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June 1, 1952

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Enclosed herewith is a report on the Bund Deutscher Jugend (BDJ), together with an Organization List and a List of Publications.

The Bund Deutscher Jugend professes to be a western-oriented youth organization with two objectives: (1) to mobilize German youth in the support of a unified Germany free of Soviet influence, and (2) to work for the improvement of conditions among youth. Its top leaders are best described as unknown who are apparently selected from within in spheres of youth organizations or in politics. The rank and file is drawn mainly from among the unorganized youth of Germany and, as a result, reflects the anti- and ex-Volksrecht background of that mass.

Activities are conducted throughout Germany, with or less openly in the West and currently in the Soviet zone. Main emphasis has been placed on an anti-Communist campaign, which has had a real impact; a second campaign in favor of Western defense has found former German soldiers responsive. Generally, the organization, structure, and program of the BDJ (except for anti-Communism) are vague; its spokesmen have made evasive and conflicting statements, especially on the subject of financing. Its relations with other groups and youth organizations have been marked by several unfortunate faux pas which have isolated the BDJ from all groups except those on the right fringe. This outcast status, plus the lack of a really democratic internal organization, characterizes the BDJ as another political youth group with fascist potential.

The information in this report, unless otherwise specified, is as of March and April 1952.

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Director of Intelligence

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References:

1. Report on BDJ.
2. Organization List.
3. BDJ Publications.

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Review of this document by CIA has determined that

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BUND DEUT. JUGEND

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Enclosure No. 1, HICOG FRANKFUR
June 1, 1951, Despatch No. 377

BUND DEUTSCHER JUGEND

I. BACKGROUND

Wer die Jugend hat, dem gehoert die Zukunft!
(To him who has the youth belongs the future!)

In postwar Germany, this slogan is quoted continually on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The political leaders of the split nation, be they east, west or neutral, contend for the favor of the youth; even the most chauvinistic pay them lip service.

The Sovzone puppet regime has devoted tireless effort and millions of marks to its Freie Deutsche Jugend. It has catered to youth with parades and sport circuses, with offers of special privilege, and with a vigorous coordinated program designed to imbue every boy and girl with an active spirit of participation in the "new and glorious Workers' Republic that shall arise out of the Hitler ruins".

West Germans, acting freely and organizing democratically, have also formed youth organizations. Each organizing group has recruited among its own natural following, however, and there has been no authoritative central control, although through democratic association (by youth rings or otherwise) the various groups cooperate fairly adequately in the propagation and dissemination of democratic ideals. About one-third of the West German youth have been organized. In contrast to the East Zone, there is no mass participation, and the unorganized two-thirds constitute several million young souls who are left with their own initiative and little else. In addition, it is estimated that several thousand

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youth cross the international borders monthly and arrive in the West with little means and only slightly more hope of livelihood to swell the disillusioned and apathetic mass.

The organized groups seem at a loss to extend their influence over and beyond those sectors of youth who already have a basic faith, religious or otherwise. To organize or even to stimulate the remainder, the appeal to rally must be more primitive and more subjective. The prototypes for this sort of "organization en masse" are well-known in postwar Western Germany, but have been eschewed as undemocratic, as militaristic, as reminiscent of the downfall or because they would be frowned on by the Occupation Powers. Sporadic attempts by political adventurers to win a following among the disorganized youth have invariably failed, usually because of weak leadership, lack of financial support, and lack of a really live program. Furthermore, they have tended to compete with the established political groups.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE BDI

1. The BDI Is Established

The Bund Deutscher Jugend, officially established on June 26, 1950 in Frankfurt, emphasized two objectives from the beginning: (1) to bring together the active and responsible forces of German youth to fight for the reunification of the fatherland without a Politburo and for a peace without commissars, and (2) to devote itself to the welfare of youth and improvement in its rights of education, its chance to work and its facilities for recreation. The preparatory work, it was explained, had begun a year and a half before, the financial backing was now sufficient, and the time for action had come. Its leaders were unknown

1. For an extended discussion on the ideological concepts held by German youth, see R&A Report No. 37, "The First Legion", February 20, 1951. (SECRET)

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to most observers but described themselves generally as writers and journalists. Seven persons were present for the founding meeting and the various functions of an executive board (called the "Fuehrungsring" according to the Hessian Interior Ministry; the word "Vorstand" is used in the statutes) were distributed among them. This board was comprised of the following members:

Helm SCHIPLACK	..	First Chairman
Erhard PETERS	..	Second Chairman
Dr. Paul Eugen LUTHE	..	Press and Propaganda Chief
Gerhard DAMMANN	..	Secretary
Herbertus VON WALDEN	..	First Organizing Manager
Gerhard BISCHOFF	..	Second Organizing Manager

SCHIPLACK, the first chairman, appeared little in public life and was generally regarded as a straw man. His deputy, PETERS, achieved fame as a night fighter pilot during the war but has apparently led an obscure life since. The most interesting figure is LUTHE, who gained a reputation as a clever but imitative journalist under the name of Peter BOF. Beyond his somewhat mediocre reputation as an author, Luth is known as a man with a checkered background. He is credited with having supplied the necessary drive to put the EDJ on its feet, but may not prove stable enough to continue on as one of its leaders. The others, both on the executive board and in the central office, show no outstanding talents. By and large, the first members and leaders reached maturity during the Hitler regime and under the Nazi influence and later were active in German military service -- as, indeed, would be true for most men in their age-group.

As second chairman, Peters also functions as public relations officer

1. A biographic supplement to this report is in preparation and will be issued shortly.

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and it was he who introduced the Bund Deutscher Jugend to the public on August 1, 1950 in a press conference. He announced that the BDJ had begun its publicity campaign in the Federal area with the issuance of 350,000 leaflets, which was to be followed with a membership drive and the issuance of membership cards. He indicated that the BDJ, which aimed, he explained in rather vague terms, for the unity of Germany, was intended to be an aggressive anti-Communist youth organization which would act as a counter-weight to the FDJ.

Peters emphasized further that although his group had many officers in its ranks, they were "no militarists", though they would "defend their country should that one day become necessary -- and it probably will be soon". Early statements also professed a BDJ aim to exercise a (vaguely defined) influence on West German parliamentary life.

