had considered that women were too gentle to inculcate the warlike responses they desired, and this
attitude was also present in Germany, as the statement attributed to a Nazi headmaster of a girls' school illustrated.

Oh yes, in many girls' schools we now have headmasters and, whereas there used to be all women teachers in this school, I have now made many changes and by degrees I shall have nearly all young masters. Of course, I shall keep women for the cooking and sewing lessons and perhaps for a little art, but I think not for music, because our singing must be in the right atmosphere of the Nazi revolution. I have found too that masters are much better at teaching many subjects, especially history and biology.

With regard to the subject which the Nazis regarded as all-important, physical education, they ensured that their teachers had a thorough grounding in the area. Students undertaking a generalist course for primary school teaching had to have a daily lesson in PE. Those desiring to specialise in the subject, after their two years generalist training were enrolled at a University Physical Training Institute (Hochschul-Institut für Leibesübungen), where they joined students preparing as secondary school specialists. Refresher courses of two weeks duration were also available to primary school teachers already in service. By such means the regime hoped to ensure a steady supply of qualified teachers, and to maintain a cadre of young specialists as older ones reverted to academic subjects.
All students intending to teach in secondary schools had to go up to university after their one year at training college. At university they had to take three subjects in their particular group, physical education being compulsory. During the first year and a half of his course, the student attended classes at the University Institute. Thereafter, if wishing to qualify as a secondary school specialist in PE, he undertook a full year's training, comprising of 15 hours practical and 11 hours theoretical instruction weekly. Finally, students attended an examination camp at Neu-Strelitz, for men, or Marburg for women. For the rest of his time at the university, the student studied his three options together, and his PE commitment was cut to eight hours per week. There was also an attempt to relate the academic options to PE with linking theses. After four years at university the student sat the state examination, whether PE had been his main subject or not. If successful, he faced two years as a probationary teacher on poor pay before taking a final examination for full teacher status.

The curriculum at the Hochschulinstitut contained all the elements central to Nazi dogma, with boxing being mandatory for men, together with the usual para-military scouting and camping activities. Associated with this institution was the "Fortbildung" Department, which gave short, introductory courses to teachers, gymnastic instructors, heads, youth and Labour Service leaders.
Interlinked with the military orientations of physical culture was the Nazi's concern over leadership. At the Fuhrerschule at Neu-Strelitz, teachers were given short refresher courses, of a comprehensive nature, including gliding, shooting and war-sport, besides the traditional range of activities. With regard to the teaching profession, this continued search for leadership potential was fully tested at the National Physical Training Academy (Reichsakademie für Leibesubungen), situated on the Reichssportfeld, near the 1936 Olympic Stadium. Of serving teachers, only those of outstanding talent were chosen to attend, whilst other instructors would come from the HJ, SA, or SS, and fulfil racial and educational requirements.

As at the Fascist Academy at Rome, facilities were exceptionally lavish with seven gymnasia - with one especially equipped for boxing - and modern innovations enabling observation of, and communication with swimmers. There were facilities for medical research and the library of the Academy contained, in 1936, the largest collection of books on physical training in the world. Besides the practical work, political education was fitted in with the theoretical studies, which, interestingly enough, included bookkeeping, typing and shorthand, sports' journalism and photography.

In the comprehensive manner so typical of the Nazis, the above twelve month courses were also supplemented by shorter ones, in which unpaid sports' leaders were drilled in the Nazi construct of military sport. Facilities were also available for courses
for leaders in the National Physical Training League (Reichsbund fur Leibesubungen). In this manner, the regime assured that no person instructing the young of Germany in physical culture, had not received formal indoctrination and training.

Yet even though the loyalty of the teaching profession might have been guaranteed, the whole fabric had to be underpinned by the tight administrative structure so beloved of totalitarians, all the more so if they were to realise:

the principle task of the school ... the education of youth in the service of nationhood and State in the National Socialist spirit.

The leader of the Labour Front, Dr Ley, also spelled out the organisational bonds which the Nazis would wrap around German youth.

Our State is an educational State ... It does not let a man go free from the cradle to the grave. We begin with the child when he is three years old. As soon as he begins to think he is made to carry a little flag. Then follows school, the Hitler Youth, the Storm Troopers, and military training. We don't let him go; and when all that is done, comes the Labour Front, which takes possession of him again, and does not let him go till he dies, even if he does not like it.

Throughout these utterances ran the theme, uttered explicitly and brutally by Rust, that "The whole function of education is to create Nazis."
A comprehensive administration of education was certainly called for by a system, which unlike most modern systems of education, had a basically anti-intellectual approach, and which had to concentrate primarily on the training of "character", a process appearing to observers as a complete negation of the aims of education, as conceived of outside Nazi Germany.\(^2\)

Initially, control of education had to be centralised, and this was done by the appointment of Bernhard Rust, formerly Minister of Science, Art and Public Education for Prussia, as Minister of Science, Education and Popular Education (Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung), on May 1, 1934.\(^3\) Predictably enough, in the Nazi scheme of events, where things of the intellect and scientific training were to be of only secondary importance, one of the eight departments of the Ministry was to concern itself with physical education.\(^4\) Later on in the same year, the Reich and Prussian administrations were fused, thus creating a single Reich and Prussian Ministry, so that a contemporary educationist could state:

> There is, accordingly, documentary support for the proposition that the administrative supervision over education in Germany has been brought under a single national office and that the scope of its authority embraces every intellectual activity even remotely related to education.\(^5\)
Again, in the Nazi state, which some observers claimed had no "fundamental" law, it was obvious that the Fuhrer himself did not hesitate to make education-law, whenever it fitted in with his administrative plan. Overall, Nazi decrees regarding education exhibited a determination to impose a rigid system throughout the schools, encompassing teachers and pupils equally. This control spread to the subjects taught, books, papers and magazines to be used, the method and spirit of instruction, the life and recreation of pupils and the behaviour and thinking of teachers.46

Under this system, the schools were "purified" of elements antithetical to the new ideology, with most of the independent and experimental schools being closed by 1936. With the Nazis "capturing" the top administrative positions in the state ministries of education, new decrees and laws forced out any "undesirables" who had not already been expelled from the schools by the direct action of the SA, soon after Hitler's accession.47

From this it was logical that the school curriculum should be unified in a meaningful, ideological manner, and not just in those subjects to which the Nazis gave most importance. These, of course, were the mother tongue, history, based on blood and soil, biology and the science of race (Rassenkunde), and physical training, as a guarantor of healthy physique, finding its ultimate expression in Gelandesport (terrain sport) and
general military preparedness (Wehrhaftigkeit). For these ends
the schools also had to be completely politicised, in a corporate,
national manner, and to this purpose the regime laid great
importance on the hoisting of flags and elaborate ceremonies,
which were intended to bring about a spirit of conformity.48

It could even be argued that this minute Nazi concern for the
education of the young of Germany was evident prior to birth,
and with regard to racial selection, prior even to conception.49
From the start of the Kindergarten (Kindertagesstaedte), the
child's first books commenced the Nazi message, which dealt:

... in word and picture with camp
life, marching, martial drums, boys
growing up to be soldiers, and girls to
take care of soldiers.50

Traditional European fairy stories were also scrutinised, with
Little Red Riding Hood being dismissed as "A foolish, unreal
pre-Nazi fabrication", whilst Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs
was "A sickening glorification of crippled beings", which could
have no place in the Nazi schema which glorified the strong and
handsome.51

Because of the emphasis which the Nazis put on the teaching of
physical education, it is significant that Minister Rust
designated a minimum of five periods per week for the theory of
the subject, with every afternoon, often up to six o'clock,
devoted to organised sport. The following weekly schedule will
give some idea of the comparative weight given to subjects.
Periods | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
1. 8:00-8:45 - Deutsch do do do do do do
2. 8:50-9:35 - Geo Hist Singing Geo Hist Singing
3. 9:40-10:25 - Race do do Ideology do do Study
4. 10:25-11:00 - Recess, with sports and special announcements
5. 11:00-12:05 - Domestic science with mathematics, every day
6. 12:10-12:55 - Eugenics - Health Biology, alternating

The nature of the overt, yet insidious mating of physical culture and militarism by the Nazis, was aptly demonstrated by Mowrer, when he related the example of a gymnastic teacher in a Catholic boys' school, who encouraged sluggards by asking them how they expected to beat the Poles in the coming war if they did not develop their muscles.

However, the traditional, academic subjects also received the full weight of Nazi, militarist propaganda and distortion. Together with the inculcation of nationalism, associated with the study of the mother tongue, the selection of reading material available to children was carefully chosen, and in 1936, new readers were introduced into the primary school. Patriotism, militarism, ethnocentrism and the cult of the leader were equally purveyed to impressionable young minds.
The political indoctrination of pupils gathered pace in the study of history, which emphasised the cult of the Germanic (Aryan) hero, developed national pride and encouraged Pan-Germanism, with no objectivity. To be sure, some of the resulting texts were absurd in academic terms, such as when classical Greece was "nordified". The subject thus degenerated to pure ideology, but perhaps this all-but religious ambience was an unconscious attempt to compensate for the diminished time given to religious instruction. Under the Nazis, religious instruction ceased to be a subject for the school-leaving examination in 1935, and school prayers were made optional. In 1937, priests were stopped from taking religious classes, and then the subject was time-tabled at either the beginning, or end of morning school, the most popular time for truancy. Children were also allowed to drop the subject, and before the war it disappeared from school reports.

For the Nazis, race was the basis of all studies, and the theory of heredity and race, population-studies, sex-education and hygiene, all took place in the biology classes. Even an apparently innocent field-trip was grist to the Nazi mill, and Ziemer tells how he witnessed a teacher, by way of simple, question and answer technique, convince a class of boys that the Fuhrerprinzip was a law of nature, and that the noblest of all callings was that of the soldier - merely from observing the social behaviour of ants.
Geography, besides consolidating the message of Nazi history, impressed on the young the wrongs done to Germany at Versailles when territory was taken from her. Teachers were instructed to emphasise the military orientations of geography, from a tactically defensive and offensive standpoint. The subject also reinforced ethnocentric and nationalist attitudes implanted in other lessons.  

No subject area could escape from the Nazi world view. Mathematics provided practical problems in military affairs, chemistry and physics concerned themselves with gas warfare and weapons. Even classes in drawing attempted to beautify and sanctify the cult of death. 

Although the Nazis put their major emphasis on the education of boys, the girls received equal attention, for their admittedly, different role, in the Nazi world order, as Ziemer observed in a girls' school.

Every one of them [the classes] emphasized Nordic culture, and woman's place as the cradle of future soldiers, wherever the opportunity offered itself. Every subject seemed to be slanted to make the girls realise that they were the prospective mothers of Germany.
Of course, such a programme adversely affected academic levels, and Ilse McKee gave a frank description of an important oral examination, in which standards were incredibly low. Moreover, as war loomed the government gave the leaving certificate freely to boys volunteering for military service, and to girls who undertook work in the civil service, thus freeing men for the army. This last ploy, however, collapsed and within weeks the girls were back in school.

However, as has been previously mentioned, physical training was the area on which most emphasis was placed. Yet unlike the sporting ambience of Italian Fascism, which they owed to the Anarchists and Futurists, and which led developmentally into military training, according to the regime's ideology, the prime mover in German physical culture was always a military one. Militarism in Italy was a shallow grafting by the Fascists, which probably never really took root, yet as has been shown previously, the military imperative was an ancient and respected part of German culture. Mussolini, even whilst suffering his military fantasies, still participated in sport, albeit out of vanity, and when asked by Who's Who for an entry, listed two of his pastimes as fencing and riding. Hitler, however, ignored a similar request. As far as he was concerned, sport had a purely preparative function for war, and a propaganda one for politics as an extension of war by other means. Several incidents can be cited to illustrate the purely utilitarian concept of physical culture which the Fuhrer had. Albert Speer describes how he told
Hitler in 1937 that the projected stadium for the 1945 Party rally did not meet Olympic standards. Hitler brushed this objection aside with the comment:

No matter. In 1940 the Olympic Games will take place in Tokyo. But thereafter they will take place in Germany for all time to come, in this stadium. And then we will determine the measurements of the athletic field.

At the 1936 Olympic Games, he at one time threatened to cancel them quite arbitrarily, until his box was made to match his own architectural standards. Again, in the drive for the oil-fields of the Caucasus, in 1942, a group of mountain troops climbed Mount Elbrus and placed a swastika flag on the summit. Far from meeting with Hitler's approval, this so enraged him that Speer remarked:

For hours he raged as if his entire plan of campaign had been ruined by this bit of sport.

At the same time, Hitler was very aware of the aesthetic nature of physique, besides the functional, as he noted after seeing a photograph of a beautiful woman swimmer.

What splendid bodies you can see today. It is only in our country that young people have once again approached Hellenistic ideals through sport.
In the area of physical culture, Nazi domination spread outside the school system, and indeed, one might argue that it was through sport and physical training that the school system, in becoming part of the greater societal whole was truly "nazified". At all times the emphasis on the sheer physicality of the body, the development of character, will-power and courage, even at the expense of the intellect, were emphasised in statements like the following:

- a sound body capable of enduring hardships, a clean character that knows neither fear nor cowardice, and an open mind that avoids every kind of intellectual trifling ...

The youngsters who would be of most value to the nation were the ones with physical health, character, will-power, alertness and national pride. Thus it was held as "a natural truth" that the training of the body was of more importance than the training of the mind, and indeed, the desired qualities of character could only be attained after the physical tuning of the body.

As in Italy, educators had been slow to develop physical education within the German system, prior to the Nazis. It was due to the Philanthropist Movement, with its declared belief that joy should characterise the ambience of the school, that physical education gained its first foothold. The work was pioneered by Guts Muths, who taught the subject at the "Philanthropinum" at Schnepfenthal, between 1785-1837, and who systematised it in his book, Gymnastics for Youth in 1793. He originally conceived of all forms of movement as gymnastics, but, significantly enough
in the light of later developments, especially after the advent of Jahn, he came to see physical education as "defence education" (Wehrerziehung).

After the defeat of Prussia at Jena in 1806, the task of regenerating the nation was seen to be intimately geared to the training of the body, which was linked with the nationalist movement whose greatest apologist was Jahn. Beginning as a philologist, he moved through "Germanism" to produce in 1816 his book German Physical Training (Deutsche Turnkunst). He founded the first "Turnplatz" in 1811, and the development of the Turnen movement went hand-in-hand with the growing interest in German philology, stimulated by the Romantics.

Many of the elements of Turnen were far from novel, owing debts to Greek methods, as well as contemporary theorists like Pestalozzi and Guts Muths. Where Jahn was novel was in his insistence that exercise should take place in the open air, in German heath and forest where all could participate. Again, he saw Turnen as a form of national defence, whilst in content he included, besides gymnastics - duelling, swimming, wrestling, dancing, riding etc.

Turnen did come under a ban but in the light of a war scare in 1840, it was reintroduced, albeit, merely as a school exercise, which was developed by Adolf Spiess (1810-58). In 1850 the first training school for instructors was founded in Dresden, and in 1851 a Central Physical Training Institute was opened in
Berlin under Hugo Rothstein. Even at this early stage the Institute was under the joint control of the Prussian Ministries of Education and War, and both soldiers and civilians were trained for positions in schools. Moreover, as Prussia had thus taken the lead in training instructors, thereafter, physical training in Germany was to remain mainly under Prussian influence, with all its attendant militarism and its historical results.®

In a decree of May 26, 1860, this orientation was explicated:

Gymnastic training and its development in the Central Physical Training Institute is closely associated with the system of military training at present used in the royal army. Care must therefore be taken that, apart from the importance of physical training for education and health, the opportunity is offered directly to prepare the nation for war through the proper practice of gymastics in the schools.®

Nationalism was the most important single factor in the development of physical education, after 1870. It was the nationalists who drew attention to the physical degeneration of young Germany, culminating in the Emperor calling on the schools to produce a virile generation, in 1890. This led to reforms and more emphasis on physical training. Even when more "playful" elements were introduced, they were still seen to be in the service of the state.

With the Revolution of 1918, physical education could have received a new orientation. After the disasters of the war, the subject was held to be of great importance in rebuilding the country, especially as education was then seen to have been
over-intellectual in the past. The Central Physical Training Institute was revived and given university status at Spandau, as the Prussian College for Physical Training (Preussische Hochschule für Leibesubungen) in 1920. Although more liberal, "freer" influences were evident, for instance the work of Hans Suren, these were mainly the result of the work of individual teachers and not a general movement.

In Prussia, however, the march of militarism and physical culture continued with the Prussian State Boarding Schools growing out of the pre 1918 Cadet Institutions, and overtly pursuing military aims under the nose of the Ministry of Education. This orientation occurred also in the Salem Schools, which required, amongst other qualities, for the award of the Salem Leaving Certificate, the "power to fight" (Kampfkraft). Education in these schools used exercises in which sport was linked to purposes of military training (ie Wehrsport). Both these types of schools were not really typical of all schools, indeed, the Salem Schools were outside the state system, yet they managed to influence boys who attended state schools. This movement was also aided by organisations which claimed to be engaged in youth welfare, but which were really political groupings under the control of anti-democratic parties, such as the Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet) and the German National Party. Their clubs were often staffed by ex-officers in the guise of trainers, masseurs, managers etc, and thus the insidious progress of militarism continued.
Under the Republic, physical education in schools was controlled by the Ministries of Education within the various states. Physical culture outside the schools was centrally administered. There was a Reich Council for Physical Education (Reichsbeirat für körperliche Erziehung), as well as a Reichstag committee. The varying sporting bodies had also a central unit working on their behalf in the German Reich Committee for Physical Training (Deutscher Reichsausschuss für Leibesubungen), and it was due to the energy of this body that the Reich Sports Badge (Reichssportabzeichen), and the Reich Youth Badge (Reichsjugendabzeichen), were both introduced. The committee also organised the Reich Youth Sports Competitions (Reichsjugendwettkämpfe) in 1920, and the German Competition Games (Deutsche Kampfspiele) from 1922. Whilst there was no obvious, official military bias in these groupings, this did not obviate militaristic individuals, as remarked on above, working within them. At the same time, when the Nazis came to power the well organised, not to say regimented sports' scene, made their take-over all the easier.

Only in the mainly, left-wing workers' organisations was there a distinct absence of military objectives. As early as 1893, under the Empire, the Workers' Physical Training and Sports League (Arbeiter-Turn-und-Sportbund) had appeared. The Workers' Athletic League was formed in 1906 and the Central Commission for Workers' Sport and Physical Training (Zentralkommission für Arbeiter- und Körpersport) in 1922. Unfortunately, the left wing movements lost their unity and common sense of purpose when it was most needed, in the face of the Nazi advance.
As a result, all the historical antecedents of Prussian militarism were reinstated in the Nazi scheme of physical culture. Hans Munch, Director of the Reichsdienst was unequivocal that:

Athletics and sport are in the complete sense of the word political. It is impossible for individual or private clubs to indulge in physical exercise or games. These are the business of the State.

Athletics and sport are the preparatory school of political driving power in the service of the State. Non-political, so-called neutral sportsmen are unthinkable in Hitler's Germany.72

The task of dissociating physical culture from military training is difficult in the context of Fascist Italy - in the case of Nazi Germany it is all-but impossible. As will be seen in the next chapter, militarism was apparently more overt in the Hitler Youth, yet even in the schools:

This physical culture is to include gas mask drill, crawling, creeping through, taking cover, fire alarm drill in school, including the use of darkened staircases.73

The National-Socialist School Programme declared in 1934 that physical training aimed to prepare youth for military service,74 whilst a subject specialist could address the National-Socialist Teachers' Union of the Palatinate in 1937 with the following avowal:
The whole aim and purpose of youth must be directed towards becoming good soldiers. Physical Culture is the basis for National-Socialist education. The term "Drill" is no longer recognised as a specific subject; physical culture makes higher demands. Folk, Defence, Race, Leadership are its directing principles ... Race-consciousness must be burnt into the hearts of our young people. The whole system of our physical culture is centred on the capacity to fight. The Third Reich is opposed to the bloodless intellectualism of the past and its failure to honour physical achievement.

