

# The Hugo Valentin Centre

Master Thesis in Holocaust and Genocide Studies

## Nazis' Cultural Codes in the Weimar Republic

*Decoding the German Youth Newspaper "Der Zwiespruch" from 1928 -  
1933*

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## **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on the discourse of the newspaper *Der Zwiespruch* from the independent German youth movement between 1928-1933. With the help of cultural code theory and discourse analysis, the terms of antisemitism, racism, Volksgemeinschaft, Reich, Raum, and Führer are analysed in the form of cultural codes in *Der Zwiespruch*. In this work, these terms are understood to be the fundamental ideas of the radical discourse of the NS-regime. By evaluating these terms in the form of cultural codes, the understanding of the producers and consumers of the newspaper regarding these codes is made visible. With this approach it can be found out whether the discourse of *Der Zwiespruch* can be understood as similar to the radical discourse of the NS-regime. If this is the case, the Nazis' rise to power did not implicate a significant change of worldview for the authors and readers of the newspaper. As such, the thesis focuses on one of the central questions and topics within Holocaust studies regarding the social reality of the ordinary Germans of the Weimar Republic that ultimately enabled the Nazi party's rise to power in 1933 through their vote. Additionally, it provides a form of cultural analysis that has not been done in Holocaust studies nor in the research of the independent German youth movement.

## Introduction

‘The Third Reich was revolutionary, but not as revolutionary as was argued by contemporaries and current historiography: it was a revolution based on continuities.’

Alon Confino.<sup>1</sup>

One of the central questions in Holocaust studies regards the continuity of nationalist, racist, and antisemitic ideas that were part of the reasons that ultimately led to the Holocaust. These questions circle around the social reality of the Weimar Republic, and around the question of who the ordinary Germans were that casted their vote for the National Socialist German Workers’ party (NSDAP).<sup>2</sup> On the one side, social sciences have mostly tried to answer these questions through social psychological approaches, looking at group norms, bystander effect, group identity issues, etc. On the other side, historians have approached the political and economic situation of the Weimar Republic, which has often been described as the foundation state that enabled the Nazis to come to power. However, the issue of continuity has rarely been combined with a cultural analysis method to provide a more contextualised understanding of the presence of the leading Nazi ideas before 1933. Alon Confino for example stresses for the Holocaust to be analysed as a “problem of culture”, as the NS-regime’s

racial community was constructed on a set of practices and representations that in spite of their revolutionary meaning were connected by shared images and symbols across 1933 and 1939 (Confino 2009, 549).

While his claim is understandable and such an approach desirable, I argue that this should also be linked and contextualised with the cultural and social ideas established before 1933. This would not only provide a broader understanding of the Holocaust and the culture of the Weimar Republic, but advance our understanding of how the radical discourse promoted by the NS-regime was based on already established radical ideas in the cultural sphere of Germany. In other words, how the principal values and ideas of the NS-regime seemed radical to the Germans of the Weimar Republic, which depends on whether their worldview was already similar to the one of the Nazis before 1933. A cultural approach analysis for this lacuna can be employed by examining cultural codes, as the

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<sup>1</sup> Confino, Alon. 2009 “A World without Jews: Interpreting the Holocaust.” In *German History* 27 (4): 531-559.

<sup>2</sup> Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei.

comprehension and interpretation of codes as key characteristics of culture contributes to the comprehensive understanding of the unique characteristics of the nation, which are handed down from generation to generation (Izotova 2021, 35).

Cultural codes will be defined in more detail later on, but simply speaking, the theory of cultural codes suggests that every kind of behaviour, like gestures, hold multiple meanings, instead of just one. A simple example is the scene in the Hollywood movie “Inglourious Basterds” in which the American spy is exposed as an imposter by the Nazis. This happens due to him using the wrong hand gesture for showing the number three. The hand sign does therefore not only show a number, but reveals additionally the belonging to a certain group. Cultural codes can therefore lead to confusion and also misunderstandings between different cultures. Still, they are also able to reveal the dominant cultural habitus of their social environment. Because of this, they are an important aspect to look at when trying to understand culture and cultural behaviour to a greater extent. The most prominent cultural codes are found in language; in spoken, but also in written form. For this work, the cultural codes that will be examined in the analysis are *Volksgemeinschaft*, *Reich*, *Raum*, *racism*, *antisemitism*, and *Führer*. These codes were chosen, as they present the leading ideas and concepts of the Nazi worldview, that in combination with other factors ultimately led to the Holocaust.<sup>3</sup> In this thesis, these factors combined together are understood to be the basis of the radical discourse of the NS-regime. Hence, if these factors in the form of cultural codes are found in an empirical analysis of a specific discourse, they can demonstrate that this discourse is similar to the radical discourse of the NS-regime. If this can be revealed in full or in part within the context of the culture of the Weimar Republic, it is possible to conclude that the radicalisation process of the Nazis that began in 1933 should perhaps not be looked upon as an abrupt change of the cultural sphere, and therefore of the daily life of the Germans, since such exact, or similar cultural codes were already present and familiar to the population. It would consequently rather be, as the introductory quote by Alon Confino suggests, “a revolution based on continuities” (Confino 2009, 549). Research like this can provide a more contextual understanding of the continuity of fundamental Nazi ideas before 1933, and add an underrepresented approach to the study of the Holocaust.

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<sup>3</sup> These are the arguments of prominent Holocaust scholars, whose theories will be presented in depth in the overview of previous research.

While such assumptions are intriguing, the question remains how research like this can be done, in order to illustrate whether or not this was the case. As this kind of cultural analysis is concerned with detecting cultural codes, it is necessary to apply a method that can examine cultural phenomena. Thus, for this work the chosen method is Critical Discourse Analysis, as the aim is to find out if or how the discourse of the research object has been similar to the radical discourse of the Nazis. Regarding the object of research, cultural studies approaches are mostly taken on the micro-level, as it is not possible to analyse a whole population, like for example the Weimar Republic, due to its diversity. In line with this 1) a subculture has to be chosen, that 2) has to provide consistent cultural material, like books or photographs, that enable a thorough analysis. For this research, the subculture of the independent German youth movement is selected, since it has been a topic of scholarly debate for a considerable period. The debate focuses around two major interpretations, which argue that the independent German youth movement was either apolitical and not related to the NSDAP or the later NS-regime at all, or that it ultimately paved the way for the Nazis to come to power.<sup>4</sup> The independent youth movement was independent in the sense that the *Bünde* (can be translated to youth organisation, for further explanation see footnote)<sup>5</sup> that belonged to it were not affiliated with any political party, state or church institution. In order to analyse this subculture on a cultural level, a cultural object has to be decided upon that, as already indicated, holds profound and consistent material. Because of this, the chosen object of research is the newspaper *Der Zwiespruch*. While the independent youth movement was divided into numerous *Bünde*, the newspaper *Der Zwiespruch* was not part of one particular *Bund*, but was rather directed to all of the *Bünde* of the youth movement. The analysis starts with the publications of the year 1928, thus the beginning of the economic crisis and ends with the abolishment of German youth associations, except for the Hitler Youth, in June 1933. This analysis thus provides new insights into the discourse of the independent youth movement in the last years before the NSDAP's rise to power.

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<sup>4</sup> This debate will be further looked at in the overview of previous research.

<sup>5</sup> *Bünde* (plural), *Bund* (singular): Walter Laqueur's explanation of *Bund* should be cited here, for a better understanding, as the term youth association does not fully grasp the meaning of a *Bund*: "A *Bund* is neither a bond nor an association, but a nationwide (youth) organization consisting of local groups with a fairly strict discipline. In these groups the emphasis was on collective life, on leadership and service" (Laqueur 1984, xviii).

Ultimately, this research deepens the contextual understanding of whether the cultural codes that were fundamental to the radical discourse of the Nazis were already present in the Weimar Republic, thus if the discourses were similar to each other. This is illustrated by analysing the presence or absence of the chosen cultural codes. Furthermore, it generally fills the lacuna of missing cultural research regarding cultural codes in Holocaust studies, and German youth movement studies.

The following work will be structured as followed: First an overview about the previous research will be provided. Following this, research on cultural codes, and the German youth movement will be presented. Afterwards the theory section will focus on cultural code theory. After explaining the method of Critical Discourse Analysis, data sampling and collection, and finally the role as researcher will be described. The analysis will start with a context chapter about the German youth movement, which will then continue with the main analysis. The empirical analysis itself will be divided into chapters with each one dedicated to one cultural code.

## **Overview of previous research**

This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first one presents the leading ideas regarding the ideological fundamentals of the Nazis by referring to classic research in the field of Holocaust studies. The arguments made will be summarised and ultimately determined as the cultural codes that will be examined in the analysis. The second section concerns the research on cultural codes. Unfortunately, there does not exist any research on cultural codes connected to the Holocaust. Still, the research on the connection of cultural codes and antisemitism will be presented. The last section of this chapter will focus on the research of the German youth movement and its connections to the NSDAP.



## *Holocaust research*<sup>6</sup>

Here, only a small proportion of existing Holocaust research will be presented. Still, the main arguments from leading scholars are made out. Moreover, as will become evident early in the chapter, many arguments are supported by multiple authors.

When it comes to the key concepts underlying the Nazi worldview, many researchers see antisemitism as the central ideological component. Saul Friedländer states for example that ideological radicalisation was the fundamental basis of the extermination of the Jews (Friedländer 2008, 3). He describes that the general population had little objection to the measures against the Jews, primarily for economic and religious-ideological reasons (Ibid, 4). Fundamental to the ideology was racial antisemitism, that

used eugenics and racial anthropology to launch a 'scientific' inquiry into the racial characteristics of the Jew. The other strand of racial anti-Semitism, in its particularly German, mystical form, emphasised the mythic dimensions of the race and the sacredness of Aryan blood (Ibid, 86).

Thus, the leading ideas of Christianity, and the anti-Judaic notions associated with them, played an important role in this matter (Ibid). He also points out the importance of Hitler, who was, after all, crucial for the Nazi ideology and who received unshaken faith as the leader of the nation (Ibid, 116). Additionally, he accentuates that the religious and mystical elements mentioned were found in *völkisch* ideology that the Nazis drew upon (Ibid, 87). He does not define *völkisch* further, but as a form of ideology it has to be understood close to a myth of national community, according to him (Ibid, 116). Generally speaking, *völkisch* cannot just be translated to nationalistic. It describes populist, racist, and antidemocratic ideas which were above all related to

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<sup>6</sup> This chapter will not go into detail regarding the functionalism/intentionalism debate. As all the reasons stated by the authors are seen as valid, it is not my intention to present them in a hierarchical way. This work is only intended to look at these mentioned reasons in the form of a micro-level analysis, thus it does not aim to make out the reason(s) that led to the Holocaust, and neither to look at the changes in the Historiography regarding the Holocaust in general.

Literature examples for the functionalism/intentionalism debate are: Mason, Timothy W. 1995. "Intention and Explanation. A Current Controversy about the Interpretation of National Socialism." In *Nazism, Fascism and the Working Class*, 212-230: Cambridge University Press.

Bessel, Richard. 2003. "Functionalists Vs. Intentionalists: The Debate Twenty Years on Or Whatever Happened to Functionalism and Intentionalism?" In *German Studies Review* 26 (1): 15-20.

Examples for the Historiography are: Mommsen, Hans. 2009b. "Changing Historical Perspectives on the Nazi Dictatorship." In *European Review* (Chichester, England) 17 (1): 73-80.

Friedländer, Saul. 2007. *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945*. 1.th ed. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Confino, Alon. 2009 "A World without Jews: Interpreting the Holocaust." In *German History* 27 (4): 531-559.

ideas of a German *Volk* (nation/people) (Laqueur 1984, xviii).<sup>7</sup> Hans-Ulrich Wehler emphasises, stronger than Friedländer, Hitler's importance to the Nazis' ideology. He argues in favour of the authoritarian German tendencies, thus that Hitler was meeting these requirements as a strong dictator and charismatic leader. Still, he adds that the idea of the unity of the Volk, and the desire to rebuild society were important to them as well. The exclusion of the Jews supported these ideas even further, as unity and purity of the Volk were the leading ideas (Wehler 2003, 214). For Alon Confino the main focus was racial ideology, and radicalisation processes (Confino 2009, 535). He sees ideology as a part of culture that cannot simply be understood without considering the context of Christianity and concepts of nationhood. He argues that these factors were based on cultural continuities, and thus existed prior to the Nazis coming to power (Ibid, 540). He writes furthermore that the focus of Nazi ideology was on racism in particular, which included the idea of *Heimat* (highly emotionally charged term referring to home) (Ibid, 542). Raul Hilberg also refers to Christianity, in regards to the Christian "tradition" trying to convert Jews (Hilberg 1985, 5-7). This tradition was replaced first by the expulsion of the Jews and then by the annihilation of them. The Nazis therefore used the stereotype that had existed for ages (Ibid, 8). That antisemitism was the main reason that led to the Holocaust is argued especially by Daniel Goldhagen. He argues that in German society the "eliminationist antisemitism" was fundamental to the whole of German society since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Goldhagen et al. 1996, 1-13). Yehuda Bauer also attributes great importance to "traditional antisemitism", referring to the European Christian/Muslim culture that included hostile notions against Jews (Shoah Resource Center/Yad Vashem 1998, 1). He furthermore accentuates the continuity of Christian antisemitism found in Nazi antisemitism (Ibid, 4). Similarly, Doris Bergen accentuates that antisemitism was the main precondition for National Socialism and thus the Holocaust (Bergen 2016, 52). In contrast, thus the theory that antisemitism is not the leading explanation for the Holocaust is supported by Michael Mann. He focuses on the Nazis' desire for Germany to once again become a *Großdeutschland* (Great German Empire) (Mann 2005, 192). His explanation for the reasons for the Holocaust and the underlying ideology revolves mainly around economic reasons and the nationalist notion of a German Empire, and not an antisemitic

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<sup>7</sup> Because Volk simultaneously refers to the people and the nation, the German word Volk will not be translated in the following of the thesis.

ideology. In relation to this he discusses the German Reich before 1918, and mentions that even after the division of the Reich after the First World War, people who no longer lived within the new German border still identified themselves as German and lived a culturally German life (Ibid, 181). He calls this notion of the Großdeutschland coming from the right-wing political spectrum “ethnic imperial revisionism”, which was not only concerned with the reclamation of the country, but focused above all on the ethnic homogeneity of the population that was supposed to be established (Ibid, 183).

In regards to this premise of the continuity of the Nazi worldview being already present before the NSDAP rose to power, Jürgen Zimmerer argues similarly about the concepts of both living space and race being rooted in the mindset of the colonial era (Zimmerer, 2004). Likewise, Dirk Moses speaks of the German tradition of imperial longing for land and living space in general (especially after the First World War) as crucial for the Nazi worldview. Furthermore, he does not emphasise antisemitism as other aforementioned authors do (Moses 2011). Like Moses and Zimmerer, Mark Mazower also considers the genocidal dynamic not to lie in antisemitism as the driving force but “in the quest to unify Germans within a single German state”, to what he later refers to as the “community of the people”, the Volksgemeinschaft (Mazower 2008, 30, 41). His claim is therefore that the idea of the unification of the Germans in one distinct space goes back to the colonial idea that is based on racist ideas of racial supremacy. Correspondingly, Hans Mommsen writes that Volksgemeinschaft has to be considered as an integral part of the 1920s societal structure (Mommsen 2009a, 76). The NSDAP radicalised this concept in a racist way in their propaganda. He refers to Norbert Frei, who was the first one to claim that the idea of Volksgemeinschaft was not only part of the propaganda, but quite essential to the ideology (Ibid). Mommsen rejects that Hitler is seen as the decisive aspect regarding the factors that lead to the Holocaust. Nevertheless, he points out that there already existed a certain tradition of the leadership principle in the Weimar Republic, which meant that turning to Hitler as the Führer was not unexpected. However, this still ultimately led to a certain Führer-cult with advancing years (Mommsen 1991, 142-144).

Richard J. Evans emphasises that Bismarck’s policies and politics enabled the rise of the NSDAP. Bismarck had supposedly shaped the mystification of the Great German Empire, which the Germans aimed to re-establish after the First World War. He links this further to antisemitism and nationalism, unlike for example Moses (Evans 2004, 2-

7). Moreover, Christopher Browning does not understand antisemitism and ideology in general as sufficient arguments to explain how the Holocaust came about. Nevertheless, he still writes in regards to the territory of Poland, that on this land the Nazis tried out their ideas of the right of their supremacy to take *Lebensraum* (living space) (Browning and Matthäus 2004, 14). Like him, Zygmunt Bauman focuses more on the structural factors, and argues that it was not antisemitism as an ideology that led to the Holocaust. Still, he acknowledged the “obsession of racial hygiene” thus the wish for homogeneity as central to the Nazis (Bauman, 105).

With this presentation of the scholars’ arguments, a small but significant insight into Holocaust research has been provided. This summary demonstrates the diversity of the scholarly spectrum regarding the topic of the ideological factors that were integral to the Nazis’ worldview. Nevertheless, the following points can be noted as the leading arguments: 1) The importance of Volksgemeinschaft, 2) the idea of Großdeutschland or the Reich in general, and associated these, notions about 3) space, 4) racism and 5) antisemitism, and finally, 6) the belief in Hitler as the Führer. This results in the following cultural codes that will be analysed in this thesis: Volksgemeinschaft, Reich, Raum, racism, antisemitism, and Führer. Führer is the term given to a leader of a group. It therefore does not have the absolute claim of National Socialism. Nevertheless, in the right-wing milieu it stands above all for the idea that it should not be the majority that makes decisions, but the Führer (Schoeps et al. 1993a, 499). Raum is the German word for space, but in the context of National Socialism, it also describes Germany's supposed need for life-sustaining space. Raum also often referred to Lebensraum, which means living space (Schoeps et al. 1993b, 850). Volksgemeinschaft translates to the community of the German Volk.

### ***Antisemitism as a cultural code***

As already mentioned, there exists no research on cultural codes in the field of Holocaust studies. Shulamit Volkov however has looked at antisemitism as a cultural code in the period of Imperial Germany. The aim of her work was to illustrate how deeply antisemitism was embedded in German society, as a contribution to continuity research (Volkov 2006, 70). In her essay “Antisemitism as a cultural code. Reflections on the history and historiography of antisemitism in Imperial Germany” she describes works written during the Imperial period that deal with antisemitism and the culture of

the Wilhelmine era, and ultimately the way scholars today describe antisemitism in that epoch (Volkov 1978, 29-30). Volkov argues that antisemitic language had mainly a symbolic value in society because it had less practical impact on people's life.<sup>8</sup> She notes that from the end of the 19th century, antisemitic language became a commonly known cultural code in German society (Ibid, 34). According to her, antisemitic language became a part of communication in which its negative meaning became fully accepted and revealed membership to an antisemitic society, thus constituting an in-group that could decode the message correctly (Ibid, 35). Nevertheless, she writes that "[t]heir [the Germans'] commitment to antisemitism ranged from enthusiasm to sheer conformity" (Ibid, 35) and continues later on:

Antisemitism for them [Nazis] meant a battle cry with direct implications for action and a programme of intimidation and annihilation. But for millions of Germans and for the majority of German Jews it remained a cultural signal (Ibid, 46).

With this she is indicating that it was a strong social norm that permeated all of Germany and was radicalised by the Nazis. In a more recent work, she describes the presence of antisemitism in the political parties of the Imperial time (Volkov 2006, 70-78). Volkov accentuates the usefulness of antisemitism in regards to the *Kulturkampf* (war of cultures), despite the fact that Jews constituted only one percent of the German population (Ibid, 97). The slogans of the political parties were incorporated into people's daily life and antisemitism became part of people's worldview (Ibid, 90). She furthermore adds that Germany's nation building process was mostly based on cultural differentiation to others, which is why antisemitism played an important role in that goal (Ibid, 95). As for this, Volkov sees antisemitism as the dividing line between two subcultures existing in that time; one which incorporated antisemitism and one that did not. The subculture that included antisemitism was additionally nationalistic, anti-modern, racist, and anti-capitalistic (Ibid, 111-112). Therefore, antisemitism was not only the mark of a political camp but was an indicator for a whole culture (Ibid, 115).

In summary, Volkov provides an insight on antisemitism and especially the importance of it in the political sphere of the Wilhelmine era. Nevertheless, she did not analyse the topic through a cultural studies approach, nor did she define cultural codes or provided a theoretical framework for it. The Imperial period is not considered in this

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<sup>8</sup> I disagree with her assumption, because of 1) the premise of performativity of language that language does have a strong and immediate impact on individuals' lives, and 2) that there were still pogroms and hate crimes against Jews committed at that time.

work, but her claims can still serve as contextual reference regarding the analysis of antisemitism as a cultural code in the upcoming empirical chapter.