Peters told the conference that all members of the BDJ's executive board were working on a full-time salaried basis. He also said that the organization already had branch offices in Munich, Stuttgart, Essen, Hannover, Hamburg and Berlin and that further offices in Mannheim, Fulda, Harburg, Coburg, Nuernberg and Cologne were being organized.

2. Organizational Growth

The BDJ attempted to avoid the mistakes of other postwar groups that had tried to create an aggressive youth organization. In its propaganda campaign it used literature strongly reminiscent of other rightist endeavors and placed great emphasis on the need for equality both for the individual and for the German people as a whole. It appealed to the youth to take matters into its

1. See Enclosure 2.

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own hands and to work for a united Germany with no restrictions on its economic and democratic freedoms. In addition, and a most important addition, the EDJ singled out the Russians as the enemy and challenged German youth to stop the Stalin terror which was over-running Germany. The first leaflets carefully pointed out that the EDJ was not only against the atom bomb but also against forced labor in the uranium mines of the Soviet Orbit and played upon the sympathies of the West German population for their less fortunate brethren behind the Iron Curtain. During the first months, the EDJ devoted the overwhelming portion of its efforts to an anti-Communist campaign of mass meetings, sticking up posters, and protests against the October 15 elections in the Soviet Zone.

Recruiting and organization soon expanded from Frankfurt and Land Hesse throughout West Germany. On December 17, 1950 the organization had progressed far enough to hold its first national delegates' conference in Frankfurt/Hedernheim. This was attended by several hundred delegates (the published EDJ figure was 300). Most of the participants were transported in busses provided by the EDJ and came from all parts of Western Germany, Berlin and reportedly even from the Soviet Zone. The conference was closely guarded. It featured an address by Prof. TILLICH of the anti-Communist Fighting League against Inhumanity (Kampfbund gegen die Unmenschlichkeit). Further speakers were Peters, (frau) ANDRAMOFF of the Nationalno Trudovoi Sojies (NPS), a Russian anti-Bolshevik resistance movement; and Lueth, who made the closing remarks.

The conference confirmed the new Bundesvorstand, consisting of Schipplack as Chairman; Peters, Deputy Chairman; Bisehoff, Secretary; and Hammecher, Treasurer. Neither this Vorstand nor any of the other executives have been elected by open voting procedures.

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Peters said the organizational work of the EDJ had been completed and that its two main tasks would be to promote a defense against communism and full co-operation with the Western Powers in European defense.

According to available reports, the situation in the Land at that time (December 1950) was as follows:

Hesse.

The Land Organization in Hesse was headed by Bodo H.F. REINHARDT who had begun organizing in Buedingen. Moving slowly and organizing mainly in small groups, the Hesse organization claimed 15 chapters by the end of the year. In many cases the local leaders were young expellees or unemployed. All were apparently attracted by the prospect of waging an active campaign against the Communists. Reports on the membership figures fluctuated considerably, reaching as high as 8,000 and a low of less than 200.

Bavaria.

Ex-Colonel Kurt DELLMANN was placed in charge of the Land office in Munich in the early months of EDJ activity in Bavaria. He carried out orders from the Frankfurt headquarters but apparently with no notable success since he was replaced in December 1950 by the younger and more energetic Helmut WINTER. Organization in Bavaria was spasmodic and for a long time reports were received only on the Munich group and one in Coburg. (In early 1951 a southeast group was formed with headquarters in Berchtesgaden.)

Wuerttemberg-Palatinate.

The EDJ was formally launched in Wuerttemberg-Palatinate on

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October 14, 1950. Before that the Land leader, Gottfried BRIDLER, had organized a small group to distribute posters and to do other propaganda work.

Bremen-

The Bremen NDJ, like the Bavarian organization, made its first public appearance with a protest meeting on October 7, 1950 against the German elections. The small group of active Bremen members was headed by (Karl BAARS), who supposedly was recommended for this position by the local Deutsche Partei chairman.

Hamburg-

In Hamburg (Wilhelm THEILER) was appointed Land leader. Both here and in LORENZ SPINNE first NDJ successes were among the rightist and expellee elements. At least four of its top members in Hamburg were or had been active members of the (Bruderschaft). Additional organizational activity took place in North Rhine-Westphalia, particularly in Essen, in Schleswig-Holstein, and in the French zone.

Berlin-

The NDJ also has a group in West Berlin which now calls itself the (Berliner Bund Deutscher Jugend) (BBDJ). Early work in Berlin was made more difficult by conflict over rights to the designation "Bund Deutscher Jugend" with another youth organization of the same name (an unpolitical boy-scout type of group licensed several years ago).

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An accurate total membership figure for the EDJ is difficult to ascertain. Leaders, either by agreement or through lack of coordinated information, seem to stick to stereotyped statements on membership, usually ranging between 16,000 and 17,000. At the time of the organization's first public meeting in Frankfurt, at the end of August 1950, it was already claiming 16,000 adherents in Western Germany. In September it was still mentioning the same figure (about 3,000 were said to be former FDJ members and other young people who had fled from the Soviet Zone). A Hessian organizer gave 20,000 as an estimate. In mid-October a member of the executive board told Hessian youth leaders that his organization had 16,000 members in both East and West Germany, and that 3,500 of these were in Hesse. This indicated no increase in spite of an alleged "vast response" to the opening publicity campaign, of "thousands of letters" received and a "flood of new registrations" in August and September. On November 15 Peters told a representative of the US Resident Officer in Frankfurt that "membership will soon reach 40,000"; in October a Wuertemberg-Baden Intelligence employee saw a membership card issued (at Frankfurt headquarters) for a member of the Land organization in Wuertemberg-Baden which bore the membership number 21,008, and on December 17 Bischoff told the press that the EDJ then numbered approximately 17,500 in Western Germany. In April 1951 a member of the headquarters staff told a US official that there were 16,000 membership applications in the headquarters file. The same spokesman said that the EDJ was strongest in Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia, with 2,500 members in each of these areas. At a press conference in May a spokesman reduced the West German membership figure to 8,000.

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Communists.

4. Finances

The overhead cost of operating the EDJ is considerable. A good share of its top leaders and central office staff are salaried employees. The various offices have been outfitted with new though simple furniture and equipment. According to reports, the Stuttgart office received an initial sum of DM 2,000, the Bremen office DM 1,000 and several additional monthly allotments of DM 1,000.