Therefore, soon after the Nazis took power, Hans von Tschammer und Osten became Reich Sports Commissar, in order to facilitate state control over all sporting activities. He abolished all previously existing organisations and transferred their assets to the Nazi, German Reich League for Physical Training (Deutscher Reichsbund fur Leibesubungen), later titled the National Socialist Reich League for Physical Training (NSRL). After this reorganisation, there were three agencies concerned with physical culture: the state, the Party and the NSRL.

The authority of the state concerned the schools and universities, as manifested by a department in the Ministry of Education, whilst the National Socialist Students' League was active in the universities. The Reich Academy for Physical Training (Reichsakademie fur Leibesubungen) at Spandau was the only recognised college for the training of instructors. The Party oversaw the sports activities of its various component bodies, such as the Hitler Youth and the German Labour Front, responsible
for the Strength Through Joy (Kraft durch Freude) organisation, whilst the Reich Food Estate encouraged farmers to exercise. In 1936 the Reich Sports Office was created under the Minister of the Interior, but the schools, Party and the armed forces were left outside its jurisdiction. Nonetheless, to a great extent it superceded the NSRL.76

Within the schools, provision for physical education was increased, initially, at the expense of religious instruction. As a school subject, its range of operations as well as its academic standing increased. Boxing, in the light of Hitler's views in Mein Kampf was made compulsory in upper schools,77 and the subject became a subject for examination for grammar school entry as well as for the school-leaving certificate. Indeed, consistently poor work in physical education could lead to expulsion or serve as a bar to upward transfer.78

The head of the ministry department responsible for physical education had his counterpart in each Nazi, administrative district (Gau). This official, in fact acted out much the same role as the organisers used to in the United Kingdom. British visitors, during 1936, noted that most town schools of any size had one, equipped gymnasium. They were informed that provision of gymnasium, even in country schools was increasing. Apparently, the recommended size was some 80 feet by 40 feet, and overall the foreign experts concluded that the gymnasium were:

generously equipped with fixed and moveable apparatus of all sorts and were spacious and well lighted.79
The British team came to the conclusion that the PE programme consisted of an amalgam of German and Swedish gymnastics plus English games, and also noted that as early as their visit, that there was a movement in certain primary schools (Grundschulen) in Berlin to devote one period to the subject per day, as the time-tables below illustrate.

**CLASS VA (ten-year-olds)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6 periods a week</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 &quot;</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
<td>Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
<td>Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 &quot;</td>
<td>in all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CLASS VIIA (seven-year-olds)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6 periods a week</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
<td>Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot;</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 &quot;</td>
<td>in all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The content of the actual lessons was found to consist of warm-up exercises, such as walking, running, free-standing exercises, rope-work and generalised activities. Then there was the development of apparatus work (Turnen), and finally games and agility practices, with the apparatus work giving way to athletics in summer.
Overall, the visiting team were impressed by the close liaison between the schools and medical advice, not really surprising when one recalls the purpose behind Nazi physical culture as previously explicated. This was further manifested in the physical tests necessary before transfer to the secondary school, and the growing interest in testing and measuring athletic performance for Ministry statistical purposes, as well as the institution of the Reich Sports Medal.

Without ever drawing the obvious conclusions that their observations might have elicited, the British visitors remarked on the emphasis on heavy, apparatus work, leading perhaps to over-development of the upper body, of the emphasis on team-work and common cooperation. Most telling of all, they duly noted that in certain apparatus work, form was considered a secondary concern - the overall emphasis being on courage and achievement.

Thus the Nazis adapted the system of physical culture which they inherited to serve their militaristic world view, enabling a perhaps, more perceptive observer of the German scene than the spokesmen of the aforementioned British Ministry Visitors to note that:

Physical education has been defined by the Ministry as pre-military training. Its chief aim is the development of physical efficiency with a strong emphasis on military defence and preparedness. Unlike the traditional Turnen of Germany which stressed the strong physique trained through formal drill and exercises, or the physical training of the Republic which emphasised health and recreation, the new physical education merely employs these aims as starting
points which, through Gelandesport
or open country sports and Wehrsport
or military sport, are to lay the
foundations for a national army as
well trained and prepared for future
eventualities as the prohibition of
instruments of war under the
Versailles Treaty permits.®

The spread of these activities was encouraged by all official
means, and loyal Germans were made to feel that to participate
was a matter of national honour. Special courses were run for
teachers in the related activities, and through their enthusiastic
prosecution in the youth movements, the net encompassed a whole
generation. Even as early as January 1933, and prior to the
Nazi take-over, a decree urged all schools to organise physical
training, so as to build a base for Gelandesport, which the
authorities deemed:

an excellent method for educating
youth in discipline and comradeship
and for training the body and the
senses.®

This movement was augmented by a programme of excursions and
school journeys, and it was ruled in June 1933 that pupils must
first become familiar with their own particular environment,
prior to travelling further afield. The knowledge gained of
local terrain would be of obvious defence-use, whilst visits to
historic sites would bring about patriotic feelings. Although
travel abroad was allowed, more important was travel which main-
tained bonds with other racial, German communities, either those
which had emigrated, those in the colonies or those scattered over
Europe, as a manifestation of Pan-Germanism.®
The overt militarism of Germany was not a matter of the number of men under arms, and one could support the view that the tiny, 100,000 Reichswehr of 1932, completely dominated the country. In its purest form, this militarism allowed the armed forces to be the ruling factor in the state. In the schools, the military skills called forth by this bias were seen by pupils as adjuncts to German regeneration, while the school authorities did little to object to frequent parades, whilst if students were involved on manoeuvres, they could be excused school for up to ten days.

The Italian Fascists saw in sport their eventual, if not always fully articulated, military orientations. To the Nazis, physical culture had no meaning or substance outside military imperatives.

How do we wish our people to look? ... Nordically classified bodies and faces, sportsman types, Olympic athletes, soldiers, typical officers, leaders ...

So that it was quite logical for the Nazis to conceive of the school as "an auxiliary of the army", with all the familiar military regulations governing the activities of administrators, teachers and pupils. This was brought home to Peter Neumann, who was destined to be a graduate of a Napola and the Ordensburgen, and then to serve as an SS officer on the Eastern Front. Finding his younger brother somewhat overopinionated due to his promotion within the Jungvolk, he questioned him about a certain von Metzsch, who had just been appointed principal at the local university:
Klaus said disdainfully:
"You don't seem to know anything!
Lieutenant-General Horst von Metzsch has been appointed by Julius Streicher to the supreme command of the German Education Corps. Our educational system is to follow the hierarchical military system of the SS. Also, and we don't care for this quite so much, there's to be corporal punishment as well. Gosh! Just do the slightest thing wrong and they don't half cane you!"

The lengths to which the Nazis carried their principles assumed horrific proportions, in the eyes of some observers, and using evidence culled from a German teachers' magazine, Wiener asserted that:

The first clothes which are put on the German baby is a uniform, the only toys the child is allowed to play with are guns and swords, planes and bombs; the first pictures he ever sees are glorifications of war the first words he learns to spell are "Hitler", "Krieger" (soldier), "Heil". "The conception of total war must be explained even to the smallest child".

Nazi Weltanschaung was even elevated to the level of culture, and a Berlin University professor and Party spokesman, in 1937, was able to boast of the transmutation of the "peaceful burgher mobilised" into a person "mentally equipped and prepared at all times to bear arms". Indeed, he maintained that a willingness to fight was "the whole structure" of German national being, and that in achieving this, more than ever before would be asked of the teaching profession.
In the attempt to regenerate Germany and at the same time to extend the boundaries of the state, especially by gathering in scattered, racial German minorities, the principles of military science (Wehrkunde, Wehrwissenschaft) had to be taught in schools and other state institutions.

For this purpose the science of defence must become a recognised subject of instruction, both in the Reichswehr and in our universities and technical institutes...
The science of defence should also be made a subject in our secondary schools and in the two upper classes of our primary schools.\textsuperscript{91}

In support of these aims, German teachers' journals praised the slogan of Mussolini, Libro e Moschetto (Book and Gun), as joint symbols of moral education and the spirit of militarism.\textsuperscript{92} The same publication, the Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerzeitung, made the following related quotations.

\begin{quote}
The taste for militarism must be inculcated in children; they must be told at every opportunity that every man of noble birth must be a soldier.
September 2, 1933. (Frederick the Great)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
There is no competent scholar who does not possess the instincts of a good soldier.
September 23, 1933. (Nietzsche)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
I know that we Germans will be victorious in the next war ... Simply because ... no one can resist our health within and our young strength ...
October 14, 1933. (Gustav Frenssen)\textsuperscript{93}
\end{quote}
A related journal, again juxtaposed the moral and the militaristic outlets of physical culture, with some tacit hints for teachers on their imposition.

The war instinct is inborn in our young generation. It finds expression in the war games of children, in the penchant for battles and in the preference for literature which deals with wars and victory.

The training of the military spirit has two aspects: one side physical the other moral. Moral training consists of awakening and encouraging the war instinct and the love of liberty; physical training is given by pre-military preparation whose end is the training of soldiers. The two aspects in the development of youth are indispensable and inconceivable, the one without the other.®

To the periodical Die Deutsche Schule, the central obligation of all educators was the prosecution of military education.® More explicitly, in an earlier edition, weapon training had been sanctified in the following manner.

Education in relation to weapons, then, is no special branch of general education; rather it is, in point of fact, the very core of our entire education.®

According to the National-Socialist Teachers' League newspaper, the general aims of the process of schooling were, specifically directed to:
1. Increasing physical fitness for military service.
2. Rousing the inner and outer readiness for military defence.
3. Acquiring the requisite knowledge and practical efficiency as a preliminary of military service.

The Nazi apologist who typified the regime's desire to militarise education was Dr Hellmut Stellrecht, who wrote the definitive work, *Wehrerziehung der Deutschen Jugend* (Military Education of German Youth). In this work he maintained that military education had to commence as early as possible, until by the time military service came along "steel is forged from the iron". The Nazi soldier, moreover, must not have a professional attitude, but be "the Bearer of an Idea". This frankly Platonic concept was to be achieved by dint of "selection and training", so that soldiering would eventually impinge upon the national consciousness "embodied most strongly in those who actually bear arms".

As a reflection of the Nazi spirit of heroic attack, Stellrecht believed that "the sword" and "not the shield" was "the symbol of the warrior", and that this aggressive spirit was "the spirit of the Nordic race". In reinforcing this innate "spirit", and in the light of Hitler's views expressed in *Mein Kampf*, he ruled that boxing should be used in schools from the age of fourteen upwards. Fencing he categorised as being too expensive of equipment, too difficult to learn, and perhaps most importantly, "not painful". Wrestling was approved of as requiring little outlay on apparatus, and as improving "agility and swift calculation", yet lacking the essential element of "the blow".
Once and for all, the blow is warlike - aggressive. To realise our purpose we must not dissipate our energies, but must concentrate on boxing.

In other chapters he discussed training for "Hardness", and also, at some length, shooting, the prime aim of which was, according to Stellrecht, to shoot straight and "kill the enemy". Whereas the Fascists had conjoined the book and gun in doggerel (Libro e moschetto/fascista perfetto), the Nazis were down to earth and precise in their juxtaposition, even to the smallest detail.

The German boy between 10 and 15 should have a gun in his hand, not a military weapon, but an air gun, with which he is systematically taught to shoot and aim, first at stationary and then at moving targets. For the boy of 15 to 19 the proper weapon is the small calibre gun ... Every kind of training reaches its highest point in the art of shooting. It cannot be valued too highly ...

Our boys must learn to shoot. They must handle a rifle in as matter-of-fact a manner as they do a penholder. A strange people which spends many hours a day for many years learning to write correctly and never spends an hour in learning to shoot! ...

Some want to educate the people as if shooting were not also a part of education. "Wisdom is power" they write over the doors of their schools; as if power were not incorporated more fully in the gun than in anything else.
These ideas, and others similar, were far from minority views in Nazi Germany and writers were able to maintain that shooting was as important as learning to write, because in the coming war the ability to shoot would be "of no less importance than being able to write".  

Nor were the girls to be left out of the Nazi scheme for militarising the school, although in the light of Party dogma, women's role was to be much more subdued and passive than that of the boys. In 1936, the State organiser for girls education, Dr Reuben Gruber, spoke at a conference on the task of familiarising girls with military matters, and made suggestions as to how they could play their part in support roles. In National-Sozialistische Mädchenerziehung (National-Socialist Girls' Education) the military duties of the female were starkly delineated.

We must make it quite clear to our girls what the military education of people really means: they must understand that we need a generation of women, who do not look upon the soldiering activities of their men-folk as a necessary evil, but as a sacred duty ...

In a text written specifically concerning the militarisation of women, what was above envisaged as a duty, was presented as a world-historical task.

The militarisation of the woman, of the entire female part of the population, is nothing less than one of the great tasks of this century ... The military preparation of the woman is the basis for the protection of the young, which is the most important of all the war-tasks of the woman.
In order that the world-historical task of the female might be achieved, military science became a classroom obligation from the age of eleven, even if this meant the curtailment of other curricular areas, not including of course, physical culture and biology. Allied to this went education for conquest, explicitly ordered by Bernhard Rust in unequivocally brutal terms. Education was, in fact, training for a life of heroic action.

Before we can have a new education of Might, before we can rightfully discuss a new system of culture, there must be a new order, a new regime inspired by the Will for Power and Might ...

The spartan regimen he would have imposed on the German school was based on the innate resilience which the German, as distinct from other peoples, had. Therefore, his discipline was to be characterised by unquestioning obedience, via coercion of all sorts in order to achieve the hardness of body and mind considered desirable.

Eventually, this military emphasis in schools reached the stage of religious mania, so that a newspaper was able to print, what to other Europeans was a blasphemous statement, yet to the Nazi illustrated the central tenets of his faith in respect of militarism, Fuhrer-worship and anti-semitism, as follows:

The field-grey soldier throwing the last hand grenade, the dying SA man whose last word embraces the Fuhrer, are for us divine configurations, much more than the crucified Jew.
After the schools, the other educational institutions not directly under control of the Nazi Party were the universities, and as with the lower-level institutions the new masters of Germany used higher education solely in the service of their ideology. Intellectual pursuits would no longer be disinterested, but would directly support the Party message, insofar as they were susceptible to the exploitation of propaganda, whilst science and technology would directly serve the purposes of aggression.\textsuperscript{106}

Initially, students undergoing higher education might be seen as presenting more difficult problems to the Party than those in the schools. For a start, they had a higher level of education and, therefore, might have been expected to be more critically aware of political messages. Secondly, they were older, and so perhaps, more sophisticated and less easily impressed. Yet at the same time, their idealism once roused was not easily dampened, and, as has been mentioned previously, due to various factors the Nazis had made considerable headway among student politicians prior to 1933, with Gerhard Kruger, the leader of the Nazi Students' Union gaining election as president of the national student organisation as early as 1931.\textsuperscript{107}

Moreover, the perennial Nazi courtship of youth, with real rewards for young people being evidenced in a youthful leadership, together with the popular slogans, such as "Make room you old ones", had their affect. With an over-production of candidates for the professions, the revolutionary appeal of the Nazis probably owed much of its success to the fact that youth could actually see its peers receive advancement at the hands of the Party, as well as to the para-military pageantry.\textsuperscript{108}
So effective was this appeal, that it is likely that the university student body, which had led the triumph of German youth over age, never lost its loyalty to the regime. Yet this relationship did not obviate difficulties which were bound to occur between the most intelligent young Germans, and a dogmatic regime determined to discipline them for its own ends. In the early stages the Nazis made the mistake of trying to involve all male students in the SA, in a barrack-room type existence. After this the Party experimented with one year's compulsory residence in Kameradschaftshausern (Comradeship Houses), with political and military propaganda thrown in. At the same time, there was a purge on the former student corporations, which were officially disbanded, but never fully wiped out. Due to this residual remnant, the move to make second year students remain in the Comradeship House was replaced by a voluntary scheme.

Yet there was no diminution of the content of Nazi ideology, and despite the intellectual ethos of the universities, the Party paraded its contempt for theory and "useless" knowledge, even into the lecture theatre, as demonstrated by Streicher.

I am accustomed to using the whip in order to educate, but here, among you academic men, I suppose the word would have an even stronger effect. You old men with beards and gold-rimmed glasses and scientific faces are really worth next to nothing. Your hearts are not right, and you can't understand the people as we can. We are not separated from them by so-called higher education.
The primary purpose of the German university under the Nazis was to be political, and Rust's stated aim was to "reorganise the teaching body so that it can fulfil its task running parallel with the will of the nation". With this in view he declared that the university was a place of "education" as well as of "research". In a clear attempt to detach the loyalties of students from their teachers he continued:

during these years when this un-German State and its un-German leadership barred the way to German youth, you, in your professional solitude and devotion to your great work of research, overlooked the fact that youth looked to you to lead the future of the German nation. Youth was marching while you, gentlemen, were not out in front ... ^111

Thus the academics were expected to join the ranks of the "combat-ready political, National Socialist fighter who regards his volk as the supreme good". 112 Whilst the student body was assumed to eschew "liberal" learning in favour of that which was essentially Nazi. 113 Such was the influence of the Party that the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National-Socialist Student League - NSDStB), had a hand in shortening the length of terms, in order to accommodate the extensive Party activities imposed on students. Prior to Nazi domination of the universities, there were on average, thirty weeks of class-contact time in a university year. After this time it dropped to twenty. An individual could also suspend his commitment to attend for a week at a time, to accommodate important Party duties.
As political education was all-important, the Politische Hochschule became the most important college of the University of Berlin, in 1933.\textsuperscript{114}

In such an ambience, "pure" science could be ridiculed, and all knowledge had to find its total meaning in the life of the volk.\textsuperscript{115} Just as some Marxists were to do later, by turning the concepts of objectivity and subjectivity on their heads, the Nazi theoreticians were able to present an apparently coherent justification.

The research of the political university will be more objective and freer because it understands the conditions of its thinking and the scope of its action better, and because it has an idea of values objectively founded and of universal validity.\textsuperscript{116}

Only in this way could the German spirit, which was part of the common, volk consciousness, encompass the academic milieu as it had in the student body, through the organisations encouraging the development of comradeship, and community-forms of education - as in the Hitler Youth, Labour Service, Terrain Sport, War Sport and Comradeship Houses.\textsuperscript{117}

As an adjunct to administrative persecution, a law was issued in early 1933, initiating a Student Union at each university (Deutsche Studentenschaft), led by Nazis and composed of Aryans, who were encouraged to report on, and harass Jewish teachers or those not expressing the proper Hitler line, and to generally speed up the process of the Nazi Revolution. Thus a process begun by force was later justified by law, and by this time
admission to higher education had become a Party prerogative, and only granted after gaining the approval of local youth leaders, and attending at a labour camp. Even after jumping through these "hoops", students were not necessarily guaranteed a place, and numbers of admissions tended to vary.\(^\text{118}\)

For instance, in 1934, 39,579 students passed university entrance examinations, yet the total number to be admitted was fixed at 15,000. Some 8,000 males and 1,000 females of this number went through the Labour Service process, with less than half of them eventually entering university, either through failing Nazi initiatory-rites, or because they took up permanent posts in Nazi organisations.\(^\text{119}\) With so much pressure placed on applicants, it is not surprising that entrants to university dropped to 7,000 in 1935, as against 20,000 in 1932. The total number of university students in 1935 stood at 70,000, a drop of 60,000 from 1933.\(^\text{120}\)

In the chapter concerning the ideological and historical background to the Nazi Revolution, the pusillanimity of the academics was noted. After the take-over, the same reaction to events was evident. Adolf Rein, the historian, called for "volkish learning",\(^\text{121}\) whilst the world-renowned philosopher Martin Heidegger, somehow found the stomach to utter the following words.

