

“Come and See for Yourself”:
International Tourist propaganda of Nazi Germany and
its continuity with the past.

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Master Thesis

Word count: 21096

Master programme: Tourism & Culture (2019-2020)

University: Radboud University Nijmegen

1st Supervisor: Dr. Remco Ensel / 2nd Supervisor: Anna P.H. Geurts Utrecht, July 10 2020

Summary

The major objective of this master thesis is to find out whether international tourism promotion changed under the Nazi regime. No scholars have yet attempted to look at the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany in greater detail since most works only contain a brief discussion of first impressions. The results of this thesis will teach scholars more about the influence that the Nazi regime had on the tourism industry. By analysing newspaper advertisements and magazines that were produced by the Nazis for distribution abroad, this study investigates the international tourism promotion of the country from 1934 to 1939. The themes of the source materials are analysed and the results are compared with the findings from an earlier study. A discourse analysis is used to study the image that was conveyed of the country. A discourse analysis is also used to find evidence for an anti-capitalist and anti-elitist fascist discourse in the source materials. The author will also look for National Socialist images, figures, and references. Finally, references to current politics will be searched for in the source materials. It was concluded that the international tourism promotion had changed in some regards under the Nazi regime. Some pictures of prominent Nazi figures, some symbols and references to National Socialism, and some references to current politics were discovered in the foreign tourism promotion of the Nazi era. The promotion, however, continued to convey an image of the country that was attractive, nonaggressive, and nonpolitical. The materials dispelled the doubts that some tourists might have had about their safety in the country. The foreign tourism promotion of the Weimar era did the same. The materials thus did not seem to have changed much during the Nazi era.

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INTRODUCTION

Nazi Germany has remained a popular topic in academic research. That's not surprising since its emergence marked a total break with the past. The National Socialist government has gone down in history as one of the most destructive regimes in history. The violence, persecutions, and the attempts at the racial 'purification' of Europe, continue to disturb historians today.¹ It's to be expected that the general focus has been on what made the regime distinct. Nevertheless, it's due to the 'cultural turn', generational shifts, and the unification of Germany that more ordinary perspectives in research on Nazi Germany have appeared.² A 'societal turn' has also taken place. The Nazi regime is now defined by scholars as a modern genocidal regime, in which all sections and groups living in it contributed to its survival.³ This new definition helped scholars to analyse the relationship that different societal groups, organizations, and industries had with the regime.

The 'societal turn' has also impacted research on the tourism industry of Nazi Germany. Scholars started to wonder what the industry looked like in the Nazi era. Important academic research about tourism in Nazi Germany has appeared over the years, from the likes of Angela Schwarz, Kristin Semmens, Shelley Baranowski, and Rudy Koshar. These scholars advanced our understanding of the tourism industry in the National Socialist country. They have researched (among other things) the experiences, practices, infrastructure, organizations, and demographics of tourism in the Third Reich.⁴ Nevertheless, even after all this research, not all questions have yet been answered. Until now, it has not become clear whether the foreign tourism promotion changed in the Nazi era. This is an important question since it was already pointed out by both Rudy Koshar and Kristin Semmens that the Nazi regime treated tourism as a tool to obtain goodwill.⁵ I will thus devote my thesis entirely to this main question: To which extent did international tourism promotion change under the Nazi regime?

While the aforementioned tourism scholars have paid attention to the many aspects of the tourism industry that changed with the Nazi takeover of power, foreign tourism promotion has not yet been one of them.

¹ Shelley Baranowski, Armin Nolzen, Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann, *A Companion to Nazi Germany* (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 1.

² Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 2.

³ *Ibidem*, 2.

⁴ Kristin Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2000); Shelley Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁵ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 130; Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

Historian Rudy Koshar maintained that the German guidebooks that were published after 1933, followed a long tradition. They all devoted great attention to the practical preparation of one's trip to Germany and allowed tourists to fantasize about the experience of traveling.⁶ Domestic tourism promotion stayed more or less the same as well. Koshar attributed the continuity of domestic tourism promotion to the brochures' inclusion of pictures of German peasants in traditional costumes, as well as to the photographs of idyllic towns in green valleys. Descriptions about local cuisines or the promotion of respected peasant values were also evidence of the continuity. Koshar argued that it was evident that the Nazis did not try to revolutionize the existing tourism culture.⁷ The same images and descriptions were promoted to foreign tourists as well, so they were also made to believe that not much had changed with the Nazi takeover of power.⁸

Shelley Baranowski focused on the distinct aspects of tourism under the Nazi regime, by studying the practices and structure of Nazi tourist organization 'Kraft durch Freude' (Strength through Joy), which was founded in November 1933 and embodied the attempts of the National Socialist regime to improve German living standards.⁹ Baranowski noted in her book that the Nazis promoted working-class tourism to demonstrate that the Nazis cared about their workers.¹⁰

Kristin Semmens' 'Seeing Hitler's Germany' opened by arguing that what was truly different after 1933, was the amount of state coordination and the meaning that the state ascribed to leisure travel.¹¹ The Nazi state took control of the leisure industry through a process called *Gleichschaltung*.¹² The tourist literature of specific tourist destinations also took on a different form during the National Socialist era. Guidebooks were revised, brochures' production processes were cancelled, and maps were altered.¹³ In the realm of foreign tourism promotion, the Nazi regime offered regular tourists an escape from the politicized present.¹⁴ While Berlin's tourist promotion celebrated the achievements of the Nazi Party, the tourist promotion of the Black Forest did not do this at all.¹⁵ It was therefore not always visible what was different about tourism in the 'new' Nazi Germany. What

⁶ Koshar, *German Travel*, 159.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 134.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 134.

⁹ Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy*, 4.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 10.

¹¹ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 4.

¹² *Ibidem*, 10.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 190.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 190.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 190.

changed were the intentions behind the production of tourism promotion. References to politics were purposefully kept out of the tourist promotion of some regions, as a way to maintain goodwill abroad.¹⁶ Nonetheless, Kristin Semmens discussed in her research only her first impressions of the foreign tourism promotion. She acknowledged that the country provided foreigners with images of a peace-loving, trustworthy, and progressive Nazi Germany.¹⁷ Semmens did not look at the texts in the tourism promotion in greater detail, nor did she analyse its discourse. Kristin Semmens looked strictly at the promotional material that Nazi Germany distributed in the United States. She also didn't compare the Nazi foreign tourism promotion with the tourism promotion of the Weimar era.

Nevertheless, Semmens' conclusions shifted the attention of scholars towards a new, political direction. Elisabeth Piller focused on the tourism promotion of inter-war Germany. Piller concluded that the Nazi tourism professionals promoted the same attractive, nonpolitical, and feminine (nonaggressive) image of the country, as the Weimar Republic.¹⁸ In the tourism promotion of the previous government, such images were included to convince American tourists that Germany was a peaceful nation.¹⁹ This was very important since Germany had gained a bad reputation due to its actions in the First World War. The tourism promotion of The Third Reich contained representations of Germany's romantic charms, musical and academic heritage, technological ingenuity, efficient industry, and contemporary architecture.²⁰ Piller shifted the attention of scholars to the diplomatic side of tourism. Her analysis of the foreign tourism promotion of the Weimar Republic helped scholars compare the tourism promotion of the Weimar era with that of other eras, like the one of National Socialism. Elisabeth Piller did not, however, attempt to do a thorough analysis of the Nazi tourism promotion. Her conclusions were mostly based on the fact that she studied the tourism infrastructure of Nazi Germany and noticed that there weren't any different people working in the industry.²¹ She also based her argument on the fact that the tourism slogans and the images in the materials stayed the same.²² Elisabeth Piller has therefore not attempted

¹⁶ Ibidem, 190-191.

¹⁷ Ibidem, 144-145.

¹⁸ Elisabeth Piller, "Managing Imponderables: The Rise of U.S. Tourism and the Transformation of German Diplomacy, 1890-1933," *Diplomatic History* 44, no. 1 (2020): 74.

¹⁹ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 66-67.

²⁰ Ibidem, 67.

²¹ Ibidem, 74.

²² Ibidem, 74.

to analyse the foreign tourism promotion of Nazi Germany in more depth. Her conclusions about the continuity of the materials appeared only briefly at the end of her article.²³

In the aforementioned literature about tourism and tourism promotion in Nazi Germany, a thorough analysis of the texts and the discourse in the foreign tourism promotion has not yet been attempted. A discourse analysis might, therefore, provide new insights about the continuity of the foreign tourism promotion. References to National Socialism and politics might prove that the material had changed. The results might ultimately change scholars' understanding of the Nazi era. Perhaps some sections of society, like the tourism industry, did not change as much as would be expected. The results may also teach scholars more about the meanings that the Nazis ascribed to foreign tourism promotion. The goal of this thesis is thus to decide whether the content and function of foreign tourism promotion changed in the Nazi era. For this, it's important to establish what was truly distinct about Nazi Germany in theoretical terms.

