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Youth Patriots, Rebels and Conformists in Wartime & Beyond: Recent Trends in the History of Youth Nationalism and National Identity in the Twentieth Century

Jóvenes patriotas, rebeldes y conformistas en tiempos de guerra y posguerra: tendencias recientes en historia del nacionalismo juvenil e identidad nacional en el siglo XX

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Abstract: Recent publications focusing on youth patriotism and national identity have made significant contributions to the history of youth in the twentieth century. This essay discusses recent contributions to the history of youth by focusing on studies of youth patriotism and nationalism. Increasingly, scholars depict young people not as a monolithic group with identical attitudes towards nationalism, but as individuals and small group constellations, sometimes within larger organizations, with behaviors ranging from conformity to apathy and shades of dissent and resistance. Political regimes have faced challenges harnessing and controlling young people's energy and enthusiasm as citizens and nationalists in times of war, cold war, peace and memory work. As scholars have argued for some time, typical sites of youth nationalism include the school classroom, the military, leisure activities and youth groups or movements. New studies in the last few years explore understudied groups and link youth responses to nationalism with commemorative ritual, symbolism, music, and travel as forms of memory work.

Keywords: Youth, nationalism, patriotism, conforming, resistance, subculture, war, postwar, memory, generation, pacifism, identity.

Resumen: Publicaciones recientes centradas en el patriotismo juvenil y la identidad nacional han hecho significativos aportes a la historia de la juventud del siglo XX. Este artículo analiza contribuciones a la historia de la juventud centrándose en estudios sobre patriotismo y nacionalismo juvenil. De forma creciente se ha descrito a los jóvenes no tanto como un grupo monolítico con idénticas actitudes hacia el nacionalismo, sino como individuos y como constelaciones de pequeños grupos en ocasiones en el seno de organizaciones muy amplias con comportamientos oscilantes entre la conformidad y la apatía y sombras de disenso y resistencia. Los regímenes políticos hicieron frente a estos desafíos cambiando y controlando la energía y el entusiasmo juvenil como ciudadanos y nacionalistas en tiempos bélicos, de guerra fría, paz y trabajo memorial. Como señalaron algunos autores, los espacios habituales del nacionalismo juvenil incluían las aulas, el ejército, actividades de ocio y movimientos y grupos juveniles. Nuevos estudios realizados en los últimos años exploran grupos poco analizados y vinculan las respuestas juveniles al nacionalismo con rituales conmemorativos, simbolismo, música y viajes como vías para el trabajo de la memoria.

Palabras clave: Juventud, nacionalismo, patriotismo, conformidad, resistencia, subcultura, guerra, posguerra, memoria, generación, pacifismo, identidad.

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent months American journalist Thomas Friedman has been observing with some satisfaction youth and young adult involvement in the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street demonstrations and other boulevards protests in urban centers across the globe in recent months. Public outcries express anger and resentment toward corporate greed and dictatorial power as well as demands for justice and national regeneration.¹ And yet prior to these protests and youth involvement in the 2008 U.S. presidential election, Friedman remarked on the relative calm and complacency of contemporary youth when he visited his daughter's college campus in 2007:

“I’ve been calling them “Generation Q” — the Quiet Americans, in the best sense of that term, quietly pursuing their idealism, at home and abroad . . . America needs a jolt of the idealism, activism and outrage (it must be in there) of Generation Q . . . to light a fire under the country. But they can’t e-mail it in, and an online petition or a mouse click for carbon neutrality won’t cut it. They have to get organized in a way that will force politicians to pay attention rather than just patronize them. Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy didn’t change the world by asking people to join their Facebook crusades or to download their platforms. Activism can only be uploaded the old-fashioned way . . . face to face, in big numbers, on campuses or the Washington Mall. Virtual politics is just that — virtual”.²

In his literary call to arms, Friedman refers to a perceived highpoint of youth protest in the 1960s as a model to help galvanize our contemporary “quiet” generation of youth and transform them into visible and empowered citizen activists. With the best of intentions Friedman supports an impression of youth and civic participation historians have long sought to correct. Despite popular assumptions, university students and school-aged youth have not generally ex-

¹ While Friedman has noted that the Occupy protests lack a coherent message and consequent organizational power at present, he sees some potential in the protest movement. See Thomas FRIEDMAN, “Why Many Back Occupy Wall Street”, *New York Times*, 30 October 2011; Uptin SAIDI/ Sway CALLOWAY, “Occupy Wall Street An ‘Effective’ Movement, Thomas Friedman Says: ‘Your Generation, the MTV Generation, They Need to be the Regeneration,’ Writer Tells MTV News”, MTV Networks, 7 October 2011, <http://www.mtv.com/news/articles/1672209/occupy-wall-street-thomas-friedman.jhtml>, accessed 15 November 2011.

² Thomas L. FRIEDMAN, “Generation Q”, *New York Times*, 10 October 2007.

hibited pronounced and widespread rebellion or extreme nationalist activity during times of war and transition in the twentieth century, with a rare exception.³ We might like to believe that most youth served as vanguard activists resisting oppression and speaking as the voice of democratic, patriotic reason, but the truth is a complex web of reactions and subcultural responses to extreme nationalism and positive manifestations of patriotism, with most youth exhibiting mild patriotism and conformity. Many historians and social scientists have emphasized in recent years that even within anti-establishment youth behavior, young people often negotiated for greater freedom and independence, rather than engaging in outright rebellion and class struggle, the emphasis in the Birmingham school of thought on youth subcultures.⁴

This essay discusses recent contributions to the history of youth by focusing on studies of youth patriotism and nationalism among teens and pre-teens, the younger siblings of the more widely researched category, university students.⁵ Recent publications focusing on youth patriotism and national iden-