> Not theses and ideas are the laws of your being! The Fuhrer himself, and he alone, is Germany's reality and law today and in the future.\(^\text{122}\)
After the Nazi "purification" of the universities, loyal Party members took over many university teaching positions, and, as might have been expected, most of them were not scholars of the first rank. Eventually they saw their universities succumb to the organisational principles of the SA and SS, so that another historian, Ernst Anrich, in an essay entitled Universities as Intellectual Frontier Fortresses, could write that "... universities must become bodies of troops" whilst their professors develop "trooplike cooperation", bearing in mind all its concomitant results.

Even the laws prescribing conditions for entrance to universities were seen to fulfil a preparative function to such warlike aims, and body and character received primacy of emphasis before intellect.

The task of these institutions is to train the bodies, the characters, and minds of the young Germans selected ... Constant tests must be made as to physical, moral, mental, and general qualifications.

Nor were the academics exempted from this cult of the body, and prior to taking up an academic post, a lecturer had to undertake a six weeks, training course, which was composed of elements of political indoctrination, military drill, physical training and endurance tests.
The facilities, moreover, provided by the regime for the pursuit of physical culture at the universities were lavish, and besides providing for the training of teachers and leaders in the field, there was general provision for the whole student body, as well as "Ancillary Services", dealing with the following aspects:

a. Medical Advice and Examination related to sport,
b. Library and seminar facilities,
c. Gliding,
d. Riding.

The provision of teaching staff was equally generous, so much so, that at the University of Berlin there were ten specialist teachers employed in the coaching of tennis, riding, shooting, gliding, gymnastics, swimming, rowing, light athletics, boxing and football.

During their first three terms (1½ years), all students, both male and female, took part in weekly "elementary training" (Graundausbildung). In the first term, the men took two sessions of boxing and gymnastics, the women gymnastics and dancing, whilst both sexes had one session of cross country running. During the second term both sexes were involved in two sessions of light, pentathlon training, and one session of small-bore rifle shooting.

In the third and final term of their elementary work, the men participated in two sessions of team games, including handball, football and hockey, whilst the women played handball. Both sexes also had one period of swimming and life saving.
This elementary work was examined, and a certain level was necessary before students were awarded the "Elementary Card", which was a prerequisite to admission to the fourth term of university study. Those students passing this stage were awarded a sports'badge to be worn on sports' gear. After this stage, sporting activities were still provided, but were voluntary, although membership of Nazi echelons would necessitate many activities of this nature. The continuing emphasis that the regime placed on physical culture can be illustrated by the fact that after the Politische Hochschule (Political High School), the College of Physical Education in Luisenstrasse was the second most important college in the University of Berlin, with 150 courses devoted to the subject. This emphasis was also evident at other universities, and it is recorded that the Rector of Bonn University, Karl Schmidt, entertained those present at a university social gathering, in 1938, with films of himself and his academic colleagues performing gymnastics.

With regard to duelling, the time-honoured method of settling disagreements within the student corporations, and which, on the surface, appears to be a most soldierly activity, and therefore, one which ought to have appealed to the Nazis, the evidence is confused. Ziemer maintained that this custom had never quite died out during the Republic, but that after 1933, he "saw more and more faces of German University students streaked with the scars of the Mensuren". He also witnessed a duel held in the gymnasium of Erich Rahn, jiu-jitsu champion of Germany, and
instructor to the Hitler Youth and the army. This event occurred after eleven o'clock at night, and was an orthodox although bloody affair. Rahn told Ziemer that thousands of duels took place annually in Germany, some of which ended fatally, and he considered it a "salutary" sport which tested the courage of students and accustomed them to the sight of blood. In his opinion the world was getting too soft, and jiu-jitsu was of more value in hardening the young than "tennis, golf, football, and baseball". However, even jiu-jitsu could not give students the ultimate satisfaction of duelling, which was essentially a "Germanic" sport.\textsuperscript{130}

Yet Grunberger noted that the traditional nature of duelling found disfavour with the Nazis, contrary to what one might have imagined, and a fatal "affaire d'honneur", brought about a ban on duelling, for which the official view was that the state had a shortage of leadership-talent, and that duelling was antithetical to the national interest.\textsuperscript{131} Despite this, Grunberger maintains that the practice still continued, albeit in modified form, dependant on the particular university, with duelling being practically unknown at Berlin, Konigsberg and Breslau, whilst the old traditions continued apace at Gottingen and Heidelberg,\textsuperscript{132} although at this time, the sabre was outlawed and the rapier took its place.\textsuperscript{133}
Thus it was at the universities of Germany, renowned for their traditions of intellectualism, in particular the University of Berlin, that the paradoxical suggestion originated that the scholar type should be replaced by the soldier type (die Ersetzung des Gebildeten durch den Typus des Soldaten). Professor Peter Petersen of the University of Jena applauded the emergence of the politician-soldier, who had to emphasise discipline, training and order (Disziplin, Zucht, und Ordnung). The qualities necessary for the political-soldierly type of leadership could only be produced by "physical training, through service in the SA or the SS".134

If a student today declines to subordinate himself to political demands, if he refuses, for example, to participate in a labour service or military sports camp, lest he thereby loses time for his studies, then he shows thereby that he has realised nothing of what is happening around him.135

This aspect of Nazi Weltanschaung was enthusiastically proclaimed by eminent scholars, capable of stating that "true academic freedom is 'bound' ... to the Nation by Military Service".136 Moreover, the Minister of Education institutionalised the consensus by the force of law.

To avoid confusion I decree that students who were hampered in attending lectures and exercises during the current term on account of the stronger claims of athletics, Storm Trooper Sports, Labour Service, and national political training may not be rated as worse than other students, especially in the distribution of grades.137
Then, in turn, the academics mounted courses in the area, typical of which was that of Ewald Banse, who held a Chair of Military Science. As a convinced militarist, and ethnocentric, he taught his students that the sword would prevail over the pen because "it is older and in the end the only decisive thing". Military Science was according to him, "instruction about peoples and countries ... with the object of increasing one's own military strength", and to do this one had to "seek to build up a heroic, spiritual understanding of modern war ... It is the first and leading science in the German territory".¹³⁸

To the Nazis, just as the schools supplied the soldier so the university produced the officer, and the purpose of university education, was, according to the Rector of Frankfurt University "not objective science ... but the heroic science of the soldier, the militant and fighting science".¹³⁹ Moreover, as military instruction was central to the school curriculum, so the study of Military Science linked up all other university faculties in the study of warfare, and whatever their subject, all students participated in lectures which were purely military in nature.¹⁴⁰ Rather than admit than such studies were inappropriate to the ambience of higher education, the Nazis proclaimed that the university was the only place for such studies.

The second duty of military education is the scientific teaching of the several military branches. This can only be done in the Universities ... In the Universities universal military instruction (Allgemeine Wehrlehre) should be established and it should then have a systematic scientific foundation ...¹⁴¹
Despite the failure of the regime to destroy the student organisations which pre-dated National Socialism, and the fact that it was possible to shirk attendance at prescribed Nazi organisations by enrolling in one's home town, and then forgetting to apply for a transfer at one's university base, it was estimated that only one in four of university students managed to avoid the onerous duties which went along with membership of the National Socialist Students' Association.\textsuperscript{142}

Academic work, therefore, suffered because of the wide range of duties, outside those connected with their studies, which were expected of students, including activities connected with Party organisations, agricultural work and sport.\textsuperscript{143} Parallel with this development went the decline of academic standards, as more and more "speciality" subjects in the biological-military area were created. Especially after 1939, the traditional, academic activities of the university were superceded by the propaganda of war. Thus by the sycophancy of the scholars, Hitler's contempt for intellectuals, lawyers and the world of learning was reinforced.\textsuperscript{144}

In the light of this, it can be maintained that the social value of higher education had been greatly overvalued, especially when one considers that prior to the Second World War, Germany had been considered by many as the best educated nation in the world. At the same time, this education was associated with gaining and passing on knowledge, and not necessarily human wisdom, whilst:
Nazi education at its worst cultivates a contempt for both knowledge and wisdom. It glorifies deliberate falsehoods and criminal follies... But it would be unwise to regard it as a freak creation from nothing. The ground for it has been prepared partly in the widely praised system of German education of pre-Nazi days.145

The Nazis, of course, justified this emphasis by suggesting that prior to them, the young had been well trained for their vocations, but that physical culture and training of the will and character had been neglected, so that:

To be and to remain strong and healthy, has become the fundamental law governing Germany's youth, and it is the first and foremost duty of educationists to give effect to it.146

Nazi propaganda, with regard to education was geared to eliminating the gap between the educated and uneducated, to bringing about health and national consciousness as rooted in blood and soil. Distrusting the intellect, the Nazis geared the school curriculum to their world view, with war games being more important than scientific knowledge, while the Fuhrerprinzip was extolled as a law of nature.147

However, it has been suggested that the Nazis were not the first to make education a field for Kulturwaffen - a clash between rival ideologies - and that the communists in Berlin and Hamburg during the Republic had been the originators of this practice. Moreover, the same observer believed that with regard to
administrative reform, "the ruthless pruning of Dr Rust did much good".¹⁴⁸

Other writers, whilst noting the high standards of discipline demanded from Nazi echelons, found no carryover into school life in general and concluded that "Rowdyism, arrogance, mischievousness, and crime are widespread in young Germany".¹⁴⁹ Yet the teacher who would find few discipline problems would be the one in charge of physical culture, and the conclusions of the British visiting team on this aspect of German education could have given them insights into Nazi aims, which, at the time, they seemed unwilling to see. Overall, the panel found that there was an emphasis on the spirit of "attack" rather than style, especially in vaulting exercises, which seemed to be highly regarded as training in courage. Arm and shoulder strength, they found to be overemphasised, and the essence of most activities seemed to be that of militant achievement. Athletics they found to have a favoured place in Nazi education, whilst the most popular games were handball and football. Special mention was made of the place of singing in the Nazi scheme of physical education, which "inculcates unison of movement and purpose, and knits the whole team together in a common bond ..." It was noted that singing was used whilst marching to and from the place of exercise, as well as at the beginning and end of the period. With regard to the physique of young Germans, the visitors remarked that they had noted few cases of poor physique amongst
the young, which they found surprising in the light of the hardships endured during the blockade-period, at the end of the First World War.\textsuperscript{150}

Thus the complicated whole set up by the Nazis was primarily geared to war and the inculcation of the military values, through political indoctrination, physical culture, racial studies and national consciousness. These elements appeared obvious to those with eyes to see, yet as late as 1938, an eminent German scholar was allowed to deliver a paper in England, in which he attempted to justify Nazi education and its results. With regard to the Nazi antipathy to intellectualism, Dr Theodor Wilhelm claimed that this was explainable in that action was equally as spiritual as intellect, and that man was essentially an active being. With regard to political education, he claimed that youth had been politicised by the youth movements prior to 1933.

In a feat of true, mental gymnastics he continued in refuting charges of anti-culturalism against German youth, by suggesting that the Englishman was "inclined to identify life with sport". This being the case, he recommended that:

\begin{quote}
Would it not be better, from the other side too, not to condemn German youth solely because it devotes itself to physical training ... If emphasis on physical fitness is a sign of barbarism, then, I think, all European nations, especially in 1938, must be labelled as barbarians.
\end{quote}
With regards to the charge of militarism, levelled against the young of Germany, Wilhelm posited a "national" manner of expressing one's individuality. According to him, the Frenchman was to be typified by having his savings book in his hand, the American when going to vote, the Englishman whilst cheering on the Boat Race and the German while marching.

But this marching has nothing to do with war, least of all for the German youth. The German marches just as the Englishman plays cricket. For us, marching is part of the soldatische attitude, not of militarism ... Soldatisch is for us a matter of manliness, and has nothing to do with cannons and blood. The psychological moment when the German visibly assumes a soldierly attitude, corresponds perhaps to the moment when the Englishman decides to take his feet off the mantlepiece and sit fairly upright in the arm-chair. And just as it would not occur to an Englishman, then, to grasp for a gun, the German boy who marches is far from being war-minded. He is the most peaceful soul in the world - but he is so in a German manner.¹⁵¹

Nor need we doubt that the educators of the Nottingham district, to whom these views were delivered, clapped politely, in an attempt to be convinced. Even Major Yeats-Brown, having described how the young of Germany were undergoing a regimen of "mens sana in corpore sano", through the agencies of the Hitler Youth, Labour Service, Labour Front, Adolf Hitler Schools and Napolas, could conclude:
But young Germans are not being militarised; indeed, the opposite is true. The spirit of the people has changed and is far less militant than it was when I was a boy in Coblenz thirty-five years ago ...

Germans have always liked doing things in good order, collectively, to the sound of music. The Nazis have canalised this taste, and turned it towards a different Weltanschaung: the pillars of its "world-outlook" are Work and Brotherhood: war is regarded as a necessity only if the German race is threatened.¹⁵²

(These views were published in April 1938, yet by April 1939, the author had changed his opinions).

Another caveat must be heard with regard to Minister Bernhard Rust, so often presented as an archetypal Nazi, especially in his official pronouncements, for as far as ex-Gauleiter Albert Krebs was concerned, Rust, originally a member of the Strasser (socialist) wing of the Party, consciously sought in his work to "return to his political point of departure". Far from being a fire-eater, Krebs saw in him a timid but persevering individual, who desisted from the "hire-and-fire" techniques of other Nazi ministries, and even, according to Krebs, brought about some improvements in public administration.¹⁵³

Yet despite the declared attempts of the Party to bring about revolutionary social change, and to change the class-base of the ruling elite by positively discriminating in favour of disadvantaged groups, the results were, according to Schoenbaum, barely visible, and changes in social origins of candidates for higher education was minimal. The universities of Germany continued
to turn out a similar product to that which it had been producing since the nineteenth century, the stasis in the universities was prefigured in the schools, and the eclectic nature of the Nazi elite "tended to reproduce itself in its own image".154

Yet the schools and the universities were not the only way the Nazis intended to encompass the young in its destructive Weltanschaung, and for Party ideologues, were far from the most important agent of Nazi education. The ethos of formal education was passive, ordered and methodically developmental. The atmosphere of the school encouraged quiet, good behaviour, obedience to reasonable commands and regulations, and the pursuit of individually, worthwhile occupations. Overall, the prevailing ambience of formal education, if anything, encouraged Christian values, and from the Nazi point of view, feminine ones. No - the Fuhrer wished the education of his young men to fit them for the life of the Nietzschean superman, and so his education had to be dynamic, forceful, violent, ordered by brutal and unreasoning, iron discipline. For the life of heroic action for which he was destined, the young German had to be hardened, both physically and spiritually, whilst his intellectual training could be left to a bare minimum. For his role of warrior and conqueror he had to learn all those physical skills, attitudes and accomplishments which would bring about a soldierly spirit, in order that he might go joyfully into his formal military training. The schools were manifestly incapable of producing this desired product, and so it was to the youth organisations that the Party looked to
give the training of command and obedience, and to produce the collectively disciplined youth which would secure for the future "The Thousand Year Reich".
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PART 2 - NAZI GERMANY

CHAPTER 3 - THE YOUTH MOVEMENTS

In my great educative work I am beginning with the young. We older ones are used up. Yes, we are old already. We are rotten to the marrow. We have no unrestrained instincts left. We are cowardly and sentimental. We are bearing the burden of a humiliating past, and have in our blood the dull recollection of servility and servility. But my magnificent youngsters! Are there finer ones anywhere in the world? Look at these young men and boys! What material! With them I can make a new world.

My teaching is hard. Weakness has to be knocked out of them. In my Ordensburgen a youth will grow up before which the world will shrink back. A violently active, dominating, intrepid, brutal youth - that is what I am after. Youth must be all those things. It must be indifferent to pain. There must be no weakness or tenderness, in it. I want to see once more in its eyes the gleam of pride and independence of the beast of prey. Strong and handsome must my young men be. I will have them fully trained in all physical exercises. I intend to have an athletic youth - that is the first and the chief thing. In this way I shall eradicate the thousands of years of human domestication. Then I shall have in front of me the pure and noble natural material. With that I can create the new order.

I will have no intellectual training. Knowledge is ruin to my young men. I would have them learn only what takes their fancy. But one thing they must learn - self-command! They shall learn to overcome the fear of death, under the severest tests. That is the intrepid and heroic stage of youth. Out of it comes the stage of the free man, the man
who is the substance and essence of the world, the creative man, the god-man. In my Ordensburgen there will stand as a statue for worship the figure of the magnificent, self-ordaining god-man; it will prepare the young men for their coming period of ripe manhood.\(^1\)

The Hitler Youth organisation was never intended as an adjunct to the school system, and if anything, conported itself as an out and out competitor. Baldur von Schirach was anxious to make the Hitlerjugend (HJ) the dominating influence in the mind of young Germans, and perhaps, eventually, to encompass both the school and the family in its moulding of youth:

the Hitler Youth is an ideological community of education - he who marches in the Hitler Youth is not one among millions but a soldier of an idea.\(^2\)

The concept of youth was, indeed, central to the Nazi view of the educational process, and at the fourth International Educational Conference, held at Geneva in 1935, the German delegation considered the Hitler Youth to be one of the three forces which were to reform German education - the other two being the school and the family.

Thus the foremost function of the HJ was to socialise the young, in a cooperative adventure, based on a common consciousness of blood and destiny, antithetical to class divisions, and at all times geared to the life of action and not introspection.

National Socialist values were to be seen as replacing the remnants of bourgeois culture, based on the certainty of "nordic"
superiority. Honour, courage, loyalty to the group and obedience to the leader would be the foundations of this construct, whilst a training in hardness in the open air, together with doses of Nazi culture and German folklore and myth would cement the whole, to pursue a set purpose. In this way the community of youth would commence as a microcosm of the desired community of Germans, and would eventually comprehend the whole in a Nazi folk-community.³

The younger generation, therefore, was the most responsive to the regime, and in terms of actual effort made would guarantee the best results to Party propaganda. Before coming to power the Nazis had been the instigators of an age-war, projecting the struggle in terms of youth versus age. After 1933, this aspect became somewhat muted, and the Party liberated "the full potential of juvenile aggressiveness", yet at the same time making a favourable impression on adults by the extent to which discipline became apparent in the workings of the youth movements. Paradoxically enough, youth found itself the heir to new freedoms as the HJ assumed even more importance over other agencies. Moreover, only the young of Germany had the collective right to wear both weapons and uniforms, privileges accorded only to selected adults. The young were also expected to influence their parents' outlook, and overall, were given great expectations as to their future importance. Few of the young saw the conformity of uniforms as a limitation of freedom, and this perhaps, had antecedents far back in German history.⁴
To the average, healthy youngster, the appeal of the HJ was most immediate, as a German father intimated.

It is impossible to prevent the young from following Hitler. My boy is eighteen years old and he has never had a proper job since he left school. Now he enjoys all sorts of adventures because he belongs to a gang of rough boys who call themselves Nazis. They don't know or care what it means, but they like going out at night and painting swastikas on public buildings and pavements and then watching the authorities cleaning them off the next day.\(^5\)

Moreover, at mass level, the Nazis well understood the appeal which pageantry could make to youth, when it was composed of colour, music and symbolism, replete with the worship of the heroic mode of existence, and finding its apogee at the most important Nazi festival, the annual Nuremberg rally, which lasted for fully five days and nights.\(^6\) There were yet other reasons for the movement of youth towards the Nazis, in respect of self-interest, because without Party affiliation it was difficult to advance one's education or career, to gain an apprenticeship or enter a profession or government position. Some parents watched helplessly, keeping their doubts to themselves, whilst others literally drove their offspring into the Nazi ranks, for their own advantage. Thus the Nazis were able to subvert the influence of the family, whilst apparently placing the folk-community at the centre of things.\(^7\)
With the family effectively set aside, the Nazi hold on youth had to be consolidated, and so they were titled flatteringly, "State Youth", the vanguard of the militant nation and not accountable to their elders outside the Party.