### ***Research on the independent German youth movement***

What was particularly concerning for the youth in the late 1920s and early thirties was their underrepresentation in politics (Mommsen 1991, 34-35). Because of this the NSDAP especially used the myth of the “youth revolution” in their favour (Ibid, 38). Still, there is an ongoing debate on whether the independent youth movement actually paved the way for the rise of National Socialism. Amongst others, especially Walter Laqueur, Harry Pross, Michael Kater, Karl Bracher, and Christian Niemeyer emphasise the continuity in the worldview and habitus that the independent youth movement practised. They also argue that the Bünde that claimed to be apolitical were not apolitical at all. On the other side of the argument stand for example Michael Jovy, Karl-Otto Paetel, Werner Kindt, and also Hans Mommsen, who emphasise the differences between the youth movement and the NS-regime.

Michael Jovy for example rejects a connection between the guiding principles of the independent youth movement, antisemitism in the movement, and National Socialism (Jovy 1984). Here, it has to be taken into consideration that Jovy presents the perspective of a person who was himself involved in the independent youth movement. Similarly involved were Karl-Otto Paetel, and Werner Kindt. Paetel emphasises that the leading ideas of the youth movement were contrary to the Nazi’s worldview. He further points out that “true” members of the independent youth movement that acted according to the movement’s leading ideas, did not take part in the atrocities of the NS-regime (Paetel 1954, 53). Werner Kindt was not only involved in the youth movement, but also in *Der Zwiespruch*, which is why he will be mentioned in a later part of this work as well. He wrote an encyclopaedia on the youth of the Bünde in Germany, which was received by the public as a pivotal piece of research on the youth movement (Kindt 1974). Christian Niemeyer revealed however that Werner Kindt “manipulated” this encyclopaedia by omitting or shortening important right-wing sources or euphemising the descriptions of right-wing individuals and groups, and that likewise left-wing groups in particular are not to be found in the reading or are at least underrepresented

(Niemeyer 2005).<sup>9</sup> According to Hans Mommsen, only a minority of the independent youth movement was part of the radical völkisch camp before 1933. Nevertheless, he still mentions that völkisch and antisemitic ideas were neither completely left out (Mommsen 1991, 29). Still, according to Mommsen, “the majority of middle-class bourgeois youth organizations, such as the Deutsche Freischar, were basically apolitical” (Ibid 1991, 29). The *Deutsche Freischar* was one of the largest Bünde of the independent youth movement and was the closest one to the newspaper *Der Zwiespruch*, which is why its history and central ideas will be presented in more detail in the context chapter. Mommsen proceeds to describe that the majority of the Bünde leaders of the youth movement stayed away from National Socialism, and even often joined the resistance later on (Ibid, 36).

In contrast, Michael Kater refers above all to the anti-civilisational and general conservative ideas of the movement that had already been fundamental since the Wilhelmine period. He further argues that the children who lived through the First World War found the lost father figure in Hitler and other authorities in general. Additionally, he mentions that the bourgeois Bünde easily came together with the Hitler Youth after 1933 due to their similar ideas and worldview (Kater 1977). Karl Bracher emphasises the ideological points of contact between the NSDAP and the youth movement (Bracher 1984). Christian Niemeyer clearly sees the völkisch thinking as a definite groundwork for later NS-regime. He demonstrates that many of the members and leaders often became part of the NSDAP and Schutzstaffel (SS) later on (Niemeyer 2013). Even if most of the Bünde had nothing directly to do with the NSDAP's rise to power, according to Laqueur, they were nevertheless all völkisch, supporters of the idea of a Greater Germany, and supporters of authoritarian hierarchies (Laqueur 1984, 197).

Rüdiger Ahrens wrote an intense analysis about the youth movement with the focus on the 1920s. Regarding the question of the connection of the independent youth movement and the NS-regime, he argues that it “can be classified as an avantgarde that sensed and picked up on a social trend early on and in a radical way, and to that extent was involved in its [NSDAP] breakthrough” (Ahrens 2015, 384-385).

He writes that the first clear politicisation of the youth movement occurred after the First World War, after there was a widespread negative feeling towards the defeat (Ibid,

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<sup>9</sup> Stefan Breuer argues likewise that no völkischer Flügel would be mentioned at all in Kindt's book (Breuer 2012).

115). It is emphasised that it is not at all simple to make out the political orientation of the different Bünde. With regard to the Deutsche Freischar, he writes that it is not to be seen as liberal because it distanced itself from liberal parties and liberal thinking in general. At the same time, an assessment into the right spectrum would be considered as drastic, which is why he describes the Deutsche Freischar as *gemäßigt* (moderate or not as extreme in its thinking and behaviour). In any case, it should be noted that the duty to the German Volk was of primary importance to them (Ibid, 160-161, 242). The year 1928 is described as particularly radicalising, with an emergence of specific conceptions of the enemy (the liberal West, the Republic as un-German) (Ibid, 380). In regards to the question of continuity he notes that the NSDAP and the *völkische Bünde*, to which the Deutsche Freischar counted as well, had especially similar ideas, such as that of the German Volk (also beyond German borders), anti-liberalism, as well as ideas about the Führer and the hierarchies that this concept entailed (Ibid, 197). With regard to antisemitism, Ahrens notes that “according to research, antisemitic statements are not to be found in great numbers in the sources”, or at least there was no more than before 1918 and no widespread antisemitic world view (Ibid, 189-191, 298-299). Ahrens refers to Volkov and mentions antisemitism in the context of the Deutsche Freischar rather as a cultural code, thus a sign of belonging and not a distinct aspect of the radical right. Ahrens accentuates that the antisemitism of the NSDAP's policies was not discussed in the Deutsche Freischar. The Deutsche Freischar was thus, on the one hand, uncompromising in many respects, like the idea of the German Volk, yet flexible in the intensity of its views (Ibid, 304-305).

In summary, this short presentation on the research of the independent German youth movement illustrated that the more recent scholars agree on a certain connection between the ideas of the movement and the NSDAP and also the later NS-regime.

A work that is connected to the independent youth movement, and appears similar to the topic of this thesis at first glance is the analysis of the newspaper *Die Kommenden* from the Bund Adler und Falken (eagles and falcons), which was a right-wing Bund of the independent youth movement (Breuer and Schmidt 2010). Stefan Breuer and Ina Schmidt are the first researchers to take a closer look at a publication of the youth movement from the Weimar Republic period. The authors present a history of the editorial board and its political orientation. This is followed by an analysis of terms that were part of the newspaper's vocabulary, in order to illustrate different streams in the



newspaper. In this way, they aim to present the worldview presented in the newspaper. Apart from the fact that this work has no connection to cultural codes, the fundamental difference between this work and the one presented here is that the terms Breuer and Schmidt analysed are the ones that were most prevalent in the newspaper. The approach of this thesis thus takes the opposite direction. Here, the previous Holocaust research has been looked at first, in order to identify the terms that will serve as cultural codes in the analysis of the newspaper. Hence, this analysis does not aim to present the newspaper's general worldview, but the extent to which the cultural codes that were relevant for the Nazi's radical discourse can be found in the discourse of the newspaper *Der Zwiespruch* and to what their decoded meanings refer to.

### ***Summary***

As presented in this chapter, the topic of cultural codes has never been looked at before in studies regarding the Holocaust, continuity research, or studies about the German youth movement. This work will therefore provide a better understanding of the radical discourse promoted by the Nazis by filling this lacuna using the micro-level research with the example of a cultural codes analysis of *Der Zwiespruch*.

### **Research design**

The research design consists of the theory on cultural codes, the specification of the research questions, and ultimately the presentation of the methodology.

### ***Theory: Cultural codes***

It has been remarked in the introduction that it is crucial to look at cultural codes in order to be able to understand cultural phenomena. In this thesis culture refers to Clifford Geertz's definition that

it denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men

communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life (Geertz 1973, 89).<sup>10</sup>

The term “code” in regards to culture, or more concretely, cultural analysis, has been taken over from telecommunication and information theory, in which a code refers to an information or message being reshaped into a signal and vice versa, much like it is with morse code (Corner 1980, 73-74). Although the term has been taken over, it is important to note that this is not the way a code in regards to cultural analysis is to be understood, as this would mean that a code would present the simple metaphor or equivalent for one specific message. For a cultural analysis rather, it is argued that the meanings and messages are understood to be rather open (Ibid). It can be furthermore argued, like Gerry Philipsen and Tabitha Hart do, that a restrictive understanding neglects the codes’ “organic construction and development over time” (Philipsen and Hart 2015, 3). In this line, according to the sociologist Basil Bernstein a code is “a regulative principle, tacitly acquired, which selects and integrates: a) relevant meanings b) forms of their realization c) evoking contexts” (Bernstein 1981, 328). It furthermore emphasises the relationships between and within those contexts (Ibid).

When it comes to cultural codes specifically, there are a number of different definitions. Michel Foucault for example explains that cultural codes influence one’s language behaviour, perceptions, and worldview in general, to which one acts accordingly. To this he refers to as “the empirical order [...] within which [one] will be at home” (Foucault 2002, xxii).

Additionally, Nadezda Izotova elaborates on Foucault’s premise in that she emphasises that cultural codes are important for meaning-making and thus a specific worldview:

Culture code is the basis for the world conceptualization and is part of the cultural process, which allows a description of the dynamics of the cultural development within the framework of the correlation between traditions and innovations. [...] The main functions of a culture code are to associate a sign with a meaning and to translate and interpret the world of nomination into a world of meanings (Izotova 2021, 34).

John Corner argues similarly that individual understanding of codes is connected to social meaning in general (Corner 1980, 74).

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<sup>10</sup> Geertz himself refers in “Ideology and discontent” (1964) to cultural patterns or systems and not to codes. Still the upcoming explanation of cultural codes should be convincing that referring to cultural codes in research like this achieves promising results. I would also like to briefly add that in regard to culture and topics such as imagined communities and social theories in general, I highly recommend reading Parsons 1952, Merton 1968, and Anderson 1991.

Jenny Hyatt and Helen Simons do not define cultural codes as concrete as the other authors just mentioned, as they refer to cultural codes as “symbols and systems of meaning that have a specific relevance to members of a particular group or society” (Hyatt and Simons 1999, 24). Still, they also emphasise the importance of meaning-making when it comes to cultural codes. However, they also point out that it is difficult to decode cultural codes correctly, as it requires experience in the respective culture. The authors’ claims are based on the understanding that culture exists on three different levels, which proves to be important for the analysis of cultural codes, as will be argued in the following (Ibid, 24, 27). The first level of culture is observable and consists of rules and norms, which influence group behaviour. The second level consists of values and attitudes, which are conveyed and passed on through symbols, rituals and signs. They present therefore mainly unconscious values. On the third level lie tacit beliefs that subconsciously influence our habitus. The lower the level, the harder it is to study and examine the underlying social practices, as they operate on a much more individual level (Ibid). Cultural codes are mostly expressed at the observable level, as they are mainly transmitted through language and can only be “properly” understood by insiders of the respective culture. Cultural codes exist universally in every culture and subculture, which can be exploited especially for the stabilisation of group norms (Ibid, 28-29). Thus, cultural codes, such as a greeting, directly signalise where a person is from, their age, cultural background, etc.

To compactly summarise this, cultural codes are omnipresent and they are integral to meaning-making. Moreover, as Izotova indicates, and according to Philipsen and Hart, they are also dynamic and change over time. As specified by Hyatt and Simons cultural codes are most likely to be found in language. In regards to this, Philipsen defined speech code in 1997 as “a system of socially constructed symbols and meanings, premises, and rules, pertaining to communicative conduct” (Philipsen, 1997, p. 126). This understanding is correspondent to the definition of cultural codes by the previous scholars mentioned. As a researcher of socio-linguistics, Philipsen does not refer to cultural codes in the sense of cultural studies. Still, this demonstrates that speech code theory plays an important role, when it comes to cultural codes theory. Philipsen and Hart also mention speech code theory as “lip service to a cultural code” (Philipsen and Hart 2015, 10). Philipsen defined in 1992 cultural codes in relation to language in that a “cultural code of speaking [...] consists of a socially constructed and historically

transmitted system of symbols and meanings pertaining to communication” (Philipsen 1992, 8). Consequently, for Philipsen speech code theory is a subgenre of cultural codes. As the analysis of the thesis is considered with the analysis of language, the main premises of speech code theory will be presented as well. As will become more evident in the following, speech code theory truly goes in line with the aforementioned definitions of cultural codes.

According to Philipsen and Hart speech code theory has the purpose to uncover the potential meanings of communication practices (Philipsen and Hart 2015, 11). Speech code theory is characterised as:

One, it is grounded in field-based and textual studies of communicative conduct of particular times and places. [...] Two, speech codes theory posits a way to interpret or explain observed communicative conduct by reference to situated codes of meaning and value. [...] Three, speech codes theory includes general propositions about communication as a deeply cultured social activity. [...] Four, the propositions of speech codes are empirically testable (Ibid, 5-6).

Consequently, every culture has its own speech code, which means that every form of communication entails aspects of the respective culture (Ibid, 6-7).<sup>11</sup>

The underlying premise of speech code theory, and also cultural code theory is first and foremost the performativity of language. Stuart Hall emphasises that language can be seen not only as words but also signs, sounds, etc (Hall et al. 2012, 1-14). In speech code theory specifically, speech is seen in the same way, respectively that it refers to “all the means of communicative conduct that enter into the life of a given social world” (Philipsen and Hart 2015, 1). All of these forms are creating reality and help to maintain this reality and the power structures associated with it. In doing so, language transmits the culture of generations (Hall et al. 2012, 1-14). Similarly, William Costanza argues that “language connects the individual to their sociocultural context by providing a way for the individual to establish meaning, even as far as establishing a separate realm of reality” (Costanza 2015, 4). Additionally, Hall argues that messages are encoded and decoded as a natural part of communication. Every form of communication passes on a certain message, an act which happens “through the operation of codes, within the syntagmatic chains of a discourse” (Hall 1973, 2). Therefore, meaning becomes part of a discourse that is encoded by social actors and has to be decoded by the people

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<sup>11</sup> For more specifics and another approach to the theory of speech codes see: Hymes, Dell H. 1974. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

interacted with, in order to extract the meaning out of it. The main difference between a speech code and natural language is that it is not based on rules, like for example grammar, premised instead on the practice of culture (Philipsen and Hart 2015, 4). The authors Philipsen and Hart summarise:

One, speech code consists of resources [which are] words, symbols, expressions, statements of premises, and statements of rules. [...] Two, a speech code is local and socially constructed. [...] Any significance that these terms, phrases, and premises have, or had, in one place and at one time can be different or nonexistent in other places and at other times, because in each place and period humans construct distinctive resources. Three, a speech code is a system of resources. It is not just one term or one premise. Rather it consists of multiple words, symbols, signs, meanings, nuances, statements of premises, and statements of rules. [...] Four, a speech code is open and dynamic (Ibid, 4-5).

The authors further propose that “implicate local meanings about human nature (psychology), social relations (sociology), and strategic conduct (rhetoric)” are included in a speech code as well (Ibid, 8). Therefore, during the process of decoding, the meaning has to be embedded in the societal structure again, which can lead to misunderstandings in the decoding processes (Hall 1973, 4). Hall goes on to describe:

It is always possible to order, classify, assign and decode an event within more than one 'mapping'. [...] [T]here exist a pattern of 'preferred readings', and these mappings both have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them (Ibid, 13-14).

He defines this as the dominant or hegemonic code.<sup>12</sup> What this implies is that while messages can be interpreted in different ways, certain interpretations are preferred. Umberto Eco argues similarly, as he emphasises that codes are part of code systems that at the same time have different relationships (codic relationships) towards each other, but also with other systems, which ultimately construct social reality (Corner 1980, 75-76). Furthermore, Eco refers to a subdivision of codes, as he speaks of secondary or sub codes, which differentiate themselves from the basic code, which allows it to have multiple meanings (Eco 2003, 8). The basic code is relatively stiff, whereas the subcodes are overly dynamic and the connotative meaning of the code is provided by subcodes (Corner 1980, 78.81). An example for this is that the term “Jew” simply refers to a person belonging to the Jewish faith (basic code), but due to antisemitic subcodes, which can become the hegemonic codes in an antisemitic culture, the preferred reading of the term Jew becomes an insult. This has been the argument

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<sup>12</sup> Corner argues likewise (Corner 1980, 77).

Volkov intended to make, as mentioned in the literature overview. Consequently, this indicates that meaning and the decoding of codes change as hegemonic structures in society change as well.

Another example is Michael Herzfeld's research about political campaigns. He points out that the performance and behaviour of politicians require certain qualifications in order to gain votes. The candidate must be familiar with the culture and cultural codes, whereby it is not a matter of direct interactions, but above all of the understanding and correct classification of the cultural codes in order to be convincing (Herzfeld 2018, 104). People who master this code flawlessly receive greater credibility and are firmly established in the in-group (Ibid, 105).<sup>13</sup>

In conclusion, the theory of cultural codes suggests that these codes are not just metaphors of encoded messages, but are crucial for the meaning-making of the social environment of individuals. They are mostly transmitted through language, as language is part of the observable level of culture that influences group behaviour to the highest extent. Cultural codes grow and change organically according to their context, which means it is important to consider that context in order to decode them correctly. Moreover, no matter if spoken or written, they expose hegemonic structures of social thinking in practice. This is because codes exist in code systems, where the basic code has multiple subcodes that, as already said, are constituted in a hierarchy and present the preferred reading. The upcoming analysis has thus the purpose to find the chosen cultural codes, furthermore expose their subcodes and their codic relationships to each other, as well as explain their meaning-making purposes.

### ***Specification of research questions***

This work aims to present whether the discourse of the newspaper *Der Zwiespruch* holds similarities to the radical discourse of the NS-regime, and if this is the case, in which form. Consequently, the empirical analysis has to 1) detect the cultural codes in *Der Zwiespruch* 2) interpret and explain them with regard to their context, and

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<sup>13</sup> There exist other interesting works on cross cultural code switching, as for example: Molinsky, Andrew. 2007. "Cross-Cultural Code-Switching: The Psychological Challenges of Adapting Behavior in Foreign Cultural Interactions." In *The Academy of Management Review* 32 (2): 622-640.

Morton, Jennifer M. 2014. "Cultural Code-Switching: Straddling the Achievement Gap." In *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 22 (3): 259-281.

ultimately 3) draw conclusions on the presence of a radical discourse similar to the NS-regime in the newspaper. In other words, this work is supposed to provide answers to the questions:

- 1) How are antisemitism, racism, Raum, Reich, Führerprinzip, and Volksgemeinschaft presented and understood in *Der Zwiespruch*?
- 2) Did the rise to power and thus the radical discourse of the Nazis present a significant shift of the *Zwiespruch*'s producers and consumers' own discourse?

This will ultimately not only fill the lacuna of the missing cultural research connecting cultural codes, Holocaust studies, and the research of the independent German youth movement, but also provide a better understanding of the continuity of the dominant ideological aspects of the Nazis' worldview before their rise to power in 1933 in the independent German youth movement.

After the presentation of the previous research, with special regards to the authors' claims about the independent youth movement having had similar ideas to the NSDAP, especially the Deutsche Freischar, the theoretical assumption is that the analysis of *Der Zwiespruch* will reveal first and foremost that all the cultural codes were present in the newspaper, which will then lead to the conclusion that its discourse was similar to the radical discourse of the NS-regime. Thus, that the radical discourse of the Nazis was not perceived as a major change for the writers and readers of the newspaper.

## ***Methodology***

As remarked in the introduction, it is necessary to apply a method that focuses not only on cultural phenomena, but on language especially, as the theory on cultural codes illustrates that language must be understood as the most important transmitter of societal values and their hegemonic structure. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is therefore a fitting method for the empirical analysis of this work, as will be presented now.

### ***Method: Critical Discourse Analysis***

The theoretical background of CDA is based on Michel Foucault's premise that it is culture that maintains established power relations and not economic factors. The underlying understanding is that meaning is produced and reproduced in a society

through the signs created in social space as a result of the interaction of the actors, which thus creates a discourse (Titscher et al. 2000, 145). Discourse is accordingly a type of social practice, which correspondingly means that CDA is supposed to make out, reflect and shed awareness on the pre-mentioned signs used by actors. In this context, language takes a particularly important position. In language, the meaning of signs, and the hegemony of their use is represented (Ibid). Hilary Janks expresses clearly the purpose of CDA: “Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in relations of power it is called critical discourse analysis” (Janks 1997, 329). According to Ruth Wodak, “CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures” (Wodak 1996, 17). She thus suggests looking not only at the linguistic level but at the implicit sublevel in order to understand social processes, thus understanding language as a form of social practice. It is also emphasised that discourses are a product of history and consequently must consistently be analysed within their context, while acknowledging that they are simultaneously connected to other discourses and not independent of them. She further describes that CDA must be interpretive and explanatory in relation to the context (which includes power relations, norms etc.) of the discourse (Wodak 1996, 17-20). The purpose of CDA is therefore to uncover and interpret these signs that reciprocally influence social life in order to create awareness of processes that were previously overlooked. Titscher et al. point out in this regard: „[T]he goals include [...] the investigation of prejudice in general, and racism, anti-semitism and sexism in particular” (Titscher et al. 2000, 147). To analyse discourses in the way aforementioned, Fairclough’s three-dimensional CDA framework will be used in this work (Figure 1). Underlying this framework is his premise that „[l]anguage use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs” (Fairclough 1993, 134). Consequently, as already indicated above, language is central to being able to explore social discourses and corresponding power relations in society.