³ Susan K. MORRISSEY makes this argument for university students in Russia in the period leading up to the First World War in her monograph, *Heralds of Revolution: Russian Students and the Mythologies of Radicalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. Exceptions may include Nazi youth and Red Guard activists in China during the Cultural Revolution in urban areas, although here, too, scholars have distinguished different levels of cooperation and conformity with national youth organizations. See Michael KATER, *Hitler Youth*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004; Lisa PINE, "Creating Conformity: The Training of Girls in the Bund Deutscher Mädel", *European History Quarterly*, 33, 2003, pp. 374-375; Claire WALLACE/Raimund ALT, "Youth Cultures under Authoritarian Regimes," *Youth and Society*, 32/3, 2001, pp. 275-303; Joseph W. ESHERICK, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*, Stanford University Press, 2006; Andrew George WALDER, *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

⁴ Juliane FÜRST, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 13.

⁵ The history of nationalist influence on young children in pedagogy and beyond is also underrepresented in recent scholarship on the first half of the twentieth century. Some recommended texts include Tara ZAHRA, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008; Maureen HEALY, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 211-240; Christa HÄMMLE, "Diese Schatten über unsere Kindheit gelegen: Historische Anmerkung zu einem unerforschten Thema", *Kindheit im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Vienna: Bohlau, 1993; Stéphane AUDION-ROUZEAU, *La Guerre des Enfants. Essai d'histoire culturelle*, Paris, 1993; Bryan GANAWAY, "Character Dolls Consumer Culture and Debates over Femininity in Late Imperial Germany (1900-1918)", *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3/2, 2010, pp. 210-232; Gregory P. WEGNER, *Anti-Semitism and Schooling under the Third Reich*, New York: Routledge, 2002; Gregory P. WEGNER, "Mothers of the Race: The Elite Schools for German Girls under the Nazi Dictatorship", *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 19/2, 2004, pp. 169-188. For a recent historiographical essay on developments in this field, see Conlin HEYWOOD, "Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary and an Epitaph?" *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3/3, 2010, p. 343.

tity have made significant contributions to the history of youth in the twentieth century. This essay discusses recent contributions to the history of youth by focusing on studies of youth patriotism and nationalism. Increasingly, scholars depict young people not as a monolithic group with identical attitudes towards nationalism, but as individuals and small group constellations, sometimes within larger organizations, with behaviors ranging from conformity to apathy and shades of dissent and resistance. Political regimes have faced challenges harnessing and controlling young people's energy and enthusiasm as citizens and nationalists in times of war, cold war, peace and memory work. As scholars have argued for some time, typical sites of youth nationalism include the school classroom, the military, leisure activities and youth groups or movements.⁶ New studies in the last few years explore understudied groups and link youth responses to nationalism with commemorative ritual, symbolism, music, and travel as forms of memory work.

The early twentieth century is a useful starting point for studies of modern patriotism and nationalism among youth in states with advanced bureaucracies for a number of reasons. First of all, adults and youth leaders began to organize young people on the national level in youth groups in the early twentieth century in associations such as the Boy Scouts and Girls Guides in Britain and in the Wilhelmian youth movement and the Wandervögel in Germany.⁷ At the same time, national education authorities and families increasingly expected a proportion of youth to stay in school longer thus spending more time with other young people in their age cohort, a phenomenon that would expand in the decades that followed. Youth organizations and educational institutions also profited from an expansion in technical means beginning in the early twentieth century for reaching teens and preteens through modern forms of media including radio, film and mass-produced periodicals directed at youth. Over the course of the first few decades of the twentieth century, national democratic youth organizations and other youth groups on a local and regional basis increasingly faced challenges based on military conflicts of long duration and experimentation with extreme political forms from fascism to communism. Despite commencing rather quietly with warfare limited to bilateral conflicts, the

⁶ See the classic text Eugen WEBER, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976, especially chapter 18.

⁷ Of course there were community youth gangs and local youth groups historically, even organizations that claimed to speak for the youth of a national group, usually a slightly older group, such as Young Ireland or Young Italy.

twentieth century developed of course into an age of continental and global warfare, challenging recoveries, and political transition, often infused with potent and competing memories of the recent past.

This essay explores a select number of recent works and trends in the history of youth patriotism and youth experiences and reactions to political and military upheaval and transition, offering preliminary commentary to support transnational comparison and spark interest in lines of research inquiry. The field benefits from publishers' sponsorship of key texts, series, and periodicals such as *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, which was launched in 2008 by Johns Hopkins University Press.⁸ While many studies of youth focus on historical actors up to the age of twenty-five or thirty,⁹ my discussion will focus primarily on research exploring teens and preteens, particularly those still enrolled in educational institutions and too young to actually vote or serve in military conflicts. Indeed, the postwar reactions of youth too young to fight in a military conflict are of particular interest for understanding the political atmosphere of postwar periods, including the potency of childhood memories and struggles between generation for power and legitimacy. The concept of generations and generational influence has often aided scholars with strong applicability for youth studies, though the concept carries more explanatory power in some historical developments than others.¹⁰

2. YOUTH PATRIOTISM AT WAR & IN ITS AFTERMATH

While scholars have explored the history of young soldiers in WWI and their counterparts in WWII,¹¹ research is just beginning to focus on the war and

⁸ Key English-language publishers in this area include Berghahn Books, Harvard, Palgrave and Routledge, among others.

⁹ Scholars such as Richard Jobs and Jon Savage argue one cannot define youth in this discipline in precise age brackets and such attempts have not proved helpful. See Oded HEILBRONNER, "From a Culture 'for' Youth to a Culture 'of' Youth: Recent Trends in the Historiography of Western Youth Cultures", *Contemporary European History*, 17/4, 2008, p. 576.