I was inspired by research from fascism studies, which taught me that the movement of fascism wanted to change almost all aspects of society. In the early stages of this academic field, fascism was defined as a movement that aimed to return society to the way it was in the past.²⁴ After some decades, the movement was defined differently. Besides attempting to return society to the way it was in the past, fascism also stimulated the development of new technology.²⁵ The understanding of fascism changed completely when the book *Modernism and Fascism* (2007) of Roger Griffin came out. Griffin argued that fascists were modernists because they protested against other, contemporary modernities. Moreover, fascists did not want to return society to the way it was in the past but rather pursued an alternative version of modernity.²⁶ The pursuit of this goal was accompanied by protests against the negative aspects of other modernities. Fascists condemned for example the forces of individualism and global consumerism. These had caused materialism and greed to spread all around Europe, to the great detriment of workers' health.²⁷ Tourism provided these people with an escape from work, as tourism changed from an elite practice into a non-elite practice in the inter-war period.²⁸ The Nazis might have seized on the opportunity to fuel the anger of the masses

²³ Ibidem, 74.

²⁴ Henry Ashby Turner Jr., "Fascism and Modernization," *World Politics* 24, no. 4 (1972): 551.

²⁵ Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-2.

²⁶ Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 348.

²⁷ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 181-182.

²⁸ Susan Barton, *Working-class organisations and popular tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 11; Eric G.E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan,

against the capitalist modernity of the present, especially since memories of the Great Depression of 1929 were still fresh in everyone's minds. The world crisis had intensified the conflicts over the distribution of wealth.²⁹ Almost everywhere, the depression had hit the poor much harder than the rich.³⁰ Speculators, bankers, and monopoly capitalists were blamed for the recession.³¹ This happened all over the world.

At the same time, Nazi Germany used tourism to improve the image of the regime abroad, so it would not lose out on the necessary income.³² If the Nazis wanted to use foreign tourism promotion to sway people's opinions of the country and National Socialism, it's expected that the Nazis tried to do two things at once. First, they might have tried to criticize the capitalist system and the elitist forces that were benefitting most from it, by capitalizing on people's outrage over the Great Depression of 1929.³³ Second, they might have tried to advertise that National Socialism tried to come up with a 'healthy' alternative to the capitalist system, as exemplified by its attempts to create a classless society.³⁴ It would be interesting to discover such criticism since the travel writing of the Weimar Republic did not contain any ideological judgements about the contemporary, urban world.³⁵

Apart from the theoretical definition of fascism, this thesis will also make use of the theoretical concept of normality. This concept was regularly used in the literature about tourism in Nazi Germany. The concept of normality appeared in the works of Kristin Semmens, Rudy Koshar, and Elisabeth Piller.³⁶ Elisabeth Piller identified normality as a diplomatic attribute. It can be attained by spreading (positive) images that directly counter the negative reputation of the country. The appearance of normality can ultimately help a country obtain international goodwill.³⁷ International tourists were most concerned about their safety in the country, due to rumours about violent incidents.³⁸ It's thus expected that the Nazi tourism promotion helped improve the country's reputation by letting tourists know that it was anything but unsafe to visit Nazi Germany.

I will also compare the themes and general image of the tourism promotion of Nazi

2016), 135; Adam T. Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism and the Modern World, 1800-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 41.

²⁹ Eberhard Kolb, *The Weimar Republic* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), 101.

³⁰ Dietmar Rothermund, *The Global Impact of the Great Depression, 1929-1939* (London: Routledge, 1996), 136.

³¹ Rothermund, *The Global Impact*, 136.

³² Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

³³ Rothermund, *The Global Impact*, 136.

³⁴ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 242.

³⁵ Koshar, *German Travel*, 79.

³⁶ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, ix; Koshar, *German Travel*, 132; Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 48.

³⁷ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 48.

³⁸ Koshar, *German Travel*, 132; Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 150-151.

Germany with those of the tourism promotion of the Weimar Republic. Moreover, I will specifically look for instances in which National Socialism is promoted. Elisabeth Piller pointed out that the foreign tourism promotion of Weimar Germany did not contain any political references. The image that was conveyed of the country was entirely nonpolitical.³⁹ The inclusion of references to National Socialism would thus prove that tourism promotion had changed under the Nazi regime.

The thesis will be divided up into three chapters. In the first chapter, the Status Quaestionis and theoretical concepts of fascism and normality will be introduced. In the second chapter, an overview will be given of tourism and tourism promotion during the inter-war period. This chapter will provide the reader with the necessary context to understand the development of inter-war tourism and tourism promotion in Germany. Chapter 3 will include the results of my discourse analysis and the results of my analyses of the content and texts. It will also contain an analysis of the criticism that the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany received.

For my analysis, I will make use of several editions of *Germany*. This tourism magazine was produced from 1934 until 1939 by the Reichsbahnzentrale für den Deutschen Reiseverkehr in Berlin. Editions were sent to offices abroad and distributed from there to foreign tourists. Two important offices were the German Railways Information Bureau in London and the German Railway Information Office in New York. I found several of the *Germany* magazines in *The Internet Archive*. The magazines provide a good opportunity to study discourse. The goals of *Germany* were to attract and inform potential tourists abroad.⁴⁰ It's thus to be expected that the promotional material also addressed the negative reputation of Nazi Germany directly, as that was one aspect that travellers could still be concerned about. Travel magazines like *Germany* usually covered a lot of different topics. It's my expectation, however, that the ideology of fascism influenced some of the discourse in the magazines. National Socialism was after all, what made the country a unique destination in Europe.

I will also analyse the discourse and content of British newspaper advertisements of the German Railway Information Bureau (London), which were published between 1934 and 1939. I found these advertisements in the *British Digital Newspaper Archive* and *The Times Archive*. In the newspaper advertisements, there was not a lot of space to properly inform tourists about the country. It's therefore interesting to see how Nazi Germany dealt with this.

³⁹ Ibidem, 67.

⁴⁰ Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/florencemendheimb003f029/mode/2up> (Accessed June 7, 2020), 2.

What were the most important themes? What was the image that these small types of texts conveyed of Nazi Germany? I used the book *De taal van de geschiedenis* (2019) of Marnix Beyen as guidance during my discourse analysis.⁴¹ Marnix Beyen's book provides tips for a discourse analysis that has multiple layers, with semantics and syntax being the most important ones. My focus will therefore to a greater extent be on the meaning of words and sentences in the travel promotion. Less attention will be paid to the entirety of the texts.

⁴¹ Marnix Beyen, *De taal van de geschiedenis: Hoe historici lezen en schrijven* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019).

CHAPTER 1

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH, CONCEPTS, AND METHODS

1.1 Status Quaestionis

In the next section, I will attempt to discuss the development of topics, methods, and research questions in various areas of research that relate to the topic of my thesis. The Status Quaestionis will discuss research on the history of inter-war tourism, tourism in Nazi Germany, and fascism. First, this section will provide the reader with a brief overview of what has been written and what has remained undiscussed. Second, this chapter will give insight into the theoretical and methodological background of my research.

Interwar tourism

Not much literature has been published about tourism in the inter-war period. Moreover, no research seems to have had this period as its main topic. The inter-war period usually remained tucked away in a single chapter of a book.

The research bundle *Touring beyond the Nation*, which was edited by Eric Zuelow, came out in 2011.⁴² This bundle aimed to teach scholars that tourism was already a transnational phenomenon at the beginning of the twentieth century. Successful tourism practices could be emulated by other nations since popular international tourism exhibitions were held each year.⁴³ It was therefore easy to watch the competition. Moreover, governments began to take great interest in the tourism planning process during the inter-war period. States realized that tourism could be used to invoke feelings of nationalism.⁴⁴ Tourism became better organized. Touring associations, governmental offices, and budgetary allotments were created. States carefully watched and followed the international tourism developments in Europe and America.⁴⁵ The bundle gave scholars an idea of how international developments affected the professional tourism industry.

Eric Zuelow wrote a book too, *A History of Modern Tourism* (2016), which contained

⁴² Eric G.E. Zuelow (ed.), *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 2.

⁴³ Zuelow, *Touring Beyond the Nation*, 78.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 128.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 128-129.

an analysis of the inter-war period. Zuelow argued that the inventions of bicycles and automobiles in the inter-war period helped develop mass tourism.⁴⁶ Zuelow did not only analyse inter-war tourism from the perspective of contemporary tourism professionals, but also from the perspective of contemporary tourists. Tourism was developed at first because of economic motives. In the inter-war period, it was also recognized that tourism offered people an escape from the stress and tedium of working life.⁴⁷ Other scholars also acknowledged this, like for example Robert Snape and Helen Pussard. They demonstrated that intense British debates about leisure for the working class took place at the start of the inter-war period.⁴⁸ Zuelow also stressed that tourism was used by states for political goals. Tourism could make workers healthier, but it could also benefit the nation. Tourists could visit their homeland, learn about its past, and connect with their fellow countrymen. Zuelow argued that tourism was also used by states to promote the country's advancements in the field of technology. Domestic and foreign tourists were provided with pictures of cars and cruise ships, to make them realize how advanced and competitive the nation had become.⁴⁹

Elisabeth Piller pointed out that tourism became the tool of diplomats in foreign policy. Piller described how European countries competed for the support of the United States. In the inter-war period, this competition also started to take place outside the realm of formal politics.⁵⁰ Tourism took on a new meaning. Piller argued that American tourists were targeted by the promotional campaigns of governments, railways, and overseas offices. Their goal was to achieve financial revenue, attract investors, and achieve goodwill.⁵¹ Piller demonstrated that the promotional material for foreign tourists took on a different meaning. Weimar Germany's tourism promotion specifically targeted American tourists. The material that they received conveyed an attractive, nonaggressive, and nonpolitical image of the country. Elisabeth Piller argued that Weimar Germany used these images to get rid of the bad reputation that the country currently had. Germany had gained this reputation due to its actions in the First World War.⁵²

⁴⁶ Zuelow, *A History*, 135.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 135.