Printing costs plus distribution fees (sometimes legitimate agencies are used) on the scale alleged by EDJ eat up large sums. As for meetings, the EDJ reports that the October meeting in Coburg cost DM 2,000. A hostile critic of the organization claiming inside knowledge placed the total amount expended by the EDJ in the past nine months at DM 1,700,000. This amount seems to be much exaggerated and a monthly expenditure for all items -- salary, propaganda, welfare work, meetings -- can be more realistically estimated at around DM 75,000 or under DM 700,000 for the first nine-month period.

The EDJ leadership is extremely reticent about disclosing its sources or amount of income. According to them, industrial backers and membership fees provide the money. The firms of Bosch (Stuttgart), Reutema (Hamburg) and Erdal (Frankfurt) have been named by other sources. Positive support was also given by the Ministry for All-German Affairs last October but the extent of its direct financial aid remains a mystery. Certain papers such as the Frankfurter Allgemeine and the Bremer Nachrichten have also given material assistance. Meanwhile, selected businessmen are being approached for contributions.

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information groups collect material on Communist activities; the action groups execute countermeasures. In November 1950 the HDJ claimed 100 such groups organized locally "in Germany" (presumably West Germany).

1. Jugendhilfswerk Ost

At an early press conference Peters spoke of plans for a "Jugendhilfswerk Ost" through which young people from the Eastern Zone were to be "returned to a normal life". The HDJ evidently envisaged reception camps where young refugees could be given vocational training and guidance in finding employment. (One spokesman mentioned a "village".) According to an article in Der Fortschritt last fall, "quite a number" of these camps were to be ready by the summer of 1951, and there were also plans for camps in industrial centers where the refugees might find jobs. Peters is reported to have said that such an arrangement could easily be converted into a labor service "when the time comes". It is known that the HDJ believes in the value of a voluntary labor service, but is not clear under what circumstances this "conversion" is planned.

There is little firm information on the implementation of these plans. A HDJ spokesman said last summer that 25 young people were spending summer vacations in a HDJ tent camp managed by chairman Schipplack. (The location was not revealed, for security reasons. This seems more likely to be a training center for covert activities in the Soviet Zone than a reception center.) As early as last August a HDJ leader, in discussing the organization's welfare work, said that accommodations for 30 refugees had been made available in Frankfurt. Finding employment for refugees has been mentioned in several reports, although it is questionable whether the total amounts to the thousands claimed. HDJ leaders have also said or implied that houses were being built with HDJ

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funds as youth centers or houses.

2. Fahenschaften

The EDJ has also made plans for an East-West sponsorship (Fahenschaften) project. Each EDJ group in the East has been asked to sponsor a German area, and it has been announced that Munich is to sponsor East Berlin, Frankfurt is to devote itself to Wetzlar, Hannover to Leipzig, and Stuttgart to Erfurt. Intentions included letter-writing and the sending of food packages through an Augsburg agency called "Deutsche hilft Deutschen". It is evident that the material assistance is dependent on finances, and that this work is still largely in the future.

3. Propaganda

The propaganda work of the EDJ is done on a grand scale. Its leaflets and pamphlets are distributed by the hundreds of thousands.

a. Anti-Communist. Its opening shot in this cold war was the distribution of 300,000 copies of an anti-FDJ leaflet entitled "Stalin Youth? Moscow Recruits German Youth". Its program and principles also appeared in 300,000 copies. The EDJ's Informations-Dienst is published monthly although an attempt has been made to place it on a weekly basis. This publication contains many anti-Communist articles and presents EDJ viewpoints especially in the lead article in each issue. Aktionshilfe containing material for the use of land chairmen, local leaders and training functionaries are compiled at headquarters and issued as the need appears.

Since February 1951 the EDJ has also been putting out a publication called

1. See Enclosure 2.

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Der Politische Gewerkschaft (responsible editor "B. Berg", or Weinsberg). The Düsseldorf HDJ group has been issuing a monthly organ known as HEUTE since December 1950. In January the periodical HEUTE GEMEINSAM (mainly a reprint of Informations-Dienst articles) appeared in Hesse, the Bavaria group was scheduled to bring out a monthly in February, and in Bavaria a bulletin 5. JHR 12 made its appearance in January.

The early propaganda effort of the HDJ was directed in greatest measure against the elections of October 15 in the Soviet Zone. Leaflets and posters appeared throughout West Germany. On October 7, the anniversary of the establishment of the "German Democratic Republic", and on the eve of election day, public demonstrations of protest and sympathy were held in Bremen, Frankfurt, Coburg and Munich. These demonstrations were held in conjunction with various other organized youth groups in West Germany and apparently had the blessing of Jakob Kaiser, Federal Minister for All-German Affairs. Another phase of HDJ activity is the campaign against reinsurance, i.e. persons who contribute to the Communist Party either directly when solicited or indirectly by trading or by advertising in FDP publications with a view to gaining future protection. To dissuade businessmen from such practices the HDJ resorted in some cases to a sticker campaign plastering the premises of offenders with green printed strips reading "I am a traitor to my country -- I support the Communists". Businessmen were also warned individually by the HDJ against continuing such activity.

In addition to the anti-Communist propaganda already mentioned, the HDJ has distributed similar material in the Soviet Zone. Before the October elections hundreds of thousands of anti-Communist stickers and leaflets were printed;

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one bore the inscription "Think of our Prisoners in Russia -- Vote No on October 15", another, "Korea for the Koreans, Germany for the Germans, Never for the Soviets". The heavy concentration of these activities against Communism added to the ex-Hitler youth and ex-army constitution of its membership and the impression created by some NDJ comments on political affairs resulted in the designation of the NDJ as a rightist element. Since then the organization has also warned against racial rightist ideas and gestures but has placed the main emphasis on the inclination of rightist groups to establish ties with Moscow and Karlsruhe.

b. European Defense. From the earliest weeks of its official existence the NDJ has been working to overcome the "chance wish" attitude, not only in connection with greater activity against Communism in Western Germany but also in an effort to win support for military action if necessary.

Much of the present literature contains arguments to convince former Nazi Party members and former officers and soldiers of the need for action against the Communists. It includes appeals to let bygones be bygones, to consider first things first, to disregard everything which cannot be changed, and a reminder that there will be no place to hide and no neutrality in any conflict.