¹⁰ For discussions of the use of generational analysis in youth studies, see Oded HEILBRONNER, "From a Culture 'for' Youth to a Culture 'of' Youth: Recent Trends in the Historiography of Western Youth Cultures", pp. 576-578; Mary FULBROOK, *Disonant Lives: Generations and Violence through the German Dictatorships*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, preface and pp. 6-8.

¹¹ Consider for example, Leonard V. SMITH, *The Embattled Self: French Soldiers' Testimony of the Great War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007; George MOSSE, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990; Benjamin ZIEMANN, *War Experiences in Rural Germany: 1914-1923*, New York: Berg, 2006; Thomas BRUSCINO, *A Nation Forged in War: How World War II Taught Americans to Get Along*, Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee

postwar experiences and activism of teens and preteens too young to fight in these conflicts and select youth subcultures. Within the existing scholarship coverage of German and Soviet youth appears more advanced than other nationalities both for WWI and WWII, particularly for the study of the Hitler Youth and League of German Girls as well as some nonconformist and resistance groups and Soviet partisans. By comparison, less attention has been given to groups such as the Zazous in France and the Zoot suit youth in urban centers in the United States during WWII.¹²

Following in the tradition of Belinda Davis's and Maureen Healy's¹³ work on everyday life on the German and Austrian homefronts in WWI, Andrew Donson's new 2010 publication *Youth in the Fatherless Land*¹⁴ explores German youth nationalism and youth experience based on schools' pedagogy and propaganda, youth literature, changing routines and organized leisure. Focusing principally on school children and working youth born between 1900 and 1908, Donson identifies inconsistent schooling, lack of resources, and instability and lack of supervision at home as pivotal factors influencing the everyday lived experiences of wartime youth. In a carefully crafted and convincing narrative, he argues that while some youth explored political radicalism on the right and left during and following the war, most German youth exhibited both moderate nationalism, but also nonviolence during the war. A minority turned against the war and the patriotic call to duty, from 1915 and onward, just as a small proportion diverged in the opposite direction, and joined paramilitary groups inspired by right-wing political ideology after the war had ended. The extreme nationalist influence helps us to understand why a minority of youth, too young to fight in the war, turned extremist after the war. In his narrative, Donson also argues that as young people engaged in patriotic activities with limited adult su-

Press, 2010; Catherine MERRIDALE, *Ivan's War: Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939-1945*, New York: Macmillan, 2006; Norman NAIMARK, *The Russians in Germany*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995; Omer BAROV, *The Eastern Front, 1941-1945: German Troops and the Barbarization of Warfare*, New York: Palgrave, 2001.

¹² See Sophie B. ROBERTS, "A Case for Dissidence in Occupied Paris: The Zazous, Youth Dissidence and the Yellow Star Campaign in Occupied Paris (1942)", *French History*, 24/1, 2010, pp. 82-103.

¹³ Consider for example, Belinda DAVIS, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000 and "Food, Politics and Women's Everyday Life during World War I", in K. HAGEMANN/ S. SCHÜLER-SPRINGORUM, (ed.), *Home Front - Battle Front: Military and Gender Relations in the Two World Wars*, New York: Berg, 2002, pp. 115-38; Maureen HEALY, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*.

¹⁴ Andrew DONSON, *Youth in the Fatherless Land: War Pedagogy, Nationalism, and Authority in Germany, 1914-1918*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

pervision and control, youth people experienced “new opportunities to act independently.”¹⁵ He includes within his study left-wing youth disenchanted with the Social Democratic Party and its cooperation with the war effort and their efforts to form a peace movement and participate in anti-war strikes. Donson’s coverage of early pacifist groups helps to fill a significant gap in the scholarship of European peace movements, which is of course stronger for the latter decades of the twentieth century. Youth participation in nations where such movements were stronger, such as in Britain and France, would be helpful for understanding the history of pacifist organizations in the 1910s and 1920s.¹⁶

Donson also paints a portrait of German youth exceptionalism, suggesting that his conclusions would not necessarily apply to youth in other combatant nations such as France, Britain and the United States, where scholarship is even more lacking than in the German case. According to Donson, even before the war began German youth had more experience than British youth, for example, with group-based extracurricular activities in the spheres of politics, sports, and cultural pursuits. Thus German leaders organizing patriotic work had a distinct advantage in their ability to utilize the existing structure of these organizations.¹⁷ Donson also maintains that wartime pedagogy in Germany was particularly nationalistic in tone based on the valorization of the armed forces by teachers and curriculum rapidly developed that was much more pronounced in its support for German imperialism than materials before the war.¹⁸ Whereas other combatants justified fighting the war out of patriotic duty, German schools and wartime youth literature additionally supported Germany’s claim to exert itself as a world power with imperialist aims.¹⁹ Moreover, he maintains that German schools moved away from their traditional authoritarianism during the war in a manner that was unique, promoting less rote learning and more student participation. Donson argues further that compared to other nations, with the exception of war refugees,

¹⁵ Andrew DONSON, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, p. 10.

¹⁶ Peace movements in the 1920s in Germany and their stronger counterparts in Britain and France are becoming the subject of scholarly investigation. Consider Shelley E. ROSE, “The Penumbra of Weimar Political Culture: Pacifism, Feminism, and Social Democracy”, *Peace and Change*, 36/3, 2011, pp. 313-343; for later decades, see Benjamin ZIEMANN, *Peace Movements in Western Europe, Japan and USA since 1945: Historiographical Reviews and Theoretical Perspectives*, Essen: Klartext 2004 (Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen, No. 32); Jost DULFFER/ Robert FRANK, *Peace, War and Gender From Antiquity to the Present* (Band zur Historischen Friedensforschung, Band 14), Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2009.