⁴⁸ Robert Snape, Helen Pussard, "Theorisations of leisure in inter-war Britain," *Leisure Studies* 32, no. 1 (2013): 2-3; Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism*, 41; Kevin Fox Gotham, "Selling New Orleans to New Orleans: Tourism authenticity and the construction of community identity," *Tourist Studies* 7, no. 3 (2007): 323.

⁴⁹ Zuelow, *A History*, 135-136.

⁵⁰ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 75.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 70.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 67.

Tourism in Nazi Germany

The first academic works about tourism in Nazi Germany contained analyses of the experiences of tourists that came to the country. Angela Schwarz looked at the impressions and emotions that tourists in Nazi Germany experienced when they encountered National Socialism.⁵³ Schwarz also examined the life that foreigners lead when residing within Nazi Germany, the reactions they had when receiving German propaganda, and their evaluations of the propaganda that native Germans received.⁵⁴ Schwarz gave scholars an idea of how tourists experienced their holidays in a National Socialist country. Her contribution strictly contained an analysis of the tourist experience. Scholars did not yet learn anything about the tourism industry of Nazi Germany.

Rudy Koshar examined contemporary German guidebooks, among which were guidebooks that appeared during the era of National Socialism. Koshar examined both the German travel culture and foreign travel culture of that time.⁵⁵ He also analysed what domestic and foreign tourists read while travelling in Nazi Germany and examined the official documents of policy-makers. Koshar identified the influence of the Nazi regime on tourism. He compared the aims of Führer Adolf Hitler with those of the German tourism professionals.⁵⁶

Historian Kristin Semmens picked up where Koshar left off. Semmens examined the commercial tourism industry under the Nazi regime. She looked at a range of sources that were related to the tourism industry. She studied the documentary records of tourism organizations, brochures, prospectuses, advertisements, guidebooks, postcards, posters, maps, souvenirs, (professional) tourism journals, and magazines. She also looked at the sources that were left behind by tourists, like travel reports and diaries.⁵⁷ Semmens described what the German tourism industry looked like in the Third Reich, but she also identified the normal tourist experiences that persisted under National Socialism. Furthermore, she discussed what the aims of the regime were.

After Semmens' work was published, another book soon followed. Shelley Baranowski examined the National Socialist tourism organization 'Kraft durch Freude'. She focused on the tourism experiences of members of Kraft durch Freude, the tourism

⁵³ Angela Schwarz, "British Visitors to National Socialist Germany: In a Familiar or in a Foreign Country?," *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 3 (1993): 489.

⁵⁴ Schwarz, "British Visitors," 489.

⁵⁵ Koshar, *German Travel*, 16.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 129.

⁵⁷ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, IX.

organization's demographics, and the aims that the regime had. Baranowski demonstrated that tourism was used by the Nazi regime as a political tool.

Another important work has come out recently. Elisabeth Piller maintained that foreign tourism promotion was mobilized by the diplomats of the Weimar Republic. Piller's work focused primarily on the Weimar period, but she also briefly discussed the similarities between the Weimar era and the Nazi era.⁵⁸ Piller argued that the regime built on the ideas, methods, and tourism infrastructure of the Weimar Republic.⁵⁹ Piller's contribution made scholars aware of the diplomatic use of tourism.

The research about Nazi Germany has developed a lot. While at first domestic tourism got all the attention, it gradually shifted towards foreign tourism. Academics have analysed the tourist experiences, the infrastructure, the practices, and the motives behind tourism.

Fascism

The field of fascism studies has also experienced a lot of developments. Scholars have not always considered fascism to be an ideology. Many thought that fascism had the form of an ideology, but not the content.⁶⁰ Theories of fascism were thus ignored by many historians when reconstructing events in inter-war history.⁶¹ Fascism was said to have only existed in Italy.⁶² The works that focused on the ideology of fascism, were rare. This changed when Roger Griffin's book *International Fascism: Theories, Causes, and the new Consensus* (1998) came out. In this book, Griffin subsumed a 'culturalist approach' to fascism which was emulated by other scholars.⁶³ It spawned a new wave of scholarship that went far beyond a narrow political understanding of fascism. Historians also began implementing this general definition of fascism in their work.⁶⁴

The small number of scholars who published research about fascism before Griffin's book (1998) came out, considered it to be a mere reactionary movement. Henry Ashby Turner Jr. argued that fascists were against modernity itself.⁶⁵ They wanted to return German society to

⁵⁸ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 49.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, 74.

⁶⁰ Roger Griffin, "Studying Fascism in a Postfascist Age. From New Consensus to New Wave?," *Fascism* 1 (2012): 2.

⁶¹ Griffin, "Studying Fascism in a Postfascist Age," 1.

⁶² Ibidem.

⁶³ Ibidem, 8.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, 10.

⁶⁵ Ashby Turner Jr., *Fascism and Modernization*, 550.

an imagined past. They aimed to do this by replacing industrial methods of production with agrarian methods of production.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, industries continued to stay active in Nazi Germany. Henry Ashby Turner Jr. argued that the industries were an important component in the Nazis' goal to acquire lebensraum. Once lebensraum had been achieved, the Nazis would deactivate these industries.⁶⁷

In the 1980s and 1990s, the fascist movement was no longer considered to be strictly reactionary. It was acknowledged that the movement also had modern views when it came to things like technology development for example. In *Reactionary Modernism* (1984), Herf focused on a specific group of propagandists within the Nazi Party. These people embraced technology but protested against modernity.⁶⁸ They despised the enlightenment, modern science, the market, liberalism, and marxism.⁶⁹ They wanted to develop Germany's industries, rather than break them down.⁷⁰ The propagandists argued that technology and the soul could be harmonized.⁷¹ Their ideas formed the perfect counter to those of the more backward-looking Nazis.⁷²

Emilio Gentile made the same argument in 1993. He noted that Italian fascists were not completely against modernity and technology. Instead of getting rid of technology altogether, fascists tried to find a solution for the dehumanizing effects of it.⁷³ The search for a new balance between man and machine became an important aspect of fascism. It was again recognized that fascism tried to establish a new kind of modernity.⁷⁴

Roger Griffin provided a whole new definition in his book *Modernism and Fascism* (2007). Griffin pointed out that fascists reacted against other modernities, including liberal capitalism and Bolshevism.⁷⁵ Fascists did not want to revert society to the way it was in the past. Fascists looked towards the past for inspiration. Fascism ultimately reacted to the present, making it a modern phenomenon.⁷⁶

Within decades of research, the field has thus developed a lot. Fascism was first said to reject modernity altogether. After that, it was said that fascists wanted to harmonize archaic and

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 551.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, 558.

⁶⁸ Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, 2-3.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 12.

⁷¹ Ibidem, 225-227.

⁷² Ibidem, 1-2.

⁷³ Emilio Gentile, "Impending Modernity: Fascism and the Ambivalent Image of the United States," *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 1 (1993): 21.

⁷⁴ Gentile, "Impending Modernity," 21-22.

⁷⁵ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 348.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 348.

modern ways of thinking. Finally, a consensus was reached. Fascism was a modern phenomenon. Fascists did not reject modern life or technology because they were modern, nor did they reject them entirely.

1.2 Theoretical concept of normality

The concept of normality is important in this thesis because it allows me to study the foreign tourism promotion of Nazi Germany in a different way. It's known that Nazi Germany used tourism and tourism promotion to convey the best image of the country and the regime.⁷⁷ It was a tool in foreign policy. The concept of normality can be used as a theoretical tool to discover how Nazi Germany used foreign tourism promotion for its political goals. I will have the opportunity to look at the political and diplomatic function of my sources, beyond just their touristic function. The concept of normality can help me discover which particular elements in the material improved the reputation of the National Socialist regime the most.

The concept of normality was first used by legal scholar Carl Schmitt, to describe normal states. Schmitt maintained that normal states needed to assure order, peace, and security to be legitimate.⁷⁸

Detlev Peukert was the first historian to apply the concept of normality in historical research. He did this in his book *Inside Nazi Germany* (1987).⁷⁹ Peukert noted that the Nazis wanted to establish order. Weimar society had experienced lots of political crises and economic recesses.⁸⁰ Nazis had come to power with the promise to restore order in society. The German voters put trust in the party because the Weimar Republic had not been able to establish stability.⁸¹ Nevertheless, nothing was 'normal' about daily life in Nazi Germany. The return to normality was nothing more than a utopian promise of the National Socialists. It necessitated a societal structure based on the exclusion of some groups and a Germany free from friction and abnormality.⁸² The Nazis condemned the period of the Weimar Republic. They emphasized the chaos and declared to pursue the opposite. The Nazis strived for the

⁷⁷ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 130-131; Koshar, *German Travel*, 129-130.