They were the guardians of the future, initiated into the secrets for which they alone had ears. The leader and his captains, with a genius for psychology, made them free of the open road - away from the disillusionment of home and discontent, into the fields and woods by day, round the camp fires by night. Here was the flag with its mysterious symbol; here was drilling and reconnoitring and map-reading; ceaseless physical activity, training for national service, initiation into the character of National Socialist heroes and martyrs, into the mystery and the meaning of Blood and Race, into the godlike qualities of the Leader. These are the new goals; this is the new faith - the Nation, for the maintenance of which here they had to sacrifice all, practising the combative heroic virtues even to death.

Characteristically, the Nazis couched their appeals to youth in the language of sacrifice, just as had the Fascists in Italy. At the third Party rally at Nuremberg in 1935, Hitler told the assembled ranks of the Hitler Youth that they were increasing in number and quality and were growing "more sturdy and disciplined". Just as the Fascists held up the young man of good physique and sporting habits as an ideal, so the Führer proclaimed in similar vein:
we like to see not the man who can hold his drink, but the young man who can stand all weathers, the hardened young man. Because what matters is not how many glasses of beer he can drink, but how many blows he can stand; not how many nights he can spend on the spree, but how many kilometres he can march. We no longer see in the boorish beer-drinker the idea of the German people: we find it in men and girls who are sound to the core and sturdy.

... In our eyes the German youth of the future must be slim and slender, swift as the greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel.

Yet despite their understanding of propaganda and the techniques of mass-politicisation, the Nazis would not have had the almost immediate success they achieved with the young, without the existence of a tradition of youth organisations. Well before the Nazis, there existed a large, well-organised body of youth-based organisations, many of them claiming to be above politics and social class biases, although there were also many others wedded to political parties and particular religious faiths.

The original Youth Movement (Jugendbewegung) began in 1898, as a revolt of youth against the restraints placed on it by the authorities, the schools and adults in general. The young felt that they should have the right to live by their own ideals, based on brotherhood, sympathy and tolerance. In this way young people hoped to escape from the other organisations which were connected to a particular social group, church or political party. From the outset, its belief system was devoid of particular
aims, but was geared to "strong inner motives" and the "irresistible urges" of its members, so that they might create a new world based on the "inner substance and true form of nature".¹²

To be sure, such a programme would be difficult to articulate in philosophical terms, but after the early years, this, in fact, was attempted in the Hohnen-Meissner Formula, which stated:

Every member will shape his life, and the life of the movement, in harmony with his inner call, on his own responsibility and with complete sincerity. This movement will protect under all circumstances, and as a body, this inner liberty."¹³

Amongst the early pioneers were older men who played a large part in the development of the organisation, such as Werner Pohl and Walter Busch, both teachers, followed by Karl Fischer and Gurlitt, who raised the social prestige of the movement under the name of the Wandervogel (Birds of Passage). The success of the movement was obviously due to the fact that it met a grave Social need, and, almost inevitably, it was not long before the churches and labour groups found ways of aping the successful formula, whilst keeping the young under their aegis. However, the Wandervogel remained a select grouping with its members coming from all classes. The movement never asked for government funding, wishing to give the state no foothold within its ranks, and indeed, its whole metaphysic was antithetical to state control."¹⁴
In psychological terms, it has been suggested that the movement did not arise from the "ego", the "innermost cell of personality" to which great works of art are attributed, but from the "self", seen as the link between the ego and the surface characteristics. The ultimate aim was to cherish the self and thus encourage latent forces of personality to be expressed, so that:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{all efforts to bring the self once again} \\
\text{into full and lively activity serve the} \\
\text{higher purpose of revitalizing the inner} \\
\text{man, the personality.}\end{align*}
\]

Yet as a manifestation of Romanticism, the movement was seen as a protest against the influence of the secondary schools and the examination system, and as a desire to rediscover the life of the emotions. This was undertaken through a love of one's native soil, one's people and national traditions. Ideologically, the movement encouraged youth to assert its rights of self-determination through independent thought, a questioning of authority and self-reliance. In the area of personal standards, physical culture was encouraged together with temperance in the use of tobacco and alcohol, and overall:

\[
\begin{align*}
The \text{Youth Movement before the War was} \\
\text{thus culturally and politically liberal,} \\
\text{national but not nationalistic, and} \\
\text{anti-militaristic ...}\end{align*}
\]

After the First World War and its aftermath, the movement was revived but by now realism had taken the place of naturalism, and many members of the Wandervogel dispersed into the bands affiliated to adult political and religious groups. This represented a turning away from expressionism to matter-of-
factness. From thenceforward the old ideologies were dead, and only the pursuit of sport and technical achievement would provide the means of mastering life in the post-war world, enshrined in a novel respect for reality. This reality was graphically brought home to young Germans by the economic hardships which followed the war, which made unemployment a stark reality for even educated youngsters.

Thus the stage was set for National Socialism almost by default, yet the achievements of the Wandervogel, both positive and negative, taught the Nazis several lessons which they heeded in their own envelopment of youth. Firstly, they had determined that the "education" provided by the school system was not enough. Moreover, better human beings could not be produced by higher education or increased interest in science. Even attempts to modernise curricula would not be an effective ploy, because youth tends to shun materialist solutions and to react spontaneously. Finally, moral values do not devolve from ratiocination, as the young tend to accept fundamental values without reasoning them out.

So the Nazis were able to foist their political creed onto young Germans, who embraced it almost religiously as a comprehensive philosophy of life. This new world view asked total commitment, self-surrender, sacrifice and unquestioning faith from its adherents, whilst the young could all justify their dedication, sacrifice, discipline and obedience because there was a new aim
in life to strive for. The euphoria which affected young Germany was aptly demonstrated in the words of one of them, who maintained:

But there was yet one thing more that attracted us with a mysterious force and pulled us along - namely, the compact columns of marching youths with waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead, and the beat of drums and singing. Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship? Thus it was no wonder that all of us - Hans and Sophie and the rest of us - joined the Hitler Youth ...

We marched along and strenuously, but we did not mind; we were much too enthusiastic to admit fatigue. Wasn't it wonderful suddenly to have something in common, a bond with other young people ... In the evenings we met at the den, and someone would read, or we sang, or played games or did craft work. We heard that we should live for a great cause. We were taken seriously, ... and that gave us great buoyancy. We believed ourselves to be members of a great, well-ordered organisation which embraced and esteemed everybody from the ten-year-old boy to the adult man. We felt we were part of a process, of a movement that created people out of a mass.

Realising the capital to be made from youth, as early as 1922, Hitler demanded that a separate youth organisation be set up within the Party, whilst the title of Hitlerjugend was coined by Streicher, editor of Der Sturmer, the newspaper of the SA (Sturm Abteilung - Storm Troopers) in 1928, and was meant to include boys from fourteen to eighteen. In 1930 plans were mooted for parallel organisations for girls (Schwesternschaft - the Sisterhood - after 1930 the Jungmedeln - German Maidens), and for boys between ten to fourteen (Jungmannschaften - later the Jungvolk).
Initially, a man called Lenk headed the movement, but he was soon
superseded by Kurt Gruber, who had founded a youth group in
Plauen in Saxony, and from there the movement grew rapidly.
During the first years, groups of young people sympathetic to
Hitler were active on the fringe of German politics, albeit
disguised as simple groups of roamers, but after the Party
conference at Jocke ta in the summer of 1924, funds were made
available for youth-propaganda, and by the end of the year, and
certainly by 1925, Nazi groups were springing up all around upper
Saxony. Then in 1926, Hitler prompted by Streicher, announced
the official birth of his youth movement, naming Gruber as his
deputy in charge of youth at the Party conference in Weimar.

Gruber's leadership was not, however, accepted without opposition,
and a stormy period ensued with political in-fighting occurring
over principles of leadership and organisation. From Plauen,
the movement's headquarters were moved to Munich, and the whole
country was divided into ten administrative areas. By this time,
Gruber had begun to take second place to Baldur von Schirach, a
protege of Hitler, and in 1931 the Fuhrer appointed him chief-of-
staff of the Hitler Youth, the Union of Students and the Union of
Scholars. Whereupon, Gruber resigned his position and eight
months later, von Schirach became National leader of the Hitler
Youth. After the Nazi take-over on June 17, 1933, he was
appointed State Leader of German Youth (Reichsjugendfuhrer). Via
absorption and, where necessary, banning followed by annexation
of resources the other youth organisations disappeared, including
those groupings based on religious or political platforms, as well as the sports and gymnastics clubs. In 1936, all German youth were compelled to join the HJ and in 1939, plans were outlined in which it was projected that German youth would ensure the survival of National Socialism for all time.\textsuperscript{22}

Of course there was some opposition to this process, and the Catholic groups proved particularly intransigent. Yet Hitler, a Catholic by birth, had great admiration for the discipline of the Church, and he had not been excommunicated. Therefore, in 1933, as Mussolini had done four years previously, he signed a Concordat with Pius XII, by which the state agreed not to meddle in "proper" Catholic activities. As with all his treaties, Hitler had not the slightest intention of keeping to it, and after a public campaign of vilification against the Church had sufficiently prepared public feeling, the Catholic youth groups were absorbed into the HJ in 1937.\textsuperscript{23} In 1941, the last act in the vicissitudes of the HJ was acted out, when von Schirach was "kicked upstairs" by being appointed Gauleiter of Vienna, and Arthur Axmann took over the mantle of leader until the end of the war.\textsuperscript{24}

The ethos of the HJ reflected the ideological perspectives of the Nazis far more accurately than the educational system per se, in that having been, to a far greater extent than the schools, tailor-made for the regime, there was less inertia in achieving stated aims. Physical culture in its widest conception was an
essential HJ activity, which was to prevent youth from idling around streets and attending picture shows. Youth's task was to "render the body hard and endurance great", and by this to preserve the racial and physical integrity of the German people.\textsuperscript{25} This view was articulated by the Reich Sports' leader, Hans von Tschammer und Osten, who declared:

\begin{quote}
Physical training is the highest service of the German to his native land ... It is a means for the preservation and advancement of our race.\textsuperscript{26}
\end{quote}

The philosophy behind Nazi theories of physical culture was even better explained by Dr Ernst Schlunder.

\begin{quote}
The physical strength of a nation cannot be maintained and developed unless its youth is healthy in body. When its youth is unhealthy a nation will suffer racial decline, but physical training awakens in a healthy and athletically trained youth the natural and healthy feeling for bodily beauty. Such a training breaks down traditional and wrong ideas about the body, makes people realise the importance of a strong and beautiful body for the racial existence of a people, and is thus a vital means of race hygiene.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

In the light of the prominence given to this activity, the Nazis had a number of organisations designed to foster physical culture - the army, Labour Service, SA and SS. To the HJ went the task of developing all those branches of physical culture, not catered for in the system of education. This was given the force of law in December, 1933.
The highest task of the school is the training of youth for service to nation and state in the National Socialist spirit... The Hitlerjugend completes this work by tempering the character, demanding self-discipline and physical training...

This State Youth was based, organisationally, on a military model, with corps, divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, companies and squadrons, and was composed of the following categories of young people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pimpf (The Little Chap - Introductory organisation to the Jungvolk) 6-10 years.</td>
<td>Jungmadeln (The Young Girls) 10-14 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jungvolk (The Young Folk) 10-14 Years.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hitlerjugend proper (Hitler Youth - HJ) 14-18 years.</td>
<td>Bund Deutscher Madeln (League of German Girls) 14-21 years*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The BDM also formed a special voluntary organisation called Glaube und Schönheit (Faith and Beauty), where the girls undertook training in domestic science, and prepared for marriage, in the Nazi manner.
The actual membership figures for the organisations, over an eight year period were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HJ (boys aged 14-18)</th>
<th>DJ (boys aged 10-14)</th>
<th>BDM (girls aged 14-18)</th>
<th>JM (girls aged 10-14)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>End 1932</td>
<td>55,365</td>
<td>28,691</td>
<td>19,244</td>
<td>4,656</td>
<td>107,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End 1933</td>
<td>568,288</td>
<td>1,130,521</td>
<td>243,750</td>
<td>349,482</td>
<td>2,292,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End 1934</td>
<td>786,000</td>
<td>1,457,304</td>
<td>471,944</td>
<td>862,317</td>
<td>3,577,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End 1935</td>
<td>829,361</td>
<td>1,498,209</td>
<td>569,599</td>
<td>1,046,134</td>
<td>3,943,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End 1936</td>
<td>1,108,734</td>
<td>1,785,424</td>
<td>873,127</td>
<td>1,610,316</td>
<td>5,437,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End 1937</td>
<td>1,237,078</td>
<td>1,884,883</td>
<td>1,035,804</td>
<td>1,722,190</td>
<td>5,879,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End 1938</td>
<td>1,663,305</td>
<td>2,064,538</td>
<td>1,448,264</td>
<td>1,855,119</td>
<td>7,031,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beg 1939</td>
<td>1,723,886</td>
<td>2,137,594</td>
<td>1,502,571</td>
<td>1,923,419</td>
<td>7,287,470</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the BDM Werk (girls aged 18-21): 440,189

ABBREVIATIONS: HJ, Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth); DJ, Deutsches Jungvolk (German Young People); BDM, Bund Deutscher Madel (League of German Girls); JM, Jungmadelbund (League of Young Girls).

The HJ was composed of several discrete categories: the HJ proper, HJ motorised units, HJ marine units, HJ Gliding Corps and the wartime, HJ Patrol (police) Service. Moreover, during the war some 700,000 HJ formed auxiliary fire brigades in response to allied air attacks. Other statistics which give some impression of the resources poured into the service of youth, are as follows: 3,540 official HJ outdoor camps were carried out in an average year, attended by 565,000 boys; 6,000,000 boys participated in HJ sports events in one year; 78,000 boys enrolled annually in the HJ marine branch; the National Socialist Flying Corps provided enough gliders, planes and instructors to teach 135,000 boys to fly each year; the motorised HJ enrolled 295,000 boys each year, and was provided with 5,000 motor-cycles annually by the Party, and had also some 1,300 repair shops; 10,000 revolvers a year were supplied to the HJ by the Party, and
as many rifles as were needed for the competitions in which the 30,000 best shots in the HJ participated; the HJ had its own weapons academy at Obermatzfeld in Thuringia, directed by Dr Stellrecht; prior to the war, the HJ Foreign Office annually sent 6,000 boys abroad, and brought 250,000 foreign youngsters to Germany, from Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, Hungary, Sweden, Finland, Portugal, Egypt, Holland, England, Poland and Syria; there existed HJ organisations in fifty-two foreign countries, including the USA. Of the HJ proper, 21% were still at school, 5% were apprentices, 3% were in technical professions, 23% were working in agriculture or forestry, 42% were labourers, whilst the remaining 6% were in "other trades". Obviously, such a mammoth organisation needed an elaborate and huge administrative staff, which, apparently, like present day bureaucracies, tended to expand almost indefinitely.

As early as the age of six, when a boy enrolled as a Pimpf, the whole panoply of ritual, so essential to the Nazis, was brought to bear on him. In his first uniform he paraded in black shorts, socks and shoes, a brown shirt, trench cap and swastika armband. He had his own service manual, entitled Pimpf im Dienst (The Young One in Service). According to Ziemer, this manual appeared to be a standard military text. The next stage in his progress was his entry into the Jungvolk, again heavily ritualised. By the 15 March in the year in which he became ten, the youngster had to enrol at the local State Youth Office. Then, after investigation into racial factors, he would be admitted to the Jungvolk at a magnificent ceremony in the presence of a high Party functionary. The novices
would have to pass a test comprising running, jumping, throwing, packing a knapsack and reciting Party songs. Those ascending from the Pimpf organisation would have already passed an initiatory test. After this, the youngster received his first dagger, and serious para-military training would begin.  

Throughout the whole HJ and BDM process, the member's progress was recorded in a Leistungsbuch, under headings such as ideological training (Weltanschauliche Schulung), athletic achievements such as running, jumping, swimming, hiking, and, after the age of twelve, boxing and wrestling. These led imperceptibly into military activities, including campcraft, marching, map work, direction-finding, forest craft, shooting and throwing dummy grenades at targets.

In the Jungvolk, the marches were longer and more arduous, rest periods more infrequent and refreshment less regular than in the Pimpfen. As this stage progressed, the programme became more overtly militaristic, tests were sterner and, emotionally, the pace intensified. After the age of fourteen, the boys were, to all intents and purposes, Hitler's second-line troops, trained to fight and die for him, due to the intensive ideological and physical-military preparation they had undergone in the Pimpfen and the Jungvolk. This branch had its system of military rank, with its uniform based on the SA. Above all it was formed on the leadership principle, and for this, ran its own training camps and academies.

Thus youth found its own faith, which superseded traditional religious beliefs, whilst yet appealing to the intrinsic idealism
of the young.40 At the same time there were noticeable social advantages to be gained by HJ affiliation. Every Saturday was titled a "National Youth Day", so that members of the Jungvolk and HJ need not attend school on that day, but paraded with their organisations. Before 1936, those not enrolled were compelled to attend school on Saturday, where they suffered a lesson in "politics".41 But the advantages of membership effectively elevated the younger generation to a superior position over their elders. At a speech to HJ leaders in 1934, after they had sworn on each of allegiance to him, Hitler told them:

The brown shirt is the nation's robe of honour. Anyone who lays hands on the brown shirt lays hands on the honour of the nation. Anyone who has the honour to wear the brown shirt must defend its honour. You are members of the Hitler Youth, you wear the brown shirt. It is for you to defend it by force of arms.42

To the audience it seemed as if they had been given carte-blanche to behave as they desired to civilians and adults, and that they were in fact, superior to them. This found its outlet in anti-Semitic practices, in which boys could assault civilians with impunity, because to resist would be an insult to the "Hitler Youth uniform, and an insult to the State".43

The Nazis stated that "Youth must be led by youth", and in support of this aim, a typical three week course for HJ leaders was composed of a total of 170 hours, of which 105 were occupied in physical culture, and the remainder devoted to political indoctrination, whilst military qualities were primarily looked for in potential
leaders. Another expressed view saw the Fuhrerprinzip as a perverted way of ensuring that youth leaders were, in fact, selected by adult standards, in order to further adult manipulation of the young. It is a recorded fact that until 1941, there was a rough process of selection for leadership, with a small "Select Cadre" of the "brightest, most fanatic, aggressively authoritative, and strongest of German youngsters", from which the future leaders would be chosen, set apart from the run of the mill HJ. However, even prior to the Nazis, the clergy and other adults had certainly had a powerful say in choosing the leadership of the youth organisations based on religious and political groupings.

In line with the Leadership Principle, the range of institutions for training leaders varied greatly. Besides the full-time HJ leaders course mentioned above, there were evening, week-end and holiday courses, institutes for Party officials, vocational schools for the Labour Front, as well as a specialist academy, a National Leader School for the National Socialist Flying Corps, one attached to the racial-political department of the Party, a school for mothers, and even two national schools for fiancees of SS men.

However, the main impetus towards schools of leadership came from the HJ, and in 1940 the organisation selected elementary candidates at fourteen, to be trained as teachers after eighteen, thus giving a chance of social mobility to a new sector of society, as previously, no one not attending the gymnasium could become a teacher. The invasion of the school system by the HJ was further
compounded in that students were put into HJ groupings and teachers and students wore HJ uniform.\textsuperscript{48}

Moreover, in the attempts to set up completely Nazi academies, outside the school system, the Party and the various other Nazi agencies involved used the organisational model of the HJ, its uniforms and rituals, as well as HJ leaders as teachers, to ensure that the influence of the pre-Nazi school system was totally obviated. The main examples of this emphasis were the National Political Training Institutes (Napola-Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten), the Adolf Hitler Schools and the Ordensburgen (Castles of the Order). The Napolas and Ordensburgen were founded in 1933, whilst the A H Schools commenced in 1936-37.\textsuperscript{49}

Ultimately, the main proponents aimed to revolutionise the educational process in the light of Nazi ideology. Foremost in this initiative were von Schirach, Reich Youth Leader, and Dr Robert Ley, Head of the German Labour Front. When Hitler gave his approval to their ideas, they were able to ignore the Minister of Education, Rust, who was seen as too conservative. With the founding of the A H Schools in 1936, the process was set under way which was to ensure the production of a Nazi elite for the future. Due to the war, only the first two stages were ever completed, and these were the A H Schools and the Order Castles, while the Party High Schools, which would have superceded the universities were never set into operation.\textsuperscript{50}
As an intermediate stage, the Napolas were founded by Dr Joachim Haupt, a former head of the Nazi Student League, but were under the authority of the Minister of Education, Rust, who saw in them:

- 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.