¹⁷ Andrew DONSON, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, pp. 4, 224.

¹⁸ Andrew DONSON, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, pp. 4-5, 19.

¹⁹ Andrew DONSON, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, pp. 106-7, 224.

German youth in particular experience challenging conditions and upheaval including “starvation, cold, physical exhaustion, and, worst of all, defeat and revolution”.²⁰ These harsh conditions and realities affected their attitude towards politics, the war and peace, pushing most to nonviolence and limited enthusiasm for war. Additional studies of youth in Russia and Italy would be particularly helpful, because here too, the conditions during the war were harsh and youth witnessed revolutionary turmoil in Russia and Italian frustrations with limited spoils from war treaties. Mussolini’s Italy and the civil war in Russia certainly gave postwar political opportunities to WWI youth too young to fight in the conflict.²¹ Particularly with his sensitivity to social class and gender issues, Donson provides a useful model for a similar comparative study in Italy especially for urban youth. Donson’s sub-thesis of German exceptionalism may remind readers of George Mosse’s comparison of the myth of the war experience and the cult of fallen soldiers in Germany with other combatants, principally France, Britain and Italy, especially in terms of his discussion of youth literature. Donson did not choose to delve into some topics of interest to Mosse, such as nationalist games young people played or other related topics of popular culture tied to the trivialization of the war and memory of the war.²² Donson’s focus on nationalist school propaganda contrasts well with Mona Siegel’s monograph on the patriotic pacifism of schoolteachers during WWI and in interwar France, furthering Donson’s claim, duly qualified, of German exceptionalism.²³

Exploring youth in the aftermath of WWII in the Soviet Union, Juliane Fürst explores some of the same themes as Donson in her monograph *Stalin’s Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*.²⁴ Fürst tells the story of a generation of young people in the period 1945-1952, who were too young to fight in the war, but whose lives were forever changed by it. The post-war youth competed with an older age cohort, the Frontoviki, who saw active service as soldiers and partisan fighters and came to dominate politics up un-

²⁰ Andrew DONSON, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, p. 19.

²¹ An essay by Luca La Rovere considers university students within the youth population, “Fascist Groups in Italian Universities: An Organization at the Service of the Totalitarian State”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34/3, 1999, pp. 457-475. For youth, see also Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001, pp. 93-122 and 157-170, in particular.

²² George MOSSE, *Fallen Soldiers*, 128, 141-4,

²³ See Mona L. SIEGEL, *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Pacifism, and Patriotism, 1914-1940*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

²⁴ Juliane FÜRST, *Stalin’s Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

til the age of Gorbachev. The challenges Stalin's last generation faced, however severe, could never compare to the Frontoviki causing frustration and varied reactions. Fürst explores the relationship and interplay between youth and the state by analyzing nationalist young adult literature, Komsomol activism and inactivity, ritual, and style and fashion among other topics.

Donson and Fürst both provide a revealing analysis of wartime and post-war nationalist literature's influence on youth on a number of levels, juxtaposing intended state aims and military support of such literature with the response of parents, educators and young people. While he prefers not to emphasize reception and agency given the lack of unbiased sources, Donson maintains that popular war literature, including many so-called "war penny dreadful" propelled war myths and increasingly supported stoic responses to hardships and losses based on his extensive research of some eighty war novels and six hundred stories in youth magazines. However, at the same time, the stories suggested that young people possessed independence and status. Ever conscious of gendered perspectives, Donson, notes further that fictional stories portrayed female youths with a status equal to their male counterparts and independent of patriarchal control and the shackles of marriage, even if the characters were domesticated and selfless. In the case of Donson's WWI-era literature, adults often critiqued the sensationalism inherent in the stories, whereas the stories were very popular with young people precisely based on these qualities.²⁵ Fürst also looks at war-themed literature and film, particularly the cult classic *The Young Guards* which lost some of its popularity as a result of the subsequent publication of a censored version of the text. The book and film told the story of a group of Soviet youth in a town overcome by the Germans in WWII, but Stalin was disappointed that the Komsomol and party leadership did not play a pivotal role directing the youths' resistance. Initially young people bonded with the film on an emotional and romantic level, but not necessarily on a political level as intended. Plus the book and movie spurred the creation of small Young Guard groups. Often patriotic, they were nevertheless unauthorized and undesired in the eyes of Soviet authorities. Their presence suggested that the Komsomol organization did not satisfy youth, an overarching theme for Fürst.²⁶ A forthcoming publication about leisure and travel escapes in postwar socialist Eastern Europe emphasizes this

²⁵ Andrew DONSON, *Youth in the Fatherless Land*, pp. 105-106.

²⁶ Juliane FÜRST, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*, pp. 153-155.

same theme of socialist citizens, including young people, carving out their own alternative pastimes, meanings and interpretations, even within prescribed socialist rituals and state-controlled leisure and educational venues.²⁷

According to Fürst, even active members of the Komsomol who performed socialist rites and rituals as required successfully side-stepped state politics and political goals through parallel participation in youth subcultures and organizations. Careerist-minded young people knew they had to be Komsomol members, but that did not dissuade some of them from membership in the apolitically-minded stiliagi, the first postwar subculture among Soviet youth, and anti-Stalinist oppositional groups. Rather than engaging in political discussion, stiliagi preferred to focus on fashion, music and dance, forms of internationalist rather than nationalist identity expression. Some Komsomol perfectionists also led small oppositional groups that criticized Stalin and endorsed neo-Leninism, craving a historical ideal that had never really existed. And Fürst reminds her readers that William Risch provides the example of Lviv hippies in the 1970s that supported Soviet morality by trying to undermine social hierarchies.²⁸ More strident groups fully opposed to Soviet politics in the 1950s used the Komsomol, however, as a model, promoting programs, writing manifestos and collecting membership dues in a similar manner as the official communist youth organization. Through her comprehensive and nuanced discussion in the eighth chapter of her monograph, Fürst highlights the range of youth responses to state-prescribed political activism, from youth who opted out of collective organizations to socialist perfectionists seeking to reform the Komsomol. With respect to Jewish minorities, Fürst provides preliminary commentary regarding Jewish youth who felt alienated, isolated from national communities and socialist unity, especially given the anti-Semitic slur campaigns of the late Stalinist era which prevented Jewish youth from enrolling at top Soviet educational institutions.²⁹ This is an area where additional work would be fruitful, particularly tied to youth interest in Zionism and failed refusenik attempts at emigration.³⁰