⁷⁸ Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), xlvii.

⁷⁹ Detlev J. K. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

⁸⁰ Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany*, 76.

⁸¹ Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 89.

⁸² Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany*, 41-42.

‘resumption’ of age-old traditions, the fulfillment of the interests of the ‘whole’ German Volk, and the support of individual pursuits.⁸³ Nonetheless, they also tried to keep news about their persecutions of ethnic and political enemies hidden.⁸⁴

There haven’t been many academics within the field of tourism history who used the concept of normality. Kristin Semmens pointed out that the Nazis tried to maintain an image of normality, by allowing international travel to continue like before.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it wasn’t just the continuation of foreign tourism that contributed to an image of normality, but also the experience of it.⁸⁶ A holiday in Nazi Germany was still fun. Foreign tourists did not experience the country any differently after 1933.⁸⁷ Foreigners were no longer concerned when they saw how stable and peaceful the country was.

Historian Rudy Koshar came to similar conclusions. He argued that positive tourism experiences helped normalize the relations between countries. Foreigners were happy to hear that the rumours about the country were untrue.⁸⁸

Elisabeth Piller also acknowledged that foreign tourism promotion was used by countries to project an image of normality abroad. This image of normality would help maintain goodwill abroad.⁸⁹ Seductive and nonaggressive representations of Weimar Germany helped nations forget about Germany’s controversial role in the First World War.⁹⁰ The prominence of nonpolitical content in the tourism promotion helped foreigners forget about current politics.⁹¹ The reputation of the country improved in turn. The emphasis on the friendliness and the beauty of the country was indeed a political message in itself.⁹²

Elisabeth Piller’s use of the concept of normality will aid this research immensely since she applied it to foreign tourism promotion. Her use of the concept will thus help me analyse my source materials as well.

⁸³ Frank Trommler, “Between Normality and Resistance: Catastrophic Gradualism in Nazi Germany,” *The Journal of Modern History* 64, no. (1992): S89.

⁸⁴ Trommler, “Between Normality and Resistance,” S84.

⁸⁵ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 3.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, IX.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 151.

⁸⁸ Koshar, *German Travel*, 132.

⁸⁹ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 48.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 67.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 66.

⁹² *Ibidem*, 66.

The Nazis mainly wanted to dispel foreigners' doubts about safety, which were caused by rumours of violence and boycotts.⁹³ Many people thought that it was risky to visit the country since people might be hostile.⁹⁴ Some even wondered whether they would need to bring a gun.⁹⁵ It's thus expected that a safe and peaceful image was conveyed to remove people's doubts. That's the 'normal' image that I will be looking for.

1.3 Theoretical concept of fascism

Roger Griffin was one of the few academics in fascism studies who attempted to redefine fascism. Griffin attributed the emergence of fascism to the emergence of modernism, hence the title of his book 'Modernism and Fascism'. Griffin noted that the mission of fascism: "[...] is to combat the allegedly degenerative forces of contemporary history (decadence) by bringing about an alternative modernity and temporality (a 'new order' and a 'new era') based on the rebirth, or palingenesis, of the nation. [...] The health of this organism they see undermined as much by the principles of institutional and cultural pluralism, individualism, and globalized consumerism promoted by liberalism as by the global regime of social justice and human equality identified by socialism in theory as the ultimate goal of history, or by the conservative defence of 'tradition'".⁹⁶ Fascists protested against materialism and the greed of capitalist forces.⁹⁷ Moreover, they witnessed a society that according to them had lost all meaning. Communities could hardly be formed in the big urban centers of Germany and Italy. The importance of profit trumped workers' health.

Other scholars of fascism studies explained this further. The fascist movement believed that human relations had been reduced to a matter of exchange value.⁹⁸ The creative process behind products had become a quantifiable commodity, due to the mechanization of industries.⁹⁹ Fascists wanted to create a 'healthy' community. They promoted their distinct version of modernity. The nation needed to be reinvented.¹⁰⁰ Fascists did not only hold different views on work and the economy, but also art and the health sciences. They wanted to

⁹³ Koshar, *German Travel*, 132.

⁹⁴ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 150-151.

⁹⁵ Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

⁹⁶ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 181-182.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, 181-182.

⁹⁸ Mark Antliff, "Fascism, Modernism, and Modernity," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (2014): 162.

⁹⁹ Antliff, "Fascism, Modernism, and Modernity," 162.

¹⁰⁰ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 181-182.

reinvent the entire society. They tried to get rid of class distinctions and wanted to establish a society in which distinctions only existed based on race and nation.¹⁰¹

Before I can apply Griffin's definition, it's important to decide on the elements that I want to search for in the promotional material. Eric Zuelow maintained that inter-war tourism was used by governments to promote the nation and the health of the people.¹⁰² The growth of tourism coincided with a change in thinking. People began to realize that time off from work was beneficial for the individual.¹⁰³ It's to be expected that fascists and Nazis expressed their criticisms of capitalism in their tourism literature, especially since the Great Depression had fueled anger among many regular people, which directed itself against capitalist forces like banks and monopoly capitalists.¹⁰⁴ The Nazis used tourism promotion to change foreigners' opinions of the National Socialist regime.¹⁰⁵ The Nazi tourism promotion might, therefore, have addressed the issues. It might also have promoted the solutions that fascism provided.

Discovering such criticism in German travel writing would be revolutionary. Rudy Koshar acknowledged that travel writing in the Weimar Republic encouraged a non-ideological view of the 'here and now'.¹⁰⁶ By studying the discourse of the foreign tourism promotion, it might be discovered how much the material had changed under Nazi rule since I will look for a fascist discourse. Did the articles talk about the corrupting effects of capitalism for example? Were instances of individual greed in the past or present criticized?

1.4 Methodology

Since tourism promotion in Nazi Germany specifically targeted English-speaking tourists, I will analyse the tourism advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau, that were published in British newspapers in the period from 1934 to 1939.¹⁰⁷ To find these ads, I browsed through the newspapers in The British Newspaper Archive and The Times Archive, using the search term 'German Railways Information Bureau'. The German Railways Information Bureau, or GRIB, was the British office of the Reichsbahnzentrale für den Deutschen Reiseverkehr. The Reichsbahnzentrale was founded in Berlin, February 1920. Its

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, 242.

¹⁰² Zuelow, *A History*, 136.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, 143.

¹⁰⁴ Rothermund, *The Global Impact*, 136.

¹⁰⁵ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 130; Koshar, *German Travel*, 129-130.

¹⁰⁶ Koshar, *German Travel*, 79.

¹⁰⁷ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 141; Schwarz, "British Visitors," 487-488.

mission was to sell Germany abroad.¹⁰⁸ Nonetheless, an office was not only located in Berlin. An office of the Reichsbahnzentrale was established in various other countries. Britain was just one of them. In the early years, its efficiency was hindered by a lack of coordination. The company's decision-making became more organized when the Nazis came to power.¹⁰⁹ The offices were Nazified, which meant that all directors had to apply for membership to the Nazi Party.¹¹⁰

I will also analyse several editions of the tourism magazine *Germany*, that appeared in the period from 1934 to 1939. These magazines were produced in Berlin and sent to offices abroad, where they were shared with potential tourists.¹¹¹ The promotional material aimed to 'bridge the gap between the New Germany and other countries'.¹¹² The magazines will probably contain more blatant fascist discourse than the newspaper advertisements. Nonetheless, the newspaper advertisements will provide this thesis with a general idea of how Nazi Germany tried to sell itself. The ads were often short and could therefore only contain the information that was considered most important. They also reached a bigger public, since they would not only be seen by people that were already interested in traveling to Nazi Germany.

For the discourse analysis, I'll follow the guidelines in a recent book by Marnix Beyen, *De taal van de geschiedenis* (2019). I chose to focus almost entirely on the semantics and syntax of the texts because I expect that those parts will contain the greatest evidence of ideological discourse. It's not expected that the Nazis put their ideology at the center of the foreign tourism promotion. They did not have the intention to turn foreigners into National Socialists.¹¹³

Beyen described how words can be associated with the discourse of an author or the ideological, professional, or societal group to which he belongs.¹¹⁴ He also stated that words can give agency to a specific person or group.¹¹⁵ Adjectives are important because they are anything but neutral. Adjectives can have a normative effect, meaning that they can convince the reader to think about a topic a certain way.¹¹⁶ Adjectives can also have a performative

¹⁰⁸ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 140.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem, 140-141.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, 140-141.

¹¹¹ Ibidem, 18.

¹¹² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 2.

¹¹³ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 130.

¹¹⁴ Beyen, *De taal van de geschiedenis*, 78.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, 79.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, 89.

effect, meaning that they can convince the reader to perform an action.¹¹⁷ Word combinations can contain deeper meanings as well. Such combinations usually consist of an adjective and a substantive (noun).¹¹⁸ The semantics of texts can be analysed to discover an ideological discourse, such as the fascist discourse that I set out to analyse. Sentences can, however, also communicate meanings. Some syntactic structures can even reveal the ideological position of an author.¹¹⁹ Tension can be created by contrasting what is said in the clause, with what is said in the main sentence.