Eventually, Rust entrusted the future of these schools to August Heissmeyer, who was a senior SS officer and the head of a department of the SS concerned solely with this project. By 1943, there were 37 Napolas in Greater Germany, including three for girls. Under Heissmeyer, they were run by SS and SA men, but the administrative control held by Rust was a cause of conflict. Unlike the Adolf Hitler Schools, the training within the Napolas seemed to be more of a traditional military education, rather than a Nazi orientated one. The graduates were meant to take up senior positions in the SS, SA, police and Labour Service. Throughout the programme the emphasis was on competition, military propaganda and para-military activities with horses, motorcycles, cars and gliders.

This emphasis was cemented in an atmosphere of military order and discipline, with both staff and students being uniformed, and with the authority of young, physically fit section-leaders.
(Zugführern), who generally had special qualifications in physical culture being paramount, the atmosphere must have been in some ways, reminiscent of the traditional English public school. Entry requirements included HJ membership, good health, proficiency at physical activities, Aryan origin and sponsorship by a Party functionary. Fees were charged but they seem to have been somewhat negotiable. Boys were finally admitted after a week's trial-period, during which candidates had to undergo severe tests of physical ability and endurance, indeed, the weight placed on physical culture was great even by Nazi standards. So that on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons there was compulsory sport, whilst voluntary competitions took place on Monday and Wednesday afternoons. The activities were divided into two groups; athletics, swimming, which was the first activity undertaken if the boy could not already do so, games and field-craft, in the first case; fencing, sailing, skiing, gliding, riding, motoring, shooting and manual work, in the second. Up to the age of fourteen, boys completed their preliminary training, after which they were expected to be able to:

run and swim comparatively long distances, to jump and throw, to perform elementary gymnastic exercises, to go on a walking-tour with tents and without adult assistance, and to build model gliders that will really fly.
After this introductory stage, and after some physical maturing, the boys were introduced to activities of a more para-military nature, such as building and flying real gliders, map and compass skills, using cover and judging distance. Boxing and fencing were "winter sports", whilst rowing and canoeing were offered in summer. Throughout his school career, the boy was periodically tested, at fourteen, sixteen and at eighteen or nineteen when leaving school. Besides athletic tests, there were those in campcraft, mapwork and shooting, and theoretical ones on the life of Hitler, the Treaty of Versailles and a knowledge of the importance of physical fitness. By the age of sixteen, the pupil was expected to pass with ease any further HJ tests, and by this stage some specialisation was allowed, so that whilst continuing with general activities, such as athletics, swimming and gymnastics - he could then specialise in boxing, fencing, gliding, riding, sailing or rowing. All boys of eighteen would have been trained in the driving and maintenance of motorcycles and cars. The Napolas would also join together annually for a fortnight's manoeuvres and camp, where competitions would be held.57

Typifying the militarisation of physical culture, was the emphasis on marching, and the use of scouting activities and physical achievements as an introduction to the mock-battle, as conceived of in Gelandesport.
Marching is not merely a means of moving boys from one activity to another, but is one of the school games. At least twice a week, a period is allotted for Gelandesport. This "game" perhaps had its origin in the efforts of patriots to keep up some form of military training during the period of complete disarmament under the Treaty of Versailles. It might be described in army phraseology as "tactical exercises without arms".

During the manoeuvres, which could last for two full days, older boys could be called upon to march up to twenty miles at a stretch, and the "battles" were fought out over an area as large as 140 kilometres in diameter. The element of battle was finally reinforced in the act of "killing" one's enemy, by tearing off his Lebensfaden (life's thread).

Again, in extending both the concept of physical culture to actual labour, and militarism to the economic sphere, the Nazis ensured that during their school career the boys spent at least six weeks working and living with a farmer, and the same amount of time working and living with a factory worker or miner. At the same time this gave emphasis to the sense of "folk-community", which was central to Nazi beliefs. The military core to the Napolis was unashamedly reinforced, with Neumann admitting to wearing a bayonet as part of his uniform at his Napola in Plon, where "numerous athletic groups" played "an important part", and were counterbalanced by an equal emphasis on military aviation.

The next development, the Adolf Hitler Schools were free of ministry control, and were organised and controlled by the Party.
Under the authority of Dr Kurt Fetter, Deputy Reich Youth Leader, ten were in operation in 1943, and the eventual intention was to have one such school in each Party district (Gau). The course was to last only six years, from the age of twelve, and unlike the Napolas, no fees were charged. It is likely that had the regime continued, the A H Schools would have been the main Nazi leadership institution, prior to the Ordensburgen and any attempts to found a Party alternative to the universities. The purpose of these schools was explicitly stated by a teacher to Ziemer: "here our boys will get ready to conquer the world". Moreover, although not being in the strictest sense a part of the HJ leadership programme, there was a close connection as the candidates were invariably selected from the ranks of the HJ. According to the original intention, thirty two A H Schools were planned, one to each administrative district. Pupils were to be selected "from the mass of the people without regard from social position, financial status etc". Physical tests would not allow "even the slightest health deficiency" to be present in those accepted. Moreover, the numbers of future leaders had been exactly calculated by the Nazis: "Six hundred scholars for each school, making about four thousand altogether, will be trained for coming Fuhrers". The Party assumed responsibility for all expenses, including pocket money, and as a further inducement to candidates displaying the desired qualities of character, required "no certificates at the end of the course, no testimonials and no examinations". At the same time, as Nazi ideology was nothing if not Darwinian, a process of continuous selection existed throughout the Party sphere of education.
As with the Napolas, the military ethos was all-pervasive with army terminology for school groupings, and units commanded by NCOs who maintained an army-like surveillance over personal habits, hygiene and behaviour. Although examinations were anathema, there was an annual "achievement week" during which squads competed with one another and were collectively judged.\footnote{68} This was associated with the emphasis on physical training, which occupied five periods of the daily time-table, against only one and a half periods of intellectual pursuits, including the study of newspapers.\footnote{69}

The A H Schools were also authorised to bring Nazi educational ideas into areas:

in which the school authorities, for reasons of foreign or church policy (concordat) are unable to carry out and stress National Socialist propaganda with the proper degree of intensity.\footnote{70}

That this "intensity" was anti-intellectual goes without saying, but this, later on, led to problems, and after Heissmeyer, himself, had publicly stated, in 1939, that "National Socialism sets insufficient store by knowledge", there was an increased bias towards intellectual pursuits, and even in wartime, a diminution of the importance of physical culture.\footnote{72}
The Nazis also failed in their stated aims to destroy class divisions, in that over half of the pupils in the A H Schools were from the middle classes, to a greater extent than the Napolas and state schools, as is demonstrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS</th>
<th>Napola</th>
<th>Hitler Schools</th>
<th>Reich</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servants</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The physical bias, evident in the workings of the Napolas and the A H Schools, was also paramount in the Ordensburgen. In line with Nazi ideology, character building and physical culture bounded the curriculum around a central core of military education. Sport, parachuting and climbing would "steel their will and self-control", as well as training "character, manhood, courage, quickness of decision and boldness of action". Overall in fact, an adaptation of the educational principles of the Prussian officer corps, and the spiritual training of the Catholic Church.

Entrants were originally intended to be A H School graduates, who after Labour Service, army training and affiliation with the SA, SS or Party, would enter the Castles in their mid or late twenties. At about thirty, the elite of the elite were destined for the Party University at Chiamsee in the Bavarian
Alps, although this stage was never implemented. It was also suggested that A H School teachers should attend an Ordensburg for one month annually, for "ideological overhauling".

The attitude to be inculcated primarily in graduates was that of dominance, in concert with the principles of the Fuhrerprinzip. Dr Robert Ley graphically illustrated the central concerns of Nazi leadership-education, and incidentally, stressed the importance of the "Man on Horseback", even in the age of machines:

We want to know whether these men have the will to lead, to be masters, in one word, to rule ... We want to rule and enjoy it ... We shall teach these men to ride horseback ... in order to give them the feeling of absolute domination over a living being.

There were four Ordensburgen at Sonthofen, Crossinsee, Vogelsang and Marienburg, all in striking locations, which were further emphasised by their stark architecture. Each Castle was to be composed of a thousand students, called "Junkers", together with an impressive service staff of five hundred teachers, cooks, porters, grooms etc. Facilities were equally lavish, with Vogelsang having, at that time, the largest gymnasium in the world, in which all the apparatus came up from the floor and returned for storage.

Originally, the course of instruction was to be three years long, with the candidate first studying racial-biological factors and undergoing political training. Then he would be transferred to
Castles specialising in physical culture, including mountain-eering, parachuting, shooting and mountain combat. The final stage was to take place at the rebuilt, Teutonic Knights'headquarters at Marienburg in West Prussia, where political education would lead into discussion of the "Eastern Question". Each Ordensburg had its speciality. At Crossinsee the emphasis was on athletics, sailing, riding and gliding; Sonthofen specialised in the teaching of skiing and mountaineering, whilst physical training received primacy at Vogelsang, and the physical and ideological completion took place at Marienburg.

Peter Neumann, who attended the Ordensburgen of Vogelsang and Sonthofen, just prior to, and at the outbreak of the war, testified to the severity of the regimen in them. At Vogelsang, although he was under twenty five, he and his friends were admitted as "observers under instruction", for three months. One of the first sights which struck him were the numerous crosses and memorials to the dead killed in training, causing him to remark that "They evidently do a lot of dying in the Ordensburg". Vogelsang Junkers, according to Neumann, fought against "half-mad" alsatians, and attempted to break-in wild horses, as a "character forming process". Himself and his friends, all graduates from a Napola, were allowed to join in a military exercise with the "Brown Knights", in which live ammunition was used and two of the Junkers were hit, one fatally. He arrived at Sonthofen in time to hear of the outbreak of war, and immediately was instructed in the "driving, maintenance and the repair of Benz armoured cars".
After the declaration of war, the training became even more intense, and he noted that the number of graves was increasing, perhaps not surprisingly, when one realises that one of the training drills necessitated digging a hole to shelter in, in no more than twenty minutes, before a heavy armoured vehicle was driven over it, with regular fatal casualties.  

The intellectual standards of the Castles' graduates was not high, as might be expected, but what is surprising is that many of them failed to gain commissions in the war, despite their elite status. However, as if in recognition of the type of training they had received, a high percentage of them were casualties, and one must assume that their training in "courage" had been effective. Some observers, no doubt ignoring ideological considerations, found the graduates "marvellous specimens of their type", and found it "impossible not to admire their physique". Albert Speer, however, was not impressed by them, and confessed that even in Nazi Party circles, they were regarded as being both ruthless and arrogant. Moreover, despite their training for command, and that Ley had intended that the Castles should turn out a "technically and ideologically trained elite", Speer found that:

all this elite would have been good for was positions in a bureaucratic party administration, since thanks to their isolated and specialised education the young people knew nothing about practical life, while on the other hand their arrogance and conceit about their own abilities were boundless.
Other institutions founded by the Nazis for elite preparation, and having the same orientations as the above schools were as follows: the Academy for Youth Leaders at Brunswick, where the building was topped by a huge statue of "two muscular striding youths"; three former cadet schools at Koslin, Potsdam and Plon, which had been converted to progressive boarding schools under the Republic and were to turn out leaders for the Nazis; the National Socialist German Secondary School (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Oberschule) at Feldafing; the German State Boarding Schools (Deutsche Heimschulen), for children whose lives had been disturbed by the war; two Artistic Grammar Schools (Musische Gymnasien) at Leipzig and Frankfurt/Main, for children of outstanding ability, and of course, the necessary qualities of race and physique; the Institute of Political Science, at Berlin University, taken over by the Nazis as a school for training political officers; a special department at the University of Marburg, and a special faculty at Berlin University, for the training of "leaders" for Great Britain and the USA respectively; as well as a comprehensive scheme of HJ leadership courses, at regional and national level, and short courses of the same nature. Those attending these short courses had all been specially screened, and the course of instruction qualified the graduates to instruct in "gymnastics and physical training, sport and scouting and the principles of National Socialism". Besides voluntary leaders in the HJ, there were full-time, salaried officers, including a chief director of physical training, and state qualified physical education instructors.
Another Nazi institution which worked to socialise youth into the Party Weltanschaung was the Landjahr (Land Year). Although under the general aegis of the Minister of Education, direct administrative control was vested in the Regierungspräsidenten (Presidents of the Local Government Boards). Moreover, the Landjahr was not envisaged as an extension of the school system, and indeed, the ethos of the school was to be avoided at all costs, so much so that HJ and BDM uniform were to be worn, together with appropriate Landjahr insignia.

The philosophy underpinning this movement was somewhat mixed, but unmistakably Nazi. Traditionally, as von Bernhardi had said, the military spirit of hardness was formed by the practice of physical labour. Moreover, work of an agricultural nature had the advantage of bringing about a settled, healthy way of life, unlike some industrial occupations. At the same time, the soil of Germany had a special significance in the Nazi credo of blood and soil, symbolising the mystical origins of German culture and a return to the peasant life. The practice was also designed to break down class divisions, as well as city/countryside prejudices. On a purely utilitarian level, cheap labour was provided in areas which might be short of workers, and it also demonstrated a determination by the leaders of Germany not to become short of food, especially in wartime. The very physicality of life on the land brought it into the concept of physical culture as previously defined, and led to a strong concentration on this area, typical of the Nazis.
This can be shown by noting that after the introduction of this institution, in Prussia in 1934, it was regarded as:

one of the most important innovations of National-Socialist education, equal in importance to the development of Arbeitsdienst, Gelandesport, and the Hitlerjugend, and the SA. \(^{101}\)

By this scheme, fourteen year old elementary pupils had their education extended by one year, and in 1934 there were 22,000 boys and girls involved, whilst by 1936 the number had reached almost 36,000, with nearly six hundred Landjahr Camps. \(^{102}\)

In theory, every urban child leaving elementary, middle or secondary school at 14-15 years, who could meet the physical, mental, moral and, of course, racial conditions, could be involved, but by 1936 only 20-25% of elementary school leavers recruited from selected areas were involved. \(^{103}\) Actually, owing to the cost of providing for all those eligible, the early scheme was limited to pupils residing in cities of more than 25,000 inhabitants, particularly those which were large industrial centres, and also cities on Germany's frontiers where there might be a danger of exposure to anti-Nazi influences. \(^{104}\)

As with all other Nazi youth organisations, the military imperative was basal, and on the principle "Gelobt sei was da hart macht" (Praised be what makes one hard), was based on the life of the peasantry, whose "Close contact with nature" had, according to the Nazis, "made them hard and vigorous, patient
and enduring". The absorption of healthy and socially useful Labour into a Party schema of physical culture was necessary, because such work "develops physical strength ... and more skill and ... promotes physical health and endurance".  

Besides being convinced ideologues, the Landjahr leaders were generally expected to possess teaching qualifications, and were moreover, expected to attend courses in the teaching of war-games, sports and physical training, as well as handicraft and music, and these orientations were evident in the actual teaching situation. Thus political education was to continue throughout the year, and of course, the use of physical activities in political indoctrination, so that "Geländesport, marching, excursions, and simple recreational activities ... (folk songs and music, folk arts and folk dances)", were to be the balance and reinforcement for Heimatkunde, Volkskunde, Geländekunde, Kartenkunde and Geopolitik (history, race-study, geography, map-work and geopolitics).

The scheme also catered for girls, but in line with Nazi theories, the work would differ slightly from that of boys, as would the recreational activities, and there were separate camps for girls.

The scheme comes closest of any of the reforms to developing the theory of blood and soil. It represents a combination of national-political education, physical hardening, contact with the land, and the development of solidarity through a close community life.
Even the Arbeitsdienst (Labour Service) whilst having its own command structure, continued:

the work of the Hitler Youth, its educational tasks being practically the same. Under its standard and within its ranks, the political German is fashioned to the mold. Through exercise, habit, and effort, and through education for physical training and self-defence, youth is further trained in "those matters of character development which the intellectual education of the school does not afford".\[109\]

This Nazi grouping was one especially dear to the heart of the Fuhrer, for it was through the workings of the Labour Service that young men could be politically indoctrinated and given pre-military training, whilst fulfilling a useful function, and appropriately, on each May Day, Hitler would reinforce his view of a classless folk-community in his speech to the Arbeitsdienst.\[110\]

Openly admitting the economic nature of warfare and the common function of worker and soldier in modern economic systems, Beumelberg declared:

And now the Reich youth leadership and Labour Front call German working youth to a fresh and joyful battle. This will be no boring school hour, no scrambling for high marks, but a struggle as if fought on the battlefield - except that here it will be in the vocational sphere.\[111\]
This, once again gave evidence of the Nazi antipathy to formal education as well as their view of life as a perpetual struggle.

The first labour camps appeared from the Youth Movement after the World War, and as unemployment rose, so did their numbers. At first they were largely social class groupings with students, peasants and workers, seeking the company of their peers as a reaction to lack of work. To Konstantin Hierl, an ex-soldier and convinced nationalist, the tremendous possibilities of such groupings was obvious. Hitler himself, showed great foresight when he appointed Hierl as Reich Labour Leader, and made the movement part of the Nazi programme, a full three years prior to gaining power.

The government of the Republic was also interested in alleviating unemployment by means of voluntary labour, and in July 1931, the law instituting such camps was passed. The Nazis, however, organised their own camps, and Hierl founded the first Party camp at Hammerstein in the Grenzmark, early in 1933. Months later, the state of Anhalt made such service state-wide. After this, Hierl became Reich Leader, and in his book *Sinn und Gestaltung der Arbeitsdienstpflicht* (Form and Organisation of the Labour Service) he unveiled his theory - The Hierl Plan - which although enmeshed in economic factors, he envisaged as an aspect of social engineering, so that the young of Germany would regard labour as a privilege and a service to the "volk", just as was membership of the HJ, BDM, SA, SS and military service. As the
crowning achievement to his work, the Reich Labour Service Law was passed on June 26, 1935. Under this, every German male had to serve six months in the Arbeitsdienst, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six.\textsuperscript{114}

In 1936 there were 1,300 Labour Camps, housing about 400,000 youths. Some of the camps engaged in reclaiming waste land for recultivation or making land once under water, safe to till again. Others performed the following functions: drainage, road-making, forestry, land clearance, conserving rivers, reservoirs and harbours, all of which were considered to be of benefit to the community at large.\textsuperscript{115}

The theoretical constructs behind Hierl's labours were explicated by Dr Wolfgang Scheibe, in his book \textit{Aufgabe und Aufbau des Reichsarbeitsdienstes} (The Task and Structure of the Labour Service), in which he posited that Labour Service initiated the young for "healthy, strong, and ever-ready participation in the racial state". The Nazi creed would be imprinted on the young by "teaching the combined rudiments of life as a soldier, a peasant, and a labourer". In orthodox Nazi manner, Scheibe saw the educational function of the Labour Service as both physical and "character-intellectual". Health and strength were to be pursued together with the ability to endure, "toughening and ever-increasing (physical) accomplishment" and "the natural ... charm of the body" was to be encouraged. These aims were to be achieved through a daily physical regimen, with exercises extra-
to, and compensating for any strain caused by labour, but above all through military training, for only this could foster "a good soldierly bearing, and puts the mind in control of the body". Scheibe saw physical culture in its manifestations as useful labour, sports and para-military training as the builder of character, together with appropriate doses of political indoctrination.\textsuperscript{116}

Although only of six months duration, Labour Service was designed to be one of the most formative elements in a young man's experience, and to found habits and attitudes which were expected to last a lifetime. This expectation was certainly shared by Hierl, who explained:

\begin{quote}
The idea of service in the Arbeitsdienst signifies the logical development and necessary fulfillment of thoughts which have led (at one and the same time) to universal compulsory schooling and universal compulsory military service.\textsuperscript{117}
\end{quote}

Just as the Fascists before them, the Nazis were adept at confusing peaceful outcomes with warlike ones. They had already merged the cult of the body with the pursuit of arms, and so it is not surprising that they were easily able to obfuscate the contradiction between the ploughshare and the gun:

\begin{quote}
Just as in wartime it is the duty of every young German to serve his country with his weapons, so also it is his duty in peacetime to serve his country with his spade.\textsuperscript{118}
\end{quote}
To achieve this, physical culture, including sports, military drill and hard physical work was the major educative force, underpinned by political indoctrination. A typical Labour Service programme for one day illustrates this:

6.00 AM Rising bell, followed by setting-up exercises and a cross-country run.

6.30-7.00 Cleaning up.