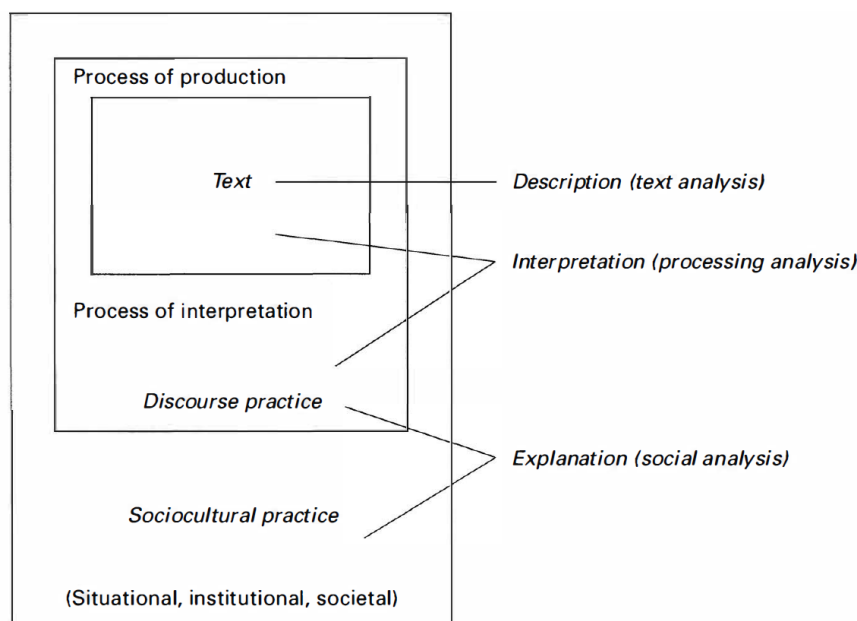


Figure 1, Fairclough's three-dimensional model for Critical Discourse Analysis<sup>14</sup>

At the level of Description, thus in the text analysis (as illustrated in Figure 1), not only the form but also the content is examined and described, as they inevitably influence each other. A certain content requires a certain text format, while at the same time the form of the text influences the content.<sup>15</sup> This phase of analysis is mainly descriptive (Titscher et al. 2000, 150-151).

This is followed by the step of interpretation of the foregoing description, thus the processing analysis. Here, the production of the text within the social practice and situational context is looked at, as well as its consumption, hence the orientation to an audience/consumer. Attention should be paid to the fact that the text is not considered as part of a closed discourse, but in the context of different discourses, as mentioned above and which Janks calls textual hybridity (Ibid; Janks 1997, 340).

This serves as the basis for the third dimension, the explanation and therefore social analysis of the previous findings. This dimension deals with the social reality and context of the text, in order to explain power relations and underlying implications of the language used (Titscher et al. 2000, 150-151).

CDA and this work in particular are based on the premise that culture maintains power relations which stands in direct relation to the theory that cultural codes are the

<sup>14</sup> Titscher et al. 2000, 152 after Fairclough 1992, 73.

<sup>15</sup> Example: A newspaper article and a leaflet have different forms which influence the content, through available space for example. At the same time the content, like giving information about a terror attack or advertising a new product require different forms of expression.

socially established forms of hierarchies in practice. The negotiation of these cultural codes can be defined as discourse, which can be expressed in language in written form as well, and on the basis of which power relations can be examined. This approach also emphasises that the analysis is not simply a linguistic analysis, but a work that is based on cultural and social science premises and is thus a cultural analysis. As already mentioned, the research aims to determine in which form and to what extent the cultural codes appear, as well as their codic relationship to each other. This can be ensured through Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, because power relations, and the meaning and function of the cultural codes can be explained as a result of it. The different levels of analysis are all interconnected, and can thus assure a detailed analysis.

### *Data sampling and collection*

The thesis is dealing with the German newspaper *Der Zwiespruch* from the years 1928-1933 as the object of research. *Der Zwiespruch* is one of the newspapers of the independent youth movement of the Weimar Republic. It is important to note that it is not affiliated with one specific Bund and is self-proclaimed non-political. The timeframe between 1928 was chosen, because, as has been remarked before, 1928 marks the year the economic crisis started and processes of upheaval in the youth movement began due to the misery caused by it. The analysis ends with the abolishment of youth associations in June 1933 (Ahrens 2015, 343). It is important to look at the independent youth movement because, as also already indicated, there is a debate going on how it stands in continuity with the NS-regime. It was necessary to look at the organisational level of youth groups as it is common for those to publish magazines, essays etc. in order to analyse language. The newspaper provides the analysis with consistent material, as it has been published frequently (this matter will be further explored below).

The issues of *Der Zwiespruch* were fully available to look at in the Archive of German Youth Movements in Witzenhausen at Ludwigstein Castle. The frequency of publication was weekly, but only twice monthly from 03.04.1932. In the archive, the newspapers were collected in an anthology for one year each. The number of newspapers for the period between 1928 and 1933 is 242 issues. Occasionally pages were missing (about 30 in total). Occasionally parts of pages were not legible or were

torn (about 20 in total). Each issue had the title of the newspaper on the cover page followed by the subtitle. The subtitle changed twice in the period under consideration. At first the subtitle was: “Independent Newspaper of the Youth Movement, News and Bulletin of its Economic Life.”<sup>16</sup> From September 1929, issue 36, the subtitle changed to: “Independent newspaper of the Youth Movement, official news bulletin of many Bünde.”<sup>17</sup> In March 1931, issue 12, it changed another time. At this time the editors changed for the first time in the period of analysis: “Newspaper of the Young Generation/messages of the Bünde, student associations and the volksdeutsche movement/official news bulletin of the Central Office of German Youth in Europe.”<sup>18</sup> Below this the price, the publication place and the editor(s) was/were noted. This also changed in March 1931. Since then, the name(s) of the editor(s) appeared at the end of the newspaper. The newspaper was available throughout the *Reichsdeutsche* territory and had to be ordered directly from the post office or the postman.<sup>19</sup> In addition to this information, the date and issue number are noted.

The newspaper was structured as follows: At the beginning, there were without exception general articles that did not belong to a distinct category. This section consisted of between three and eight articles. What was also consistently included in the later part were event announcements and news from the Bünde. After that, the categories varied constantly, they included topics like “youth and music”, “reports”, and “career advice”. This was always followed by pages of advertisements, which varied from one to four pages. Often additional magazines were included such as “healing and helping”, “student and university”, “music”, “books”, and “social work”.<sup>20</sup> With the change of the editorial staff in 1931, next to only written articles, maps were included in the newspaper. The entire content, except for the advertisements, was written in old German writing style. A completely new design of the newspaper was introduced in 1933, with modern German letters and the inclusion of pictures.

For the reason of consistency, when examining the newspaper, only the first part was looked at, thus the articles that did not fall under a specific category. The other parts

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<sup>16</sup> Unabhängige Zeitung der Jugendbewegung, Nachrichten- und Anzeigeblatt ihres wirtschaftlichen Lebens.

<sup>17</sup> Unabhängige Zeitung der Jugendbewegung, amtliches Nachrichtenblatt vieler Bünde.

<sup>18</sup> Zeitung der jungen Generation/Mitteilungen der Jugendbünde, Studentenverbände u. der volksdeutschen Bewegung/Amtl. Nachrichtenblatt d. Mittelstelle deutscher Jugend in Europa.

<sup>19</sup> Reichsdeutsche territory refers to the territory of the German Reich.

<sup>20</sup> Since the change of editorship in March 1931, the regular addition has been the magazine called “will and value”.

and categories of the newspaper changed too often and were not consistent in the chosen period. Still, not all of the articles in the beginning of each issue were analysed, as for efficiency and time limitation this was too high of a number. For this reason, keywords were looked for, and the articles that contained them were summarised and included in the analysis. The keywords were of course the cultural codes and other ones associated with them. These included the words: minorities, Jews, Palestine, East, land, settlers, nation, community, culture, Volkskörper, Heimat, enemy, NSDAP, Hitler, Nazis, fascism, Volk, Poland, Hungary, First World War, Treaty of Versailles, etc. Ultimately 64 were used for the analysis.

### *Limitations and role as researcher*

A limitation of the thesis in general, as Wodak points out, is that discourses are not independent, but are connected to other discourses. This work cannot include all discourses, and social contexts of that time because of the dynamic nature of culture, thus discourses are principally limitless. Additionally, because of the size of this Master's thesis it is not possible to include more than one context. This is to be compensated by a representative selection of literature in the research overview that establishes a useful framework for the cultural codes, and additionally with the chosen literature for the upcoming context research. Nevertheless, it is not possible to thoroughly and extensively examine the context for each of the articles to be analysed. Another crucial point is that the conclusions drawn, regarding the presence or absence of a radical discourse of *Der Zwiespruch* are naturally limited to that discourse, and cannot simply be adopted to the general study of the independent youth movement. The Bünde were not a literary movement and thus the books, newspapers and magazines do not reflect all that happened in the youth movement (Laqueur 1984, xvii). The articles represent the worldview of the authors and the editorial board that allowed the articles to be published. Thus, it would be wrong to generalise the results to the independent youth movement, let alone Weimar youth in general. Still, the work will be able to answer the research questions and also be able to serve as a groundwork for further research that does focus on exploring the whole of the independent youth movement.

One more significant limitation regards the non-consideration of the topic of Christianity in this paper, despite the researchers in the literature overview referring to it as important to the Nazi ideology. As Christianity in Nazi ideology and also in the

time of the Weimar Republic are topics in themselves that fill a multicity of books, this Master's thesis does not provide the space to look at the topic the way it deserves and focusses thus only on the chosen cultural codes.

In regards to the method in particular, Henry Widdowson criticises CDA for being mainly based on interpretation, and that the selection of data and the analysis itself are influenced by the prejudice and background of the researcher, who would furthermore interpret the data in their own favour (Titscher et al. 2000, 163-164). This is a criticism that is common in regards to qualitative research and as stated above, CDA is well matched with this research, so by disclosing the reasons for the selection of the articles as presented and by constant reflection on the interpretation according to one's own favour, the risk is minimised to the highest degree possible. For this work, fortunately, there exists no archive bias, as all the issues were fully available and accessible. The newspapers had, as previously mentioned, missing pages and illegible parts, but as this affected only a small amount of the total source material, it does not impact the analysis significantly.

I am aware of these risks and have done my best to meet the standards of prime academic practice to produce a work that is representative. Regarding my role as a researcher: CDA requires me to continuously question my own role as a researcher, as one is consistently part of the discourse that shapes one's subjective reality. CDA is based on my interpretations, which are of course influenced by my own background. Born and raised in Germany, I could fully understand the language of the sources. Still, I am not an expert in old German lettering, which means that some minor mistakes might be included in the analysis. Moreover, I am a temporal outsider and could only locate the cultural codes based on the knowledge of previous research and context literature, as expressions and meanings might have changed or were lost over time. In the end, I am not able to present the complete, objective truth. Another person with a different background would present a different analysis, due to their different subjective reality. This is the risk and at the same time the greatest advantage of qualitative research especially.

## **Empirical analysis**

In the empirical analysis the cultural codes that were found in *Der Zwiespruch* will be analysed according to the method, and explained according to the theory. Before this is presented, an introduction to the historical and societal context of the newspaper, will be provided.

### ***Historical context***

This chapter will be divided into five parts: Introduction to the object of research, the early years: 1901-1918, the years of formation: 1918-1928, and the last years of the bündisch youth: 1928-1933. Finally, more specifics about *Der Zwiespruch* will be provided.

### ***Introduction to the context research***

*Der Zwiespruch* is, as already indicated, a *überbündische* (not a part of one particular Bund, bündisch being the adjective of Bund) and self-proclaimed non-political newspaper. *Der Zwiespruch* can be traced back to two of the most influential independent Bünde “der Wandervogel” (The Hiking Bird) and, „die Deutsche Freischar“ (The German voluntary corps). The two organisations can be understood as independent or free Bünde in the sense that they were not affiliated with any political party, state or church institution. One of the largest Bünde was the Wandervogel, especially until 1926, when the Deutsche Freischar was founded as a unification of the Wandervogel along with other Bünde (Pross 1964, 474-481, Rappe-Weber 2021). For the Bünde, leadership refers to the Führer, which all of the Bünde included in their habitus, and as has been explained in the literature overview is not a term that is exclusively connected to the Nazi-Regime and Hitler.

The *Bündische Jugend*, the bündisch youth, is the name given to the collective movement of young people that manifested itself in the founding of a wide variety of Bünde within Germany in the 1920s and to which about 40% of German youth under 21 (4.1 million) belonged in 1927 (Rappe-Weber 2021).<sup>21</sup> According to Laqueur, there

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<sup>21</sup> Although the Bünde tended to be male-dominated, there was generally a 26% representation of female members (Rappe-Weber 2021).

were never more than 60,000 adolescents who belonged to the independent youth movement, but its Bünde nevertheless had a large, or rather decisive influence on the German youth as a whole (Laqueur 1984, v, xvii).<sup>22</sup>

### *The early years: 1901-1918*

During the early years of the Wandervogel, one of the oldest youth associations (at that time it was not spoken of Bünde yet), the members were mainly concerned about a self-determined life away from organisations led by adults and the industrialisation in the cities (Rosenbusch 1973, 19). According to Pross, in 1916 there were 40,000 Wandervogel members in Germany as well as in Austria (Pross 1964, 469-488). According to Rosenbusch and Laqueur, the Wandervogel's influence went beyond their membership, as they were for example responsible for the establishment of youth hostels by the German state (Rosenbusch 1973, 25; Laqueur 1984, v, xvii).

The Wandervogel AfS (Ausschuss für Schülerfahrten/Committee for School Trips) was founded in 1901. There were soon many foundations of the Wandervogel present in various cities with the main focus being on hiking and musical activities (Ibid, 25). Before the First World War, the claim of the Wandervogel was that one had to enjoy nature and camaraderie above all (Rosenbusch 1973, 28, 50). It was a group of young people with one Führer and a strong hierarchy (Ibid). In the Wandervogel, youth was above all supposed to be what adulthood was not: fresh, natural and uncorrupted, and everything that the members felt to be the opposite of a school. Since politics were not considered appropriate for youth but were rather seen as more suitable for adults, they distanced themselves from it, as well as from committing themselves ideologically. Politics and political ideas in general were thus undiscussable (Ibid, 44, 53). Rather, the focus was on the personal development of the individual, which would then, as part of a larger social collective, reform their respective society (Ibid, 44). The members believed that they were the elite of society and could thereby change it from within (Ahrens 2015, 117-118). The groups furthermore understood themselves as a place of self-education (Kindt 1974, 84).<sup>23</sup> While the members were not in any way encouraged

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<sup>22</sup> Niemeyer 2013, S.202: More than 40 000 members in 1926.

<sup>23</sup> As has been mentioned in the chapter of previous research, Werner Kindt is a controversial figure in youth movement research. Nevertheless, I have taken certain information from his book, which I have either checked against information from other authors or which reflect the self-perception of the Wandervogel or the Deutsche Freischar.

to become politically involved, nor, as already indicated, to commit themselves politically, political parties still tried to win over the youth movement from without (Laqueur 1984, 41).

While Laqueur emphasises that there was no organised or structural antisemitism in the youth movement at this time, this did not mean that antisemitism was not present at all. In fact, at that time Jewish youths were often denied admission to the Wandervogel (Ibid, 76). Although the Wandervogel avoided making general statements regarding the Jewish question, which was intensively discussed in Germany and Austria from the late 19th century onwards, it had to take a stand, due to the public attention caused by frequent rejections of Jewish individuals to be accepted in the regional Wandervogel groups. According to Peter Dudek, the Wandervogel had not dealt with the Jewish question anywhere in writing, because it still perceived itself as apolitical, and wished to present itself as a politically neutral group (Dudek 2012, 83). Still, antisemitism must have been deeply rooted in the worldview of the leaders, as in 1914, out of fear of a *Verjudung* (Judaization), it was publicly decided that the respective local leadership of the Wandervogel was allowed to decide whether Jews could be admitted or not. This was an attempt to escape the matter as best as possible without making a political statement (Laqueur 1984, 78-81). Dudek likewise speaks of this decision being up to the local groups, but furthermore adds that “Jews with particularly salient racial characteristics” could be denied membership (Dudek 2012, 87).<sup>24</sup>

### *The years of formation: 1918-1928*

After the First World War there existed many small youth associations without a shared focus (Rosenbusch 1973, 36). There was no longer a unified Wandervogel, but many smaller Wandervogel groups and, of course, there were still other movements, confessional and political ones. Ahrens mentions that the first clear politicisation of the youth movement occurred after the First World War. From then, there was a fundamental and far-reaching negative feeling towards the defeat in the war. He describes that all movements identified with the concept of the Volk and described themselves as *völkisch*, without thereby indicating a clear political affiliation (Ahrens 2015, 115). However, the Wandervogel in particular continued to focus on forming the

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<sup>24</sup> Many Jews subsequently joined Zionist movements (Dudek 2012, 89).



elite of Germany. Ahrens accentuates that “the de facto disempowerment of Germany resulted in the idealistic revaluation of the German people. The experience of defeat was countered by the need to form new elites” (Ibid, 122).

In the 1920s there existed such a high number of (regional) sub- and splinter groups that it is not possible to look at all of them or even trace them.<sup>25</sup> In 1923, the youth movement entered the *bündisch* phase, in which the term *Bund* started to be used. Groups with a left-wing orientation were no longer to be found frequently as independent *Bünde*, as the members tended to join political *Bünde* (Botsch and Haverkamp 2014, 1). In addition to leftists turning away from the *Bünde*, this reaction was also identified on the right side of the political spectrum. For the *völkisch* movement itself also faced competition from political *Bünde*, as was the case with the reestablishment of the NSDAP in 1925.<sup>26</sup> National Socialism seemed to appeal to and mobilise the youth to a greater extent than *völkische Bünde* (Puschner 2012, 27-28). Most of the *Bünde*, apart from the strongly left-wing ones, fully or partially supported what Harry Pross calls the triad of “Raum-Reich-Rasse” (Pross 1964, 349). The older members mainly occupied leadership positions in the *Bünde*, such as those in work camps<sup>27</sup> or leading trips abroad, especially to the borderland regions etc. (Pross 1964, 365).

After these years of fragmentation, in 1926 the *Wandervogel Bünde* and other *Bünde* came together to form the *Bund* that was ultimately called the *Deutsche Freischar* (Ahrens 2015, 129).<sup>28</sup> As previously mentioned, the landscape of the *Bünde* was vastly fragmented in the 1920s, and thus the central idea of the *Deutsche Freischar* was for everyone with the same goals and ideas to be united (Kindt 1974, 1051). The *Deutsche Freischar* was the largest independent *Bund* at the end of the 1920s, and “also the most

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<sup>25</sup> In the 1910s, the *Wandervogel* split into four large streams (e.g. “moderate” federations such as the *Jungnationale Bund*, *Fahrende Gesellen* and more extreme nationalist federations such as *Adler und Falken*, *Freischar Schill*), then in the 1920s and early 1930s into 12 large *Bünde* and countless minor ones, each of which had a leader, magazines or similar (Laqueur 1984, 155, 157). For a more detailed account of the numerous splits, see Pross 1964, 474-481.

<sup>26</sup> As a reminder: the NSDAP was first found 1920 and was abolished 1923. It was re-established in 1925 (Hoser 2007).

<sup>27</sup> German: *Arbeitslager*. Camps that lasted 2-3 weeks with 50-150 participants focusing on physical and intellectual work, as well as music (Ahrens 2015, 162).

<sup>28</sup> For the *Bünde* that joined in the course of the years, see Ahrens 2015, 158. The unification happened after *Wandervogel* and *Pfadfinder* associations had already been trying to create a unified association since 1923 (Kindt 1974, 1051, Pross 1964, 477). The *Bund* was first called “*Bund der Wandervögel und Pfadfinder*”, which renamed itself to *Deutsche Freischar* in 1927 (Ahrens 2015, 129).

successful, for it blended the tradition of the Wandervogel with the new bündisch style, and with a more realistic approach to the outside world” (Laqueur 1984, 144).

At their peak they had between 12,000 and 13,000 members.<sup>29</sup> Similar to the Wandervogel described above, the Deutsche Freischar was critical of the Weimar Republic, which it wanted to change from within (Ibid 1984, 150).

### *The last years of the bündisch youth: 1928-1933*

By the end of 1928, Germany was suffering economically from the Great Depression and by 1931 five million Germans had become unemployed (Laqueur 1984, 179). By early 1932 this had risen to six million (Ahrens 2015, 288). At the same time,

the membership of both the communist and the National Socialist youth organisations doubled, a political symptom not in itself mortally dangerous to the Weimar republic, for the extremist youth organisations in Germany never played an important part in politics (Laqueur 1984, 179).