I expect to recognize the fascist discourse in the texts by its use of normative adjectives, concerning topics like money, competition, capitalist forces, and materialism. The texts might have contained a lot of adjectives and metaphors with negative connotations when such topics were discussed. I expect that the texts would have contrasted the situation in the past with the situation in the Nazi era. This might mean that the texts contained a lot of opposites: words with a negative connotation (relating to the negative aspects of the capitalist system), standing in stark contrast to words with a positive connotation (relating to the Nazis' solutions for the negative aspects of the capitalist system). I also expect that the texts contained contrasting relationships between the clauses and main sentences, to emphasize the differences between past and present.

A tourist discourse aims to attract the reader to a destination. This means that the tourism professionals will want to make the country and all of its facets appear attractive in the texts. I expect to recognize this discourse by its strict use of words and metaphors with positive connotations when talking about the country, its sights, its people, its heritage, and its nature. Activities and services would probably be often advertised. The semantics of the texts may be both normative and performative. Readers were probably urged to forget about everything that was rumoured to be negative about Nazi Germany.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹¹⁸ Ibidem, 69.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, 98.

CHAPTER 2

INTER-WAR TOURISM AND THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

Society changed a lot during the inter-war period. Revolutionary changes took place in Weimar Germany and the rest of Europe. The industry and practice of tourism changed as well. The First World War had come to an end. People were looking forward to the future. They were longing for change.

The holiday became a point of contention. People, especially workers, desired to take time off from work.¹²⁰ Tourism had for long been an elite activity. People needed to possess enough savings to go without salary for a couple of weeks. Paid holidays were the answer that many people were looking for.¹²¹ The working class expressed its concerns at a time when both bicycles and cars allowed people to travel.¹²² The new 8-hour workday also provided workers with more free time.¹²³ The tourism advertising industry was developing quickly. Exotic images and publications in print media brought far-away places directly to one's home. People could now dream of going on a holiday since they could see pictures of actual tourist destinations in illustrated media.¹²⁴ Tourism became part of a rapidly developing 'mass culture' next to cinema, radio, and sports.¹²⁵ Employers gradually began to respond to the cause of workers' paid holidays. They were under the assumption that time off would increase the productivity of the worker. Nonetheless, the idea of paid holiday only became a reality in the 1930s. It was finally recognized by then, that industrial workers suffered from overworking and that leisure would be the solution.¹²⁶

Nevertheless, the debates in the 1920s revolutionized thinking about health. The ability to take time off was now considered to be a vital component in the struggle to stay healthy.¹²⁷ It became necessary to escape the city to escape the monotony of daily life.¹²⁸ People desired to see places and things they were not used to seeing. That's one of the reasons why a walk into nature became so popular. Adam Rosenbaum maintained that tourism

¹²⁰ Barton, *Working-class organisations and popular tourism*, 11.

¹²¹ Zuelow, *A History*, 135.

¹²² *Ibidem*, 135.

¹²³ Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism*, 39.

¹²⁴ Gotham, "Selling New Orleans to New Orleans," 323.

¹²⁵ Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism*, 41.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, 39.

¹²⁷ Zuelow, *A History*, 143.

¹²⁸ Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism*, 41.

provided therapy for ongoing industrialization, urbanization, and rationalization.¹²⁹ Elites considered a walk into nature already therapeutic in the 19th century.¹³⁰ Now this argument was interpreted differently. People did not so much escape city life to cure illnesses, but as to maintain their health.¹³¹ A shift in thinking occurred from illness curation to illness prevention. It's not surprising that hiking, cycling, and other outdoor recreations became popular in the inter-war period.¹³² John K. Walton identified the rebranding campaigns of health resorts, which fit the new thinking about leisure. Resorts spoke no longer about being able to cure illnesses. They rather promoted their ability to maintain superb wellbeing and health.¹³³ In New Orleans, railroad companies, hotels, and guidebook publishers did the same. They actively promoted leisure as an escape from work. They also tried to convince people that travelling was a healthy activity.¹³⁴

National governments began to play an important role in this endeavour. State-sponsored leisure institutions were established in Italy, Greece, the Soviet Union, Portugal, and Germany.¹³⁵ Zuelow argued that governments wanted to control the tourism industry for several reasons. First, states believed that holidays could improve the health of their people. Second, state-regulated tourism experiences could teach citizens more about their nation, their landscapes, their culture, and their superiority.¹³⁶ Third, tourism could promote the technological advancements of the nation. Tourists would realize which country was ahead of the competition. Fourth, the tourism industry could generate lots of financial revenue.¹³⁷ Finally, states in the inter-war period acknowledged the great potential of tourism as a tool to enact soft power. One of these states was the Weimar Republic. The growth of the country's economy was hindered by reparation payments and the foreign occupation of the Ruhr area. Rosenbaum argued that tourism became one of the Weimar Republic's most important imports, with the United States as its most respected business partner.¹³⁸ The Weimar

¹²⁹ Ibidem, 41-42.

¹³⁰ Koshar, *German Travel*, 57.

¹³¹ John K. Walton, *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005), 66.

¹³² Walton, *Histories of Tourism*, 65.

¹³³ Ibidem, 66.

¹³⁴ Gotham, "Selling New Orleans to New Orleans," 323.

¹³⁵ Ellen Furlough, "Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France: 1930s to 1970s," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 2 (1998): 252-253.

¹³⁶ Zuelow, *A History*, 135.

¹³⁷ Ibidem, 135.

¹³⁸ Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism*, 45.

Republic was not the only country looking for American support. Most European countries in the inter-war period tried to cater to an overseas travelling public.¹³⁹

The German Foreign Ministry undertook a range of reforms between 1919 and 1920. Their most important decision was the establishment of a cultural policy department. This department was created to manage Germany's 'soft power assets'. These assets included its ethnic, artistic, and scientific relations.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, German diplomats were still insufficiently aware of the real potential of tourism.¹⁴¹ German travel boosters proved unsuccessful in their efforts to convince the Weimar state officials.¹⁴² The establishment of a national advertising organization, the Reichszentrale für Deutsche Verkehrswerbung (RDV), did not change this. That is remarkable since the Reichszentrale was established to produce a coherent national tourism promotion. The organization needed to find agreement among various members. The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs was one of those members.¹⁴³ The ministry believed that the low exchange rate of inter-war Germany would attract enough tourists to the country.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, Americans were already welcome in the country, since the U.S. Senate had refused to sign the Versailles treaty. Germans were therefore not upset with the American tourists. This was not the case for tourists of other European nations.¹⁴⁵ The foreign ministry finally woke up in 1922. American tourists had complained about custom charges and extra fees, which they encountered while visiting Germany. German diplomats now recognized the importance of tourism. They realized that a poorly coordinated tourism sector could negatively influence the country's reputation abroad.¹⁴⁶ Nonetheless, it would still take years before (updated) brochures, posters, and films were distributed in the United States. These materials came from the RDV office in New York.¹⁴⁷

It was not kept hidden in the tourist promotion that American tourists were the target. In brochures, Germany's size was compared to that of American states. The brochures also featured quotes from well-known Americans, like Mark Twain and Walt Whitman. The American alumni of German universities were also regularly promoted.¹⁴⁸ The tourism promotion showed an attractive and culturally appropriate nation. Elisabeth Piller noted that

¹³⁹ Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism*, 45; Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 49-50.

¹⁴⁰ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 54.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 55.

¹⁴² *Ibidem*.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 56.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 56; 58.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 64.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 65.

international tourism promotion doubled as foreign policy.¹⁴⁹ The promotion conveyed a nonpolitical image of Germany.¹⁵⁰ This image was also attractive and nonaggressive. The German diplomats wanted to use tourism promotion to get rid of the negative reputation that Germany and its people had. They were known for their aggression and barbarism. The reputation was derived from the First World War.¹⁵¹ American tourists took part in the many battlefield tours that other nations offered. They had gained the impression that the Germans were a barbaric people.¹⁵² Representations of Germany's romantic charms, its rich musical and academic heritage, its technological ingenuity, its efficient industry, and its contemporary architecture thus all served similar goals. Americans needed to realize that Germany was a stable, peaceful, civilized, and productive nation. The diplomats thought that the tourism promotion would invite American sympathy, trust, and investments.¹⁵³ Germany needed to become known for being the 'most American country in Europe'. This new reputation would help Americans forget about the old one.¹⁵⁴

Elisabeth Piller maintained that the foreign tourism promotion did not change under a National Socialist regime. The Nazi government built on the ideas, methods, and infrastructure which were previously established. The director of the New York office of the RDV remained in office as well. Piller concluded that the same tourist images and slogans continued to be used in promotions of the RDV in the United States.¹⁵⁵

The question remains whether this was the case. Elisabeth Piller's argument was primarily based on the fact that the tourism infrastructure of Germany's tourism promotion industry remained the same under the Nazis and left the promotional material of Nazi Germany aside. It's therefore still unclear whether there can be spoken of continuity since the promotional material of the Nazi era has not yet received the proper attention it deserves.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem, 65-66.

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, 66.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem, 67.

¹⁵² Ibidem, 60.

¹⁵³ Ibidem, 67.