7.00 Flag raising in full uniform, followed by breakfast and orders for the day.

8.00-12.00 Work, followed by luncheon.

1.00-2.00 PM Free time (compulsory rest in bed for the girls).

2.00-3.15 Sport, followed by tea.

4.15-6.00 National political schooling and group work.

7.00 Flag lowering in full uniform, followed by evening meal.

7.30-8.30 Campfire circle.

9.00 Lights out.¹¹⁹

Yet the organisation model for the Arbeitsdienst, as with all other Nazi institutions was the army, albeit a Nazi army, with uniforms, spades as weapons, and a hierarchy of command. This political bias was so evident that it was suggested that the Wehrmacht had objected to the scheme from the outset, despite its disciplined, military bias, "because the boys are too well-trained in the Nazi way before the Army gets hold of them". Despite this, due to the overwhelming militarism of the organisation, it was estimated that:
in time of emergency, the Arbeitsdienst could immediately put 200,000 drilled and well-organised infantrymen into the field.\textsuperscript{120}

Within the Labour Service, the Nazis deliberately linked the role of worker and soldier, and then through an appeal to the sense of militant, physical achievement, joined the exhilaration of exercise and the satisfaction of work well-done, to produce the politically motivated, "volk" conscious citizen, completely equipped to defend and extend the influence of the state in either the industrial or the military sphere. The actual area where the physical and military imperatives merged was in the movement's pursuit of "field-sports":

\begin{quote}
Participation in Gelandesport is intended to introduce the graduate to the idea of defence (Wehrgedanke) and through practical training to develop him as the man ready for defence (wehrhaft) ... The participants are trained in Gelandesport with movements and marches in different terrains (Gelände), in knowledge of terrain, and in training of all kinds on the terrain as well as the use of small calibre rifles.
\end{quote}

In addition to the physical training element in the work of the Arbeitsdienst, one and a half months of the six months total were given over to Gelandesport.\textsuperscript{121}
As in all other areas, the Nazis extended their control over both sexes, and by a decree of March 11, 1933, the Labour Service was opened to girls.\textsuperscript{122} The programme was similar to that for boys, but at first it was on a voluntary basis, when the first camp was opened at Schurmbach, in 1935.\textsuperscript{123} Later on the organisation became compulsory, and during the war the Labour Service developed into a sort of Labour exchange, which directed people to nationally important work.\textsuperscript{124}

Understandably in Germany, the connection between politics and sport was almost symbiotic, as part of a tradition stretching back to Jahn.\textsuperscript{125} The leader of the HJ, von Schirach, illustrated this connection in introducing the training manual of the movement:

\begin{quote}
Physical efficiency is not only the preliminary condition of your being passed 'Fit for Military Service' later on - it is also a fundamental demand of the National Socialist view of life.

We in the 'Hitler-Jugend' see in a systematically built up course of physical training an indispensable means of self-instruction in comradeship and the team-spirit.

The Fuhrer asks you to develop your bodily talents and capacities to the utmost ...\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

To ensure that this was achieved, the regular physical tests carried out in the movement were quite rigorous yet all-embracing, as the details of the HJ tests taken at the ages of fifteen, sixteen and seventeen-plus demonstrate:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Grade A</th>
<th>Grade B</th>
<th>Grade C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 metres run</td>
<td>15 seconds</td>
<td>14.5 seconds</td>
<td>14 seconds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 metres run</td>
<td>15 minutes</td>
<td>14 minutes</td>
<td>14 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Jump</td>
<td>3.75 metres</td>
<td>4 metres</td>
<td>4.25 metres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing the &quot;Keule&quot; (distance)</td>
<td>25 metres</td>
<td>30 metres</td>
<td>35 metres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting the Shot</td>
<td>6 metres</td>
<td>6.75 metres</td>
<td>7.50 metres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinning the Bar</td>
<td>Twice</td>
<td>Thrice</td>
<td>Four Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>100 metres or 5 min</td>
<td>200 metres or 10 min</td>
<td>300 metres or 15 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling (where swimming impossible)</td>
<td>10 km</td>
<td>15 km in 40 minutes</td>
<td>20 km in 50 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming (for Marine Branch &quot;H-J&quot;)</td>
<td>300 metres in 12 min</td>
<td>300 metres in 10 min</td>
<td>300 metres in 9 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or 15 min</td>
<td>or 20 min</td>
<td>or 30 min</td>
</tr>
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<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
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</table>

Thus the movement placed a massive premium on sporting prowess, so that games, gymnastics, boxing, wrestling, swimming, light athletics, shooting, war games and scouting, touring and work on the land, occupied a large portion of the average HJ's time. However, the movement discouraged the pursuit of record breaking and individual achievement, and attempted to direct youth's energies into corporate, team activities, as had the Fascists. Certainly, the regime understood the propaganda effect of physical culture, as shown by Hans Siemsen in his biographic work. He himself, was an outstanding school athlete, and not a member of the HJ. Such was the prestige attached to physical culture.
that he was not compelled to go through the normal process of applying for membership, but was approached by officials who told him he need not follow this process, but instead, invited him to become a sports instructor (Sportwart), to a local HJ unit.\textsuperscript{129} He also related the case of the horseman, Holk, who won an international equestrian event in Berlin in 1933, who was also a Dane by birth:

\begin{quote}
The day before the show he himself had no idea that he was an SS man and a National-Socialist. But on the day of the show he rode and won in the uniform of an SS leader, and the whole world was amazed to find that the SS could produce such brilliant riders.\textsuperscript{130}
\end{quote}

In the early days, Siemsen maintained, the movement had placed more emphasis on marching and drilling than on physical culture, and this was demonstrated by the worries of HJ leaders, who showed concern at an organised sports meeting, lest all the prizes were not carried off by HJ competitors. Prior to the legislation which made membership of the organisation compulsory, Siemsen's fellow HJ leaders declared all the local, outstanding athletes to be thenceforward members. This subterfuge was successful because, as Siemsen remarked:

\begin{quote}
For running, jumping and swimming they had no need to wear the Hitler Youth uniform. Who could tell whether an athlete in shorts and spiked shoes was a member of the Hitler Youth or not.\textsuperscript{131}
\end{quote}
In line with this, well known sportsmen were also made, willy-nilly, members of the SA or SS to make up for the lack of sporting ability in the Party organisations, and eventually, after 1936, it was impossible for a boy to join any sports' club, unless he was also affiliated to the HJ.\textsuperscript{131}

Yet this preponderance of physical activities within the movement, with the emphasis on heroic achievement, did not use the athlete as its end product. In the HJ the boy began his physical and spiritual journey, which would eventually see him as a soldier of the German people. It is true, that prior to the war, German spokesmen would stress the "sporting" element of shooting and war games, whilst playing down their military orientations. Some observers were even taken-in by such specious claims:

\begin{quote}
The Wehrerziehung is evidently a preparation for later compulsory military training, but does not duplicate it.\textsuperscript{132}
\end{quote}

Yet such critics only saw what they wanted to see. Indeed, observation of the facts was hardly necessary, for one merely had to read the words of the Nazi leaders, such as the Reich Youth Leader, von Schirach:

\begin{quote}
I had spent weeks in the library among books. I had spent days in wandering about museums. I felt the urge but could not stop it. Then I wandered through the country again, over the meadows and wide plains of North Germany. There I saw soldiers on the march. I knew not whence they came nor whither they were going nor who they were.
\end{quote}
Soldiers. I followed them for hours, tried to make the same steps, to halt when they did, and to look like them. And, while my marching seemed long, there arose between us a silent debate. Again and again I tried to look in their eyes - they appeared cold and steely, and then deep down there trembled something like frenzy or a glowing fervor. They spoke of the most mysterious, greatest, and deepest passion of life - of battle. I had known all this before. First through the group and then through the individual it all became living and real.

Then their faces, their gait, their bearing, all began to speak to me. We are the greatest philosophers, they said, because always and above all we assert our contention that the Idea is higher than the Material through action. And isn't that the only manly philosophy? Art? Aren't we the greatest artists, because we are where life is lived at its strongest and is fashioned out of flesh and blood?

Isn't being a soldier the only thing that makes us genuinely immortal? Because it envelops us as travelling companions in the beating waves of the eternal sea from whose foam we have sprung. How do you know that? I asked. How do you know all that I have for years been seeking? They only stared, these scorners of words.133

With such articulate and eloquent persuaders, it is little wonder that idealistic youth was seduced, and, finally, betrayed. The stylish message conveyed by the aesthetic von Schirach was crudely reinforced by his HJ officers, and Siemsen related the exhortative speech he listened to from a Regional Leader, who declared:
But one thing comes first and foremost ... discipline and order. And unquestioning loyalty to the Führer. Our aim is to train soldiers. The soldier, the warrior, who stakes his life and soul, property and blood, for his people, his Führer, stands on the highest rung of human development.134

In the HJ the cult of toughness and hardihood was taken to extreme lengths, with the young Pimpfen having as their motto "Clinch your teeth, boys. Endure!" Advice truly necessary, when one realises that these little fellows had to perform marches of up to twelve miles.135 Despite the hardships endured, however, there is evidence that the children enjoyed the process.136

Yet the cult, whilst apparently vital and replete with health and life, was, in fact, a cult of death, and to this purpose the child was dedicated, from the time he swore to be ready to die for Hitler, on his accession into the Jungvolk.137 As the war neared its end, and it became necessary to throw young boys into battle, HJ leaders could persuade youth with statements completely glamourising death.

Towards the ultimate truth, there leads but a small gate inscribed with the old Samurai saying, "Through the door of death we enter the door of true life".

and:

He who does not risk his life to gain it ever anew is already dead, though he still breathes, eats and drinks. Death is only a departure for the sake of a higher life.138
From early experiences within the movement, using single-stick fighting and then going over to boxing, at all times as a training in pain-tolerance and courage, battle training developed apace, with the younger generation being intimately acquainted with firearms. During 1938, almost a million HJ took part in shooting contests. It was intended that even the young Pimpfen would have gained a knowledge of weapons on a developmental stage, from primitive to modern, sophisticated ones, so that eventually the stage would be reached where "during military manoeuvres, youngsters stand with yearning eyes behind blazing machine guns".

The scouting activities, so beloved of boys, were also interspersed with formal marching, but the romantic ethos attached to the activities of the Vandervogel movement became, under the Nazis, a formalised war-game. These games were part of the training of the Pimpfen, Jungvolk and HJ proper, and although the scale would vary, there was a common essence of brutality shown by participants, on to another.

Gelandesport was seen as the foundation of Wehrsport, which included marching, trench-digging, using dugouts, coping with barbed wire, bayonet drill, dealing with gas attacks, and throwing dummy hand grenades. Even amongst the youngest members of the youth movements, such activities ensured that they could not stop playing at war, and Neumann graphically illustrates how his younger brother, and his fellow Pimpfen were initiated into the very essence of war:
September 2. Sedan Day. For two
days now a regular army of Pimpfen
has invaded Urfeld. They are to
participate this afternoon and
evening in the commemoration cere­
monies to celebrate the surrender
of Sedan ... 

This morning, probably to get
themselves in trim, they have been
on 'manoeuvres' in the Oberau
forest. They organised a splendid
game which consists of a mock
frontier battle.

The French, allied to the English
plutocrats, have tried by treachery
to attack German soil. The valiant
soldiers of the Reich have flung
them back across the Rhine.

So two armies are formed. From
where I am writing I can hear the
shouts and bellows of the boys who
are pretending to be the Franco-
English. Actually they know that it
isn't going to be at all funny for
them, and that blows with sticks and
stones will rain down on them
thicker than a summer hailstorm.

At noon the vanquished army returns,
cross, disheartened and covered with
bruises.
The others singing ...\(^5\)

The British Ministry of Education team, which inspected physical
education in Germany in 1936, was made aware of the instruction in
shooting, aviation, sailing and motoring, yet concluded that the
HJ was "doing excellent work". Moreover, even though witnessing
Gelandesport, the team found it reminiscent of English scouting,
"but ... far more comprehensive and realistic". The conclusions
reached by the members were at best uncritical, and at the worst
laudatory.\(^6\)
This effect, however, on a group of professionally well-qualified observers should not surprise us. After all, despite any crude rhetoric, the total package was skillfully presented, and the insidious effects of Nazi military propaganda were achieved via the use of apparently innocent activities, as leads-in. This can be shown from the HJ manual, *Hitler-Jugend im Dienst*. In the first half of the book, only games and calisthenics appeared whilst the second portion was devoted to military activities. The point of transition was achieved by competitive sporting activities, and these had, as their ultimate objective, the training of military skills, so that:

> The bodily development and discipline of ordinary sport are thus the necessary background for the more strenuous demands of warlike activity.\(^{147}\)

The political socialisation of girls was equally thorough, even if their role in Nazi society was to be more circumscribed than that of boys. Both the BDM and the Jungmadeln prepared girls for their future occupations as National Socialist mothers and wives, and as subsidiary defenders of the Reich, in jobs such as nursing. The process by which this was achieved was practically identical with that carried out in the boys' organisations.\(^{148}\) Von Schirach, himself, had encouraged girls to prepare themselves for their coming tasks in the following manner.
Maidens, practice sport!

... We are eager to bring up a young and healthy people. And so the duty of the BDM of physical efficiency is valid for you, too. Practice sport; train your bodies, grow healthy and fortify your powers of resistance and so grow up to be healthy women ..."¹⁵⁹

There is some evidence that the forms of exercise provided for girls, whilst being vigorous, at the same time emphasised their own consciousness of their feminity, and that traditional calisthenics were alternated with folk-dancing, and more aesthetic pursuits, especially in the voluntary organisation within the movement, called Faith and Beauty (Glaube und Schönheit).¹⁵⁰ With regard to physical tests, the BDM member was required to run sixty metres in twelve seconds, long jump two and a half metres, throw a ball twenty metres, pass an elementary gymnastic and balance walking test and complete either two hours of route-marching or swim a hundred metres.¹⁵¹ Yet to some people, the main intention of the girls' pursuits was, obviously, "to make their bodies strong for motherhood", and this was to be achieved through "jumping, running and marching to the tunes of Nazi songs".¹⁵²

As with the movements for boys, there were uniforms and all the organisational structures of militarism in the Jungmadeln and BDM, together with the paraphernalia of drills, parades and exercises, all governed by strict military discipline.¹⁵³ The Girls' Reich Leader, Trude Buerkner, issued the following detailed instructions governing the marching exercises to be carried out by members of her groups.
Marching:

Girls, from 10-11 years not more than 10 km a day
   " 12-14 " " 15 "
   " 14-16 " from 15-20 km a day
   " 16-18 " " 20-25 "

Pack:

Girls, from 10-14 years to weigh between 4-6 lbs
   " 14-18 " " 8-12 "

Night duty is forbidden girls of 10-12 years and to be one hour for girls of 13-14. ¹⁵⁴

These purely military operations were reinforced by the statutory, Nazi doses of political indoctrination and the regime's philosophy on the role of the woman. ¹⁵⁵ In a book specifically dealing with the education of women for war, it was stated that:

> The militarisation of the woman, of the entire female part of the population, is one of the great tasks of this century. ¹⁵⁶

A teachers journal made an even starker declaration in the following manner:

> There is no greater happiness for our nation than the military woman. She is the guarantee for the eternity of the German people. ¹⁵⁷

Methodically, the total militarisation of young Germany was tightly organised in a collective whole, led firmly from the top as demanded by the Führerprinzip, with a battery of schools for leaders of the girls' organisations, similar to the boys', with the most popular being at Potsdam and Boyden in East Prussia. ¹⁵⁸

Maschmann, herself a BDM leader, found few leaders she could respect, and considered all BDM leaders to be "narrowminded
fanatics". Yet within the girls' movements, there was idealism and the enthusiasm of a shared purpose and common aims.

Despite the attempts of the leadership of the Jungmadeln and the BDM to impress the public with their ideal of the upright German maiden, there is some evidence that public opinion saw in the movements an encouragement to sexual laxity. However, this cannot detract from the vital nature of the organisations, a quality which they shared with the boys' movements.

To a great extent, the ethos of the HJ was to encompass the school system, and there can be no doubt that there was some conflict over the use of pupils' time, between the two agencies. One of the contributory reasons for this was that between 1931 and 1939, the teacher/pupil ratio increased, indeed, in elementary schools, the average class size increased from thirty nine to forty five, whilst at the same time more extra-curricular duties were demanded from the teachers by the regime.

Moreover, the respect once accorded to the teaching profession was eroded through the activities of the HJ, which made a far more immediate appeal to youth than the traditional, methodical progression of school learning. At the same time, this appeal led to over-tired pupils, unable to conform with the passive ambience of the school, after the dynamic and assertive nature of HJ activities.

HJ leaders were also a problem in the school, in that they were used to command outside the school, but expected to obey the
teachers, and this despite the aphorism that "Youth leads youth". Teachers were encouraged to be sympathetic to leaders in the youth formations, lest their status were lessened in the eyes of their comrades in the class, and in line with this, in some areas, special teachers had to be appointed to "cram" HJ leaders who had fallen behind educationally.  

Reference to pupils political activity was excluded from school reports, and in every common-room a teacher, who was also a member of the organisation, had the task of speaking up for HJ members threatened with relegation to lower forms, due to poor work, yet to complete the almost circular nature of the problem, the schools were enjoined to grant leave of absence to pupils for HJ courses.  

With the advent of the war, the Nazis realised the opportunities which presented themselves to make the state schools more similar to the Napolas and Adolf Hitler Schools, which were closer in ethos to the HJ than the state education system, and which led to a further diminution in academic standards - a phenomenon shared, not unexpectedly, by the Nazi schools and the Ordensburgen.  

It would appear from this that the ideal of "mens sana in corpore sano" had only been implemented in its latter condition.
Other observers have defended the educational functions of the HJ, without making out a general case in its favour.

There was certainly a great deal of good and ambitious education in the Hitler Youth. There were groups who learned to act in a masterly way. People told stories, danced and practiced handicrafts ... Yet underneath this veneer, the elemental essence of the HJ shone through in all its rigid militarism:

But the idea of a competition (behind which lay the glorification of the fighter and the heroic) often enough banished the element of meditation even from musical activities ...  

The Nazis were at great pains to convince critics of the non-military nature of the HJ, just as they were with regard to the school system. The British Ministry party in their report, examined the militaristic nature of the youth movements, and had to admit that the British OTC (Officers Training Corps), was more militaristic. Indeed, the conclusion of the group was that:

The movement would, in fact, appear to be no more militaristic than — or just as militaristic as — National Socialism itself.  