A major effort in the drive for German participation in European defense is an "Open Letter to All Former Members of the NSDAP, Officers and Former Professional Soldiers in Germany", already reported to have been distributed in ^{hundred} several/thousand copies, which tries to sell the NDJ line to this large group of potential soldiers who would otherwise be anything but inclined to support a common effort with the Western victors of 1945. The softening-up campaign makes use of every argument calculated to appease wounded pride, assure ex-Nazis

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and ex-soldiers that Americans are a pretty admirable lot, and persuade them to be "realistic" in the present situation. The language seems calculated to appeal to eyes and ears accustomed to the phrases of the Hitler era.

To the extent that the present conflict is not Germany's fight, the EDJ replies that Germans were not entirely blameless in creating the present world situation. Going a bit further the EDJ in January 1951 sent an open letter to President Truman, General Eisenhower and High Commissioner McClery demanding the inclusion of all Germany in the defense belt of the free world.

IV. RELATIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

EDJ has received little support and approval in Western Germany even from groups and individuals no less sincerely anti-Communist than itself. That Communists and Communist front organizations, particularly the FDJ, consider the EDJ a natural enemy goes without saying. The moderate left represented by the FD and the trade-unions are also suspicious and antagonistic. Most of the established non-political youth groups are, at best, reserved. The moderate right seems divided in its reactions to the EDJ while the ultra-right wing has extended cooperation in a number of instances.

Most serious and most often expressed is the charge that the EDJ's anti-Communist program does not necessarily mean that the group is pro-democratic. Its opponents have labeled it "The Hitler Youth of Tomorrow", "A New SA", "The precursor of a New Stahlhelm". Its appeal to youth is believed by many to be only camouflage for other intentions. Youth organizations which are traditionally concerned with youth welfare and education cannot understand the lack of a positive program and point out that EDJ leaders have nothing to offer along these

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and other groups
of the Wehrmacht
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lines but nice words.

In their recruiting efforts EDJ leaders involved themselves in contradictory statements on multiple memberships and activity. Early statements stressed that the EDJ was interested in enlisting young people not yet members of organized groups and adults who had "lost their political bearings"; later it was said that the EDJ would not "compete with other youth groups" but "absorb youth leaving other groups at the age of 18". Other youth leaders quite correctly pointed out that their organizations did not limit their activities to young people under 18. More recently the EDJ has emphasized the desirability of multiple memberships (i.e. membership in the EDJ as well as other organizations), "cooperation", and concerted action in a common anti-Communist cause.

The conviction has grown among Germans that an American connection, if not outright direction, is strong, and there is no doubt that some groups are wary of the EDJ from fear that adherence will end with "taking orders from the Americans".

Specific reactions of the various groups are as follows:

Communists. Open enmity on the part of Communist groups, particularly the KPD, but activity is confined mainly to propaganda and heckling. Both the KPD and the German press have denounced the EDJ as a lawless group of Nazis and militarists sponsored by the Americans.

SPD and Socialist Youth. SPD Falken leader (Herbert SEFTNER) of Hesse was present at the organization's first press conference in Frankfurt and has since devoted a good portion of his efforts to working against the EDJ. He is blamed or credited for giving information which appeared in the derogatory article in

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1. 1951

Der Spiegel in January 1951. SPD Falken mingled with the crowd gathered for the EDJ's Frankfurt demonstration protesting the East Zone elections and zealously distributed leaflets "introducing" the EDJ as a clique of militarists and fascists, the "Hitler Youth of Tomorrow", and its "spiritual father" Lueth as an individual of ill-repute. The Young Socialists (Jungsozialisten), as members of the Russian Ring of Political Youth, had been expected to co-sponsor the demonstration with the EDJ, but at the last moment withdrew their support. SED groups also refused to participate in EDJ-sponsored events in other parts of the Federal Republic. One reason for SED hostility is, of course, the EDJ's championship of rearmament proposals which do not conform to Schumacher's political policy. The new youth group was violently attacked by the SPD central committee for promoting rearmament "without any prerequisites, reservations or conditions", and the SPD has gone so far as to label the EDJ -- together with the Naheimer Kreis, the Bruderschaft and the Erste Legion -- as "not democratic in its organization or aims" and to warn party members that membership in any of these organizations, or promotion of their efforts, is "incompatible" with membership in the SPD. The EDJ protested these charges in an open letter to SPD headquarters in Hannover.

Trade-Union. Trade-union circles have also been disturbed about the character of the EDJ and the motives of its sponsors. At a conference held in Frankfurt November 16-19, the German Trade-Union Federation's Federal Youth Committee went on record as disapproving any cooperation with the organization. Among reasons given for the Youth Committee's rejection were: (1) distrust of the organization's aims because of its dubious membership ("mostly ex-officers, RLD leaders and persons with similar nationalist tendencies" who can no longer be considered "young");

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(2) quotes that the EDJ has features in common with former "masked militarist organizations", including its obscure financing; (3) claims that the EDJ obstructs the "reconstruction work of democratic organizations ... and of the trade-union movement" with its propaganda.

Youth Rings and Established Youth Organizations. The antagonism shown by SPD and trade-union youth is shared in varying degrees by most West German youth organizations, particularly the non-political youth associations grouped together in the Land and Federal "Youth Rings" (Jugendringe). The reasons are much the same, strengthened by the fact that the Ring organizations pursue welfare and educational aims, so that the negative ("anti-") character of the EDJ's program is in itself contrary to Ring principles. (The EDJ counters with charges of "professional jealousy".) One after another various Land Rings have decided to shun the EDJ and the Federal Youth Ring joined in the condemnation and called on the group to change its name, since the designation "League of German Youth" erroneously suggests that it is a coordinated movement of all German youth.

An early report on EDJ activities mentioned EDJ hopes of operating its own glider clubs. It was said that the organization would like to take over the recently formed German Aero-Club, top organization of West German gliders. The Aero-Club chairman, Wolf HIRTH, was unwilling to discuss any merger plans but he did suggest that the EDJ seek Allied permission to include glider units within its structure, and offered in such an event to furnish expert technical advice.