²⁷ See Cathleen GIUSTINO/ Catherine PLUM/ Alexander VARI (ed.), *Socialist Escapes: Breaking Away from Ideology and Everyday Routine in Eastern Europe, 1945-1989*, New York: Berghahn Books, forthcoming. Florin Poenaru's essay in particular considers alternative escapism at a national site, a soccer stadium, used for ceremonies supporting Ceau escu's cult of personality.

²⁸ FÜRST, p. 363. See William RISCH, "Soviet 'Flower Children'. Hippies and the Youth Counter-Culture in 1970s Lviv", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40/3, 2005, pp. 565-584.

²⁹ FÜRST, pp. 93, 120, 329.

³⁰ Within the existing scholarship on Zionist youth in the Soviet Union during the Cold War, see Donnacha Ó BEACHÁIN/ Abel POLESE, "Rocking the vote: new forms of youth organisations in

Fürst discusses pacifist organizations in the Soviet Union that contrast sharply with Donson's anti-establishment leftist pacifist organizations in Germany at the end of WWI. Fürst describes organizations which supported a government-sponsored campaign "Struggle for Peace" in the late 1940s and 1950s in which organizers wrote petitions and gathered signatories. Young people made up a large proportion of the activists. Fürst argues that Soviet leaders were using the movement to support parallel goals and campaigns glorifying the Soviet Union and critiquing the West and Western military forces. Ironically, the state expected youth to support disarmament and participate in large-scale military parades. The bias of international, peace and anti-Western campaigns contributed to the alienation of some youth, including intellectuals.³¹ Donson and Fürst's work in the area of peace movements helps to fill a gap in the scholarship which is stronger in coverage for university students of the 1960s and 1970s of course for European history³² and for their counterparts in the United States in the 1930s and the Vietnam War-era.³³

Historians focusing on the history of youth in the United States during World War II have only in recent years begun to look at youth subcultures in depth.³⁴ Luis Alvarez has recently produced in-depth analyses of the zoot suit

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union", *Journal of Youth Studies*, 13/5, 2010, pp. 615-630; Vladimir (Ze'ev) KHANIN, *Jewish Education and Jewish Identity: An Academic Evaluation of Jewish Identity Teaching and System of Jewish Education in Ukraine. Jerusalem and Ramat, Gan*: Bar-Ilan University and Jewish Agency for Israel, 2000.

³¹ FÜRST, pp. 87-93.

³² Consider recent publications such as Belinda DAVIS/ W. MAUSBACH/ M. KLIMKE/ C. MACDOUGAL (ed.), *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Transnational Identities in 1960s/70s, West Germany and the U.S.*, New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010; Axel SCHILDT/ Detlef SIEGFRIED, *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960-1980*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2007; Detlef SIEGFRIED, *Sound der Revolte: Studien zur Kulturrevolution um 1968*, Weinheim/München: Juventa Verlag, 2008; Martin KLIMKE/ Joachim SCHARLOTH, *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan Transnational History, 2008; Quinn SLOBODIAN, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012; Martin KLIMKE, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties*, Princeton, N.J./ Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010; Stuart J. HILWIG, *Italy and 1968: Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; and Michael SEIDMAN, *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2004.

³³ Kenneth J. HEINEMAN, *Put Your Bodies Under the Wheels: Student Revolts in the 1960s*, Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2001; Donald WHISENHUNT, *Veterans of Future Wars: A Study in student activism*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011.

³⁴ For a general text on youth subcultures in the United States in the Twentieth Century, see Joe AUSTIN/ Michael Nevin WILLARD, (ed.), *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America*, New York, New York University Press, 1998.

phenomenon in two American cities during the war.³⁵ The subculture consisted of young adults, male and female and of mixed races, who listened to jazz music, danced the jitterbug and donned the youth fashion craze of zoot suits, short skirts, and coats to the tips of their fingers, along with other accessories of the requisite style. Alvarez explains that many Zooters dressed in this manner to empower themselves, and they felt good wearing the outfit and fitting into a group, often highlighting their racial, gender and cultural differences. Zooters included Mexican-American, African-American, Caucasian and Asian-American youth. Young people visibly expressed their demand for dignity by wearing zoot attire, turning away from conformity, social humiliation and dehumanization, which were often connected to second-class citizenship.³⁶ According to Luis Alvarez, this subculture pushed for national belonging – inclusion in a time of prevalent xenophobia, enhanced by the war.³⁷ Central to this study, the zoot suiters represented different attitudes towards wartime patriotism, national service and American identity politics, similar to the diverse members of Soviet and German youth subcultures and groups discussed above.