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem, 69.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, 74.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSES OF THE SOURCES AND DISCUSSION

Elisabeth Piller's argument about the continuity of Nazi tourism promotion was based on the fact that the infrastructure of the German tourism industry did not seem to have changed after 1933. There are thus still some important aspects of the Nazi tourism promotion left to investigate, like its discourse and content. The tourism promotion of the Weimar era conveyed a nonpolitical image of the country. A different image might have been conveyed by the tourism promotion of the Nazi era.

Nazi Germany used tourism as a tool in foreign policy.¹⁵⁶ Adolf Hitler was concerned about the international reputation of the country, due to his violent rise to power and the boycott of Jewish businesses. Hitler thought that a bad reputation could cause the country to lose out on much-needed income.¹⁵⁷ Nazi Germany wanted to demonstrate that the economic crises of the Weimar era were solved, that no civil strife took place in the country any longer, and that the Nazi regime wanted peace and prosperity for every country in Europe.¹⁵⁸ It was believed that if tourists came to the country and saw it firsthand, they would walk away with a generally positive image of the country. The Nazis tried to attract a British travelling public in particular. They hoped that the relation with Great-Britain would improve.¹⁵⁹ The international RDV offices had as a general goal to counteract foreign criticism of Adolf Hitler and his Third Reich.¹⁶⁰

It's not expected, however, that the ideology received a prominent place in the foreign tourism promotion. The Nazis did not have the intention to turn foreigners into National Socialists.¹⁶¹ Nonetheless, the normal experience of tourism could convince international tourists that the regime wasn't all that bad.¹⁶² What made Nazi Germany and fascism ultimately distinct, were their criticisms of the modern, contemporary world and its systems of exploitation. Such criticism resonated with the masses since the Great Depression of 1929 had made people aware of the wealth inequalities in contemporary society.¹⁶³ This had caused

¹⁵⁶ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 130.

¹⁵⁷ Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, 130.

¹⁵⁹ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 131.

¹⁶⁰ Ibidem, 143.

¹⁶¹ Ibidem, 130.

¹⁶² Koshar, *German Travel*, 132.

¹⁶³ Kolb, *The Weimar Republic*, 101.

them to turn their hatred towards capitalist forces like bankers and monopoly capitalists.¹⁶⁴ I expect that the Nazis tried to capitalize on these feelings of resentment in European societies, by criticizing 'greedy' capitalist practices in the past and present. I would also expect them to promote their 'equal' National Socialist society, where people were judged based on race and nation instead of wealth.¹⁶⁵ The inter-war period lent itself well for this since tourism was becoming a popular mass activity at this time.¹⁶⁶ Elite tourists were no longer the primary participants.

The promotional materials of the Nazi era will be analysed on multiple levels in this chapter. First, the nature of the material will be discussed. Second, the content of the material will be analysed. I will look at the general themes of the newspaper advertisements and magazine articles. I will also look for signs of a normalizing discourse that aimed to make the country and its people seem peaceful. A preliminary conclusion will then be made about the general image that Nazi Germany conveyed of itself with the themes. After that, the discourse within the material will be looked at. I will look for evidence of fascist anti-capitalist discourse. I will then search for references to National Socialism within the material. Were Nazi symbols prominently promoted in the materials? I will also search for instances in which the materials referenced politics since Piller stated that the material of the Weimar era was nonpolitical.¹⁶⁷ In the last part of chapter 3, this thesis will look for instances in which the German Railways Information Bureau received criticism from British readers. Were their newspaper considered controversial? Did any reader or commenter speak out against them?

3.1 Nature of the source materials

Germany magazines

It was not hard to identify the genre of the *Germany* magazines. The articles within the travel magazine *Germany* were travel articles. This means that they were written to inform readers and convince them to visit the country. The introduction in the first edition of *Germany*, which came out in 1934, made this clear: "'Germany' is intended above all for visitors to Germany, and it is our earnest desire that it may afford them pleasure and make new friends

¹⁶⁴ Rothermund, *The Global Impact*, 136.

¹⁶⁵ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 242.

¹⁶⁶ Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism*, 41.

¹⁶⁷ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 66-67.

for Germany.”¹⁶⁸ It’s openly stated that the magazine should stimulate international travelling to the country. The magazines seemed to act more as guidance for foreign travellers. The reader was only addressed in the third person. A distance between the reader and author was thus sustained throughout the articles.

Newspaper advertisements

The newspaper advertisements had a slightly different nature. It didn’t seem like their goal was to inform the reader, as their style didn’t lend itself well to that. Not much information could be put in the small texts that accompanied the advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau. It seemed like the ads needed to sell a trip to Nazi Germany. This was further evidenced by the small subtext that featured under every advertisement of the GRIB, from which the reader learned that he could apply for more information and literature. The advertisements communicated the idea that Nazi Germany was a great tourist destination. They did so by addressing the reader regularly in the second person.¹⁶⁹ They were directly addressed, to be more effective in attracting them to the country

A difference could thus be distinguished between travel articles and travel advertisements. Both sorts of tourism promotion were travel literature, however.

3.2 Content

Newspaper advertisements

The newspaper advertisements of the German Railway Information Bureau may have contained examples of performative discourse.¹⁷⁰ Performative discourse encourages readers to perform an action. The GRIB tried to convince people to travel to Nazi Germany. Performative discourse can be both illocutionary and perlocutionary.¹⁷¹ Illocutionary discourse calls readers to action in a direct and obvious way. Perlocutionary discourse does the opposite. The call to action is then much more subtle.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 2.

¹⁶⁹ Some examples include: German Railways Information Bureau, “In Germany you will find variety for every taste,” *The Illustrated London News*, July 7, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “HANNOVER AWAITS YOU!,” *The Tatler*, July 1, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁷⁰ Beyen, *De taal van de geschiedenis*, 44-47.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 44-47.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, 45-46.

The advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau usually addressed the reader directly. An example of the corresponding performative, illocutionary discourse is found in *The Sunday Post* of 1939: “Meet summer half-way and see Germany for yourself!”¹⁷³ The reader was being encouraged to visit Nazi Germany. The phrase ‘see Germany for yourself’ was regularly used in the publications of the GRIB.¹⁷⁴ The phrase matched the agenda of the Nazi regime. Foreign tourism was stimulated by the Nazis as a way to blunt criticism about the country and provide a firsthand perspective of the achievements of National Socialism.¹⁷⁵ It was expected that the experience of travel in Germany would make prejudice and bias towards the country ‘melt away’.¹⁷⁶ The advertisements in the British newspapers were seen by a much broader public than the *Germany* magazines. The advertisements could be read by people that had no interest in travelling to the country, while the magazines were only seen by people that requested to receive one. The fact that the *Germany* magazines featured much less illocutionary discourse, was therefore not the result of a political decision. It rather seems like that type of discourse matched the style of the magazine articles. Besides wanting to sell a product, the magazines also wanted to inform the reader about Germany.¹⁷⁷ The newspaper advertisements seemed to have the sole aim of attracting new tourists to Nazi Germany. The advertisements were thus slightly different from the magazine articles, although both were travel literature.

The themes of the newspaper advertisements were varied. The advertisements did not always feature the same topics and oftentimes informed the reader about multiple aspects of Germany in the same advert. Nevertheless, there were some trends to be discovered in the advertisements. (Winter) Sports were often promoted in the promotional messages of the GRIB.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the services of well-known German health resorts, like Wiesbaden and

¹⁷³ German Railways Information Bureau, “Spring comes early to Germany,” *Sunday Post*, April 2, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁷⁴ Some more examples of this: German Railways Information Bureau, “The friendliest Welcome awaits you...,” *The Bystander*, May 8, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “BERLIN,” *The Tatler*, June 6, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Come to GERMANY,” *The Scotsman*, March 24, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “HEIDELBERG,” *Western Daily Press and Bristol Mirror*, May 25, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁷⁵ Koshar, *German Travel*, 117.

¹⁷⁶ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 130.

¹⁷⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 2.

¹⁷⁸ German Railways Information Bureau, “Get Sun-Tanned in Germany,” *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, February 3, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Visit GERMANY,” *The Bystander*, July 29, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “There they are!,” *The Sphere*, November 21, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “The GERMAN ALPS,” *The Scotsman*, December 9, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Ski’s in GERMANY,” *The Times*, January 10,

Baden-Baden, were regularly promoted in many of the British newspaper advertisements.¹⁷⁹ These kinds of advertisements were followed by ones about German cities like Hannover, Munich, and Berlin.¹⁸⁰ Events were also regularly promoted. Events like the Olympic Games and the Oberammergau Passion Play were some of the events that the GRIB promoted.¹⁸¹

It was hard to gain a general impression from the newspaper advertisements. The newspapers did not regularly feature advertisements that had the historical heritage of Nazi Germany as their only topic. German nature was also not prominently promoted. Nonetheless, some advertisements promoted the Black Forest, or introduced Germany with the phrase: “Where history lives again.”¹⁸² Such examples were rare, however.

What can be concluded is that the German Railways Information Bureau tried to

1939, The Times Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Sun, Ski’s, Sport in Germany,” *The Times*, January 4, 1939, The Times Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “SKI in Glorious GERMANY,” *The Times*, December 21, 1936, The Times Archive.