ASTA, the student representatives' council, has not recognized the EDJ's university group in Frankfurt. Evangelical youth in some areas have been ordered

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not to cooperate with the EDJ while Catholic groups have expressed their views almost exclusively through the Youth Rings.

Expellee Youth. In Suedtälchen, Hesse, the organizing EDJ took over in toto a small expellee group called the ("Deutsche Jugendgruppe Ostland"). Its leader seems to have been ejected from his own expellee youth organization as a result. At any rate the director of a training school of the Ostdeutsche Jugend (East German Youth), affiliate of the West-German-wide Central Association of Expelled Germans, EDJ explained subsequently that "the EDJ leader who had tried to swing his group over to the EDJ" had been expelled from the GDJ. In Bavaria, EDJ chairman STERN, frankly admitting the unfruitfulness of other youth groups, said that the (Deutscher Jugendbund) (which represents the youth of the expellee Landsmannschaften) was "the only youth organization with which we get along". On December 2-3, 1950, representatives of the EDJ met representatives of expellee groups for a conference at Burg Hohenfels near Frankfurt to discuss cooperation. EDJ vice-president Peters claimed that participants included representatives of the (Ostdeutsche Jugend) (mentioned above), of Hesse's Deutscher Jugendbund, and of the (Verbindung Unabhängiger Deutscher Studenten) (an expellee student organization) as well as "a number of youth representatives from the Landsmannschaften and (other) expellee organizations".

The Moderate Right. CDU and FDP elements in the Hessian Ring of Political Youth were completely in accord with the EDJ at the time of the Roemerberg demonstration on October 17; in fact (Wolfgang MISCHKE) of the Jungdemokraten was the chief speaker; later relations have apparently been less cordial. The Bavarian Junge Union (JU) joined the EDJ in forming an (Arbeitskreis Demokratischer Jugend) (Working Group of Democratic Youth) which is also said to include represen-

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from the Bund Europäischer Jugend (League of European Youth, BEJ), the Junge Deutsche Gemeinschaft (DG youth organization), the Deutscher Jugendbund (expellees), and from various Bavarian groups that have been instrumental in putting on (American-encouraged) youth forums and parliaments (Europäisches Jugendparlament, Frankisches Jugendforum, Münchner Jugendforum.)

Adults in the CDU and FDP have on various occasions lent their influence and their voices for the EDJ programs. (Bernard von Brentano) brother of CDU Bundestag faction leader (Heinrich von Brentano) has spoken or read from his works at several public EDJ functions; CDU Bundestag delegate (Frans STRAUSS) was the main speaker at the EDJ-inspired demonstration in Munich on October 31; Bundestag member (Dr. ZAWADIL (FDP)) made a speech at the Coburg border demonstration; and (Dr. BÜGERLIS) (CDU) reportedly participated in a public meeting of the EDJ in Hamburg. (Von Waldow) of the Frankfurt headquarters said during the early months of the EDJ's existence that the German industrialists and businessmen who were contributing to the EDJ were "mainly followers or members of the CDU, with a few belonging to the FDP".

Federal Minister Kaiser was reportedly pleased at the clarity with which the EDJ offered its services for his ministry's anti-Communist poster campaign (the Federal Youth Ring was uncooperative), and the EDJ likes to speak of its good relations in Bonn, particularly with the Ministry for All-German Affairs.

The Ultra-Right. Various groups of the ultra-right are eyeing and being eyed by the EDJ, and mutual cooperation in these circles may increase, although there are conflicting statements as to who makes the first overtures.

BHE. The BHE was invited to supply speakers, demonstrators and flags for various rallies and public demonstrations. Dr. FUCHS of the Hessian

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BHE, was, early in the fall at least, uneasy about involving the BHE in some "doubtful venture". However, a BHE organizer, Manfred von PANNWITZ, spoke at the EDJ's Munich demonstration in October and Prof. GIERLACHER at the EDJ meeting in Stuttgart which introduced the organization to the public, while EDJ leader GELEZ in Hamburg told a political friend that leading members of the Bund were "closely associated with Waldemar KRAFT".

DP. The Deutsche Partei was closely associated with the EDJ in the founding of the EDJ's Bremen branch and connections between the DP and the EDJ have also been reported from Hannover. In Berlin, youth of the DP joined the youth group of the Europa Union in expressing "cooperation in principle" with a "Junge Aktion Berlin" sponsored by the EDJ and including, in addition to the EDJ, the Association of Political Refugees from the East, the Association of Victims of Fascism and the Free Youth Parliament of the Soviet Zone. EDJ leaders are reported to have discussed plans for German rearmament with the DP's Dr. Heinrich LAUTE. Laute is said to have given up his earlier position in favor of EDJ proposals and to have promised his aid in approaching, independently of the EDJ, former German military leaders and persuading them to rally soldiers formerly under their command for a voluntary German defense force. Former paratroop Lt. Gen. Kurt STUBERT and former Waffen-SS Lt. Gen. Herbert GILIE are reportedly already cooperating.

DP. In early September HAUSLEITER visited the EDJ's national committee in Frankfurt and proposed cooperation "since both organizations have similar aims and a similar program". According to EDJ spokesmen the proposal was rejected because "Hausleiter is a politician and the EDJ is opposed to

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becoming involved in party politics". In Wuerttemberg-Baden, on the other hand, the EDJ group made overtures to the Junge Deutsche Gemeinschaft and was turned down.

DI. Last September a report of the Hessian Ministry of Interior asserted that the EDJ had already established connections with "former (HI) Gebietsfuehrer GRIESMAYR and a former Bauaufseher of the Reich youth leadership HUBBARDUS". Later, reliable reports have confirmed the association with Griesmayr, one of the chief planners of the DU, since 1950 a member of the Bundesvorstand, and now the DU's main organizer in Wuerttemberg-Baden. There is some suspicion that the DU may be seeking to (1) cash in on the apparent affluence of the EDJ and (2) make indirect use of an already existing membership. The DU in Hesse was closely associated with the dissident EDJ leaders in their attempt to overthrow the EDJ's federal leadership, evidently hoping to acquire a ready-made youth movement to serve as a supporting arm of the DU.