Still, this process clearly reflected the radicalisation of the middle class (Ibid). With the economic crisis political awareness was awoken in the independent youth, as it was seen as a necessary reaction to the rising emergence of the nationalistic Bünde and parties (Ahrens 2015, 244). The protest of the youth as for example the negotiations of the reparation payments was in written form, but also rallies and demonstrations were held, which was relatively new for most of the independent Bünde, as they had not been politically active in the streets before. However, their efforts had no impact on politics (Ibid, 259-260). The rise of hostility towards the Republic was becoming evident in the Deutsche Freischar, although not as pronounced as in the more right-wing Bünde (Ibid, 260, 379). From 1928 on, the youth started to join political parties that were more radical, as the wish to actively take part in politics increased constantly (Mommensen 2009a, 123, Ahrens 2015, 380). A steady radicalisation took place because the Bünde became more or less uncompromising in their convictions. As a result of the country’s economic struggles, for the Bünde there was no possibility of any harmonious transition

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<sup>29</sup> Different counts according to different sources: Laqueur refers to statistics from the German Freischar in 1929 that it had about 12,000 members and of these about three quarters were under 18 with 15% girls (Laqueur 1984, 144) According to Pross there were 12,000 members in 1930 (Pross 1964, 477). Another source says 13,000 members (Rappe-Weber 2021). In comparison to the Deutsche Freischar, the Hitler Youth, the youth organisation of the NSDAP that was first founded in 1926 (Sauerwein 2006), had 13,000 members in 1929 and allegedly 108,000 by the end of 1932 (Ahrens 2015, 307), which is significantly more than the Deutsche Freischar ever had.

or understanding between different generations. A change in government towards a younger generation only truly occurred through the NSDAP (Laqueur 1984, 125-126, Ahrens 2015, 296). Despite the Deutsche Freischar, in contrast to other Bünde, being willing to give the status quo a certain chance, the idea of “German”, as something fixed, consistently existing, and for which one could not simply decide, was non-negotiable (Ahrens 2015, 383).

In 1930 the federal leader<sup>30</sup> of the German Deutsche Freischar since 1928, died unexpectedly (Pross 1964, 407). After his death, the Deutsche Freischar had agreed to an alliance with the „Großdeutscher Jugendbund“, whose leader was Adolf von Trotha,<sup>31</sup> who maintained strong relations with the NSDAP (Ibid). The alliance lasted only five months and was broken off again because the differences between them were too great to overcome (Ibid). On the one hand, this demonstrates the way the Deutsche Freischar, in search of attention and influence, saw enough in common with the right-wing Bund to form an alliance, but at the same time was not prepared to commit itself that explicitly in political matters. Ahrens points out that after the change of the federal leadership, there was still a vehement attempt to avoid an explicit political commitment, yet a shift to the right still took place (Ahrens 2015, 276-277).

With Hitler’s rise to power in January 1933, the Deutsche Freischar leaders joined the NSDAP in the months that followed (Ibid, 329).<sup>32</sup> In the same year, the Deutsche Freischar and other Bünde joined together to form the Großdeutscher Bund, which was supposed to be a competitor to the Hitler Youth, as it was supposed to have a National Socialist orientation itself, but was subsequently dissolved on 17 June 1933 as all Bünde were banished (Ibid, 334, 343). Ahrens emphasises that the Bünde were abolished because of the total domination claimed by the NSDAP, not because their views were particularly different from each other (Ibid, 380).

### *The youth newspaper Der Zwiespruch*

*Der Zwiespruch* was first published in 1919 and was the continuation of the *Feld-Zwiespruch* of the German soldiers in the First World War (Kindt 1974, 11), which first

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<sup>30</sup> Bundesführer Dr. Ernst Buske.

<sup>31</sup> Not to be confused with Lothar von Trotha, who was involved in the genocide of the Herero and Nama.

<sup>32</sup> As a reminder: The election results of the NSDAP were: 1928: 2.6%; 1930: 18.3%; 1933: 43.9% (Falter 1986).

appeared in 1916 (Pross 1964, 190). Since 1919, *Der Zwiespruch* had been the main newspaper of all Wandervögel Bünde (Pross 1964, 515) and existed until 1933 (Ahrens 2015, 424). The issue of 01.01.1919 states the function of the new paper:

That which was still lacking in all the movements, the rapidly informing paper, the newspaper which, standing above all the Bünde, reports impartially in concise form on what is happening in the movement - this is to become our „Zwiespruch“! It will not serve a political party or a one-sided interest, but will be the source from which everyone can draw what he needs to know in order to be able to stand in the rising movement even in the rattling haste of work (*Der Zwiespruch* 1919, 1).

As presented clearly here, *Der Zwiespruch* is supposed to be überbündisch and does not identify with any political side. This points to the fundamental ideals of the Wandervogel. *Zwiespruch* literally translated from German means a conversation between two people. Therefore, the newspaper is to be considered as the communication between the members of the Bünde. Unfortunately, there is hardly information to be found regarding the circulation or the funding of the newspaper. Ahrens, Laqueur or Rosenbusch for example do not mention it. The only number regarding the circulation was found in Ina Schmidt and Stefan Breuers' research about the newspaper *Die Kommenden*, in that *Der Zwiespruch* had a circulation of 8000 in their early years, which is understood to be a high number for that time (Breuer and Schmidt 2010, 14). There exists one other source, which is from Herbert Schierer, whose work must be regarded with caution, as it was written in 1938 and was approved by the NSDAP. According to him *Der Zwiespruch*'s circulation has been 3000 in 1919 and higher in the early 1920s after it was combined with the *Wandervogel Führerzeitung* (The newspaper for the Führer of the regional Wandervogel), with an upward trend, making it the largest of all überbündische newspapers (Schieerer 1938, 55). According to the same author the magazines of the Bünde were fully published by young people and not adults, and that there was no intention of making actual profit from it (Ibid, 73, 85).

Rüdiger Ahrens mentions that according to the leaders of *Der Zwiespruch* themselves they had 40,000 readers in 1921 (Ahrens 2015, 112). On 16.12.1927, *Der Zwiespruch* became the official news bulletin of the Deutsche Freischar (Kindt 1974, 1052). Stefan Breuer mentions that until 1926 *Der Zwiespruch* was fairly unrivalled, but from 1921 onwards more people from the völkisch scene found space in the journal as authors (Breuer 2012, 111-112). Aside from this information, there were no other sources to be found. Still, *Der Zwiespruch* was apparently the most important newspaper of the youth

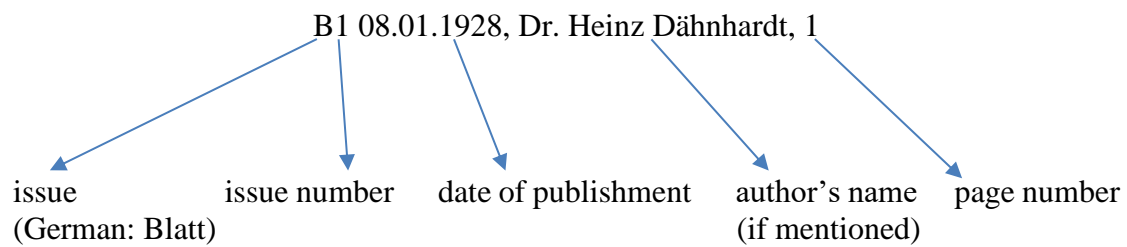
of that time. *Der Zwiespruch*'s only competition in terms of popularity by the end of the 1920s came from the counter-journal *Die Kommenden* (which was founded in 1926), which relied heavily on the ideas of Raum, Reich and Rasse (Breuer 2012, 116-117; Pross 1964, 345,349; Ahrens 2015, 167-168). Breuer and Schmidt write that from 1927 *Der Zwiespruch* experienced a shift from the far right to the moderate right or the right of the centre due to the change of the Chief editor from Friedrich Wilhelm Fulda to Werner Kindt (Breuer and Schmidt 2010, 11). The authors do not explore any further what right of the centre means.

Considering that two of the approximately eleven to thirteen pages of each Issue, were full of advertisements, it is safe to assume that the newspaper was mostly funded by advertisements. There was nothing to be found about private sponsors. This fact proves that *Der Zwiespruch* was highly influential at that time, as they provided a wide range of readers, which made companies advertise in the newspaper. Further it demonstrates that the newspaper was financially independent, thus also independent from institutional support.

## ***Analysis***

The cultural codes antisemitism, racism, Volksgemeinschaft, Führer, Reich and Raum present the basic codes of the analysis. These are concepts, that can be translated into own code systems with different subcodes, and have individual relationships with each other. By decoding them and embedding them back in their societal context the codic relationship and thus the preferred reading of the basic code can be identified. Every code will be analysed separately. Only after the presentation of each code will the hegemonic structure and the relationships of the basic codes be explored in the discussion. When an author's connection to the NSDAP or a resistance group was found, this is included in the description of the articles. The description, interpretation and explanation, are, as CDA suggests, all interconnected in the upcoming analysis. Furthermore, as will become evident, these codes and subcodes are highly interconnected, which is why some articles will be mentioned for more than one code.

The issues and authors will be cited in the following manner:



## *Antisemitism*

The structure will be as follows: The articles that relate to the code will be described, and afterwards the code system will be analysed. For a better understanding of the code system, a mind-map including the most important subcodes will be provided at the end of the chapter. The mind-map is supposed to illustrate the most important subcodes only, not every idea connected to it, as this would go beyond the scope available here.

## **Description**

The first article under consideration was published in late 1928. It deals with the peace congress in which many Bünde participated, and that aimed for the unification of the Bünde into a Weltbund (world Bund) of the youth. The author writes that in the congress even the supporter of Nordic Rassengedanken (racial thought) could discuss with the Jew the nature of blood and its mental and physical significance for mankind. Both came to the conclusion that respect for one's own blood and respect for the race of the other is crucial, and that belonging to a race implies a duty. Still, the congress in itself did not end in any results due to disagreements (B38 23.09.1928, August Happich, 446). The next article looked at, is an article that was originally published in the newspaper of the Jungnationalen (young nationalists). This states that as the members of the youth movement are turning older, they become more aware of politics. The author points out that

we are fighting for a socialism, not in the sense of Karl Marx's theories on materialism, but in the way of Friedrich Wilhelm I. and the premise of the individual's responsibility for the whole society (B14 10.04.1929, 157).

Because of this, they want to unite with all the nationalist movements, especially the National Socialists. In response to the article, an author of *Der Zwiespruch* accentuates that this confession to National Socialism represents a development that became visible throughout the bündisch youth. The author also mentions that the bündisch youth is

accused by the young nationalists of not caring about the Judaization of the nation, that they would be apolitical, lack power and political instinct, and finally want to look at politics in a scientific way. The author leaves the positioning regarding these accusations to the reader (Ibid). Another important article to mention deals with *Kulturkampfbünde* (Bünde that fight for their culture). The author Winfried Wendland, born in 1903, joined the NSDAP in 1931 (Klee 2009, 592-593).<sup>33</sup> He describes that in 1928 two *Kulturkampfbünde* were founded, premised on the idea that German culture was supposedly in the process of dissolution. Based on this reasoning it was seen as necessary to save what was left of the German culture. Wendland uses the term *Kulturbolschewismus* (cultural bolshevism), to describe modern movies, or the architecture of large cities. The duty of the *Kulturkampfbünde* must be to fight for the future, as “people of the Third Reich will not have their rooms full of sentimental art prints, but with works by masters of their time who seek with them to reshape culture.” He refers to all forms of culture and also provides the example that

there is no use in complaining about Jewish literature, when there is no better replacement. The *Kampfbünde* have to be the pool out of which the new forms of culture come. Therefore, from the heart of the Volk and the nation (B20 15.05.1929, Winfried Wendland, 219).

In a different article Werner Pohl demanded that instead of Realpolitik, politics of ideas should be pursued, in which reality is made to adapt to ideas and not vice versa:

If Germany is not a racially pure nation, then the Semitic, Eastern and Roman elements must be forced to emigrate in order to fulfil the law that Germany is a racially pure nation (B11 16.03.1930, Werner Pohl, 121).

He writes that the NSDAP has experienced an increase of membership as the bourgeois parties were not able to agree on a concrete idea. Only when they start doing this will the youth stop radicalising itself (Ibid).<sup>34</sup> Another article meanwhile addresses the suppression of minorities in Poland. The author not only claims that the German minority but also the Jews, the Belarussians and the Ukrainians should receive the right of self-determination. He refers to countless terror attacks by Polish groups and that there is no possibility to properly protest this situation. The article ends with the claim that Danzig and the corridor are not free and that Poland is not yet lost (B46 30.11.1930,

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<sup>33</sup> He was furthermore hired as an expert regarding National Socialist art (Klee 2009, 592-593).

<sup>34</sup> Werner Pohl was in charge of *Der Zwiespruch* with Werner Kindt in 1929 and 1930 (Ahrens 2015, 286).

Friedrich Joachim, 544).<sup>35</sup> The last article that will be presented here summarises the congress of the *Freier Dienst* (voluntary service) regarding the bündisch devotion to the Volk and the religious and intellectual basis of the völkisch movement. The pact between God and Israel is mentioned; and that the Jewish people became unfaithful and disloyal, which led to their dislocation and rootlessness. Therefore, the tasks from God have been handed from the Jews over to the Germans. The congress reflected on ideas for the future state, which also included discussions about antisemitism and the inclusion of Judaism. The author does not delve into any further detail on this; however, he emphasises the difficulty of including many societal issues for the unity of the Reich will become an onerous task (B2 15.02.1933, Hermann Buddensieg, 18).<sup>36</sup>

## Analysis

Firstly, it has to be acknowledged that there were only a low number of articles to be found that included antisemitism. Here, it is not only referred to „Jew/s”, but also to „Semitic elements”. According to the theory of performativity of language, like presented by Hall in this thesis, the degrading term “element”, which holds an entirely negative meaning, forms the reality of the Jews in a negative way, due to its explicitness. Clearly, “Jew” itself is considered to be the most prominent subcode of antisemitism. The code of “Jew” itself, contrarily to “Semitic element”, is more implicit and therefore requires more context and subcodes to be decoded as negative. “Semitic element” is therefore a subcode, of “Jew”, due to its explicitness (thus a second degree subcode), as illustrated in Figure 2. Both terms are evidently understood as the opposite of being German. Hence, according to the claims of Hall, the preferred reading is that the Jew is not a German. Thus, the subcode of “Jew” also includes the code “otherness”, that in itself refers to ideas of in-group and out-group belonging. This becomes evident, as antisemitism also relies heavily on the code of “race”. “Race” in itself presents a code system that includes the code of “duty” which is related to ideas of respect, blood, and purification. These codes connect to ideas of action in order to perform change in society in favour to the own race, like Wendland demands it in the context of culture.

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<sup>35</sup> Corridor: Region belonging to Poland after the First World War. It divided East Prussia and Danzig from Germany (Schwind 1972, 39).

<sup>36</sup> Hermann Buddensieg, born in 1893, was not allowed to work as a publicist in the NS-regime. There was nothing more to be found about his life in that time, still, he worked on the cultural exchange between Germany and Poland after 1945 and received an honorary doctor form the Polish academy of science in 1969 (Baltic Sea Library, n.d.).



Especially with Pohl's article it becomes evident that antisemitism manifested itself in general racism, which Friedländer also emphasised as fundamental to the Nazis.

Jews are not attacked directly; they are equated with Eastern and also Italian groups of people who do not belong to the organic unity of the German Reich. Only in the first article the „race of the Jews”, does not carry an intensely negative connotations (except from the general premise of being opposite to German). There, the author tries to frame it positively that different groups were willing to discuss their racial differences. Still, the peace congress did not come to a conclusion which is why it can be assumed that the racists did not agree on respecting the Jews or any other race. In the second article the bündisch youth is accused of not caring about the Judaization of Germany, to which the author does not respond, which proves that no active position is taken when it comes to Judaism. This reflects what has already been described in the context chapter, that an attempt was made not to deal with the subject of the “Jewish question”. Still, if this article was included to enrage the readers against the Jungnationale, or out of other reasons remains unclear. Still, “Judaization” presents another subcode of “Jew”.

Another crucial point was made by Wendland, who accentuates that Jewish literature needs to be replaced by a German one. Here, Jewish stands also for other foreign literature that is seen as unworthy. “Jew” is in that context the hegemonic code to the literature that is not German and thus not adequate for Germany. Therefore, “unworthiness” has to be understood as a subcode to the code of “Jew” as well. It connects ideas of culture, but also German citizenship, as has been mentioned earlier. Thus, the codes of “unworthiness” and “otherness” have a strong codic relationship, as Umberto Eco refers to the interrelation of codes. Buddensieg's article also plays an important part in regards to the idea of unworthiness. His claims demonstrate a classic anti-Judaic worldview, which makes “anti-Judaism” also a subcode of antisemitism, that includes “unworthiness” as a second degree subcode. As can be seen in Figure 2 “unworthiness” is mentioned as a second degree subcode twice. This is the case and not vice versa, as the subcodes constitute the meaning of the basic code, like John Corner describes it. Thus, “Jew” and “anti-Judaism” signalise unworthiness, and not the other way around. As indicated, all foreign literature is generalised as bolshevism, which demonstrates the anti-communist and anti-Eastern-European, especially anti-Polish sentiment. This leads to the conclusion that also “anti-bolshevism” is a subcode of antisemitism. Further, Joachim's article should not be misinterpreted as an endorsement

of Jewry or the Ukraine, but as hate speech towards Poles who would suppress Germans. The other groups are thus only instrumentalised to agitate against Poles.

In summary it can be seen here, first and foremost, that antisemitism as a code is not consistent. The primary observation is that Jewish was seen as a distinct race and culturally different from the German one. Apart from this, Jews are on the one side accused of the Judaization of Germany, but on the other side are being instrumentalised in the hatred against the Poles. Of further significance is the discussions concerning the integration of the Jews into German society (of course the premise they would be racially different is still apparent). Hence the preferred reading, no matter if the authors of *Der Zwiespruch* did not attack Jews directly, is that Jewishness equals otherness. As it has been described in the context chapter, antisemitism was apparently underrepresented in the bündisch youth (Ahrens 2015, 189). Moreover, not addressing the accusation of not caring about Judaization exemplifies once more that it was avoided to take a definite stand. It further became evident that the basic code relies on subcodes that have their own code systems. Especially interesting here is that “race”, that has been identified as an important code to the Nazis, is a subcode of antisemitism, and thus demonstrates their interconnectedness. The readers thus did not understand antisemitism as indispensable of the worldview transmitted, still Jews were understood to be different from ethnic or cultural Germans. However, this did not inevitably lead to apathy against them.

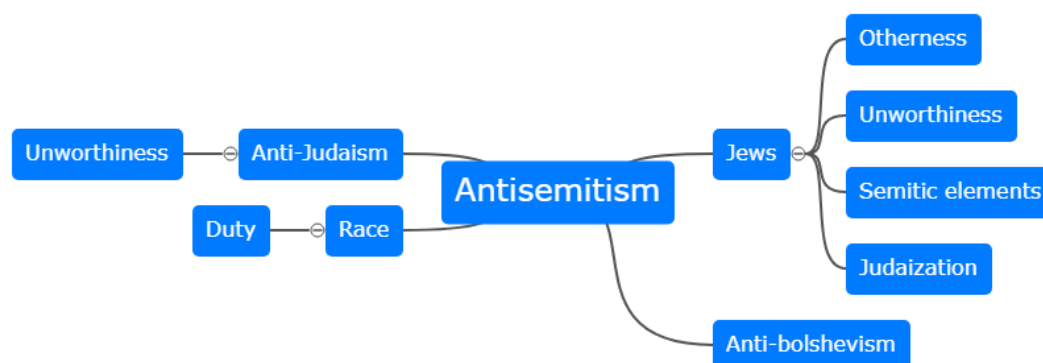


Figure 2, Antisemitism: code system

## *Racism*

This chapter follows the same guidelines as the chapter before.

### **Description**

In one of the articles relevant for the code racism, Otto-Ludwig Wolff addresses “world culture” to be a meaningless term and that the culture in Europe should be called occidental culture, as it is based on the mixing of different occidental races. He writes that Germany does not have an independent culture, as it is connected to the other ones of the occident (B9 04.03.1928, Otto-Ludwig Wolff, 102). The next article under consideration holds the title “Do we still need a nation state today?”. M. Bürd writes about the nation state being crucial for the eternity of the German Volk. He identifies this belief as *sittlich* (moral/ethical) and not as national egoism. History according to him revealed that the values of a state were only viable in strong nation states. The unique character of a state was only to a certain extent dependent on the blood and racial characteristics of its people, as there had never been a *rasse rein* (pure in race) state, in contrast to the perception of the new *Rassenaberglaube* (race superstition). The state summarises the history and the negotiation between tribes, *Völker* (plural of Volk) and races. He names this the incarnation of *Volksindividualität* (individuality of the state) (B30 29.07.1928, M. Bürd, 350). Again, Werner Pohl published another article which was concerned with the colonial question. According to him the colonial action of white people is indispensable, for both them and the colonised (for example through the improvement of their culture through the colonisers), which is why it should not be misjudged in general. The method of *Niedermetzung* (slaughter) of foreign races perse is wrong but to him a necessary colonial policy (B32 07.08.1929, Werner Pohl, 353). Pohl also published the article, that was mentioned in the previous chapter about antisemitism, but his main premise should be repeated here as well. He writes that

if Germany is not a racially pure nation, then the Semitic, Eastern and Roman elements must be forced to emigrate in order to fulfil the law that Germany is a racially pure nation (B11 16.03.1930, Werner Pohl, 121).