¹⁷⁹ German Railways Information Bureau, “A Perfect Holiday at BAD NAUHEIM,” *The Illustrated London News*, May 7, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Bad=Nauheim,” *The Bystander*, June 5, 1935, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Baden-Baden,” *The Sphere*, July 1, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Baden Baden,” *The Sphere*, July 3, 1937, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “BADEN-BADEN,” *The Sphere*, June 12, 1937, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “WIESBADEN,” *The Tatler*, March 16, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “A Healing Holiday FOR HEARTS AND HEADS,” *The Tatler*, July 7, 1937, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE £ BUYS MORE,” *The Tatler*, July 29, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “BAD NAUHEIM,” *The Tatler*, March 25, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “MARK TWAIN,” *The Sketch*, May 11, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁸⁰ German Railways Information Bureau, “DRESDEN,” *Western Daily Press and Bristol Mirror*, May 11, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Visit the ROMERBERG FESTIVAL at FRANKFURT,” *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, July 2, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “A VISIT TO HANOVER,” *The Illustrated London News*, June 18, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “B E R L I N,” *Western Daily Press and Bristol Mirror*, April 27, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; GRIB, “HEIDELBERG,” German Railways Information Bureau, “COLOGNE,” *The Courier and Advertiser*, June 28, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; GRIB, “BERLIN,” German Railways Information Bureau, “BAYREUTH Festival,” *The Courier and Advertiser*, June 14, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “MUNICH,” *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, May 28, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Mainz on Rhine/Germany,” *The Tatler*, August 3, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “HANOVER,” *The Tatler*, July 21, 1937, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “GERMANY’S FAIR CITY Leipzig,” *The Times*, June 27, 1939, The Times Archive.

¹⁸¹ German Railways Information Bureau, “OBERAMMERGAU,” *The Sketch*, April 4, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “THE GRAND PRIX OF GERMANY,” *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, July 15, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “V I S I T T H E 1939 Reich Horticultural Exhibition at Stuttgart,” *The Times*, July 5, 1939, The Times Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “INTERNATIONAL AUTOMOBILE AND MOTOR-CYCLE EXHIBITION,” *The Times*, February 17, 1938, The Times Archive. German Railways Information Bureau, “G E R M A N Y: OLYMPIC GAMES,” *The Sphere*, June 20, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁸² German Railways Information Bureau, “THE BLACK FOREST,” *The Lancashire Daily Post*, June 19, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Come to G E R M A N Y WHERE HISTORY LIVES AGAIN,” *The Illustrated London News*, May 4, 1935, The British Newspaper Archive.

attract the biggest audience possible. The advertisements regularly stressed the point that Germany had activities for every type of visitor. A common phrase was: “Germany. For every taste and every purse.”¹⁸³ Nazi Germany was advertised as a cheap country. The German Railways Information Bureau tried to convince British tourists to visit Germany with the phrase: “Where the £ buys more.”¹⁸⁴ The GRIB tried to attract the masses. The titles of the advertisements were evidence for this, but the same could be said for the texts under the titles. In many different newspapers, the same phrase was uttered: “You will be astonished to find how cheaply you can travel in Germany, and how well you can live for a most reasonable charge.”¹⁸⁵ Phrases like ‘living is very reasonable’ and ‘everything at reasonable, honest prices’ made this also clear.¹⁸⁶

The German tourism promotion thus catered to the non-elite traveller with a limited budget. A holiday in Nazi Germany was actively being promoted as a bargain that tourists just could not refuse.¹⁸⁷ From spas to hotels, from garage facilities to pensions, they all seemed to have the most favourable prices to ‘suit all means’.¹⁸⁸ It might have been a conscious tactic of the Nazis to attract tourists from multiple classes. Tourism doubled as a foreign policy.¹⁸⁹ If the Nazis could attract a bigger audience, they could in turn convince more people that the

¹⁸³ German Railways Information Bureau, “This year, spend your holidays in Germany,” *The Western Morning News and Daily Gazette*, May 16, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Come to GERMANY and see for yourself..,” *The Western Morning News and Daily Gazette*, June 13, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “GERMANY offers a holiday for every taste and every purse. . .,” *The Western Morning News and Daily Gazette*, May 9, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “GERMANY FOR EVERY TASTE AND EVERY PURSE,” *The Western Morning News and Daily Gazette*, July 12, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “G E R M A N Y for every taste and every purse,” *The Daily Mail*, June 15, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “G E R M A N Y Land of Hospitality,” *The Illustrated London News*, July 1, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁸⁴ German Railways Information Bureau, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE £ BUYS MORE,” *The Illustrated London News*, July 4, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE £ BUYS MORE,” *The Illustrated London News*, August 8, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE £ BUYS MORE,” *The Sphere*, July 4, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE £ BUYS MORE,” *The Tatler*, August 12, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “Visit GERMANY where the £ buys more.,” *The Tatler*, July 1, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive; GRIB, “Visit GERMANY.”

¹⁸⁵ GRIB, “Visit GERMANY.”; GRIB, “VISIT GERMANY (Aug 8).”; GRIB, “VISIT GERMANY (July 4).”; GRIB, “G E R M A N Y: OLYMPIC.”; GRIB, “VISIT GERMANY (Aug 12).”; GRIB, “HANOVER.”

¹⁸⁶ German Railways Information Bureau, “Summer Holidays in Healthy Happy GERMANY,” *The Illustrated London News*, May 28, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “WELCOME TO GERMANY,” *The Sphere*, May 8, 1937, The British Newspaper Archive; German Railways Information Bureau, “WELCOME TO GERMANY,” *The Sphere*, May 15, 1937, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁸⁷ German Railways Information Bureau, “Harmony in health is “Lebensfreude”,” *The Bystander*, March 22, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁸⁸ German Railways Information Bureau, “To motor in GERMANY means speed with safety,” *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, July 8, 1938, The British Newspaper Archive.

¹⁸⁹ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 12.

National Socialist regime was not that bad.¹⁹⁰ They could foster goodwill amongst all layers of society.

In general, it seemed like the advertisements of the GRIB conveyed a ‘normal’ image of Nazi Germany. This image was attractive. The ads included a lot of pictures of German peasants in traditional clothing.¹⁹¹ Just like the tourism promotion of Weimar Germany, a seductive representation of Germany featured in the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany.¹⁹²

This seductive image was also conveyed through a tourist discourse. Several newspaper advertisements contained a summing-up of all the sights and activities that tourists could experience.¹⁹³ This was certainly the case in advertisements that promoted winter sports: “There are sport competitions, ice carnivals, balls and concerts, cinemas and cabarets.”¹⁹⁴ Tourists would appreciate the many winter activities that Nazi Germany offered.¹⁹⁵ Nazi Germany had more to offer: “There are crowded cafés, famous opera houses, the art treasures of a thousand years, new dishes, fine wines, famous old castles and palaces, bright sunlight on gay awnings, music, song and laughter.”¹⁹⁶ The newspaper advertisements of the GRIB also promoted the diversity of Nazi Germany’s tourist activities, by emphasizing the contrasts: “One day you can experience the exhilaration of climbing the highest peak of the Bavarian Alps and two days later you may laze in the sunshine on the white sandy beaches of the Baltic [...]”.¹⁹⁷ The beaches and mountains exemplified two extremes. Tourists would realize that they could experience almost anything in the country. They could have a change of scenery to avoid boredom. This discourse made the country appear like an attractive tourist destination. A visit to the country was more than just good fun, it also benefitted the tourist as a person: “Here you will find romance – and pleasant memories that linger long after you have returned.”¹⁹⁸ The foreigner was also lured in by statements in which the current popularity of the country was emphasized: “[...] a hundred lesser resorts are filling up with

¹⁹⁰ Ibidem, 130.

¹⁹¹ GRIB, “Harmony in health.”; German Railways Information Bureau, “From the North Sea to the Bavarian Alps,” *The Daily Mail*, June 8, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; GRIB, “G E R M A N Y (June 15).”; GRIB, “G E R M A N Y (July 1).”; GRIB, “In Germany you will.”; GRIB, “WELCOME TO (May 8).”; German Railways Information Bureau, “MUNICH and the Bavarian Alps,” *The Tatler*, May 23, 1934, The British Newspaper Archive; GRIB, “This year, spend your.”; GRIB, “GERMANY offers a holiday.”; GRIB, “GERMANY FOR EVERY TASTE.”

¹⁹² Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.

¹⁹³ GRIB, “WELCOME TO GERMANY (May 15).”; German Railways Information Bureau, “Germany WELCOMES YOU,” *The Times*, July 6, 1938, The Times Archive.

¹⁹⁴ GRIB, “Sun, Skis, Sport.”

¹⁹⁵ GRIB, “The GERMAN ALPS.”

¹⁹⁶ GRIB, “Germany WELCOMES YOU.”

¹⁹⁷ GRIB, “Visit GERMANY where the £ buys more..”

¹⁹⁸ GRIB, “HEIDELBERG.”

gay young people having a grand time”.¹⁹⁹ The fact that lots of other tourists had chosen the country as their holiday destination, helped convince people that it was ‘normal’ to visit Nazi Germany as a tourist.