Erste Legion. There has been contact between the EDJ and the Erste Legion, though a EDJ spokesman claims it was sought by the Erste Legion. A Junge Union (JU) leader reportedly scheduled to join the Legion's national board said that the EDJ was "inclined to cooperate" with the Legion, and on March 8 Peters said that the two organizations would cooperate in their fight against Communism. A cooperative arrangement of this sort already exists with the anti-Communist Volksbund fuer Frieden und Freiheit.

Bruderschaft. At least four Bruderschaft, or ex-Bruderschaft, members were early members of, or associated with, the EDJ in the British Zone;

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Enclosure No. 1, Page 24, HICOG
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contact has been established in Lower Saxony between EDJ and Bruderschaft youth leaders. (Thilo von WERTHEIM), formerly of the Grossdeutschland Division, and now or formerly a member of the Bruderschaft, is a cousin of Hamburg EDJ functionary THIEBERG and is reported to have said that he would attempt to influence EDJ policy.

V. THE PRESS

The general attitude of the West German press seems to be one of skeptical observation. Some hostility undoubtedly stems from the EDJ's somewhat unhappy public relations techniques. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung is lending cooperation, and thousands of copies of EDJ pamphlets have been distributed to FAZ subscribers inserted between the pages of the paper. The Bremer Nachrichten also agreed to help distribute pamphlet material for a small fee. According to the EDJ, Die Welt (printed in Hamburg), "a large Berlin newspaper" and a "large South German paper published in Munich" were to give similar assistance in distributing EDJ material. At least three weeklies have given feature space to the EDJ in their columns. The Neue Augsburger Illustrierte (published by Hans MAHR) presented the organization in an article ostensibly questioning its aims but actually romanticizing its activities in a way to make it attractive to the adventurous. Kritik der Zeit (closely associated with the CDU) gave it somewhat noncommittal treatment in its issue of December 13 -- allegedly after a warning from Bonn to be "careful". Although refraining from "final judgment", Kritik der Zeit, after commenting on the "knife-sharp profile" of the EDJ fight against Communism, emphasizes the "blurred outlines" and ambiguity of the remainder of its program. The caustic article in Der Spiegel belabors the group without mercy.

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HAMBURG Despatch No. 3771

June 1, 1951

VI. CONCLUSION AND COMMENT

It is evident from the foregoing that the BDF is fundamentally a political organization and that other aspects of youth activity, such as hiking, sports, etc., are of secondary importance. Or to put the statement in another way, the BDF is a youth organization which has devoted most of its time to a political campaign against Communism and Soviet influence. There is a vast difference between this self-professed fighting group and the traditional youth organizations with their welfare and educational objectives.

Furthermore, the organization and internal administration of the group correspond only vaguely to the accepted democratic standards for the conduct of activities in the youth field. Numerous minor instances, too detailed and localized to permit inclusion in this report, bear out the impression that the lack of sound information on an internal democratic structure follows from the fact that there is none. The absence of known reliable trained welfare workers and youth leaders within the BDF is further evidence. The suspicious and distrustful attitude exhibited by the older established youth groups has basis in fact even if full allowance is made for resentment and professional jealousy.

The BDF program has been clearcut against Communism but vague and sporadic in other fields. The protest against the Landsberg decisions was localized in Hamburg and in Stuttgart; this and other evidences of a nationalistic or "patriotic" attitude may only be subordinated to the larger objective of luring the disillusioned youth into activity against the greater danger, that is, Communism.

The BDF program, except for anti-Communism, seems to be mainly in the formative stage. Perhaps it will never materialize, particularly the campaign in support of democracy. From a tactical point of view, it would seem a major

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mistake for the EDJ to indulge in open discussions and critiques of the democratic structure in West Germany. This is the very obstacle over which previous similar movements, particularly those with rightist tendencies, have always stumbled. If the EDJ persists in its announced campaign for progressive democracy, without the blessing of one of the major democratic parties, it may well be forced further to the right and eventually be grouped with Deutsche Union and similar right-wing radicals.

Little concrete information is available on its Soviet Zone activities except for the statements of the EDJ leaders. These statements also tend to exaggerate the success of the EDJ in organizing resistance to communism, perhaps designedly so. On the other hand, they suggest the possibility that overzealous resistance encouraged by EDJ aid may lead to hasty and unconsidered activity which will provoke countermeasures and jeopardize the security of reliable East Zone youth who should be preserved for their importance to long-range plans for the unification of Germany.

The general impression one gets of the EDJ is one of fuzziness, which consequently gives rise to the charges that the EDJ leadership either does not know what it wants, is incapable of expressing its views and thus of achieving its aims, or is deliberately concealing its purposes. Perhaps this is the main weakness of the organization, that its leadership has not demonstrated the ability to inspire respect and confidence among the young people it seeks to convince. The successes of the EDJ can in part be attributed to support given by the West German government. On the other hand, there is little evidence that its campaign against defeatism has reached or roused the general public. Its

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propaganda shows a certain originality but could probably be duplicated or exceeded by anyone commanding the financial resources that the EDJ undoubtedly has. (So far, no other youth group has displayed much inclination to attack Communism or to defend western defense proposals. In this respect, the oft-expressed EDJ admiration for the USA has undoubtedly helped spread the belief that US authorities finance its program.) Reactions of the Communists to the EDJ have not yet exceeded the treatment which is accorded any other enemy of the USSR, indicating that EDJ activities have harassing value only; in contrast, the preoccupation of some right-wing radicals with the youth group implies that they have seriously considered penetrating and eventually controlling it.

As long as the EDJ confines its activities to the anti-Communist campaign with emphasis on the "anti" aspect, to information activities in the Soviet Zone, and to organizing a potential resistance to Communism in Western Germany, it may be considered a useful force in support of western policy. The value of this work is considerably diminished, however, by its inability to convince other established groups that it has legitimate and sincere goals in the youth field. If this situation continues, if the EDJ develops no positive virtues and concentrates only on the anti-Communist campaign, it is possible that the resentment of the others may be extended to cover even this laudable feature.

Roger Daw

ROGER DAW, Chief
Reports and Analysis Division

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Enclosure 2, HICOG FRANKFURT
3771, June 1, 1961

ORGANIZATION LIST

According to information received from the DDJ Bundesleitung (Federal headquarters) in Frankfurt on April 12, 1961, the DDJ has an "internal" and an "external" structure.