Dr. Merckenschlager meanwhile, using the example of the Spreeforest, describes the past of that region with racial theory. He describes that the wendisch people living there were germanised and the German settlers that came there were „wendised”. This often is denied by people speaking in favour of Germanic culture (B3 18.01.1931, Dr.

Merkenschlager, 25). With the help of measuring head sizes, noting eye colours etc., he describes the change of race in the Spreeforest. It would be a misjudgement of the rules of nature to deny people the land they live on because of their original blood and their traits being mixed. He closes the article with: “The development of a Volk continues as long as it remains transformable and adaptable. It leads to a dead end when the ability to change is replaced by rigidity” (B4 25.01.1931, Dr. Merkenschlager, 38). Another topic that is discussed is the decline of birth-rate. A Volk is supposedly only healthy when it grows. The reasons for the decline are rooted in the economic crisis and social misery. Due to the Versailles Treaty, the population lacks the motivation to work. Thus, the economy will only be able to reach the expected rate of production with the acceptance of *volksfremd* and *rassefremder Elemente* (elements that are foreign in Volk and race). This will eventually endanger the German Volk and its level of culture. The quality of the Volk, he argues, was already decreasing due to the rise of the lower classes. The author therefore demands availability of land for settlers (B33 16.08.1931, Franz Voggenreiter, 385).

## Analysis

As has been the case with the code of antisemitism, there were again only a low number of articles to be found that included racism. Race is used by the authors as a term to describe the distinction between different groups of people according to their ethnicity, blood, and also their culture. Still, Bürd and Wolff argue that there is no independent culture of Germany, as races have always been mixing, thus there has never been a racially pure state. It is also argued that the state’s individuality is only established through this mixing. It is therefore interesting to see that race is 1) interpreted as an objective descriptive term and 2) that the German Volk was not exclusively understood as racially pure by at least two authors, who instead argued that the German Volk grew over time due to the mix of different cultures. In reference to this, race was also equated to culture. “Culture” demonstrates therefore an important subcode to race. This is fascinating to consider as culture is understood, at least today, to be strongly fluid and dynamic but here was seen as more solid and unchangeable, like racism. It demonstrates the connection to the aforementioned Kulturkampf by Volkov, that was decisive for antisemitism to become a cultural code. At the same time, as has been the case before with antisemitism, the code has been interpreted differently by multiple authors. Pohl

for example, emphasises the purity of the German race, thus contrary to Bürd and Wolff. Here a connection can be drawn to the code of antisemitism, as Judaism is understood to be a different race that has to be distinguished from.

As was the case with antisemitism the code for racism includes the code of “otherness”. Moreover, explicit language was used again, as it was referred to “foreign elements”, which again is linked to the theory of performativity of language that thus actively excludes all races except the German one from the life in Germany. Interestingly, for Voggenreiter the lower races are likewise connected to lower classes, thus racism and anti-proletarian notions are combined. As his sentiment stems from the negative emotion towards the Treaty of Versailles, “World War One” has to be incorporated as a subcode of racism, that furthermore leads to the second degree subcode of “anti-bolshevism” as seen in Figure 3. Due to its inconsistency antisemitism cannot be understood as a crucial subcode to racism.

A racist worldview is also evident, especially in terms of the colonial question. It becomes clear that Pohl and Könneker understand it as the right of the white race to slaughter others (again highly explicit language), and of course the general positive understanding of colonialism becomes evident. Hence, “colonialism” has to be understood as another subcode of race. Here, the authors draw a connection to culture as well, as culture would be improved by the white race.

Next to the words “slaughter” and “foreign elements” the code of racism was more specific and concrete than antisemitism before. There, the (non) expulsion of Jewishness was mostly implicated. In terms with race a clear distinction is being made that suggests the incompatibility of races, no matter if it refers to different cultures, Völker, or classes, which constitutes therefore the preferred reading of the code. In conclusion the code of racism has been ambivalent only to a certain extent. Eco emphasises the dynamics of subcodes, which is evident here. Thus, the basic code has more than one distinct mapping, to phrase it with Hall’s words. Readers, when they read the aforementioned articles therefore understood that racism was a legitimate part of their worldview that justified discrimination of other cultures, classes and Völker, due to the superiority of the white race. However, the idea of the Germans being a pure race was not consistent.

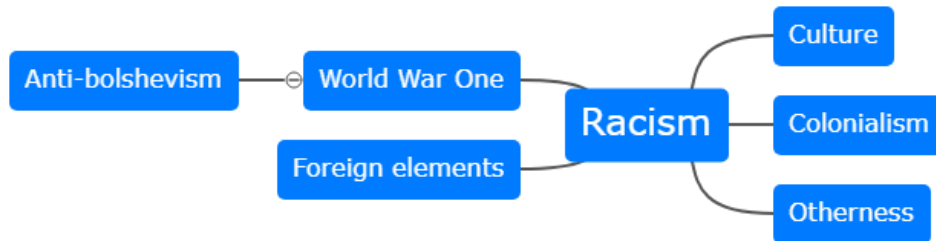


Figure 3, Racism: code system

## *Volksgemeinschaft*

This chapter follows the same guidelines as the chapters before.

## **Description**

In one of the early issues in 1928 the decline of the birth rate and the housing shortage are discussed. The decline of births is understood to be connected to the unemployment of men which would lead to alcoholism, and malnutrition. Another factor mentioned is the impact of hard work on women's bodies and the general fear of large families. This leads on the one hand to illegal abortions, while on the other weakens the whole *Volkskraft* (the power/strength of the Volk) (B8 26.02.1928, Justus Ehrhardt, 85). According to Dr. Ernst Buske there is truth in the quote "The German people had to lose the war in order to win their Volkstum" as for the older generation the understanding of the Volk exclusively included Germans living within Germany's borders, and not the forty million Germans that lived outside of them. The older generation did not care if these Germans abroad were being de-germanised by the states, they lived in. Still, even before the war, the youth movement was aware of this issue and thus started to go on hikes abroad to connect to the Germans living there. To him, it was essential to already be accustomed to the country, before visiting the *Bruderstamm* (brother tribe). Furthermore, gifts were supposed to deepen the connection between the colony and homeland. He writes:

The character of such borderland work is not in itself political, thus state-political. It is much more distinctly politics of culture, which makes it volkspolitisch (a matter of national politics). [...] However, where German life in the border region is suppressed, cultural policy becomes state policy. Cultural autonomy is the least that has to be achieved in terms of national policy (B9 04.03.1928, Dr. Ernst Buske, 97).

On a matter related to this, is the twelve-year anniversary of the Versailles Treaty. In connection to this France was criticised for the impact they had on Germany, especially politically. Still, the author of this article emphasises that it was not possible to destroy Germany or German unity during the war, and that they would have no more success now than then (B26 date unidentifiable, G. Nobel, 305). Another article mentions that the closeness of the Germans in Europe had grown ever since the ending of the war. When the foreign states in which Germans live, support and recognise their German blood and culture, they would further appreciate the Germans as decent neighbours (B36 06.09.1931, 427). The meeting of the Central Office of German Youth in Europe is summarised as the bündisch youth not wanting to commit ideologically, and it is made evident that the young German generation feels united, despite it being spread throughout Europe (B46 15.11.1931, E.B., 540). The next article is introduced with a remark by the editorial board that it does not agree with the content of said article but wants to provide space for an exchange of opinions. The author Rüdiger Robert Beer, born in 1903, who later joined the NSDAP (Niemeyer 2013, 32), argues in favour of the conservatives. He points out that the conservatives do not want “freedom” in the sense of the development of the individual, in the Western sense of practicing freedom, but as the idea of being part of a larger, natural organism (B46 21.10.1928, Rüdiger Robert Beer, 541).

The editorial board claims once again to not agree on the main aspects of the following article. The author demands a new form of school, which he calls the school of the Volk. Currently schools divide their students into the higher-educated and the Volk. This has to be overcome through a working- and cultural community (B49 09.12.1928, Dr. Fritz Helling, 579). Dr. Kurt Plachte underlines that the tradition of a Volk presents its deepest knowledge, and also the purpose of individuals’ lives. This is what makes a *Kulturgemeinschaft* (cultural community) for him: “Language, customs, law and culture are the Volk’s authorities”, which have to be reinterpreted over time but must not be denied in total (B8 20.02.1929, Dr. Kurt Plachte, 48). In regards to German culture, one issue of the year 1931 presents a map with the title “The de-germanisation of the Pomerellens” that illustrates the decrease of the German people living there from 1910 until 1926 (B46 15.11.1931, 542).<sup>37</sup> Another meeting of different Bünde, people outside the Bünde, and the district president of Kassel was summarised in one of the

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<sup>37</sup> See Appendix 1.

issues. The meeting took place in order to find out if it is possible for the political groups of the youth to become active in the political sphere in a united form. It became clear that all the bourgeois Bünde share the wish for a united Volksgemeinschaft. Still, the groups' various opinions and interests are due to their differences not possible to overcome. This can be seen by for example the division of groups who stand in favour of the Weimar Republic and others that want to overcome the party system in its entirety (B19 18.05.1930, E.U. Mener, 224).

In the same issue Erwin Gehrts, born in 1890, also points out that it is the Führer that the Volk needs. The Führer should not only lead but also “compel to allegiance”. He iterates against the politicians that are functionaries and tacticians. It is also emphasised that the proletarian worldview is rejected, but that at the same time it is not fully committed to the capitalist one. He emphasises that this does not imply that they would be Nazis. The Nazis's “socialism” would not be able to last as they no longer stand in unity in important questions. Furthermore, he points out that the German nationalism of that time is different in its core, than the one before the First World War. The earlier form was tightly connected to the ideas of imperialism. The current form by contrast is rooted in the idea of the Volk as “Einheit und Schicksalsgemeinschaft” (unity and community that share the same destiny). Because of this the goal is the unification of Großdeutschland. The state is about to collapse in the upcoming years, and as they do not want to be a nation of slaves they have to unite against their enemies. Because of this the youth demands the support of the national ideas (B35 14.09.1930, Erwin Gehrts, 410). The author Erwin Gehrts identified as a conservative socialist, who later became part of the resistance group Rote Kapelle.<sup>38</sup>

In a different article Dr. Friedrich Kreppel writes about the youth having to give the “old eternal words” of Volk, nation, *Vaterland* (motherland), state, freedom, and honour new meaning. The main education that the youth movement must provide to its members is the one connected to the nation. He furthermore accentuates that politics can only be done by strong personalities (like Bismarck), thus the people who plead to the state must plead to politics as well. As long as politics serve the unity of the people then the existence of a wider political spectrum is acceptable (B19 13.05.1928, Dr. Friedrich Kreppel, 217). Similarly, Gunther Ipsen writes that before the time of

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<sup>38</sup> He was part of the Nazi military, which enabled him to provide information to the resistance. He was imprisoned by the Nazis in 1942 and sentenced to death in 1943 (Koordinierungsstelle Stolpersteine Berlin, n.d.).



Bismarck, the Volk was defined as the spirit of community. The Führer has the power to solve any problems between individuals and the community, and is a role model to others of how to live life in the sense of serving the community. He describes Volk as something that is happening in the moment and not just a lifeless term, which is why language plays an important role to him. Terms like “Heimat”, and “motherland“ are important to describe the Volk’s structure. Furthermore, he puts emphasis on the Volk being a *Volkskörper* (the community as an organismic entity). Nevertheless, the Volk is especially seen as the Volk of one culture under the nation state. It is therefore the equality of Volk and Reich. This is incorporated in the bourgeois ideology (B52 27.12.1930, Gunther Ipsen, 613). In a later year he points out, like before, that the thought of the Volk is central, but that Germany is not yet a *Staatsvolk*: “not yet is the state the state for all of us”, referring to the Germans living outside the border. He refers to Germans having lived in the East for centuries, but now being suppressed there (B1 03.01.1932, Gunther Ipsen, 3). Ludwig Holze’s article about the political stand of the bündisch youth was originally published in the newspaper of the Reich’s scouts’ Führer, and was republished in *Der Zwiespruch*. He insists that when meeting other Germans, one should not first think of them as a political friend or foe but as a *Volksgenosse* (comrade in the Volk) (B9 28.2.1932, Ludwig Holze, 102).<sup>39</sup>

Regarding the NSDAP in particular, one article of *Der Zwiespruch* mentions that the Hitler Youth is accusing the bündische youth that despite both being concerned about the unification of the Volk they would not want to help the Hitler Youth build it. The Bünde would have a small number of members because they would educate them to become Führer, but most people would want to be followers. The Bünde are working in silence, instead of taking part in the real fight. Gerhard Seydel responds to those accusations saying that the task of the Bünde is to educate theoretically and that the task of the individual itself to act upon that. Because of this, he states that it is an acceptable strategy that the Hitler Youth wants to focus on the older members of the Bünde, as they do want to be part of the active fight. Furthermore, this would lead again to the clear distinction of the tasks of the Bünde and the Hitler Youth (B23 15.08.1932, Gerhard Seydel, 270). In another article Adolf Hitler is criticised harshly for prioritising the friendship to Italy over the not yet to overcome issues in South Tyrol. He claims

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<sup>39</sup> One Ludwig Holze was working in the concentration camp Auschwitz (Fritz Bauer Institut, n.d.). It is not clear if this information refers to this person.

that the German people living there are having their language taken from them and describes that their “German soul” is being ripped out of them. The friendship that Hitler aspires is according to the author not possible to achieve. He concludes that with this “his claims on national freedom and his national goals lost credibility” (B46 30.11.1930, Fritz Dörrenhaus, 543). The same issue includes the article by Friedrich Joachim already mentioned in the chapter about antisemitism. It is mentioned here, as his primary claim, that the German minority is being suppressed in Poland (B46 30.11.1930, Friedrich Joachim, 544).

In the last issue before the change of the editorial board, Werner Pohl writes that they cherished the legacy of the ones who founded *Der Zwiespruch*, especially as they were not drawn to a particular side of the political spectrum: “We must not follow any of these political directions.” *Der Zwiespruch*, to him, did radical Realpolitik under the idea of the unity of the German Volk. (B11 15.03.1931, Werner Pohl, 121). In the same matter another author refers to the nation as the union of Volk and state, and that the nation will overcome the industrial society (B40 04.10., Gunther Ipsen, 469). According to Eugen Diesel the German Volk is missing a *Gesamtgeist* (united spirit). The words nation, Volk, race have many different definitions that it is hard to tell what nationalism would actually mean. As soon as there exists a united spirit, the fight like the one going on in the political sphere, would no longer be necessary (B26 01.10.1932, Eugen Diesel, 301). The will to change the destiny of the Volk is also looked at by Hermann Proebst who writes about the Ustasa in Croatia and presents that the fight of the Ustasa demonstrates what the determined will of a Volk can still achieve (B1 XX.01.1933, Hermann Proebst, 6).<sup>40</sup>

## Analysis

It became strongly evident that the code of Volksgemeinschaft was considerably more prominent than the codes of antisemitism and racism. The most important subcode is “unity”, that actually includes the other basic codes of Führer, Reich and Raum as second degree subcode as can be seen in Figure 4, and as will be further explored. A significant aspect here is the positive reinterpretation of the defeat in the First World War. It is emphasised how large the German Volk is with the recognition of the forty

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<sup>40</sup> “[T]he Ustasha movement [...] was created sometime in late 1929 or early 1930 from among radical student clubs and militant youth activists within the nationalist Croatian Party of Right” (Yeomans 2015, 300).

million cultural Germans living outside Germany's borders, which must have their cultural autonomy secured. Therefore "World War One" is a subcode of the code of "unity" as well. Here, interestingly, they are labelled as a colony by Dr. Buske which stands in contrast to the understanding of colonialism in the code system of racism. Ahrens, as was mentioned in the context chapter before, points out that ever since the end of the First World War, the youth united under the notion of the Volk that collectively experienced the defeat in the war. The First World War has already been a subcode for the code of racism. The codes racism and Volksgemeinschaft therefore share a focus on the war as a key experience that fundamentally shaped the authors', and thus also the readers', worldview. In line with this, Volksgemeinschaft is understood independent of the state borders but dependent on German culture, like for example language and customs. This is made clear through the term *Kulturgemeinschaft*, community in culture. "Culture" is thus a crucial subcode that serves as the dividing category between the Germans and other Völker. The closest interpretation of this would be that the code Volksgemeinschaft does not include the basic code of racism. However, in the previous chapter it was revealed that race has been equaled with culture. Hence, Volksgemeinschaft does indeed refer to a racist worldview, that is disguised by the term culture.<sup>41</sup> Unity is found through culture and not ideology, as Holze mentions that one should primarily understand other Germans as *Volksgenossen*, and not judge them due to their ideology, hence political belief.

Coming back to the topic of the divide between living inside and outside German borders; this idea is highly related to the First World War as well. However, borderland work for example has already been part of the bündisch youth before 1914. The belonging to the Volk brings duties that the reader is emphasised to act upon, which is also evident through the bündische trips abroad to connect with the *Bruderstamm*. By referring to ancient bonds based on historical-ethnic affiliation and cultural similarity, this emphasises the connectedness to the Germans abroad. This can be interpreted as the "occupation" of the self-proclaimed rightful German space (Ahrens 2015, 132, 141). This demonstrates that also the basic code of Raum is included here, as the goal of fighting for the Volksgemeinschaft meant that every German can experience Heimat, and cultural freedom. Hence, Raum constitutes a subcode of "unity" as well.

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<sup>41</sup> This connection has been thoroughly looked at by Theodor Adorno in referring to racism after the Second World War. He wrote: "The noble word culture replaces the frowned-upon term race, but remains a mere cover for the brutal claim to power" (Adorno 1997, 276).

Another interesting point that came up is, that Volksgemeinschaft is no longer understood as rooted in imperialism but in the mythical destiny that unifies the Germans. This refers back to Raum, as the territory is understood to legitimately belonging to Germany. Because of this claim, despite it being mentioned by just a single author, I would claim that “mystification” is an important subcode of “unity” as well, as it links the positive reinterpretation of the First World War and the idealisation of the German Reich before it. This relates to what Evans wrote about the Nazi’s myth of Großdeutschland. In line with that goes the claim that Volk equals Reich, thus the idea of the Großdeutschland is adopted here as well. Reich has therefore a close codic relationship to “mystification” and also “World War One”, thus becomes a subcode of “unity”.

As already indicated there furthermore existed a focus on the Führer, who is seen as crucial for the unification of the Volk, as there is a considerable emphasis on the individual having to serve the German state and Volk. Moreover, politics are supposed to ultimately serve the Volksgemeinschaft. This leads to the conclusion that everyone and everything had to subordinate to the Volksgemeinschaft. Führer therefore also becomes a subcode of “unity”.

Next to “unity” and “culture”, “power/strength” should also be considered as a present subcode of Volksgemeinschaft. Associated with power and strength are the ideas of Volkskörper and Volkskraft, as illustrated by Ipsen and Beer. “Volkskörper” and “Volkskraft” are considered second degree subcodes on their own, as they are themselves connected to ideas, including duty, and purity. These ideas are also interconnected with the condemnation of capitalism, as this is understood to be the cause of social misery. This social misery ultimately has a negative impact on the strength of the Volksgemeinschaft. This, as has been mentioned in the chapter before, demonstrates that disunity is not only considered an issue regarding the situation of the Germans outside Germany’s borders, but also inside.<sup>42</sup> The ideal type of a German is often considered to be a rural worker or farmer. However, due to capitalism and the consequences of the First World War, thus the Treaty of Versailles, the farmer has to move to the city and decays there because of capitalism and industrialisation. Nevertheless, interestingly, most readers of *Der Zwiespruch* were not rural workers. As can be seen in one of the diagrams published in the newspaper, most of the members

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<sup>42</sup> Referring to the interconnectedness of anti-proletarian ideas and racism.

were workers, but not from an agricultural background.<sup>43</sup> Therefore the rural-urban dichotomy simply demonstrates an anti-capitalist, and romantic notion of the time of the empire before industrialisation. That is the time that is being wished for again, which has also become evident in the Wandervogel's and Deutsche Freischar's main ideas. Especially with the example of the Ustasa, and the positive attitude towards the Hitler Youth addressing the older members of the Bünde, it becomes evident that the readers are motivated to set themselves into action in order to achieve the Volksgemeinschaft. The spirit of it, as G. Nobel points out, is undestroyable. An inconsistency that was noticeable is that the NSDAP is being supported by some authors, but not by others. Because of this the NSDAP or the Nazis in general cannot be seen as an integral part of the code system of the Volksgemeinschaft in *Der Zwiespruch*.