Stellrecht also stated that the British trained their boys for war by using boxing and football, together with other sports, as well as the Boy Scouts, and maintained that the British were only able to train an army as quickly as they did in 1915-16, because of the Scouts' influence. There may be an element of truth in
this statement, and undoubtedly, the movement's founder Baden-Powell, had military imperatives in mind when originating his initiative, yet the element of compulsion and universality were, and are, missing from the British organisation.

Visitors to Nazi Germany testified to the enthusiasm of HJ members, so that perhaps Minister of Education, Rust, was telling the truth when he avowed that German children were happier than they had ever been. Children themselves asked the question: "What boy would not be glad to be a soldier, to carry a rifle and shoot", whilst after the news that British boys were not enthusiastic about conscription, broke in Germany, the organ of the HJ proclaimed:

We are incapable of understanding this news coming from England.
WE ARE HAPPY TO BE MILITARY MINDED.

Through the systematic physical culture and military instruction, the youth of the Reich were prepared for military service, yet some of the intensity of their training actually had adverse effects on the health and military fitness of the young, and in 1937, the Frankfurter Zeitung announced that nearly one in four conscripts had flat feet. A prominent orthopaedic specialist also announced that flat feet were beginning to appear among school children, and the HJ route marches were blamed. Moreover, in the winter of 1937-38, the Youth Leader of Hanover ordered the reduction of HJ activities to a minimum, because the youngsters, and especially the leaders were showing health defects and fatigue.
Nor did the severe discipline of the youth movements have a depressant effect on delinquency statistics, which after an early fall, continued to rise during the Third Reich. There were also various groups, which although not deviant, in any true sense, were so in Nazi eyes. These, of course, were the groups who rejected the enforced physical culture and militarism of the HJ, and followed their own, harmless interests, whilst Becker quotes a statement which implies that there were alternative, albeit illegal youth movements opposed to the HJ, which went as far as open conflict with the official organisation.

From the organised youth of Germany, the Nazis had promised that they would raise an elite which would perpetuate their revolution. The war of course, precluded any long-term pursuit of such a course, but in the HJ and the leadership schools, dealt with at an earlier stage, the regime made an impressive start. With regard to bringing forth an elite which was not based on any particular social class, and, in particular, to improving the prospects of the lower classes, there is evidence that the Party had no success at all.

Yet the vitality of the HJ cannot be gainsaid, and whilst William Shirer could cryptically note that in the Third Reich, the young were trained "for life and work and death", and that their "minds were deliberately poisoned, their regular schooling interrupted, their homes largely replaced so far as their rearing went", he found the young men and women "immensely happy". Shirer
believed that the social mixing, the experience of labour, and meeting different kinds of people to have been "good and healthy in itself". He found in the HJ "an incredibly dynamic youth movement".

Above all, he made special note of the emphasis on physical culture, and compared the results of such policies with the physical state of young Britons.

The young in the Third Reich were growing up to have strong and healthy bodies ... I thought of that later, in the May days of 1940, when along the road between Aachen and Brussels one saw the contrast between the German soldiers, bronzed and clean-cut from a youth spent in the sun on an adequate diet, and the first British war prisoners, with their hollow chests, round shoulders, pasty complexions and bad teeth - tragic examples of the youth that England had neglected so irresponsibly in the years between the wars.
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PART 2 - NAZI GERMANY
CHAPTER 4 - INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY

the swimming pool ..., the canteens, the improvements in working conditions, all the advances in the social field ..., all these things are in the final analysis the result of the increase in production from which the individual benefits as part of the community. And the individual could only properly assess the significance for him of the increase in production, if its main result, namely, the weapons of our armed forces, did not exist.

These words of Deputy Fuhrer, Rudolf Hess to the Reich Chamber of Labour, demonstrate the Nazis' total preoccupation with militarism. According to their world view, economic achievement was an adjunct to military conquest, whilst physical culture was a preparation and training ground for both sets of activities.

Even in modern, mass democracies, the major forms of leisure are all controlled by financial interests. Understandably, therefore, the Nazis found the concept of free leisure completely unacceptable. In their pursuit of the creation of mass-man, who would perpetuate the racial state, the Nazis employed:

The reduction of leisure to a mere auxiliary of work ... all the more brutal because it coalesces with the National Socialist principle of social organisation: drives the workers into huge organisations where they are submerged, lose their individuality, march, sing, and hike together but never think together.
In the schools and the youth movements the young were trained in militant physical accomplishment, which led into experience of both military and industrial skills. At the same time, through the nature of such activities, the uncritical mass-consciousness desired by totalitarians was achieved. The young were seen as the future, and through their enthusiasm it was hoped to exert some influence on the older generation by association. The older generation was, therefore, not the prime target for Nazi indoctrination, as it was far less likely to succumb as rapidly and completely as would impressionable youth to ideological blandishments. Even so, any transfer of Nazi values from convinced youth to cynical age, from child to parent or from apprentice to worker was not sufficient for the purposes of the regime. Whether they would have it or no, the older generation had to be drawn into the Party's world view, and this could only take place through thorough and ruthless organisation.

Prior to 1933, the leisure pursuits of the labour movements exhibited progressive traits, but contrary trends were also apparent, such as the relegation of leisure activities to be mere auxiliaries of work, the concept of recreation as purely a guarantor of renewed strength, to be used in the national, industrial battle. This purpose was central to the work of DINTA (The German Institute for Technical Work Training) founded in 1925 by K Arnhold. With the advent of the Nazis, DINTA was taken over and became the German Institute for National Socialist Technical Work Training.
The Labour Front was one of the first Nazi institutions to be formed, because the trade unions were the centre of organised opposition to the regime, and so at ten o'clock on the morning of May 2, 1933, all trade unions were abolished in Germany, and their funds and property expropriated. By the Law for the Organisation of National Labour of January 20, 1934, the Arbeitsfront was duly set up. The Front was never a government department, and administratively was supposed to be a body which had grown out of the old trade unions. In practice, however, there was close cooperation between the Front and the Ministries of Labour and Economics, in that the Labour Front gave advice on industrial matters and proposed new legislation, after which the Ministries would formulate the laws and put them into operation. The close connection with the regime can be exemplified by explaining that Hitler himself was the leader of the Front, whilst Dr Robert Ley was its executive director. Even though the movement was supposed to be voluntary, there was ultimately the universal coercion of the Nazi state.

Despite the emphasis of scholars in categorising German youth as products of the family, school and HJ, the educational statistics for 1938-39 show that seventeen out of twenty young people were bound to be engaged in a working milieu, as distinct from academic, professional or civil service occupations. Thus it is not surprising that when the first National Vocational Competition was held in 1934, approximately 1,000,000 youngsters participated, one third of them girls. Just as the emphasis on competitive
sport and militant achievement had led into military orientations in the schools and particularly the youth movements, the Nazis used the competitive nature of physical culture as a lead-in to industrial efficiency. By dint of repeated propaganda, the young were encouraged to train as enthusiastically for their vocational competitions as they would have done for sports, while the organisational ploys of preliminaries, semi-finals and finals were borrowed directly from the sporting world. This not only increased the enthusiasm of the trainees but also gave the regime an annual census of available skilled personnel in various fields, as well as an idea of general skill levels. With this information at hand, young workers could be switched from one aspect of industry to another, in the light of national needs.

The British Ministry team which examined physical education in Germany in 1937, found in the large industrial concern which they visited that the apprentices and messenger boys received regular gymnastic instruction for ten to fifteen minutes before lunch, whilst the apprentices had a regular commitment to engage in physical culture on one day a week, under the supervision of qualified instructors. Their elders, it was discovered, engaged in sport mostly at weekends, and for this purpose there were extensive facilities for gymnastics, tennis, squash, skittles, athletics, football, rugby, netball, hockey, ice-hockey, handball, golf, rowing, yachting, shooting, swimming and angling, showing the massive concern for physical culture amongst German employers under the Nazis.
The main agent of the Labour Front in promoting the health, fitness and welfare of workers was the KDF (Kraft durch Freude - Strength through Joy) organisation. Indeed, on the same day that he founded the KDF, Dr Robert Ley also instituted the Schönheit der Arbeit (Beauty of Labour) movement, which was to complement the work of the KDF by persuading employers to improve the working conditions within the factories. In illustrating the frankly imitative nature of much of the paraphernalia of Nazism, the KDK was initially titled "After Work" after the Fascist Dopolavoro.®

It has been suggested that the movement was initially conceived as a means of currying favour with the masses, and also as a way of utilising the extensive assets of the proscribed trade unions, which had been confiscated.³ In a short time the programme offered included:

- subsidised theatre performances and concerts, exhibitions, sport and hiking groups, dances, folk-dancing, films, and adult education courses.
- But its most famous feature was a grandiose system of subsidised tourism whose practical economic by-products included visible benefits to thousands of rural hotelkeepers and the State railroad (Deutsche Reichsbahn).¹⁰
Some idea of the participation rates of workers in tourist activities can be gauged from the figures below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>participants</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1938</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vacation journeys</td>
<td>1,447,972</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short trips</td>
<td>2,120,751</td>
<td>6,811,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruises</td>
<td>61,151</td>
<td>131,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikes</td>
<td>99,408</td>
<td>1,937,850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economically, KDF became big business, by 1935 expanding into shipping and by 1937 through the subsidised development of the Volkswagen - originally the "KDF Wagen" - into motor manufacture. Developments such as these had their place within the Nazi world view, which besides having ideological and economic imperatives, had also military ones, which were seen in the orientation of the Volkswagen as a military vehicle and the transformation of liners into troopships on the outbreak of war.²

In the area of tourism and subsidised holidays, besides building liners, the KDF built "recreation homes" and a large spa on the island of Rugen for 20,000 people, together with a development of seaports along the northern coast of Germany. The subsidised theatre seats, mentioned previously, were of use to the Party in ensuring that members of the working classes, who might not have normally attended the theatre, could be subjected to Nazi propaganda. This consideration was also evident in the films and concerts given in country districts, and to a lesser extent, in the cultivation of musical taste.¹³ The popularity of the cultural and related activities is demonstrated by the following statistics.
The activities of the KDF provided the most attractive feature of Nazism to outside observers, and some of them could concur that:

There is no evidence whatever, to the unprejudiced observer, that the real object of "Kraft durch Freude" is the sinister one of merely ensuring that wage-slaves shall be kept physically fit for the daily grind at the mill and on the land. The whole spirit that informs the movement is manifestly too generous for that.\(^\text{15}\)

Yet the cynicism of the Nazis themselves could not be obviated, and a Dutch journalist, attending the KDF convention in Hamburg in 1938, heard Ley remark:

People are children ... They have childlike wishes. The state has to care for these and see to it that they get their presents if they are to be happy and stay happy and apply all their enthusiasm and energy to their work.\(^\text{16}\)
The press officer of the Arbeitsfront, Starcke, reinforced this view enthusiastically, when he said:

We do not send our workers on vacation on our own ships or build them massive bathing facilities at the sea for fun, either for ourselves or for the individual who has the chance to make use of them. We do it only because we are interested in preserving the working capacity (Arbeitskraft) of the individual and in order to send him back to work strengthened and refreshed.  

Of course, the total package was wrapped up prettily for consumption both at home and abroad. Through appeals to the "volk" spirit and comradeship, the worker would be encouraged to find spiritual satisfaction and his highest duty in work - in fact, through the material sphere. This would be achieved in an ethos of egalitarianism and community spirit, which diverted attention from the economic problems of the workers and also the increasing regimentation of German life. Indeed, the production of mass-man, completely at the disposal of the state was probably the prime function of the KDF, so that Ley could write in 1938.

There are no more private citizens. The time when anybody could do or not do what he pleased is past.

The physical culture activities of the KDF were under the general management of the Reichsportfuhrer, von Tscharmer und Osten, as were all other sporting and physical training operations in Germany. The link between KDF and industry was illustrated by the appointment of Works' Sport-Canvassing Officials (Betriebssportwerbewarte), who acted as "propagandists of sport between the workers and the local neighbourhood."
Among the activities promoted by the KDF were general physical training, suitable for all ages, including remedial exercises for injuries and posture. In the light of Hitler's dictum that the state should begin care of the young prior to birth, there was "Romping for Mothers and Children" (Tummelstunde für Mutter und Kind). Then there was "Waldlauf", a combination of running through woodlands, calisthenics and steeple-chasing, all done at one's own pace. Sailing both small boats and crewing larger ones, together with gliding and skiing were also offered. Members could prepare for and pass the German National Sports Badge — in bronze, silver or gold, this being a test of running, jumping and throwing, as indicators of strength, endurance and speed, together with the ability to swim. Moreover, from the summer of 1936, the worker could attend a Summer Sport Camp.21

Again, some ideas of the numbers of workers involved in such activities can be gained from the following figures.
Although members of the KDF had to pay fees, these were less than the fees charged to outsiders wishing to participate. Examples of the rate of charges to members for certain activities ranged from 20 pfennigs for "Merry Gymnastics and Games", (for women only), thirty for light athletics and ski gymnastics, forty for boxing, jiu-jitsu and roller skating, forty to sixty for pistol and small bore rifle shooting, whilst rowing, sailing and riding cost one mark.  

Outside the KDF, but essentially a part of the Nazi sporting apparatus was the German National Physical Training League (Der deutsche Reichsbund fur Leibesubungen). Backed by the regime, it formed an alliance of German clubs concerned with physical culture as well as a federation of associations, but only of amateur sport. This body, again under the command of von Tschammer und Osten, besides encouraging physical activities, collected statistics,
negotiated with the government, liaised over international contests, publicised events, gave advice over tax and legal matters and, in an essentially Nazi manner, engaged in "The physical and ideological education" of its members.

The "volkisch" state, as conceived of by the Nazis, could only extend its influence and propagate its faith by means of military conquest. Moreover, in a technological world, a modern industrial base was a necessity to support the large, highly trained and well equipped armies essential for victory. Having already entrapped the young within the coils of the school system and the HJ, it was still necessary to indoctrinate the economically active adults and adolescents, so that through a collective appeal to patriotism and common purpose they would provide the economic foundation for military conquest. Just as was noted in Chapters 2 and 3, the Party found in the activities which could be grouped under the generic title of physical culture, the best socialiser, collectiviser and preparation - both physically and ideologically - for the establishment of a strong and vital economy, to underpin their grandiose schemes of world domination through conquest.

In the case of the Labour Front, success was ... more or less automatic. The premise of mass support in a society resolved and compelled to be industrial made concessions from the regime inevitable. The full employment produced by total industrial mobilisation then made concession from employers inevitable too. In both cases, concessions derived from the decision to reverse Versailles, irrespective of, even despite, the interests and intentions of the respective partners. The lesson might be that an industrial society cannot exist without a labour movement. If one does not exist, it has to be invented.
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22 In Noakes & Pridham, op cit, p440.
See also Brady, op cit, pp154-155.

23 Physical Education in Germany, op cit, pp65-67.


26 Schoenbaum, op cit, p292.
PART 2 - NAZI GERMANY
CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSION

Thus the purpose of:

education in Hitler's State ... is to turn out a generation of youth drilled in party doctrines and objectives, ignorant of all other considerations, contemptuous of other races and peoples, equipped with powerful bodies and narrow minds for the work of the State - especially its supreme work, war.¹

Yet this undertaking had its antecedents in the history of the German people, and although synthesised by the Nazis, contained no really new elements. Such was the all-embracing nature of the ideology, that both the overt, worship of the state purveyed by Hegel, and the apparently harmless love of German folk-songs proclaimed by Herder, were traceable precursors of National Socialism.²

The complex relationship in which physical culture, militarism and politics are so often found has been remarked upon previously, and was certainly not a strange phenomenon in Germany. Krebs noted the use made of sporting organisations by early proto-Nazis, as a cover for their otherwise proscribed, political activities, as early as 1922,³ whilst at the first mass-meeting of the Party, on February 24, 1920, the almost unknown Adolf Hitler outlined the Nazi programme in twenty five short articles - number twenty one of which stated:
The state must see to the raising of the standard of health in the nation by ... increasing bodily efficiency by obligatory gymnastics and sports, and by extensive support of clubs engaged in the physical development of the young.

By the late thirties, British visitors were of the opinion that whatever progress had been made towards implementing the other elements contained in the Party platform, in the field of physical culture the regime was well on its way to realisation. In pursuit of this, in the schools the subject was raised to the status of a principal subject in the curriculum, at universities all students had compulsory courses in the area, whilst the message and training was reinforced and refined in the HJ and girls' organisations, the Labour Service, SA, SS, army and industry - principally through the work of the KDF. In the German triumphs at the Olympics in 1936, the Nazis saw evidence of the efficacy of their policies, and evidence of the national pride it engendered.

Minister Rust made it clear that while those of poor health would not necessarily be prevented from progressing in life, yet it would be "the physically fit who will have preference".

Yet in the Nazi schema, this fitness and health had but one purpose:

The character of every healthy German boy is inherently receptive to military education. In him there lives as a racial inheritance the love of soldiering.
This love of soldiering was also far from novel, and German educators had treasured the principles of military education for many years, prior to National Socialism.

In 1868, Professor Adolf Lasson had proclaimed that "The absence of preparation for war in any people is a sign of physical and moral decadence", whilst von Treitschke taught German university students that "War is not only a practical necessity, it is also a theoretical necessity". With their elders so wedded to such doctrines, it need come as no surprise that young Germans, well before the advent of Hitler, could publish the pernicious sentiment that "War is the most sublime and sacred manifestation of human action ... War is beautiful".

In this euphoric climate, military service was seen as the completion of the young German's initiation, so that:

The army was the last, the highest step in German education, the most powerful school of the German nation, and it now has returned to its old position; for everything that Germany is, or shall be, she owes to the army.

Therefore, to achieve the glamourisation of the soldierly ideal, the regime took complete control of "all agencies - school, sport field, camp", so that the whole of youth would be engaged in its machinations. This was of course, associated with the Nazi concept of elite training, which had "three functional lines of emphasis: sports, military training, and occupational or vocational training", all of which were designed to train the "soldierly qualities".
The Nazi institutions, specially set up to train the future elite were intended to be prime movers in bringing about such a spirit, once again reinforcing the hierarchical nature of physical activities and the cult of the warrior. Indeed, the army and the Waffen SS became the career aim for many of the graduates of the Napolas and Adolf Hitler Schools. The regime was attempting to produce a classless society - yet paradoxically, at the same time, an elite to lead it. This new elite would not be based on the criteria of former German elites, but on racial, physical and political attributes of "character". Yet it is claimed that the Nazis failed in this aim because of the "lack of sufficient and suitable applicants, and because of competition from the traditional institutions of education". Certainly, the evidence available is conflicting, with Albert Speer noting that:

It was significant that the high party functionaries did not send their own children into these schools, even so fanatical a party member as Gauleiter Sauckel refrained from launching a single one of his many boys on such a course. Conversely, Bormann sent one of his sons to an Adolf Hitler School as punishment.

Yet for most young people, the full weight of Nazi propaganda fell on them in the ranks of the youth organisations, and it was here that most of the future leaders were selected and trained. This again was not new in German life, and as early as 1912 a leader of the pre-Nazi youth movement could exclaim:
Like the young Achilles, our youth are [sic] throwing off the soft clothing of domesticity, seizing the sword and plunging into the world.  

Nothing at all was new in the pedagogy of the Nazi organisations, for even in 1812, von Eichendorff declared:

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 a struggle, vanquished or victorious, we die.

What was new was the thoroughness with which the Nazi message was conveyed, making use of all the modern techniques and strategies, given to the twentieth century by technological development.