At Federal level the internal structure is as follows:

I. Political Section	Paul LUTH
II. Organisation	Guenther SCHIRATH
III. Administration (including finance)	Heinz SCHIPPLACK
IV. Training	Willi WEINBERG
V. Youth	Norbert HANMACHNER
VI. Social	Friedel GUTJAHN

This structure was said to be duplicated at Land and Regierungsbezirk level.

The "external organization" at Federal level was:

First Chairman	Heinz SCHIPPLACK
Second Chairman	Erhard PETERS
Secretary	Gerhard BISCHOFF
Treasurer	Norbert HANMACHNER

The new Vorstand confirmed on May 6, 1961 shuffled the names as follows:

First Chairman	Norbert HANMACHNER
Second Chairman	Erhard PETERS
Secretary	Gerhard BISCHOFF
Treasurer	Heinz SCHIPPLACK

Luth was not mentioned.

Headquarters are at Feldbergstrasse 13 and Liebichstrasse 16 in Frankfurt (Tel. 79978).

The following information on the Land structure of the DDJ as of April 12, 1961:

Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein

Headquarters:	Gluckstrasse 16-a, Hamburg
Head:	Hans Walter THIELHORN
Regierungsbezirke:	Luebeck, Kiel, Flensburg

1. This is the executive Board (Vorstand) provided for in the organization's statutes.

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Enclosure 2, page 2, HIGOS
FRANKFURT 3771, June 1, 1951

Lower Saxony

Headquarters:
Head:
RB:

Grosse Dueselstrasse 2-a, Hannover
Alfred HUYSE
Osnabrueck, Lueneburg, Celle,
Goslar, Braunschweig, Salzgitter,
Hildesheim

North Rhine-Westphalia

Headquarters:
Head:
RB:

Ginsterweg 28, Essen/Margareten-
höhe
Helmut SCHULTHEIS
Paderborn, Bochum, Dusseldorf,
Cologne, Gelsenkirchen, Aachen

Hesse

Headquarters:
Head:
RB:

Feldbergstrasse 12, Frankfurt a.M.
Otwin EULECH
Kassel, Wiesbaden, Darmstadt

Wuerttemberg-Baden

Headquarters:
Head:
RB:

Fischerstrasse 9, Stuttgart/Süd
Gottfried ZHILLER
Gmünd, Hall (Schwab.), Heilbronn,
Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Ludwigsburg

Bavaria

Headquarters:
Head:
RB:

Bayerstrasse 75, Munich
Helmut WINTER
Augsburg, Kempten, Rosenheim,
Passau, Starnberg

Frankonia (Northern Bavaria)

Headquarters:
Head:
RB:

Kirchgasse 12, Coburg
Herbert GRIESSBACH
Wuerzburg, Erlangen, Bayreuth,
Hof, Muernberg

Berlin

Headquarters:
Head:
Sub-areas:

Wildenowstrasse 40, Berlin/Dahlem
Georg KOPS
Identical with the 8 magistracies
in Western Berlin

The Berlin organization is called Berliner Bund Deutscher Jugend.

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Frankfurt

Headquarters:
Head:
Sub-stations:

Rambertstrasse 28, Frankfurt
Eugen SCHMIDT
Oldenburg

Rhineland-Palatinate

Headquarters:
Head:
Sub-stations:

Westgenstrasse 13, Heidelberg
Herbert BARTHELEME
Mainz, Kaiserslautern, Heidelberg

The Regierungsbezirke are subdivided into Kreis or Ort (local) organizations. There were said to be a total of 237 such Kreis organizations. The FDJ is also planning special groups for the very young (beginning with ten-year-olds), called "Freischar" and "Vikinger".

In the Soviet Zone there is a "Resistance Group of German Youth" (Widerstandskreis der Deutschen Jugend), which is now run from Jungfernstiegstrasse 3, Berlin/Halensee. The leaders' assumed names are HELMAN and FRÖHLICH.

BISCHOFF of the Federal executive board listed (a) the Delegates' Convention (Delegierten-tagung), (b) the Annual Assembly (Jahreshauptversammlung) and (c) the Free Youth Parliament (Freies Jugendparlament) of the Soviet Zone as the organization's most important meetings.

The first Delegates' Convention was held in Frankfurt on December 17 (see Enclosure 1, page 5). The first Jahreshauptversammlung was on May 6, 1951. No details on this meeting are available at this time. The Free Youth Parliament has to date held one meeting with delegates coming from the Soviet Zone.

The statutes submitted by the FDJ at the time of its registration in Frankfurt in June 1950 give considerable authority to the Federal leadership without very clear provision for control by the membership. Paragraph 9 provides that the association be administered by the executive board (Vorstand) and the membership assembly (Mitgliederversammlung). The executive board may also establish committees for special purposes and grant them full authority (paragraph 15). According to the statutes, the Vorstand is elected for a term of one year by the membership assembly which may also, for cause, elect a new Vorstand during any year by simple majority vote, or reelect members already serving (paragraph 16). Paragraph 5 says that regular members are entitled "to vote and participate in elections". (Regular members must be approved by a personnel committee appointed by the executive board, after written application (paragraph 6)).

The statutes give no information on requirements for membership beyond the necessity for written application and approval by a personnel committee appointed by the Vorstand. A member of the headquarters/Heidelberg youth officials that a clear determination to be neither a Communist nor a right radical was a prerequisite, and also agreement with the "great conception" (not defined, but undoubtedly referring to the FDJ's aggressively anti-Communist attitude and its conviction of the necessity for an active and concerted defense of the West). As for age requirements,

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the NDJ interprets the concept of youth more broadly than the traditional youth organizations. "Youth is not a matter of age. Youth is the courage to live", the membership card defines, and a member of the central executive explained: "When speaking of youth, we do not think of a certain age group, but of an attitude which shows courage and initiative for action".

Membership meetings are to be called by the chairman "according to need" (paragraph 17). The statutes also provide that the Jahreshauptversammlung is to take place not more than a month after the end of the fiscal year. The statutes give no details as to the constitution of either the membership meetings or the annual assembly, nor is there any mention of a quorum. According to paragraph 19 a "simple majority of the members present" suffices for decisions and elections, and paragraph 20 says that all properly convened Vorstand meetings and assemblies are empowered to make decisions (beschlussfähig) regardless of the number of members present.