In conclusion the Volksgemeinschaft included the basic codes of racism, Reich, Raum, and Führer in its code system, despite them being merely subcodes of second degree. Furthermore, this analysis was able to present that all subcodes were interconnected, as were all seen as crucial necessities to ultimately achieve the Volksgemeinschaft. Moreover, the highly present subcode of "unity" implicated ethnic and cultural homogeneity. Looking at the dates of publication, especially in the early years, the Volksgemeinschaft was the leading goal to achieve. Thus, the preferred reading of Volksgemeinschaft is not only understood as a natural organism that has to stay healthy and strong, combined with the aforementioned claims in the chapter about antisemitism and racism, favourably a state without other races that weaken the culture and the blood. When people talked about the Volksgemeinschaft, this passed on the message of the unity of the Germans in the Reich. Hyatt and Simons emphasise that it is necessary to be part of the in-group to decode a message accordingly. This can clearly be seen here, as without understanding the code of racism, and its interconnectedness to culture, Volksgemeinschaft would be understood wrongly as not connected to racism. Likewise, Corner points out that the subcodes change the meaning of their dominant

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<sup>43</sup> Issue 16 includes a graphic of the members of the bündische youth. 1928 it had around 21 000 members. 2858 under 14, 10 329 between 14-17, 5425 between 18-25 and 765 over 25. 57,5% of the boys and 19% of the girls belonged to the working class. 18,5% boys and 17% girls to sales occupation and 3,5% boys and 7% girls to agriculture, 14,5% boys and 8,5% girls are pupils/students, 3% boys and 1,5% girls in official/public service (Beamte). 3% of the boys are without Angabe, 3,5% of girls are in social jobs, 20% are houseworkers (Hausangestellte) and 23,5% are without profession and without further information (B16 17.04.1929, Georg Brust, 170).

code. Thus, if a racist worldview would not have been dominant, then Volksgemeinschaft would still refer to culture, but would not exclude other races.

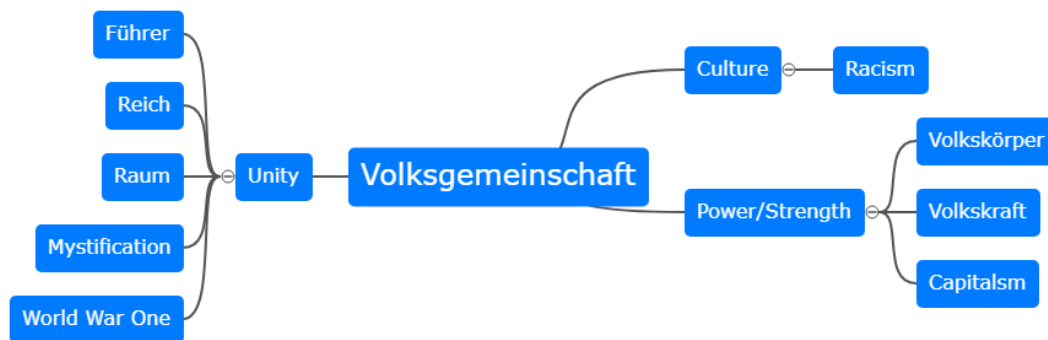


Figure 4, Volksgemeinschaft: code system

## Reich

This chapter follows the same guidelines as the chapters before.

## Description

In the first issue of the year 1928 Dr. Heinz Dähnhardt published an article. He was born in 1897, later joined the NSDAP and became part of the SA (Sturmabteilung) in 1933 (Niemeyer 2013, 30). He emphasises that the rebuilding of the state is supposed to come from the youth itself, thus old systems should not be forced on it. Furthermore, he points out that the youth movement must not fall into the hands of the state, which is why he demands a united front within the youth movement (B1 08.01.1928, Dr. Heinz Dähnhardt, 1). Another article is published by him in which he writes about the the young generation rejecting parliamentarism and its longing to receive the chance to properly participate in politics, which is made impossible by the parties. Because of this he demands that the youth has to be involved, as the matter of the state is a matter of life, as it is not possible to call it a life when one is not allowed to fight and serve the Volk and the state (B17 29.04.1928, Dr. Heinz Dähnhardt, 193). In the beginning of June 1928 an article about the result of the Reichstag election of that year was published, emphasising the result's disappointment for the younger generation. The will to actively change the current situation is already in the mindset of the German youth, but in order to actively change the structures, it is understood as necessary that either the parliamentarism is overthrown or the youth having to join the political parties and revolutionise them from within. As both are seen as extreme paths by the author, a

middle way would be the preferred one, which means to let go of affiliations to political parties and unite to a front within the Bünde. This puts pressure on the political parties as they eventually need the youth (B22 03.06.1928, Hans Zehrer, 253). The author Hans Zehrer, born in 1899, and his Jewish wife were voting for the NSDAP in the early 1930s to bring down the Weimar Republic (Demant 1971, 97). Still in 1932 he supposedly tried to prevent the NSDAP from coming to power (Ibid, 98-99).<sup>44</sup>

In a different article that was published one month later, Werner Kindt presents a recapitulation of the Reichstag election of 1928. *Der Zwiespruch* and other newspapers asked their readers to inform them for which party they voted. *Der Zwiespruch* printed the results of four Bünde, which illustrates that many members were voting for the National Socialists and others for the Social Democrats. As *Der Zwiespruch* is not part of one particular Bund, various Bünde were presented. (B27 8.7.1928, Werner Kindt 313). Related to the wish to rebuild the German state, as mentioned by Zehrer before, in an article about the ten-year anniversary of *Der Zwiespruch*, Werner Kindt writes that the youth can only build a better future for the German Reich, as long as it stays true to itself. The state, parliament, church and other organisations would want to lure the youth but, in the end, there will only be economic pressure and distress (B1 08.01.1928, Werner Kindt, 2). Moreover, important to mention here, is the article by Winfried Wendland, that has been included before in the analysis of antisemitism. He discusses the Kulturkampfbünde and their fight against Jewish literature, as “people of the Third Reich will not have their rooms full of sentimental art prints, but with works by masters of their time who seek with them to reshape culture” (B20 15.05.1929, Winfried Wendland, 219). Werner Pohl commends in another article that the radical and more moderate Bünde begin to come together in the united wish to reform the state and overcome parliamentarism. He concludes that the failing of the old parties leads to a strong front in the youth. (B11 13.03.1929, Werner Pohl, 121).

*Der Zwiespruch* included an article that was originally published in *Der Ring* (the ring), which was a conservative political newspaper. The article addresses the situation of the people who do not belong to a specific political party and their position in the upcoming election. The leftists would say that these people have no courage and would belong to the right. The rightest say that they themselves are against the party system,

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<sup>44</sup> He also took part in the Kapp Putsch directed against the Weimar Republic in 1920 (Demant 1971, 98-99).

like many people that do not affiliate with one party. Still, they argue that they have to take part in that reality where the party system exists. It is emphasised that the Germans, also the democrats, have a silent longing for a Meister (teacher/master). Further, all the politicians are accused of being tacticians that nobody can rely upon. Only the ones without party membership would want the real state. They want “the German nation, the German state, the German Volk, the German Raum, the German future.” It is written that there is a united front forming that will save Germany in the end. The author is calling this front the young Triarier (B16 22.04.1928, 182). Moreover, the problem of the high number of unemployed is discussed and what effect on the youth it has. The reparation payments are described as overwhelming and that the youth under 21 is excepted from the crisis support, which worsens their situation. It is estimated that there are 400 000 unemployed adolescents and that “especially among the young workers an extraordinarily radical *Kampf Stimmung* (defiant mood) arises.” This is, because times of crisis, like being experienced at that moment, provide a fertile ground for the creation of overthrowers. This situation leads to the youth “hating this state and this social order or rather disorder. One way or another the youth will be lost to the German Volk” (B20 25.05.1930, Justus Ehrhardt, 229). On the day of the election of the Reichstag in 1930 *Der Zwiespruch* included an article in which it discussed how the young generation was voting. The parliamentarism is described as dying and that the politicians are no extraordinary personalities but functionaries. Because policies are decided behind closed doors,

it is a secret-open dictatorship of foreign political powers. The original German and therefore undemocratic idea is motivating the young generation: The possibility to win back the free political decision for the individual, the voter and the voted. The reality of the Führer and the Volk lived in the Bünde and youth movement is being taking in the political life of today (B35 14.09.1930, Herman Lutze, 409).

Another article is published that was written by Dr. Reupke, who was born in 1892, and joined the NSDAP in 1930 and the SA in 1931 (Dvorak 2014, 188-89).<sup>45</sup> According to him the Weimar Republic democracy does not function due to the party and fraction system. He closes with the statement: “We stand before the decision between democracy and dictatorship” (Ibid). He writes in a later issue about the economy in fascist Italy. Before the article is introduced the editorial board comments that it has

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<sup>45</sup> In the Second World War Reupke was part of the military admission in France and was killed by partisans in 1942 (Dvorak 2014, 188-89).



repetitively mentioned that it does not see the Italian fascist concept fitting to Germany, but that it is still possible to look at their economic policies in a positive manner. The fascist idea described by the author is that it is simultaneously anti-materialistic and employer-friendly, which the author sees as great potential (B44 16.11.1930, Dr. Reupke, 519). The editorial board mentions in an early issue of the year 1931 that the radicalism on the right and left is increasing. Moreover, the Führer of the bourgeois parties seem to be under a certain kind of spell regarding the fascination towards the NSDAP. The only way to avoid the absolute rule of the NSDAP would be through new political slogans and new men in charge, which is what the young generation has been demanding for a long time. The absolute and sole reign of the NSDAP would mean prolonging the suffering of the Volk (B2 11.01.1931, 20).

Hermann Raschhofer discusses that due to the economic crisis and the reparation payments there is no time to think back to the political problems of the Volk that is concerning the united volksdeutsche politics. Still, the NSDAP was able to unite the volks-, state- and financial political issues, which he identifies as the reason why they have many supporters. Nevertheless, he also points out that the NSDAP is coming to a stage where they begin to solely focus on a state political level. Without drawing a connection to the NSDAP, he writes that the German Volk will be built as a Third Reich in a Großdeutschland (B13 29.03.1931, Hermann Raschhofer, 145). Another article meanwhile presented a summary about Dr. Kleo Pleyer's speech about the bündisch idea of the Reich. Germany used to be the Führer-Reich of Europe, as it was the first holy state. Ever since the alliance between Germany and Austria in 1879 it was attempted to make the German Reich a Reich for every German. The Third Reich therefore has to be established on the ideas of the First and the Second Reich. It is necessary that there will be a full renewal as the capitalist and individualist notions became extreme. The new order is not supposed to come about through bolshevism or fascism. Ultimately the community spirit will build the new economy, society and *Reichskörper* (B6 07.02.1932, 68).

The next article presented, holds the title "The Reich as the German duty". In this article the author claims that through National Socialism the idea of the national state in which homogeneity rules can be established. He writes about the history of the Reich and that the upcoming election means a decision between historical responsibility or the waste of the völkisch self (B31 15.12.1932, Albert Mirgeler, 361). In one of the last

issues published by *Der Zwiespruch*, Georg Wächter writes that the national revolution has come over Germany, with the goal to change the nation in its core. With Hitler and the new government, change and renewal processes are finally happening in the country (B6 XX.03.1933, Georg Wächter, 62).

## Analysis

In the matter of the Reich, strong feelings became visible in the authors' articles. The Reich in itself is portrayed with positive connotations solely. The governmental state of Germany, thus the Weimar Republic, by contrast is understood in exclusively negative terms. Because of this, "governmental state" is also a crucial subcode of Reich, as it presents the opposite of it. This means that when it was spoken or written negatively about the Weimar Republic, as was the case in *Der Zwiespruch*, then the reader decoded this as a wish for the Reich to be established. The Reich does not apply to the Weimar Republic in any way, as parliamentarism is understood as intolerable (a dictatorship even), and politicians as tacticians and functionaries. It is considered as so contrary to the idea of the Reich, that Ehrhardt emphasises that if the situation stays the same, the youth will be lost.

However, Reich itself refers on the one hand to the past and on the other hand to the future. It is mentioned that the German Reich has been the Führer-Reich in Europe and that the glory of that has to be brought back. Because of this idea, the authors aspire for a united Germany in the near future as has been the idea since 1879. The utopian vision of the Volk being united is manifested in its name as the Third Reich, which is rooted in the idealised understanding of the past two Reichs. Thus, Reich includes the present subcode of "unity", which is understood as Volksgemeinschaft, in the way it has been explained here, as illustrated in Figure 5. This subcode incorporates second degree subcodes of "future goal" and "past longing", referring to the just mentioned ideas. "Future goal" refers thus to the code "Third Reich". The Third Reich is a code that could be interpreted differently, according to different aspects of life. Wendland's article for example emphasises the visions for the Third Reich referring to its cultural aspects.

By referring to the previous Reich, two more subcodes become present: "Raum" and "World War One". In the matter of Raum is is referred to a Großdeutschland, which is connected to the land that has been lost due to the defeat in the war. Hence, they want to reclaim their space. As seen before, the war is a key experience that underlies the

presented worldview. Another crucial subcode is “action”, which is connected to the idea of actively participating in the rebuilding. Because of this, the authors refer to a united front they want to establish, in order to overthrow the state, as it is referred to the radical *Kampfstimmung*. Furthermore, the young generation of the Germans are being called Triarier, referring to the Roman elite army, which presents that the youth is not only ready to fight but sees itself as the elite who will bring about change. This commitment becomes also strongly apparent, when Dr. Dähnhardt writes that “as it is not possible to call it a life when you’re not allowed to fight and serve the Volk and the state”, which refers additionally to the duty to one’s Volk as mentioned in previous chapters. The unification demanded from the Bünde, in order to rebuild the state is also referring to the unification that the Reich is supposed to bring, which again stresses the aforementioned ideas of the Volksgemeinschaft. In this regard it is also spoken of the *Reichskörper* and not of the *Volkskörper*, thus constituting an own subcode that refers to ideas including duty, responsibility and purity. The Reich is supposed to be a Heimat for everyone, which is only directed to the German parts of the Volksgemeinschaft.

Of importance as well is the Führer, who is seen as an integral part of the idea of the Reich. Hence, “Führer” demonstrates an important subcode as well, as without a Führer the Reich could not be established.

As the years advanced the NSDAP received higher support. In 1933 the NSDAP was eventually seen as the power that would finally bring the change that did not come before. In the early years the authors emphasised to not support the NSDAP or a political party in general. Thus, the NSDAP is not an integral part of the code system here.

In conclusion the Reich refers mostly to the unity of the Volk, thus the Volksgemeinschaft, as well as the reclamation of the Raum, that was lost in the war. The article that was originally published in *Der Ring* especially demonstrates that the Reich includes the Volk and the Raum. It also reveals the connection to the code of the Führer and the importance of it for the Reich to thrive. The Reich in itself is something that is not part of the situation the authors found themselves in at the time they were writing about it, but a utopian vision. In the early years that have been looked at, the ideas predominantly circled around the Volksgemeinschaft, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, which must be united in the Reich. In the later years, the idea of the Reich stands in the forefront, that has to be acted upon and become the main goal.

As Reich circles more around active participation in the rebuilding processes, Reich can be understood as a more politicised code than Volksgemeinschaft. Thus, the preferred reading of the code Reich included the call to overcome the current governmental state, with the help of the Führer, to establish the Volksgemeinschaft that one has to subordinate to. This would ultimately lead to the Third Reich, which constitutes the Großdeutschland.

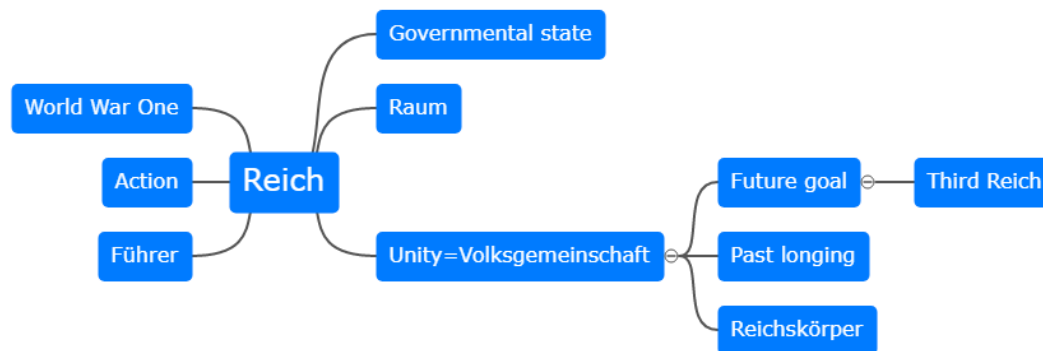


Figure 5, Reich: code system

## Raum

This chapter follows the same guidelines as the chapters before.

## Description

As has been important for the analysis of Volksgemeinschaft, the article of Dr. Ernst Buske in the beginning of 1928 is also important to mention in regards to the analysis of Raum. According to him it is crucial to visit the Germans from the *Bruderstamm* in the borderlands. He refers to the connection of the colony and homeland, as German life in the border region is being suppressed. (B9 04.03.1928, Dr. Ernst Buske, 97). In relation to that, four years later, a statement of a member of the Hungarian Youth, discussing the German youth movement, was published. The Hungarian author addresses the rivalries between the German and Hungarian youth groups. He writes about the Germans coming to their alleged fellow *Rassebrüder* (racial brothers) and turn them against their Hungarian motherland. The war taught the Hungarians what German loyalty actually means, as they suffered great losses due to their alliance. Those coming to Hungary to instil the idea of the German Großdeutschland in their fellow citizens' minds are not welcomed by the locals. Following this, the editorial board

responds in writing that Hungary is trying to buy itself out of the Versailles Treaty, and that their hostility against the Germans living in Hungary is established knowledge in the Bünde. It is a crude suspicion of the Hungarians against the youth movement which is why the Bünde should rethink their friendship with Hungarian Bünde (B17 29.05.1932 198). Another important topic concerning Raum, is mentioned by R. Haage by referring to colonisation. The author does not approve of the exploitation caused by it, still he sees it as necessary for Germany to have Siedlungsraum (space for settlement) in temperate climate. The *Raumnot* (distress due to the lack of space) is seen as the reason for Germany's misery (B32 12.08.1928, R. Haage, 374).

As has been mentioned in the chapter about racism, Franz Voggenreiter demands for more land for the settlers, so that the workers and farmers do not have to move to the city and deplete the quality of the Volk (B33 16.08.1931, Franz Voggenreiter, 385). Similarly, another article discusses the settlement policies and that the best Volkskräfte (the strongest ones of the Volk) move from the countryside to the city, which leads to their deracination. The author describes that the cities are overpopulated while the land in the East is waiting for settlers. In Silesian specifically, the suppression of Germanness had already succeeded to a certain extent. He describes that German land has been flooded with Polish workers, leading to proletarianization and decay. He concludes that the settlement would also benefit the economy, next to counteracting the invasion (B10 06.03.1929, Eberhard Wellmann, 112). Related to that and in the same issue Wilhelm Könneker writes that due to the population surplus there is need for more space and working opportunities. Unemployed people should not have to degrade themselves in moving to the city and become part of the industrial proletariat. As the tropical climate and the infrastructure are not ideal in colonised countries, he argues in favour of international mobility (B32 07.08.1929, Wilhelm Könneker, 354). Concretely asking the question about where to find Raum to live is one article, that was originally published by the German student union. It is mentioned that the Lebensraum of the German people grows smaller which bears many problems especially for the young generation. The high reparation payments led to a higher production which in turn led to the replacement of workers by machines. This then led to an overflow of the universities and also the "intellectual" professions. The demand is therefore: "German youth in its distress is like a living entity, it suffers like a body, it can be healed only by one means: Provide it Lebensraum!" The student union asks the Führer of different

sectors and also people who have been participating in the war for their advice, as they demonstrated great duty to the whole society. They raise the question if the solution is to be found outside of German borders (B29 03.08.1930, 341).

A year later issue B22 from 31.05.1931 includes a map of Europe. It illustrates which land was lost after the war and where there is space for settlement. The text next to it states that West Germany is overpopulated and that Eastern Europe holds space for German people. The East would be interested in the settlement of Germans as well, as it would serve their economy and improve their infrastructure (B22 31.05.1931, 254).<sup>46</sup> Still, several months later the building of new train rails by the Polish state is dealt with in an article with the title “The Polish polyp”, in which the author writes that these train rails have the function to strengthen the offensive spirit of the Polish living in the West of Poland. In doing so, they interfere in the Lebensbereich (areas of live/living) of other Völker (B39 27.09.1931, 458). Regarding the aforementioned Lebensraum, the article of Ludwig Holze, that has been mentioned in the analysis of the Volksgemeinschaft code, mentions that the purpose of the Bünde is to educate about and present their members all the possibilities of the Lebensraum (B9 28.2.1932, Ludwig Holze, 102). Issue B12 from 20.03.1932 includes once more a map in which Germany, parts of Austria, and Poland are presented. It also includes the density of population in each region, with Western Germany being rather densely populated compared to the East (B12 20.03.1932, 134).<sup>47</sup> The next article discusses the settlement question more concretely. One of the settlers, that has been interviewed states that land in the East is going to be cheap which facilitates the settlement movement. He also speaks of the difference between settlement and colonisation:

Settlement means settling down permanently without a concrete plan. Colonisation means: It is to be understood as the expression of a Volk's will to live, which is bound to very specific forms and serves a specific goal. It therefore presupposes a Volk with a strong spirit of community and conquerors. Settlement, understood as colonisation, is connected with a spiritual and moral task. Only in this way can settlement once again become a task for a Volk with spiritual matter (B13 27.03.1932, Robber Robbers, 148).