In his 2008 study, Luis Alvarez explores the different attitudes of select zoot suiters towards wartime nationalism and inclusion in the national community, among other themes, in his case study of this subculture in Los Angeles and New York. His focus allows him to investigate the lives of Mexican-American and African-American youth primarily and discuss key episodes in the history of this subculture, such as the week-long LA riots of June 1943, a topic regaining fame in modern popular culture through a 2001 U.S. PBS film entitled *Zoot Suit Riots*.³⁸ Luis provides a balanced narrative contrasting the zoot suiters who volunteered to fight or served as draftees, on the one hand, with the youth who engaged in anti-war protest. While quantitative evidence would be difficult to compile, Alvarez's extensive research concludes that most zoot suiters were not opposed to the war.³⁹ Many also worked in the war-industrial complex. According to Alvarez, many zoot suiters felt that if the U.S. pursued a war for democracy and social freedom abroad, then the nation also had to look internally and fight for these same features at home.⁴⁰ As historian

³⁵ Luis ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during WWII*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008.

³⁶ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 3-8.

³⁷ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 200.

³⁸ Joseph TOVARES, *Zoot Suit Riots*, PBS, 2001.

³⁹ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 106.

⁴⁰ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 237.

Oropeza has argued, some zoot suiters did not see national belonging as “contingent upon performing whiteness and normative manhood”.⁴¹ They supported an interracial and internationalist U.S. identity, demonstrating solidarity with anti-colonial groups around the world. Alvarez portrays the zoot suiters struggle as something of a “dress rehearsal” for social movements after the war and the Civil Rights movement.⁴²

Alvarez’s case study of Los Angeles features a detailed analysis of the week-long LA Riots of 1943, an episode which reflects the nature of minority Caucasian youth opposition to zoot suiters, race prejudice and interracial relationships as a prime battleground. Alvarez concurs with historian Mauricio Mazón, who has argued that white servicemen, pumped up and ready to fight in the war, found themselves waiting in LA to be shipped out. They applied their negative energy to attack minority zoot suiters, especially if they were seen in the company of white women. Zoot suiters may have been attracted to white women as a means of claiming a certain whiteness, social currency and dignity as Americans.⁴³ Of course interracial relations could go both ways, and white servicemen pursued Mexican-American girls as well with last flings before being shipped out.⁴⁴ While zoot suiters stared some of the fighting, white servicemen were responsible for most of the violence that ensued, representing their opposition to the inclusion of non-white youth, particularly male youth, as American citizens.⁴⁵ Alvarez’s analysis is thus tied to ethnicity and gender and to a lesser extent social class as a component of youth identity as well as factors of inclusion or exclusion. He devotes brief attention to job competition or perceived competition with more minority workers entering wartime industries, an area that is ripe for more research.

Alvarez explores the broader public response to the zoot suit subculture, including minority leaders, police and public authorities, and journalists who often viewed the youth in a manner distinct from the teen and young adult’s own self perceptions. Central to position of many of these groups was a criticism of zoot boys as pleasure seeking in contrast with young men engaged in military service.⁴⁶ The racial spin to this simplistic equation found in main-

⁴¹ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, p. 105.

⁴² ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 12, 238-9.

⁴³ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 163-164.

⁴⁴ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 178-180.

⁴⁵ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 157, 194.

⁴⁶ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, p. 105.

stream journalism juxtaposed the image of white young men in uniform with non-white youth such as Mexican-Americans and African-Americans threatening morality and politics at home at no risk to themselves.⁴⁷ Such attitudes reveal serious concerns about juvenile delinquency, particularly when wartime commitments limited parental supervision, an issue war societies in the twentieth century invariably faced, and frequently studied by historians, as seen in works by Donson and Davis cited above. Nationalism and patriotism color such discussions whether the culprits were thought to be zoot suiters in United States or British girls fraternizing with American soldiers during the same period. Only French young women and their sisters in occupied Europe stirred more nationalist outrage by sleeping with enemy German soldiers.⁴⁸ As American journalists and civic leaders engaged in negative portraiture of zoot suiters, their counterparts in African-American and Mexican-American communities focused on encouraging non-white youth to help out with the war effort and assist with curtailing crime. Most of these representatives were middle-class activists and leaders who failed to address structural issues tied to delinquency and crime and favored their own class identity while critiquing working-class African-American and Mexican-American youth as un-American. Alvarez could prove more convincingly his argument that these minority leaders often failed to acknowledge the youth's dignity, envisioning them as a threat to the stability of the homefront during the war.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, on the whole Alvarez succeeds admirably in his efforts to explore the different attitudes of black and Mexican-American zoot suiters towards wartime nationalism and inclusion in the national community, even as white youth and authority figures picked fights with them in newspapers and the streets of LA and New York. Alvarez's study provides an excellent complement to Catherine Ramirez's monograph on pachucas, female Mexican-American

⁴⁷ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, p 43.

⁴⁸ See Richard VINEN, *The Unfree French: Life Under the Occupation*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006, especially the chapter entitled "Frenchwomen and the Germans", and Robert GILDEA, Annete WARRING, "Intimate and Sexual Relations", *Surviving Hitler and Mussolini: Daily Life in Occupied Europe*, New York: Berg, 2006; Robert GILDEA / Annete WARRING / Olivier WIEVIORKA (ed.), *Marianne in Chains: Everyday Life in the French Heartland Under German Occupation*, London: MacMillan, 2002. For other nationalities, see Emma VICKERS, "Youth off the Rails: Teenage Girls and German Soldiers: A Case Study in Occupied Denmark, 1940-1945", in Dagmar HERZOG, (ed.), *Brutality and Desire: War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century*, New York: Palgrave, 2009; Sonya ROSE, "'Good-Time' Girls and Quintessential Aliens", *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain 1939-1945*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 71-106.

⁴⁹ ALVAREZ, *The Power of the Zoot*, pp. 40, 70-73.

ican zoot suiters in Los Angeles prior to, during and following World War II.⁵⁰ These authors have helped draw attention to a field ripe for understanding youth national identities in a multi-ethnic society, with hopefully further research into female and Asian-American zoot suiters in this subculture and in cities and towns beyond LA and New York.