The absolute nature of Nazi totalitarianism compares starkly with the less structured - in outcome at least - of the corporate order of Fascist Italy. Truly, the Nazis had frankly imitated much that was Italian, but their German thoroughness and ingenuity in adapting new concepts to their propaganda aims, ensured a more uniform and predictable effect than that achieved by the Fascists. The personalities of the respective leaders could also have been important in this result, with Mussolini and Hitler appearing as two differing types of strong men, of which:

one is the chief who is physically powerful and is surrounded by stronger men than his competitors; the other is the medicine man who is not strong in himself but is strong by reason of the power which the people project into him.
The first of these, Mussolini, could be characterised as a dilettante, reluctantly using the technological ploys of the modern world, yet emotionally harking back to an earlier, less structured age - and in evidence of this, witness his confessed love of anarchism. Hitler, on the other hand, can only be envisaged as a ruthless and dedicated totalitarian, willing to use all that technology could offer to achieve his societal aims - indeed, Genghis Khan with a telephone - as he has been described.

Perhaps this thoroughness can also be explained by the differing concepts of the state held in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In Italy the state held sway, even over the PNF. In Germany the concepts of nationalism and race were initially confused and then distorted to produce the idea of the volkisch state, based on common blood and tenure of German soil. In Italy the youth movements were founded under the patronage of the state, but the HJ existed prior to the Third Reich, and evolved from the National Socialist Party. Moreover, throughout history, the Italian state had been weak, whereas even during the revolutionary days of 1918-1919, the German bureaucratic state machine never ceased to function. Thus the Nazis made attempts to replicate the functions of the state prior to taking them over, and the Fascists allowed more "toleration" of sections of the traditional elite in Italy, than the Nazis did in Germany.

In essence it cannot be doubted that the Fascist regime was of a different category to National Socialism, due to the nature of the two differing societies, to disparate historical traditions
and economic factors, and perhaps to the contrasting types of personality which are called to mind by the concepts of "Italian" and "German". At the same time, the ploys and strategies used, the administrative programme implemented and the stated aims, bore a common purpose and style, even where they were not outwardly identical or similar.

To the Fascist, theory was seen as subservient to practice, and to the same extent "the ends of action count less than action itself". The National Socialist was of a different species, with a respect for theory - even if only as a means of rationalisation - for to him "words and ideas count for him as much as actions, and sometimes they replace them". Bearing in mind the anarchistic antecedents of Fascism, remarked upon in Chapter 1, Part 1, the following quotation would seem to go to the heart of the matter.

Fascism is pragmatically activist, National Socialism theoretically motivated or, at least, expressed. Both aim to conquer power and that centre of power which is the modern state. But in one case the power will be wielded pragmatically and piecemeal, simply for its own sake, while the party which has been its instrument may gradually be abandoned. In the other, power will be used to realise an anterior plan or a series of plans inspired by the original doctrine; and then the party may become a Church - a Church and a dynamo.
In both Italy and Germany, in the pursuit of the new elite, conflict arose between the traditional educational sector and the revolutionary youth groupings. The antagonism between the schools and the HJ led to a lowering of academic standards, which demonstrated itself with regard to Wehrmacht recruits, and was no doubt in part due to the encroachment of Party activities into the traditional curriculum. Indeed, the emphasis on the physical swung so far in Germany, that in a lecture delivered to the German War Ministry in early 1937, it was hypothesised that:

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It will be a danger to national defence when mental education is hampered by an exaggerated physical training ...
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Moreover, Baldur von Schirach, in the early days of the war, at last, apparently realised that the gun had to be properly counterbalanced by the book.

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To read a book ... is not contrary to the demand of our time which wants community ...
It is absurd to believe that it is incompatible with National Socialism to leave a man alone, and we demand from our youth that they should force spiritual discipline upon themselves and read a book. Rifle and book are the emblems of the soldierly Weltanschauung which is penetrating the New Europe.
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The conjunction of the book and the gun was a straight borrowing from the Fascists, but it was the disciplined Germans who carried it to extremes. Perhaps the immoderacy of the Germans stemmed from the fact that much of their history could be seen
as prefiguring the Nazis and their excesses, whilst the relatively superficial wrongdoings of the Fascists illustrate that the ideology had no real grasp of the Italian consciousness, and certainly could not claim any true antecedents in Italian history.

In the very single-minded intensity of the prosecution of their aims by the Nazis, lies the essential difference between their ideology and Fascism, and a manifestation of this is the element of racialism, a problem quite alien to the Italian character. This excessive and unreflecting zeal was also noted by the British visitors who inspected physical training in Germany, in 1936, who noted that "The nation is only too conscious of the fact that it is at 'war' - at war with circumstances ..." In comparing physical culture in Nazi Germany with that in Britain, they concluded that:

the whole population is under the legal or moral obligation to train, the facilities available are more varied and numerous, and the work is much more effectively organised and coordinated. And above all there is now abroad in Germany a spirit that intends to get things done ..."
In the physical culture programmes of the Hitler Youth, Labour Service, Labour Front, the SS, SA and the army, together with those of the schools and the universities, the sporting/military bias of Nazi ideology was cogently explicated. Indeed the Nazi model of society was, of itself a military, or at least a paramilitary one, finding its most potent expressions in the workings of the above institutions. Above all of them, the Hitler Youth, as was the old Prussian Army, was "the school of the nation", and the truest fount of physical culture and militarism.
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16  Speer, op cit, p123.
17  Quoted in Wiener, op cit, p30.

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20 Wiener, op cit, p30.

21 Neumann, F, op cit, pp75-77.

22 Bracher, op cit, pp276-277.

23 Wiener, op cit, pp70-71.
See also Wolf, op cit, p44.


25 Ibid, p143.

26 Lecture delivered to the German War Ministry, February 2, 1937. Quoted in Wiener, op cit, pp70-71.


28 Physical Education in Germany, op cit, p78.

POSTSCRIPT

The integral relationship between physical culture and militarism has been explored through the media of the two contemporary historical societies of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In dealing with this problem area, the term "physical culture" has subsumed many activities which normally are referred to as sport, recreation, military training, useful labour, etc. Yet as if to counterbalance this conceptual obfuscation, it has been shown that the traditional concept of militarism has expanded to include the economic sphere, and that economic forms of warfare can be as effective as any other.

The modern nation state with its large, unified population, sharing a common language and culture is, as has been previously remarked, a product of modern systems of education. Yet this is an obvious over-simplification, for the means of communication which make such a process possible, on a large societal scale, are themselves, also the results of modern technological development. Ideologues have always been desirous of producing a mass-consciousness throughout their particular societies, yet it is only due to modern technology that such an end has become possible to achieve as a result of scientific progress. However, at the same time, the process has its use as a reinforcer of the values, beliefs and moral attitudes which will prolong, perpetuate and aggrandise the particular, technologically-based society, and its dominant ideology. As it has been hypothesised that physical culture has the prime part to play in this process, therefore, modern concepts such as sport, socially useful
labour, spectatorism, etc, can be viewed as functions of technological growth, all subsumed under the generic term of physical culture.

The integral relationship between sporting forms and the rate of technological development has been outlined by Betts, yet his study deals only with the USA, and concentrates on the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, by focusing on the economic contribution of technology to sport, he also ignores several more salient features. Betts sees a straightforward relationship between innovation and participation in sport, and increasing technology. There are other factors of importance which he fails to examine, such as the birth of modern ideologies, the growth of consumerism and the general movement towards a destabilised mode of social organisation, as distinct from a homeostatic one.

Modern ideologies such as Fascism, National Socialism, communism and capitalism are made possible by technology, and so are to that extent, products of technological development. Only with modern innovations can such belief systems be purveyed to large enough sections of a given population, to make them dominant world-views. The essence of such creeds, if they are to be effective, is the production of mass-attitudes, skills, beliefs and values - and above all the production of mass-man. Technology makes these aims possible, and also needs their product to bolster and ensure its continuance, through its particular ideology.

The values of the consumer society were prefigured in the beliefs of the Futurists, with their worship of machinery and technical
skills, engines of speed, death and warfare, together with the
cult of the body and the techniques of sport.² It is a world-
view wedded to production and consumption - to making, using up,
perhaps even wasting, all in the service of yet more production,
and it presupposes, nay demands, a society which is never in
stasis, but always in flux. These views were adopted enthosiastically by the Fascists, and became central tenets in their
ideology. Moreover, despite the anti-intellectualism of the
Third Reich, it "sustained the position of the intellectual and
the technician".³ In both societies, physical culture, as has
been demonstrated, was used as a form of social control, to bring
about the mass-socialisation of entire populations for the needs
of the technologically based state, in both production and
consumption, as in work, so in warfare.

This is not, however, a purely historical phenomenon, and the
thesis extends to all modern societies. Indeed, as early as
1918, Lenin initiated a decision which was to involve the working
population of Russia in mass-participation in "sports exercises".⁴
In the present-day USSR, the military imperatives of physical
culture are openly acknowledged, with Pioneer marches and
"Military-Athletic Games" used as a "physical culture
assignment", activities which "require physical fitness and the
habits and skills of physical culture".⁵ Such activities,
reminiscent of Gelandesport, incorporate "the military-patriotic
and mass-athletic work of Pioneer brigades". Just as Italian
and German children had doses of military education and physical
culture in a common venture, so, with the help of

Komsomol servicemen, veterans of
the Soviet army and navy, athletes -
the Pioneers take part in military-
technical and sports circles and
clubs, study the glorious traditions
of the USSR armed forces, acquire
the skills of young soldiers, and
take part in children's athletic
tournaments and olympiads.

As in the HJ, the Pioneers have sections which provide "young
firemen and ... young traffic inspectors". In support of this,
children take part in "applied firefighting sports" - again
illustrating the global nature of physical culture - including
a 60 metre obstacle course, climbing to the second floor of
a training tower up a scaling ladder, a 4 x 60 metre firefighting
relay and a contest including an obstacle course and a scaling
ladder. All this is used to promote:

their [the children's] daring and
ingenuity, their feeling of self-
sufficiency and collectivism, and
their physical endurance and tough-
ness, it is important to focus
serious attention on the program of
work with young soldier-firemen in
the school.

The use of the term "soldier-firemen" also gives evidence of the
extension of the concept of militarism to embrace a far wider
spectrum of the population than has been traditionally the case,
parallel with the all-embracing nature of physical culture, which
in the case of "young soldiers", involves "military-technical
training, close order drill, marksmanship, civil defence, and
physical and health training". The metaphysic behind Soviet
programmes of physical culture, which can be traced directly from those of the Fascists and Nazis, is fully explicated in the following statement.

The principal aim and the major meaning of the development of physical culture and sports in our socialist society lie in the active promotion of the comprehensive, harmonious development of the individual, in the preparation of every citizen of the USSR for highly productive work and for the defence of socialism, and in the organisation of a healthy way of life and recreation for the people ... An ever-increasing number of managers of institutions, enterprises, and construction sites are coming to realise that, given the fact of rapid progress in science and technology, physical culture and sports are an important factor influencing the increased effectiveness of social production, the creative activity of the masses, and the growth of labour productivity ...

And by the way, sports as spectator events broadcast by the mass media have a stimulating effect on a person's mood, arousing his energy, instilling optimism, and promoting his inculcation with the feeling of socialist patriotism.

Central to this initiative is the GTO (Gotov k trudu i oborone - Prepared for Labour and Defence) Physical Culture Complex, which is a set of precise standards of achievement in various activities and exercises, geared to sex and age differentials. When the new GTO programme was introduced in March, 1972, it was stated that:
Life is now making greater demands on people. The concept of man's physical potential has also changed. The physical culture exercises and sports based on the new GTO complex ... will increase everyone's strength and help everyone to work more productively and to be ever prepared to defend his socialist fatherland. Daily work according to the new GTO complex is the important concern of all soviet, trade union, Komsomol, physical culture, and DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, the Air Force, and the Navy) organisations.

Consider also the case of Cuba, where the rapid increase in participation in physical culture dates from the foundation of the Institute Nacional de Deporte Educación Física y Recreación (INDER - National Institute for Physical Education and Recreation), which concentrates on "massiveness" in physical culture. Moreover, the mass nature of the activities has been categorised as an important agent in the production of "Integral Man", a revolutionary aim.

The conjunction, and eventually, the interchangeability, of the function of soldier, athlete and worker has been made manifest by Fidel Castro, the founder of the Cuban revolution.

The same people that paraded on May 1st, like soldiers or workers, yesterday marched in an impressive parade of sportsmen through this same square. And for us that spectacle of thousands and thousands of young people demonstrating the vast potential our nation has for learning those collective triumphs, is unforgettable.
The abortive invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, in 1961, gave
physical culture on the island, its initial military orientation,
and in the same year, in imitation of the GTO complex, the Cubans
established the LPV awards (Listos Para Vencer - Ready to Win).
These, like the Russian GTO have a "fairly high militaristic
content". Moreover, Hampson suggests that the attempted invasion
"intensified the concept that sport could be used as a means of
military education". 14

Within the schools, LPV has amongst its stated objectives that
it might be:

- a vehicle for the physical and all
- round improvement of our students,
- to increase their aptitudes and
- preparations for the development
- of functional capacities and as a
- basis for approaching the tasks
- peculiar to revolutionary
- development - as much in their work
- (which brings with it greater
- productivity) as in the defence of
- the homeland, managing to contribute
- in this way to patriotic military
- education.

- It is a means of establishing the
- maximum rate of output for our
- students, as a symbol of the
- presence of LPV in whatever front
- the homeland assigns it. 15

The importance of physical culture to the Cuban revolution has
continually been spelt out by Castro.

The Revolution must concern itself
with physical education and sport,
both being fundamental to the
country's future. 16
and by Jorge Garcia Bango, Director General of INDER who maintained that:

sport within the Revolution had become an inseparable part of the education, culture, health, defence, success and development of the people of the New Society.¹⁷

At the same time, in a statement echoing the Fascists and Nazis, Castro demanded that the students of the special schools of physical excellence (Escuelas d'Iniciacion Deportiva Escolar - EIDE - Schools for the Initiation of Scholastic Sport) should "distinguish themselves for their discipline". Physical culture, Castro maintained brought about the qualities of character demanded by a militant ideology and its proponents.

Being a good athlete calls, first of all for discipline. It calls for strength of character, interest, passion for sports and, above all, willpower.¹⁸

The language of sacrifice used by the Cuban leader has a familiar ring to it. It finds echoes throughout the communist and Third World, and harks back to the Fascists and the Nazis. Yet this is surely not the case in our own society - in the western world in general, so perhaps we ought to accept Natan's pessimistic epilogue for physical culture, in its manifestation as international sport.
Competition on the international level is a sop thrown to the warmonger in man. It has evolved into a ritualistic struggle of one national community against the others. Olympic athletes have become soldiers of sport who are indoctrinated with grotesque conceptions of national prestige.  

and:

International competitive sport has become an arena for ideologies ... There has never been any proof of sport contributing to peace anywhere in the world, it has merely incited previously latent chauvinistic impulses.

But is this the complete answer - a negative withdrawal from the contest? I trust not. The remaining problem as I conceive it is certainly an ideological one, but at the same time, a conceptual one. This thesis has been illustrated in the light of two contemporary, historical societies, and the bridge to the present day has been tentatively drawn over to two communist societies. To many people, all of these societies would be categorised as "totalitarian". For the purposes of this study, I would prefer to maintain that these societies were, and are, motivated by militant ideologies. Such belief systems offer the faithful an answer to all problems and a common feeling of shared purpose. In return, the ideology demands selfless and unswerving service to its ideals. To achieve this, the individual is subsumed in a societal whole - a mass-consciousness - in which all aspects of life are controlled, regulated and directed, including physical culture. In our own society, and perhaps in the western world in general, we no longer have militant
ideologies in control. Indeed, if we look back at the commercial/imperialistic ideology, which took Britain to a world-dominating position in the past, we must admit that it now has only historical force. No, the ideologies which have the essential militancy are, and were, tailor-made for modern technology, and the capitalist states of the west, with their relatively sophisticated populations, have not, as yet, developed any alternatives.

The ideological confusion regarding western systems of physical culture is paralleled by a blurring of conceptual boundaries. The traditional concept of sport was essentially English, aristocratic and unmaterialistic. It is true that this tradition was aped by the lower social orders and foisted onto colonial peoples. Moreover, as has been previously mentioned, over a period of time, the process came to have some practical use in training a "managerial elite", but despite this, the essentially Platonic idealism of the concept remained, and despite the passage of time, to some extent, still does. If this were not the case, how could eminent Olympians in 1980, plead for the protection of sport from politics, and how could the touring British Lions seriously believe that their tour was beyond politics?

The fact is that outside Britain, its former colonies and the Olympic movement, this concept of sport has never been understood, much less adopted. The concept of physical culture, central to the Fascist and Nazi regimes, and which now rules in the communist and much of the Third World, is a product of technology,
just as are the ideologies which administer and manipulate it.
It is about achieving, refining, experimenting and, above all,
winning. It does not exist in itself but as a part of society,
and that society it must serve, ideologically, educationally,
economically and militarily. As it is part of a technological
whole, and, linked to consumerism, it must grow, with larger and
larger numbers of spectators, stadia and events, yet always
under ideological control.

In our own society, and also the USA, I would suggest that the
disciplined ideological control is missing, and, moreover, in
our own society, there is still some residual confusion regarding
modern and historical concepts of sport and physical culture.
However, despite these problems, it seems that in both these
societies, physical culture is being used by those who would
propagate their own ideologies, in default of the existence of
state ideologies. The sponsorship, without which modern
sporting forms with their mass-participation and lavish facilities
and services, would fail to operate, originates from financial
interest-groups, most of which have an international nature. To a
communist observer, it would seem obvious that physical culture
in a capitalist state would be controlled by capitalism, by way
of providing facilities for workers and making grants for funding
and sponsorship. With little governmental interest, this,
in fact, is what occurs in the United Kingdom.
Without the rigid central control, administered by communist regimes, other factors emerge. As technology proliferates, sporting forms become more complex, use more of the machinery of technology, and science and experimentation become prime agents in this process. Again, more and more people are involved in the events, and technology ensures that more and more spectator-records are broken.

Finally, I believe that as less and less physical effort is demanded of the citizen in his daily tasks, due to advancing technology, the most popular spectator activities, besides becoming more complex, also appear more overtly violent and physical as if to offer a kathartic rejoinder to the complexities and cloyingly protective nature of technological progress. Thus in the USA, the gladiatorial appeal of boxing makes watching "the fights" a national pastime, whilst the ultimate war game, in terms of both strategy and injuries, American Football, is the most popular spectator sport. In the United Kingdom, there is an obvious abandonment of the "gentlemanly" ethic of the traditional, English concept of sport, with physical intimidation, and "professional" fouls and strategies coming to the fore, in activities previously free from them. This emphasis finds a reflection in the willingness of young spectators to engage in collective violence - especially at soccer matches - perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate those militant, physical accomplishments, so apparently underrated in our present society.
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Abstract

The rationale maintains that education is a process of political socialisation. The modern state depends upon nationalistic sentiments, and enough military-economic expertise to defend and aggrandise itself. To this extent, modern nationalism and its attendant military imperatives, are products of modern systems of education.

Within the curriculum, the most effective area in this process is "physical culture", which includes physical activities in the school system, youth movements, industry, armed forces and society as a whole. Moreover, this area includes activities ranging from simple physical activities, events, displays and demonstrations, highly structured sporting activities, paramilitary training and productive labour. It is maintained that the intrinsically hierarchical, affective and anti-rational nature of physical culture, demands and imposes the enthusiasm, skills and disciplines, necessary for the propagation of a militant ideology, and the state which is its medium.

The conjunction of sport and warfare is then explored, on a historical continuum, with examples being cited from various authorities. Moreover, the thesis is extended to include the concept of economic warfare, which is a product of the technology, necessary for the continuance of modern nation-states, which tend to obviate the dichotomy between soldier and worker.

Using Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, the thesis is explicated, with the following chapter headings for each society:

- Historical and Ideological Overview
- The School System
- The Youth Movements
- Industry and Society
- Conclusion

Finally, some comparisons and contrasts are attempted, and in a Postcript, the thesis is extended to the present day. Certain trends in the development of technological systems, and systems of physical culture, are outlined.