In order to establish a proper settlement movement, it is seen as necessary to overcome the bureaucratic processes of the current government (Ibid). A month later an article was published, in which the title included the question of “settlement in the East or

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<sup>46</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 3.

settlement of industry?“. The author claims that the industrial workers in West Germany should not move to the East to settle there, as the industrial class does not have the strength and powers to live the agricultural life in the East, which is why the priority of giving the land in the East should go to the farmers of East Germany (B14 03.04.1932, 158).

The first article of the first issue in 1933 holds the title “advancing into no-man’s land”. The author claims that the limited Lebensraum is a burden to the Volk, thus overcoming this has to become the goal. There are already strong fronts existing, which means that there is no need in establishing new ones but to partake in the pre-existing ones. The fronts that have become frozen in the *Stellungskrieg* (trench warfare) must be mobilised again. This strategy will “lead through enemy fronts and no-man’s land” (B1 XX.01.1933, 1). Looking at the corridor area it is mentioned by another author that Germany was divided through losing this area. Poland is accused of intending to completely integrate East Prussia through economic measures or military conquest (B2 15.02.1933, Karl van Endert, 14).

## Analysis

The code of Raum is divided into multiple subcodes, one of them is referring to the lost territory. This refers back to the notion of Großdeutschland, that has been mentioned before, in which cultural homogeneity is supposed to be secured in the Third Reich. Thus “World War One” again becomes a subcode, as due to its consequences land was lost, that is supposed to be reclaimed. Second degree subcodes would thus be “Großdeutschland” and “Reich”. Another important aspect is the misery of the German people which is especially focussed on the life in the cities. It is understood as miserable due to the industrial labour which is rooted in the economic crisis, overpopulation, capitalism and the reparation payments. Further, it gets vocalised through strong anti-proletarian notions. These aspects can be summarised in the subcode of “economic struggles”. The misery caused by the economic crisis and the resentment against working as part of the proletariat in the city justifies settling in the East, as this is seen as the rightful land, that was lost and must be reclaimed. Hence, “economic struggles” and “World War One” provide a strong codic relationship. It is important to note that the “economic struggles” as well as the frustration about the lost territory are especially directed against the Polish. As this notion constitutes a crucial aspect to both the

sentiments about the corridor region, “anti-Polish sentiment” is supposed to be understood as a subcode to “World War One”.

Again, the farmers are seen as the ideal German that will move to no-man’s-land to live a better life than in the cities. East here serves here as a synonym for Poland. It is important to mention as well the distinction made between the concepts of “settlement” and „colonisation”. It indicates power hierarchies, as settlement refers to not only the search for living space but the claiming of the territory for the Volk as a duty. As colonialism is mentioned by multiple authors, referring not only to the East, but generally, both “settlement” and “colonialism” have to be included as codes as well. However, they both fall under the category of “*Raumnot*”. Colonialism, after what has been described in the chapter of racism, therefore needs to be understood as a racist worldview. Transferring this to “settlement”, a strong anti-Polish sentiment becomes visible. Therefore, “anti-Polish sentiment” is not only an important subcode of “World War One”, but also of “settlement”, thus referring to the past and simultaneously to the future. Still, “East” has therefore be included as a subcode of “settlement” as well, as in that time it was stronger connected to the concept of active settlement than to the remembrance of the war.

In addition, Lebensraum is mentioned, which does not only refer to space to live, but also to work opportunities that make it possible for the individual to live its life. Hence, “Lebensraum” becomes a subcode that expresses more than just space. Moreover, it is mentioned that Bünde hoped to present their members all the possibilities of the Lebensraum. This presents the importance of the borderland work for them and once again that they claim territory outside German borders as rightfully theirs.

In summary, the understanding of Raum was first and foremost based on the social misery in the state and the lost territories outside the state. The settlement movement gained support due to the alleged suppression of the Germans in foreign territory. Therefore, the readers understood, when the authors referred to Raum, that the defeat in the First World War led to the loss of space, that has to be actively reclaimed, and also to economic struggles that can be overcome by settling in the East, thus Poland



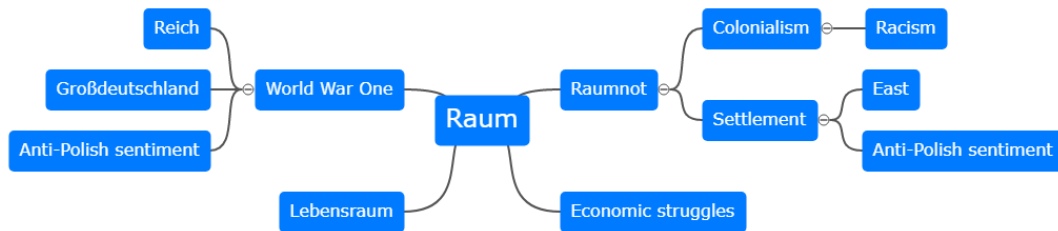


Figure 6, *Raum*: code system

## *Führer*

This chapter follows the same guidelines as the chapters before.

## **Description**

Here, many of the previously mentioned articles have to be included again. For example, the article that was originally published in *Der Ring*, and was looked at in the chapter concerned with Reich. The author writes that the ones not belonging to a political party want the real German state, and, important for this section especially is, that he claims that the Germans, including democrats, have a silent longing for a Meister (teacher/master) (B16 22.04.1928, 182). As already presented in the chapter about Volksgemeinschaft was the article by Dr. Friedrich Kreppel, who writes the youth having to give the “old eternal words” of Volk, Nation, Vaterland (motherland), state, freedom, honour new meaning. He furthermore emphasises that politics can only be handled by strong personalities, like Bismarck (B19 13.05.1928, Dr. Friedrich Kreppel, 217). Another personality that is referred to in a different article is Hindenburg, in that there have been verbal attacks against him by his own people, the National Socialists, and also members of the youth movement in March 1930. Because of this, the author finds it necessary to point out they will remain loyal to him. Hindenburg is referred to as a Führer and the negative behaviour, especially from members of the Bünde is regarded as outrageous (B13 30.03.1930, 145). In one of the first issues of 1928 Dr. von Schweders demanded the German Volk to vote for one Führer on an undistinctive period instead for political parties. He describes the state as tied up by the enemy powers’ economy and capital, and furthermore criticises fascism, which to him is the European widespread belief of the sole almighty state party (B2 15.01.1928, Dr. von Schweders, 17).

In a different article Hans Joachim Schoeps, a German Jew, criticises the fact that the Bünde would not distinguish themselves from any other kind of groups or associations. He was a German Jew born in 1909, and was the Führer of the Bund *Deutscher Vortrupp* (German vanguard) (Shoah Resource Center/Yad Vashem, n.d.).<sup>48</sup> To him, the Bünde's existence is only justified due to the clearly exemplary life of the Führer of the Bünde (B34 26.08.1928, Hans Joachim Schoeps, 397). He published another article two years later in which he criticises the political radicals' demands for change as disproportionally excessive (Referring to the NSDAP and the German Communist Party KPD). These demands emerge from personal issues and should therefore not be projected onto politics. This is seen especially through a *Führersehnsucht* (longing for a Führer), because some people were not lucky enough to have a Führer in their social environment before. To him this is the reason why so many young people join Hitler and the NSDAP. This and other family reasons are wrong motives for him. It would be wrong to make a political decision out of an apolitical need (B34 07.09.1930, Hans-Joachim Schoeps, 397). As also already included in the chapter about Volksgemeinschaft, Gunther Ipsen wrote in his article that the Führer retains the power to solve any problems between individuals and the community. The Führer is also an example of how to live life within the community, and that without a Führer, members of the Volk are unable to understand their place in the world (B52 27.12.1930, Gunther Ipsen, 613).

In August 1930 Werner Kindt published an article that provides an overview of the members of the bündische youth who will be candidates at the upcoming election of the Reichstag. The people who are presented are not just younger than the politicians "they are leading personalities who, by their entire attitude, guarantee that the spirit of the young generation can establish itself in parliament" (B30 06.07.1930, Werner Kindt, 289). In relation to the elections, another article that has been already mentioned has to be included here as well. Herman Lutze's article about the Reichstag election in 1930 has been looked at already in the chapter about Reich. He writes:

The original German and therefore undemocratic idea is motivating the young generation: The possibility to win back the free political decision for the individual, the voter and the voted. The reality of the Führer and the Volk lived in the Bünde and

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<sup>48</sup> The Deutscher Vortrupp was a Bund in which 150 Jewish students came together. They were all conservative, nationalistic, anti-zionist and demanded the full assimilation of the Jews into the German society (Shoah Resource Center/Yad Vashem, n.d.).

youth movement is being taken in the political life of today (B35 14.09.,1930 Herman Lutze, 409).

Furthermore, the Führer has to be brought back to the Volk and vice versa. The author claims that democracy goes hand in hand with demanding the Führer. This can be seen in the example of the Bünde (Ibid). As already mentioned in the article by Gerhard Seydel in which he responded to the accusation by the Hitler Youth that the bündische youth would only have a small number of members because they would educate them to become Führer, while most people would want to be followers. Gerhard Seydel responds to those accusations by saying that the task of the Bünde is to provide theoretical education to the individual and the task of the individual is to act upon that (B23 15.08.1932, Gerhard Seydel, 270).

In a different article the topic of military education is discussed. The author writes that military education should generally be rejected due to all the violence between different Völker. Still, Germany has to be offered the opportunity to defend itself if it is necessary due to potential collapse of the established contracts with the Entente. He points out that education of the bündisch youth comes close to the military education of the state, as they share the principle of the Führer. He summarises that military education fulfils the European duty of peace (B16 08.05.1932, Hans Teklav v. Wobeser, 181). Another article that has been looked at before in the chapter about Reich is the one where Kleo Pleyers speech is summarised in which he claims that Germany used to be the Führer-Reich of Europe, as it was the first holy state (B6 07.02.1932, 68). For the establishment of the Großdeutscher Bund in spring 1933 with the Führer Admiral von Trotha one section of his speech was published, in which he called on the one hand for a clear Führertum, and on the other hand argued in favour of the will to fight back in order to achieve the unification of the Germans. He accentuates the united goal of the great and united German Volk that is sent into the world (B7 01.04.1933, 74).<sup>49</sup> In the same issue an article is published that speaks in favour of the new Nazi government, that will establish a just order and will provide Heimat to everyone. With this there will not be any disruption of the Volk like there had been in 1918. The real Führer is able to bind the power and strength of his Volk to the state without force (B7 01.04.1933 82).

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<sup>49</sup> The Großdeutscher Bund was formed in 1933. It should not be confused with the Großdeutscher Jugendbund, which was formed after the death of Dr. Ernst Buske and was resolved again after five months.

## Analysis

Similarly to the code of Reich, Führer is a code that includes exclusively positive connotations. This is no surprise as the Führer principle is one of the integral parts of the Bünde. But it is not only seen on the bündisch level but it is claimed that all Germans are longing for a master and strong personalities as leaders, as they are not to be found in the untrustworthy parliament. Therefore “distinct personalities” is an important subcode of Führer, that refers here especially to Bismarck, and Hindenburg. Führer is a code that does not have a necessarily strong connection to fascism or the NSDAP. The Führer also does not have to be connected to a specific political party. This can be seen in that the youth movement, as has been mentioned in the context chapter, did not support the government in general but distinct individuals, as could be demonstrated by the defending of Hindenburg. The principles of the youth movement of concentrating on the individual becomes also apparent here. The Führer is supposed to demonstrate how life is to be lived properly, which reveals the emphasis on the individual carrying responsibility towards the whole society.

Crucial as well is the subcode “natural”, as it is not only understood that the Führer will reveal himself through a form of natural selection, but also as natural that the Volk is longing for a Führer. Moreover, democracy is seen as something that goes against the natural and original state of Germany. This corresponds to Wehler’s and Mommsen’s claims that the German’s had authoritarian tendencies and tradition of leadership that corresponded to Hitler’s Führer position. It also becomes apparent that the perception prevails that the politicians are controlled by other powers. For this reason, it can be assumed that there exists an even stronger desire for a German leader, as the hero of the nation, who can save the Germans from of their current social, economic, and political situation.

Ipsen especially points out that the Führer is crucial in order for the Volk to become united and for the Reich to flourish. Therefore “unity” understood as Volksgemeinschaft, as has been the case with the code of Reich, is another prominent subcode, that is highly connected to another subcode, the one of “Reich”.

The summary of Pleyer’s speech illustrates that a Führer is understood not only as an individual, but that the nation of Germany has also been a Führer. This means that they were the nation with leading ideas acting as a positive example to the other states. This emphasises their thinking of supremacy. In addition to the aforementioned

arguments then, “Germany” must also be understood as a subcode. The Bünde are being criticised for trying to make people Führer, which supposedly goes against the natural structure of society. It illustrates, as was mentioned in the context chapter, that they Bünde wanted to build a new elite.

As has been the case before, the NSDAP presents an aspect that only emerges in the last two years that have been looked at. Before, the Führer that the authors asked for did not refer to Hitler. Only after the NSDAP won the election and Hitler became chancellor, it did refer to him, as can be seen in the last article presented. In summary, it became evident that over the years under consideration there was at no time any doubt of this principle. The bündische youth incorporated it in their daily life and saw it as the main factor for making the rebuilding of the Weimar Republic possible. The readers decoded articles that mentioned the Führer, as the reference to the leader of the Volksgemeinschaft, whose life would be an example, and who will guide the Germans out of their misery. The analysis did not present a fascination with Hitler as a charismatic leader, but the support of the Führer principle in general.

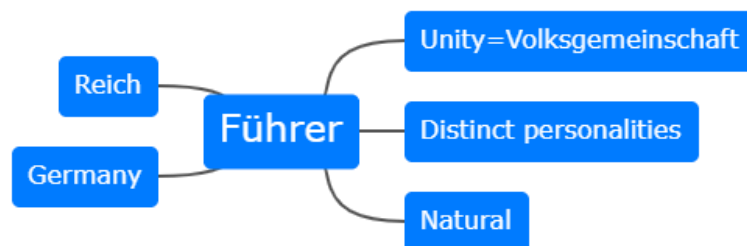


Figure 7, Führer: code system

### *Summary of findings and discussion*

Before looking at the connections between the basic codes, the authors should be looked at again, in order to understand the context of production better. It became apparent that only men published as authors of the chosen articles, which exposes the lack of female perspective on the understanding of the political and societal situation under scrutiny here. The question furthermore arises, why female voices were not included in this part of the newspaper. Especially after 26% of the members of the Bünde were female.<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered here.

<sup>50</sup> See footnote 19, or Rappe Weber 2021.

Furthermore, only a minority of the authors could be traced to later affiliations with the NSDAP. Still, this lack of information does not necessarily imply that the rest might not have been members of the NSDAP, or had no more prominent roles in the NS-regime. As became evident, many authors rejected the NSDAP, but at the same time prioritised the overcoming of the Weimar Republic, which is why it was claimed that many members of the bündisch youth ultimately did join the NSDAP. Moreover, the focus on and the desire for a Führer was satisfied with joining the NSDAP and accepting Hitler as Führer. Nevertheless, one of the authors, Erwin Gehrts, later joined the resistance against the NS-regime. Furthermore, many of the authors, especially in the time between 1928 and 1931, were even opposed to the NSDAP.<sup>51</sup>

It also became evident, from the information that was found about the authors, that they were often in their late twenties, and thus older than most of the members. This does not correspond with Schierer's claim that only young adults were in charge of the newspaper. However, this demonstrates that the influence of the older youth movement generation, the one of the Wandervogel, still had a strong impact on the late Weimar youth. This can also be seen due to the emphasis they put on the individual, which had been a core focus since the beginning of the Wandervogel. This was visible in their strong desire for a Führer. Moreover, the age of the authors indicates that it is highly likely that some of them fought in the First World War, which accentuates that they have a personal connection to the defeat and also idealise the situation before the war. At the same time, they especially felt abandoned by the government for having to shoulder the aftermath of the war. Another aspect that has been mentioned in the context chapter, is that the Deutsche Freischar, which was the closest Bund to *Der Zwiespruch*, unified for a short while with the Großdeutscher Jugendbund, which was close to the NSDAP. A significant shift of the content in that time was not identified, but it still showed the attempt to unify the Bünde.

Another aspect that has to be pointed out here, is that the First World War had a crucial impact on the young generation. Without the context of the war, none of the cultural codes would hold the same message. Also, the code systems were independent

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<sup>51</sup> Another author that was part of the resistance against the Nazis was Albrecht Haushofer. Albrecht Haushofer, born in 1903 was a Vierteljude (A quarter of a Jew, therefore a Mischling after the racial law of 1935). He was in contact with the conservative resistance groups, which ultimately led to his murder in 1945 by the SS (Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand, n.d.). His article was looked at, as it entailed key words, but was ultimately not added, as it did not connect to the cultural codes.

of the NSDAP. Even after their rise to power and the inconsistency of their support by the authors, the codes stayed stable. Which speaks in favour of their closeness to the NSDAP's worldview, as the authors of cultural code theory mentioned, that the meaning of codes can easily change depending on the context. The relation between the Nazi's discourse and the one of *Der Zwiespruch* will be discussed in detail in a bit.

Important to note is also the self-perception of the newspaper to be apolitical. This is especially interesting in regards to the debate about the Bünde's a-politicalness as mentioned in the research overview. This aspect was especially apparent in the article of Werner Pohl before the change of the editorial board, as they understood there to be a substantial difference between being politically active, in the sense of joining a political party, and educating politically. In fact, as one person accused them, they wanted to understand the subject of politics scientifically. It can be concluded from the findings that they indeed focussed on education, which they themselves did not understand as being politically active, as they perceived their education to be objective and indiscriminate (or scientific). As could be demonstrated in the analysis of the articles, this was not the case.

This leads to the main topic of this analysis: cultural codes. Certainly, each subcode of the code systems were highly interconnected with each other and every single one was needed, in order to decode the basic code accordingly. This is because, as Corner noted, the subcodes determine the main code. As became evident already in the beginning of the analysis, antisemitism and racism were underrepresented in *Der Zwiespruch* in the years under consideration. Antisemitism in particular was connected to racism, as being a Jew, or being a Semitic element was seen as being part of a different race that was ultimately perceived as not being German. Race included a form of duty, which is mainly projected on the Germans in connection to the Volksgemeinschaft, as will be thoroughly explored soon. The antisemitic notions did not fully include an explicit threat towards Jews, but an explicit call for action towards the Germans to drive the other cultures out and establish a state of homogeneity. This was thus an implicit threat against the Jews and other minorities. It was a different matter with the code racism, as it generally concerned colonialism and xenophobia against the Polish (which was mainly rooted in the loss of Raum), which was vocalised in a more explicit manner, than the antisemitic remarks before. Moreover, racism was connected to the struggle of the classes and the anti-proletarian ideas, in equating

Jewish culture with *Kulturbolschewismus*. Of course, antisemitism was still present, as could be seen with the mentioning of forced migration, classic anti-Judaic notions of the disloyalty of the Jewish people towards God, and the accusation of Judaization processes. Consequently, racism and antisemitism were mostly subcodes of the other basic codes.

Especially important was the code of the Volksgemeinschaft. The reason for that is that Volksgemeinschaft became the main code that actually included the code of antisemitism and racism. Whenever it was spoken of Volksgemeinschaft, it indicated German ethnic and cultural homogeneity, which automatically excluded other groups. When people used to refer to the Volksgemeinschaft in a simple statement like “We fight for the Volksgemeinschaft!”, this could actually be decoded to a racist and antisemitic statement. Furthermore, did Volksgemeinschaft not only refer to racism and antisemitism, but also to the code Reich and Führer. The idea of Volksgemeinschaft went beyond the German border and was tightly connected to German culture, thus the code of Raum. The defeat in the war was consequently an important subcode for Volksgemeinschaft. In order to establish the Volksgemeinschaft, the emergence of the true Führer was seen as necessary, as he can lead the Volk to unity in the German Reich.