3. YOUTH NATIONALISM & MEMORY WORK

Based on the expanding and maturing field of memory studies, in the past two decades scholars have examined the ways in which postwar effects of war on youth reverberated not only in generations who were children and adolescents during times of war and political conflict, but also in future generations. The literature is particularly strong with respect to youth collective memories, memory work, pedagogy, performance and commemorative rituals tied to the Second World War and the Holocaust.⁵¹ Recent scholarship represents interdisciplinary crossover and promise, with emphasis on nationalist historical narratives, symbols and memory sites, intermixed with East European socialist memory, in areas such as antifascist youth literature, poetry, media, performance and travel and tourism.⁵²

⁵⁰ Catherine S. RAMIREZ, *The Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. See also Elizabeth R. ESCOBEDO, "The Pachuca Panic: Sexual and Cultural Battlegrounds in world War II Los Angeles", *Western Historical Quarterly*, 38/ 2, 2007, pp. 133-156; Anthony MACÍAS, *Mexican-American Mojo: Popular Music, Dance and Urban Culture in Los Angeles, 1938-1968*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008; Robin D. G. KELLEY, "The Riddle of the Zoot: Malcolm Little and Black Cultural Politics during WWII", in Janice A. RADWAY/ Kevin K. GAINES/ Barry SHANK/ Penny VON ESCHEN, *American Studies An Anthology*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009, pp. 280-289.

⁵¹ Consider Mary FULBROOK, *Dissonant Lives*; Nina TUMARKIN. *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia*, New York: Basic Books, 1994; Alan NOTHNAGLE, *Building the East Germany Myth: Historical Mythology and Youth Propaganda in the German Democratic Republic, 1945-1989*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1999; Laura HEIN/ Mark SELDEN (eds.), *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000; Catherine PLUM, "The Children of Antifascism: Exploring Young Historian Clubs in the GDR," *German Politics and Society*, 26 2008, pp. 1-28; Y. C. GOODMAN/ N. MIZRACHI, "The Holocaust does not belong to European Jews alone: The differential use of memory techniques in Israeli high schools", *American Ethnologist*, 35, 2008, pp. 95-114; Dan PORAT, "From the Scandal to the Holocaust in Israeli Education", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39/4, 2004, pp. 619-636.

⁵² Karin WIECKHORST, *Die Darstellung des 'antifaschistischen Widerstandes' in der Kinder und Jugendliteratur der SBZ/DDR*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000; Erika HUGHES, "The Holocaust in Contemporary Drama and Performance for Young Audiences", *Youth Theatre Journal*, 25/1, 2011, pp. 51-62; Erika HUGHES, "Youth Holocaust Drama: A Study of History, Memory and National Identity", Ph.D. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009.

In his monograph *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, anthropologist Jackie Feldman explores the phenomenon of Israeli youth Ministry of Education tours of the deathscapes of Poland as a journey of commemoration and national identity formation. The tours have been common since the mid-1980s and have expanded over the years, including some 28,000 young people in 2005. Feldman agrees with studies that discuss collective memory of the Shoah as an Israeli master narrative and argue that the resulting national identity tied to the Shoah constitutes the strongest component of national identity among Israeli youth today.⁵³ In a contemporary society no longer united on the moral grounds of the struggle against Palestinians, the Nazi enemy and their Polish accomplices remain uncontested, and thus a simple, unproblematic source of unity and national identity. According to Feldman, young people who participate in Ministry of Education tours, or others based on their model, engage in a purposeful mission tied to their senses, emotions and identity as Israeli citizens rather than a typical educational journey or study abroad tour. He argues further that the teens begin the journey at an impressionable age when they are easily influenced by romantic ideals and shortly before they begin their military service.⁵⁴ Both coming-of-age travel and military service have long been tied to national identity formation in historical studies. However, readers may question just how impressionable sixteen or seventeen year-olds may be when exposed to the values and perspectives that school leaders and their tour guide model given educational scholars' emphasis on the importance of family socialization as an influence and young people's own critical judgment.⁵⁵ Contemporary youth studies more broadly grapple with this interplay between the influence of institutional structure and socialization on the one hand and youth agency.⁵⁶ Feldman devotes moderate attention to generational analysis and clearly contextualizes his study by discussing scholarship on Israeli history pedagogy, school rituals and Zionist collective memory propelled since the 1967 Six Day War. Feldman acknowledges the role of teachers, Holocaust survivors and students themselves play in performing and shaping the collective memory the Ministry of Educa-

⁵³ Jackie FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, New York: Berghahn, 2010, pp. 2, 255.

⁵⁴ FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, pp. 3-4, 23.

⁵⁵ See Benita BLESSING, *The Antifascist Classroom: Denazification in Soviet-occupied Germany, 1945-1949*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, particularly pp. 139-140.

⁵⁶ Consider for example socialist Ken ROBERTS' discussion of these themes in *Youth in Transition: Eastern Europe and the West*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp. 12-14.

tion structuring the experience and master narrative.⁵⁷ Here his interpretive discussion could benefit from additional theoretical works on memory including sociologist Iwona Irwin Zarecka's work on memory intermediaries, particularly given his focus on the youth population and their teachers, guides and survivor witnesses.⁵⁸ However Feldman demonstrates a thoughtful application of several theories of memory, ritual and pilgrimage, including those of Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Connerton and Victor Turner.⁵⁹