2. A recent report says that Land leaders, business managers, and members were invited to the meeting on May 5 and that Federal headquarters arranged to pay expenses for eight persons, including functionaries, from each Land.

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Enclosure 3, HICOG FRANKFURT
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NDJ PUBLICATIONS

This list may be described as representative but not exhaustive. The NDJ leadership, as a group or individually, contributes most of the writing, editing and layout, although a number of articles by other authors have appeared in the periodic publications.

Reproduction is done in the central office and at lower levels. William VOEHL, Frankfurt/Main, does some of the printing work.

Informationsdienst

The official organ of the NDJ in Western Germany is the Informationsdienst (Information Service), which has appeared monthly since its first issue in August 1950, first in mimeographed form, since November as a properly printed 8 to 16-page illustrated magazine. Contributions include statements of principles in a lead article (evidently by LUEHN); information on NDJ activities; articles on institutions and conditions in the Soviet zone and on conditions in PW camps in the USSR (evidently contributed by members); reprints of NDJ propaganda; exposes of Communist-front organizations and SPD propaganda techniques; and articles by outsiders such as Bernhard von Brentano and Alfred Roegner. Some of the material is intended for use in discussion meetings, and there are even suggestions for public speaking. Not all the writing is equally well done. Total distribution is not known, but this magazine is mainly designed for members and prospective members.

Arbeitshefte

These mimeographed publications contain training material for NDJ leaders and instructors. They receive only limited distribution and contain exhaustive material on subjects similar to those in the Informationsdienst. Number 5, published in December 1950, is entitled "Die Propaganda der SPD und KP". Compiled by Paul Egon Luehn, it contains an expose of the methods, propaganda and controls used in the Soviet zone to ensure obedience to the Soviet aims and views. It begins with the thesis that postwar German democracy has been imposed from without and that the SPD/KPD is a direct importation from Moscow. It ends with the conclusion that this form of world Communism will result in total economic slavery and is the exact opposite of the ideals of Marxism. Arbeitsheft Number 7 contains a history of Bolshevism.

Blatt Ausland

Appearing in summer 1950, this leaflet warned that Moscow is drafting German youth in support of its dictatorship. In the West, German youth must decide to fight for its own future, for Peace without Communism, and for Unity without a Politburo. Distribution in Western Germany is given as 300,000. It might be called a recruiting leaflet for NDJ.

Bund Deutscher Jugend

This two-page leaflet in fat print is a recruiting bid. It appeals to all

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Enclosure 3, page 2, NAWP
FRANKFURT 3771, June 1, 1951

those who are interested in the democratic future of Germany to register with NAWP. Distribution is given as 250,000.

Der Fortschrittliche Demokratische Frontblock

This leaflet, together with various posters and other invitations, was used to publicize the October 7 rally in Frankfurt and other cities. A protest against the terror methods of Moscow, it demands:

- Free Elections in all Germany
- Return of Oder/Neisse territories
- Dissolution of Sovzone/concentration camps
- Punishment for all Communists guilty of crimes against humanity
- Expulsion of all KPD agents and saboteurs in Western Germany
- Restoration of German unity and liberty by the UN

Resolutions containing similar phraseology were passed at these demonstrations and published.

Protest gegen Einheitswahl

NAWP printed propaganda, including stickers, letters, etc., against the controlled elections of October 15, 1950 in the Soviet Zone was reportedly made up in several hundred thousand copies. It was designed for Soviet Zone consumption and was forwarded by mail, by balloons and miniature rockets, and through clandestine channels. All of it, whether in letter, leaflet, poster or sticker form, urged Sovzone citizens to vote NO in the elections. One leaflet entitled "Deutschland den Deutschen" had specific instructions for organizing protests and resistance to the "National Front Swindle". Another used the familiar Communist theme "Korea for the Koreans -- Germany for the Germans" but added the clincher "Never for the Soviets". Various form letters requested the recipients to reply and to report on the elections.

Other Sovzone Material

An effectively illustrated postcard showing Death as a drummer-boy leading a group of KPD youngsters to the brink of an abyss was evolved as an answer to Sovzone propaganda received in the West. An illustrated Christmas poster (also reproduced on a postcard) proclaimed "We remember at Christmas our brothers and sisters at the mercy of Bolshevism behind the Iron Curtain". The only flaw in this otherwise admirable campaign seems to be the danger involved for the correspondents in the Soviet Zone. In an open letter to Grotewohl, the NAWP takes issue with his letter to Chancellor Adenauer and demands that Grotewohl back his words with action, that he release the political prisoners in his zone, abolish censorship and border controls, drop all ties with the Soviet controllers, etc.

Rearmament and Defense

A "Circular Letter" of September 11, 1950 presented "Our Position on the Question of the Remilitarization of Germany". It emphasized the eleventh-hour

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urgency of the situation and therefore argued against any "conditions" ("One cannot stop to discuss the arrangement of the firehouses and a reorganization of the fire brigade when the whole city is burning"). It did, however, stress that any defense that went beyond purely internal tasks like border protection and anti-sabotage activities "belongs in the framework of an all-European army, to which we should contribute a contingent -- under German officers and with equal representation in the higher command positions". Stressed also is the urgency of changing the European Council from an "advisory group" into a "real European government".

Publications, posters and leaflets have hammered away at these ideas. Some of the themes:

"No Demilitarization, but Defense"

"We have no choice as to whether we shall allow ourselves to be 'remilitarized' or not. We can only choose whether we shall defend ourselves or be enslaved by Soviet imperialism. We shall defend ourselves!"

"Our brothers beyond the Elbe cannot avoid serving Stalin's war machine with an 'Ohne uns'".

"An individual may commit suicide, a nation cannot commit suicide"

"Progressive Democracy"

Two major projects in early 1961 were an anti-Communist signature campaign "For a lasting peace in freedom and justice, for the defense of Germany in league with a united Europe" and a questionnaire on "Constructive Democracy". The former was to be undertaken on a monumental scale in "all households of Western Germany". The questionnaire is also aimed at the whole population; a BRJ spokesman said that the first 100,000 copies were distributed early in January. The BRJ says it will plan its new program on the basis of answers received to the leaflet's twenty questions. They cover a wide range, from West German governmental, economic and educational problems to reunification and neutrality.

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