When Reich was spoken of, it simultaneously referred to 1) the past, 2) to the future, as well as 3) the demand to actively rebuild the current system with 4) the help of a Führer. This means that it was 1) referred to the First and Second Reich, on which the idea of the Third Reich was based. That was mainly connected to the lost territory, thus the code of Raum, and not to the previous ideas of Volksgemeinschaft. The ideas of Volksgemeinschaft and unity were part of the second emphasis. Hence, 2) the idea of the Third Reich was based on the concept of the unity of the German Volk, that was only realised as a main goal after the loss of the war, thus the code of Volksgemeinschaft was present. Finally, 3) Reich at no time referred to the Weimar Republic, as it was rejected fully, and was only tolerated due to the focus on Führer personalities, like Hindenburg, 4) thus the code Führer was crucial to the idea of Reich.

The relationship between the codes Volksgemeinschaft and Reich is special, as the hierarchy between them changed over the years. In the beginning of 1928, the Volksgemeinschaft was the primary goal to be achieved. Already at that time the code also included ideas of the Reich, antisemitism, racism, Raum, and Führer. Over the years, in which the members of the Bünde increasingly joined radical parties, the idea



of the Reich became much more concrete and prominent. At some point in 1931, the idea of the Reich started to become more important than the Volksgemeinschaft. This means that as the years went by the main goal was no longer to achieve the Volksgemeinschaft, which included the ideas of Reich, but the Reich, which included ideas of Volksgemeinschaft. With its emphasis on action, Reich can be understood as a more politicised code than Volksgemeinschaft. This could be seen by the increasing focus on Raum and thus the increasing xenophobia against the Poles. Raum became a highly prominent code in the later years, and as that code has held a higher position in the code system of Reich, the code Reich became more important for the authors than the code Volksgemeinschaft. To illustrate this in the form of a simple example, if someone had said „I want to build the Third Reich!“, the preferred reading was that the person opposed the Weimar Republic, wanted to reclaim the lost territory, and unite all Germans with the help of the true Führer.

As has just been mentioned, Raum was an integral part of the code system of Reich and Volksgemeinschaft. It was especially based on two premises: 1) World War One, and 2) the economic crisis and consequently the social misery and class struggle. The lost territory was to be reclaimed in order to build the Third Reich in a Großdeutschland. The Volksgemeinschaft, much like Raum, dealt with potential dangers from within, which were mostly other races, and from the outside, especially through the alleged Polish suppression of German minorities. The lost territory was not only understood as rightfully German, because people who identified as culturally German lived there, but was also seen as the solution to the overpopulation in the city and the increase of the proletarian class. Also “Lebensraum” became a prominent code, as it did not only refer to the lack of space, but further the lack of possibilities. As discussed before, Raum was mainly a subcode of the codes Reich and Volksgemeinschaft, and was therefore lower in the hegemonic structure of the basic codes.

Similarly, to the code Raum, Führer, the last code analysed, was mainly a subcode of the codes Volksgemeinschaft and Reich. Still, it must not be overlooked, as the Führer was crucial for the worldview of the authors of *Der Zwiespruch*. Without the focus on the Führer, in that case Hindenburg, there would have been no tolerance towards the Weimar Republic at all. Furthermore, the Führer was seen as an essential part in uniting the Volk to the Volksgemeinschaft. Moreover, the Führer principle has

been an integral part of the idea of the German Reich even before the First World War. Because of this special position of the Führer in the code systems of Reich and Volksgemeinschaft it is complicated to define the codic relationship in relation to their hegemony. As has become evident, Volksgemeinschaft and Reich were both hegemonic codes in different times. Still, they would both not be complete with the Führer, but at the same time the Führer needed the Volksgemeinschaft and the Reich to exist. As especially Izotova and Philipsen and Hart describe it, codes are dynamic and thus their hegemony can change over time, due to the context. The context of the economic crisis thus demanded a code to be hegemonic that was focussing on active change, thus the code of Reich replaced Volksgemeinschaft, while Führer stayed solid.

Consequently, Volksgemeinschaft, Reich, and Führer were the most prominent codes of the analysed discourse. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that all of the chosen cultural codes have been present in the newspaper of *Der Zwiespruch*. These findings can be connected to the claims made by the authors who argue in favour of the continuity of the youth movement's worldview and the one that was later established by the Nazis in their regime. These arguments were: 1) In the Bünde existed a focus on authorities, 2) the NSDAP and the Bünde had a similar völkisch thinking, 3) the Bünde were supporters of the idea of the Großreich, and 4) saw great importance in the duty to the German Volk. This thesis supports their arguments.

Hence, the Nazi's rise to power did not present a substantial change of discourse for the producers and consumers of *Der Zwiespruch*. This is based on two findings: 1) the codes did not change significantly after the rise of the NSDAP, 2) all the chosen codes that constitute the radical discourse of the NS-regime were found in the analysis. Referring to Corner's claim that subcodes determine the basic code, the Nazis thus only needed to change the subcodes marginally in order to radicalise the worldview of the authors and readers in their favour. Thus, when antisemitism for example was being emphasised in the German daily life, (through antisemitic language, attacks, and other actions), and the people who took part in the discourse of *Der Zwiespruch* accepted this to be their reality, then consequently their code system of antisemitism changed and therefore the code systems of race, Volksgemeinschaft, and also Reich as well. Also, when Hitler became chancellor the code Führer changed, as the code "distinct personalities" now referred to him. With that also the codes of Reich and Volksgemeinschaft changed. The hegemonical structure of the codes are therefore

important to follow and to comprehend, in order to understand what the Nazis had to emphasise on, in order to gain acceptance. In the time between 1928 and 1933, the code Führer was already referring to Hindenburg. However, Volksgemeinschaft and Reich were stimulated by the NSDAP to a certain extent. My claim is that the NSDAP gained more support over the years due to their stimulation of the subcode “action”, which was an integral part of the articles analysed and especially of the code Reich. As has been mentioned in the context chapter, a real shift of generations came through the NSDAP. Thus, with their active participation in politics in order to overthrow the Weimar Republic, they seemed attractive to the authors and the readers, as the attempts of unifications in order to form a united front failed. As their ideas of Volksgemeinschaft corresponded to each other, they turned to the Nazis and not to other parties.

In summary, the NSDAP did not have to change the codes of *Der Zwiespruch*'s discourse immensely in order to win the members over. The basic codes, that were crucial in the NS-regime were already present in the discourse. Changing it in their favour, thus only needed the alteration of subcodes, such as emphasising antisemitism or the active fight for change.

## Conclusion

This thesis focussed on the analysis of culture in order to achieve a better understanding of a distinct discourse embedded in the larger discussion of the Holocaust. Generally speaking, this research was done to firstly fill the lacuna of missing research on cultural codes in both Holocaust studies and German youth movement studies, and secondly provide a better contextual understanding of the situation of the late Weimar society regarding the continuity of ideas that were fundamental to the Nazis. In other words, what the social reality of the ordinary Germans looked like, who enabled the NSDAP to come to power through their vote. Ultimately, to achieve this, the goal was to find out if the discourse of *Der Zwiespruch* was radical in a similar vein to the NS-regime.

In order to meet these aims, firstly the principal ideas and concepts of the Nazi worldview, according to prominent scholars in the field of Holocaust research, were identified. Secondly, they were analysed in the form of cultural codes in the newspaper, to answer two research questions. The first one was concerned with the way the cultural codes were presented in the object of research. The analysis revealed that

Volksgemeinschaft, Reich, and Führer were the dominant cultural codes in the newspaper's discourse. This was the case, because Volksgemeinschaft and Reich included the codes of antisemitism, racism, and Raum as subcodes in their code system. The code of Volksgemeinschaft was the focus of the authors especially in the early years that were analysed. The increase of the social misery experienced by the youth led to a shift from Volksgemeinschaft to the more politicised concept of Reich as the hegemonic code. Reich was in its ideas similar but had a more prominent focus on actively changing society than the code Volksgemeinschaft. Both of their preferred readings suggested the cultural and racial homogeneity of the German Volk that was supposed to be united in Großdeutschland. Führer was a cultural code that was special, compared to the other ones. It was similarly crucial to all of the other codes, but stood in dependence to Volksgemeinschaft and Reich. Neither Reich nor Volksgemeinschaft could have been accomplished without the Führer, and similarly the Führer needed the Volksgemeinschaft and Reich to rule. Consequently, despite all codes being present in the discourse of the newspaper, the three codes Volksgemeinschaft, Reich, and Führer were the most important. Furthermore, these codes were not primarily connected to the NSDAP. It referred to the Third Reich that was supposed to be established under the premise of the Volksgemeinschaft and the Führer, but this idea was independent from the NSDAP and Hitler. Only in the 1930s authors started to connect them with each other.

These findings were connected to the previous research, to ultimately answer research question number two, regarding whether the rise to power and thus the radical discourse of the Nazis presented a significant shift of the *Zwiespruch*'s producers and consumers' own discourse. The analysis was able to support the claims made by Michael Kater, Karl Bracher, Christian Niemeyer, Walter Laqueur, and also Rüdiger Ahrens, respectively all the authors mentioned who argued in favour of a connection between the worldview of the Nazis and the independent youth movement. Hence, the second research question can be answered with, no, the radical discourse of the Nazis did not present a substantial change of discourse regarding the cultural codes. Coming back to the introductory quote by Alon Confino, the NS-regime was revolutionary, but was certainly based on continuities. The producers and consumers did not experience a great shift of worldview with the Nazis' rise to power, as their discourse has been similar already before. Moreover, as subcodes determine the understanding of the basic

code, the Nazis could change subcodes, without people realising the change of the basic code immediately. This could be seen for example by the emphasis of the Nazis on taking action in rebuilding the governmental state, which allowed a shift towards the NSDAP. The theoretical assumption that the newspaper included all the cultural codes was correct. Still, there was a hierarchy found between the codes that was not expected before, such as antisemitism being underrepresented. Thus, this research supports Ahrens claim that there were no great numbers of antisemitic statements to be found in the sources of the youth movement.

Another argument that should be mentioned here, was introduced by Mommsen, who wrote that the *Deutsche Freischar* was apolitical. Of course, this thesis cannot support or reject this claim, as it did not examine this Bund, but it can be assumed that the *Deutsche Freischar* had a similar understanding of being apolitical, as the authors of the newspaper. This was in the sense that they were mainly concerned with political education which was understood as objective and not as being politically active. It cannot be concluded that the majority of the authors of *Der Zwiespruch*, who incorporated the chosen cultural codes, would have become Nazis, as there was no evidence found in further research. Nevertheless, as their mindset was similar, it can be concluded that the producers and consumers of the newspaper were ultimately not opposed towards accepting and even supporting the NSDAP.

This work successfully deepened the contextual understanding of continuity of the Nazi's radical discourse, but also provided a broader understanding of the concepts of antisemitism, racism, Volksgemeinschaft, Raum, Reich, and Führer in regards to the Holocaust in general. The approach of cultural codes is innovative in this field, and can lead to the improvement of other concepts, like for example Harry Pross's argument of the triad of "Raum, Reich, Rasse". When these terms are understood as cultural codes, they no longer exclude crucial aspects. Cultural codes signalise that terms and concepts entail a broader meaning and emphasise their dynamic nature, which is fundamental for the understanding of cultural change. The results of this thesis can therefore serve as a basis of future research in Holocaust studies. For example, supporting a comparative analysis of the NSDAP's propaganda before the election of 1933 with material until 1945, in order to trace the alteration of subcodes. Another example for the research on the youth movement in the context of *Der Zwiespruch*, is the analysis of female perspective. An analysis of the distinct parts of the newspaper would explain in which

position women were understood in the worldview of the authors and the readers of *Der Zwiespruch*, as it became evident that they were not included in the section that deal with the political and societal situations. Furthermore, as has been indicated in the limitations of this work, Christianity has not been looked at here. Therefore, an analysis following the same principle as this thesis, but focussing on Christianity can broaden the understanding of the relationship between the Christian discourse of the newspaper and the one of the National Socialists.

# Appendix

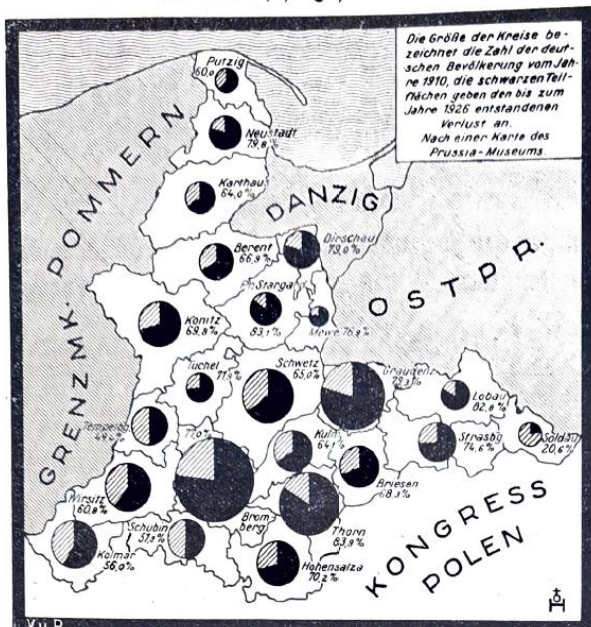
## Appendix 1

542

„Der Zwiespruch“

Blatt 46

### Die Entdeutschung Pommerellens.



Nach der Volkszählung von 1910 betrug in der Provinz Westpreußen der Anteil  
 der Deutschen . . . 1 097 943 64,45%  
 der Polen . . . 475 853 27,93%  
 der Kaschuben . . . 107 199 6,29%

Rechnet man die Kaschuben zu den Polen, was weder historisch noch politisch ohne Einschränkung geschehen darf, so ergibt sich trotzdem ein Verhältnis des Deutschtums zum Polentum von nahezu 2 zu 1. Der Regierungsbezirk Bromberg hatte mit 379 488 (das sind 49,67%) Deutschen gegen 378 851 (49,58%) Polen an sich eine geringe Ueberlegenheit des Deutschtums. Diese wird aber zu einer klaren Mehrheit, wenn man den westlichen Grenzgebiet der Provinz Polen und insbesondere den Regierungsbezirk näher untersucht. Die wirtschaftliche Ueberlegenheit erwies sich auch hier in der größeren Zahl deutscher Inhaber von gewerblichen Hauptbetrieben. Bergbau-, Hütten- und Salinenwesen hatten eine deutsche Ueberlegenheit von 27%, Industrie der Steine und Erden eine solche von 36%, Metallverarbeitung 11%, Gruppe Maschinen und Apparate 27%, chemische Industrie 26%, Textilindustrie 42%, Papierindustrie 31%, Handelsgewerbe 24%, insgesamt freilich nur eine solche von etwa 6%, die sich indessen im Regierungsbezirk Bromberg zu einer solchen von 22% steigerte.

Umgerechnet auf das heutige „Korridorgebiet“ ergibt sich aus der Statistik von 1910 eine Zahl von 421 033 Deutschen für Pommern und 315 646 für Bromberg. Das sind 736 679. Im Jahre 1926 war im raschen Abstieg die Zahl der Deutschen in Pommern auf 117 251, in Bromberg auf 107 345 gefallen. Von polnischer Seite wird oft der unangenehme Eindruck des Rückganges der deutschen Bevölkerung mit dem Einwand abzuweichen versucht, daß die Militärbevölkerung den Prozentsatz der Deutschen in der Vorkriegsstatistik künstlich erhöhte. In Wirklichkeit hat die Zahl der „ortsfremden“ aktiven Militärpersonen das Verhältnis der Nationalitäten nicht einmal um ein volles Prozent zugunsten der deutschen Bevölkerung beeinflusst.

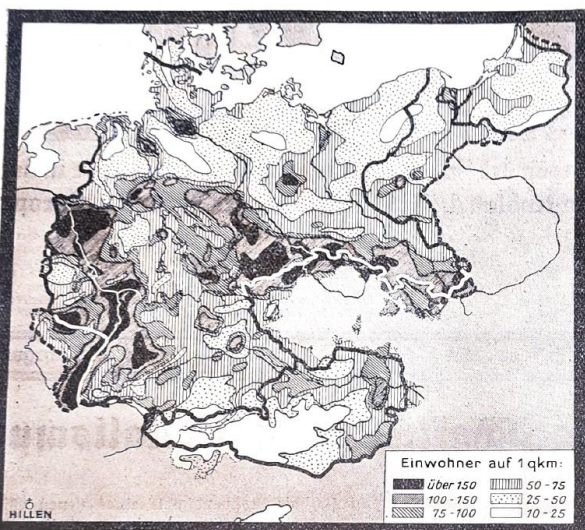
## Appendix 2

134

„Der Zwiespruch“

Blatt 12

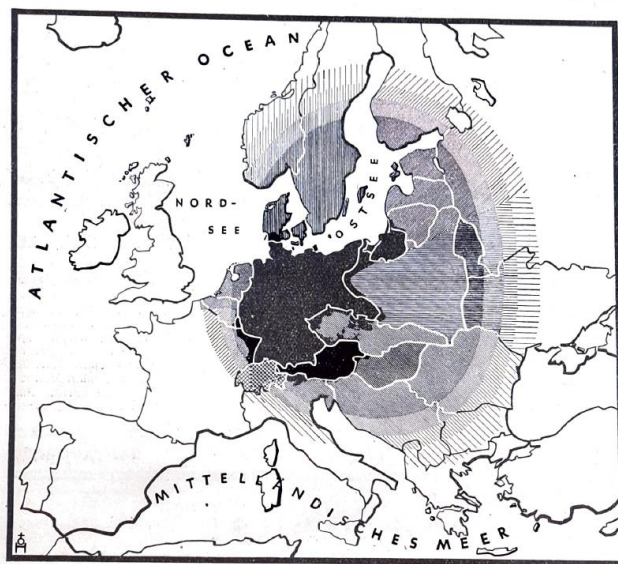
### Boden frei! Und was dann?



Mit der angekündigten Aufhebung des Sicherungsschutzes zwangsverwalteter Güter wird der Siedlungsbewegung Land in Hülle und Fülle zur Verfügung stehen; schätzt man doch auf 60 Prozent lebensfähiger Betriebe in der Gesamtheit der unter Zwangsschutz gestellten. Bei der Knappheit des Kapitalmarktes wird das Kaufangebot verschwindend gering sein. Es wird also eine beispiellose Erschütterung des Hypothekenmarktes eintreten — Land wird umsonst zu haben sein! Somit scheinen unter dem Druck der Verhältnisse sich ganz wesentliche Vorbedingungen einer großen Siedlungspolitik zu erfüllen. Der Faktor Geld jedenfalls hat seine Bedrohlichkeit verloren — das größte Hindernis der Siedlung scheint gefallen.

Um so gefährlicher ist daher der hemmungslose Gebrauch einer neuen Weisheit, das Lob auf die „Primitivsiedlung“. Nähme man das schlichte deutsche Wort: Einfachsiedlung, so käme gleich zum Vorschein, worauf es ankommt, nämlich die Vereinfachung der Ansprüche, des Verkehrs und der Lebenshaltung. Dagegen ist jede „Primitivität“ im Sinne einer Planlosigkeit einer Siedlungspolitik der Tod der ganzen Bewegung. Ein Blick auf die Karte lehrt, daß nicht ohne Grund die norddeutsche Tiefebene die geringste Siedlungsdichte aufweist. Die Mängel ihres Bodens können daher nur wettgemacht werden durch eine planvolle Handhabung der Siedlung unter sorgfältiger Berücksichtigung der Eigenart der jeweiligen Landschaftsverhältnisse. Für die Zeitspanne bis zur Aufhebung der Zwangssicherung gilt es also, Klarheit zu schaffen über die Wirtschaftsformen, die zu entwickeln sind und die Möglichkeiten einer Aufbereitung Ostdeutschlands bodentechnisch, verkehrstechnisch und markthilflich, damit die Siedlung ein tragendes Glied einer selbstgefügten neuen Ordnung wird. Versichert man auf solche Ueberlegungen und läßt die Siedlungsflut über Ostdeutschland schnellen, ohne ihre Bahnen vorzuarbeiten, so ist die Katastrophe sicher.





### Der mitteleuropäische Wirtschaftsraum

In Mitteleuropa wohnen:

**221** Millionen Menschen  
davon im industriellen Westen  
Millionen Menschen  
**83** (143 Kopf je qkm)  
davon im agrarischen Osten  
Millionen Menschen  
**122** (62 Kopf je qkm)

Der Rest verteilt sich auf die nördlichen und südlichen Randgebiete mit 29 Kopf pro qkm

Das heißt: **Der Westen** ist überbevölkert.

**Der Osten** aber — verkehrsarm, dünn bevölkert — bietet noch vielen Millionen Menschen Raum

Welche Aufgabe für ein Industrievolk des Westens wie das deutsche und die bauerlichen Völker des Ostens! Hier warten weite Räume auf Erschließung durch Eisenbahn, Kraftwagen, Landstraße, Schiff und Flugzeug. Menschen abseits der modernen Entwicklung suchen Anschluß an den fortgeschrittenen Westen. Reiche Schätze sind zu heben, im Boden, im Wald, auf den Steppen und den Aekern. Ein Binnenmarkt ist zu entwickeln, der an Größe und Reichtum kaum hinter dem der Vereinigten Staaten zurücksteht.

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