Feldman contributes to the existing scholarship on Israeli youth identity by arguing that advanced secondary students making civic religious pilgrimages to Holocaust sites in Poland partake in a "ritual reenactment" of Jewish victimhood and survival, followed by regeneration in their travel back to Israel. Feldman describes the transformative experience in Poland as an "intensive, week-long pilgrimage that performs the history of the Jewish people and the paradigm of *hurban* (destruction) to *geula* (redemption) as schematized in the Zionist master narrative."⁶⁰ The pilgrims travel to Auschwitz where they don blue and white sweatshirts and unfurl the blue and white Israeli national flag placing it strategically in the ashes of the crematorium. Feldman argues convincingly that the youth perform their civic religion through readings and songs including "Hatikvah", the Israeli national anthem. While perhaps only twenty-five of the over one hundred students plan and carry out the ceremony, all students have an opportunity to join in song.⁶¹ Young people then visit the Warsaw Ghetto where a narrative of resistance provides inspiration for active witnessing. Like survivor immigrants, the students then travel to Israel where they soon serve their state as soldiers. The trip utilizes a distancing technique whereby in the deathscapes of Poland, Israel becomes more a place of longing and desire.⁶² In this vein, Feldman's discussion is intuitive: travelers feel a stronger sense of national identity when traveling abroad, interacting with foreigners and representing their nation – in this case quite visibly wearing their national colors.

⁵⁷ FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, p. 24.

⁵⁸ Iwona IRWIN-ZARECKA, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 2007, first published in 1994.

⁵⁹ Maurice HALBWACHS, *Collective Memory*, Transl. Lewis A. COSER, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; Paul CONNERTON, *How Societies Remember: Themes in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Victor TURNER, *The Ritual Process*, Chicago, IL: Aldine, 1969; Victor TURNER/ Edith TURNER, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

⁶⁰ FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, p. 255.

⁶¹ FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, p. 193-4, 200-201.

⁶² FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, pp. 255-7.

While Feldman's own biography includes Ministry of Education training and personal connections to Holocaust pilgrimages, his analysis comes across as fairly objective and differentiated with respect to his student research subjects. Several years before he wrote this monograph, Feldman completed the Ministry of Education's four-month long training program. Feldman served as a tour guide for four groups of Israeli youth and then also accompanied groups twice as an observer. His case study of a group stems from one tour that he observed. In addition to his own observations, Feldman used six student diaries as primary source evidence, from students unaware that their diaries would be used, and twenty-five questionnaires that students filled out upon their return to Israel.⁶³ Feldman argues that his training and additional experiences help him to better contextualize the case study. Based on his background and relatively balanced treatment, Feldman of course cannot be categorized as one of the strongest critics of Holocaust pilgrimages. Nevertheless, he identifies the Ministry of Education's programmatic efforts and their potential weaknesses. He also reveals that some pilgrims, himself included, question aspects of the nationalist, Zionist narrative and the manner in which the pilgrimage's focus prevents an exploration of personal, family memories of the Holocaust. He even compares overly nationalist rituals at Auschwitz to the ceremonies George Mosse described as promoting the mythic cult of the fallen during and after the First World War.⁶⁴

For the most part, Feldman's student research subjects represent a not-insignificant minority of Israeli youth who demonstrate particular enthusiasm for a state making exceptional efforts to imbibe nationalist fervor in their youth. He is careful to note, however, that the young people on these subsidized trips represent different social classes, levels of religiosity, and family histories with respect to the Holocaust. With that said, the reader may still have questions remaining about the family backgrounds of these youth and Feldman's claim that his research subjects reacted differently to the experience. Readers may also be curious to learn more about the teens' experiences during their very limited free time in Polish cities, including leisure activities and any intermingling with Polish residents. The role of these youth upon their return is more clearly delineated, as they serve as witnesses to their own generation, transmitting Holocaust memory in a society rapidly losing its historical eye wit-

⁶³ FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, pp. 21-22.

⁶⁴ FELDMAN, *Youth Voyages to Poland and the Performance of Israeli National Identity*, pp. 260-266.

nesses of Nazi atrocities. Similar to Andrew Donson, Feldman makes an argument for Israeli exceptionalism: Israeli schools and the Ministry of Education, more broadly, devote considerable time and effort to orchestrate nationalistic ceremonies and rituals compared to contemporary schools in Europe and the United States. Students of youth nationalism under fascism or communist dictatorships in the twentieth century cannot help but see parallels with Israeli civic education, given the youth of the Israeli regime, foundational narratives, connections between tragedy and rebirth, and the use of rites and symbolism in times of military conflict and uncertainty.

4. CONCLUSION

Through an analysis of recent scholarship on youth patriotism and national identity, this essay has attempted to highlight some of the most significant new contributions to the history of twentieth century youth in select national contexts, such as Germany, the Soviet Union, the United States and Israel. A positive feature of these texts is their differentiation of young people's national, political and cultural allegiances, attitudes and activities, including patriotic enthusiasm, conformity, dissent and rebellion. Hence adult authorities from political leaders to secondary school teachers experienced failure and in other cases qualified success as they tried to shape and influence young people's identity and performance as citizens and nationalists in times of war, cold war, peace and memory work. In some exemplary cases researchers' arguments incorporate a detailed and appropriate investigation of generational experience. Select texts, such as Donson's monograph, also consistently integrate analyses of gender providing a useful model. A number of publications appearing in the past few year also explore understudied groups such as Mexican-American and African-American zoot suiters, peace activists and the last generation of Soviet citizens to come of age under Stalin, not only as the objects of nationalist criticism and influence, respectively, but as decisive historical actors shaping their own responses and national and cultural participation. Recent scholarship on post-conflict memory work, in particular, by social scientists and historians demonstrates a constructive trend tying youth responses to nationalism to commemorative rites, songs, symbols, drama, and purposeful travel. There is more work to be done, however, to connect interpretations of nationalist influence, activism and civic performance to the unique qualities, characteristics and agency of youth of diverse genders and social backgrounds.