Nonetheless, the advertisements also conveyed a nonaggressive image of the country and its people. Adjectives and nouns with positive connotations featured prominently in this discourse: “Visitors from Britain are heartily welcomed at all times. They will find that friendliness and the sincere desire to help are characteristics common to every German they meet [...]”.²⁰⁰ The emphasis on the ‘friendliness’ and the sincerity of the German people to ‘welcome’ foreigners was not as ordinary as it might seem. The country’s image was normalized through this normative discourse. Tourists had doubts about whether the country was safe enough, some even wondered whether they would need to bring a gun with them.²⁰¹ These doubts also related to the German people themselves, many were afraid that they would be hostile.²⁰² The GRIB’s advertisements removed their doubts. The advertisements regularly stated that the native Germans would happily welcome them.²⁰³ It was not enough to stress that the German people would show the foreigner the country’s beauty: “The folk you meet are glad to see you, anxious to show you their country’s natural grandeur and enthralling beauties.”²⁰⁴ The inclusion of the adjective ‘anxious’ helped the foreign tourist realize that the native Germans would go the extra mile to make him feel comfortable. The native Germans were also said to be ‘eager’ to guide the visitor.²⁰⁵ The advertisements conveyed an image of Nazi Germany that was positive and peaceful. The country gained the reputation of ‘land of hospitality’ in the advertisements.²⁰⁶ The positive noun ‘hospitality’ was also regularly paired with the positive adjectives ‘wholehearted’ and ‘heartiest’ to convince the foreigner that he would not have to fear for his safety. A holiday in Nazi Germany would remove worries and not cause them: “Worries seem to have been left far behind and not to matter.”²⁰⁷ The rumours about violence and the country’s political instability were thus counteracted in the

¹⁹⁹ GRIB, “‘Skis’ in Germany.”

²⁰⁰ German Railways Information Bureau, “‘SEEING IS BELIEVING’,” *The Sketch*, June 28, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive.

²⁰¹ Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

²⁰² Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 150-151.

²⁰³ German Railways Information Bureau, “Come & SEE GERMANY,” *Telegraph and Independent* June 23, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive; GRIB, “MUNICH and the Bavarian Alps.”; GRIB, “The GERMAN ALPS.”

²⁰⁴ German Railways Information Bureau, “Come to G E R M A N Y: THE LAND OF HOSPITALITY,” *Britannia & Eve*, May, 1935, The British Newspaper Archive.

²⁰⁵ GRIB, “In Germany you will find.”

²⁰⁶ GRIB, Germany WELCOMES YOU.”; GRIB, “‘SEEING IS BELIEVING’.”; GRIB, “Come to G E R M A N Y: THE LAND OF.”; GRIB, “The friendliest Welcome.”

²⁰⁷ GRIB, “Get Sun-Tanned in Germany.”

advertisements. The tourist would not find resentment, but strictly friendliness on his travels: “Wherever you go, friendliness and courtesy will smooth your path and help you to your goal.”²⁰⁸ Such phrases were used regularly: “Everywhere, always, the ready smile, the unaffected eagerness to please.”²⁰⁹

The rumours about the country being unsafe were thus counteracted, making Nazi Germany in turn appear like a normal tourist destination. The tourism promotion of the Nazi era was very similar to that of the Weimar period. The tourism professionals of both eras tried to convince foreign tourists that the country was beautiful, safe to travel to and that the people were happy to see them.²¹⁰ They both dispelled doubts about the country’s potential as a holiday destination. The country was promoted to be peaceful and stable. Foreigners would realize that the country and its people were not barbaric at all.²¹¹

Nazi Germany was also promoted as a modern nation in the advertisements. Pictures and illustrations of the German autobahn were included in some of the advertisements.²¹² Some of the texts under the advertisements also made foreigners aware of Germany’s advancements in the field of technology. One advertisement promised readers that Germany’s roads had ‘no rivals on the Earth’s surface’.²¹³ The comfort and technological advancements of travel were promoted in other advertisements, but this ad in particular gave Nazi Germany the reputation of a modern nation.²¹⁴ Elisabeth Piller maintained that the German promotion of car travel was not new. The tourism promotion of the Weimar Republic promoted car travel as well. Piller argued that the car represented Germany’s modernity and national resurgence.²¹⁵ While the autobahn was ultimately a project that belonged to the Nazi era, its presence in tourism promotion matched a longer marketing tradition. Piller was therefore right about the continuity of Nazi tourism promotion.²¹⁶ The same themes and messages were communicated to tourists.

²⁰⁸ GRIB, “Harmony in health.”

²⁰⁹ German Railways Information Bureau, “Germany’s HOLIDAY ATTRACTIONS ARE SO MANY, SO VARIED,” *The Times*, March 4, 1938, The Times Archive.

²¹⁰ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 66-67.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, 60; 66.

²¹² GRIB, “INTERNATIONAL AUTOMOBILE.”; German Railways Information Bureau, ““Seeing is believing”,” *The Bystander*, July 19, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive.

²¹³ GRIB, “To motor in GERMANY means.”

²¹⁴ GRIB, “G E R M A N Y Land of.”; GRIB, ““Seeing is believing”.”; GRIB, “Visit GERMANY where the £.”; GRIB, ““SEEING IS BELIEVING”.”

²¹⁵ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.

²¹⁶ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 74.

Germany magazines

The *Germany* magazines seemed to use less performative, illocutionary discourse. Such discourse only appeared in the third edition of the magazine: “It is time and a serious duty to remember the curative value of our spas and watering-places and to act accordingly. Therefore — visit the German spas!”²¹⁷ Perhaps there was a political reason for why travellers were usually not directly requested to visit the country.

Examples of performative, perlocutionary discourse were found often in the magazines. The foreign traveller was lightly seduced to visit The Third Reich. An example of such discourse can be found in an article about German cruises to Norway: “The best plan is to go and see it for oneself, and the best way of doing so is to go for a cruise on a German liner.”²¹⁸ The reader didn’t hear that he needed to visit Germany, rather he was being convinced that visiting Germany was ‘the best plan’. The discourse was much less direct. Another example is found in that same magazine: “And now that spring is here, when the woods and fields are clad in a fresh mantle of green and the first trees are in blossom, that is the best time for a motor tour in Germany.”²¹⁹ In this quote, it was even less obvious that the reader was ordered to visit Nazi Germany. Nonetheless, quotes such as this one increased the attraction of Nazi Germany as a tourist destination. Foreigners might have been seduced by such phrases to travel to the National Socialist country.

The *Germany* magazines contained a lot of the aforementioned ‘normal’ themes. The articles often talked about spas and health resorts.²²⁰ Cities, towns, and regions were also popular topics.²²¹ Winter sports were often promoted as well.²²² Articles about events, like Carnival

²¹⁷ Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 6, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/florencemendheimb003f029/mode/2up> (Accessed June 7, 2020).

²¹⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 20.

²¹⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 25.

²²⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 4-6; 10-15; Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 6-8; 11-18, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/germany1935reic> (Accessed June 7 2020); Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 25-26, from the Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/germany1936reic_5/mode/2up (Accessed June 7 2020).

²²¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 4-7; 12-13; Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 4-20; 22-27, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/florencemendheimb003f029/mode/2up> (Accessed June 7, 2020); Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 7-9; Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 4-5; 15-19; 23-27, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/germany1934reic> (Accessed June 7 2020); Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 9-12; 16-19; 22-27, from the Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/germany1934reic_0/mode/2up (Accessed June 7 2020); Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 4-8; 16-19, from the Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/germany1934reic_1 (Accessed June 7 2020); Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 18-22; Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 17-19, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/germany1936reic> (Accessed June 7 2020); Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 20-24.

and the Olympic Games, were also included in the magazines.²²³ German nature gained a prominent place in the material.²²⁴

In general, a ‘normal’ image of Nazi Germany was conveyed again. The country was advertised as an attractive tourist destination. The cities, regions, and landscapes were said to exercise a ‘charm’ on the visitor.²²⁵ They were more than just beautiful, although such adjectives with positive connotations were regularly used to describe the German regions, cities, and landscapes.²²⁶ The landscapes were even said to be magical.²²⁷ Descriptions about German spas also normalized the country’s image, by emphasizing the spas’ current popularity among an international public: “The number of foreign visitors is so great that they have formed clubs of their own. Entertainments, amusements and social and sporting festivals follow each other throughout the season in gay succession. Thanks to its sheltered position, fine sands and moderate surf, this smart international bathing resort is also a favourite holiday resort for children.”²²⁸ There were said to be a lot of foreigners visiting the German resorts. The spas’ activities were also prominently promoted, alongside its popularity among children. The country was said to lend itself well to all sorts of activities, including winter sports: “It may speak for this district that Germany's best downhill runners live here and learnt to ski here. Equally good recommendations are its altitudes, its certainty of snow, its accessibility and the suitability of the countryside for skiers of all grades of skill [...]”²²⁹

This tourist discourse aimed to convince the international tourist that Nazi Germany was a great destination for the holidays. The articles boasted about the country’s popularity among an international public, to assure foreigners of Nazi Germany’s potential as a tourist

²²² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 10-11; Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 16-23, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/florencemendheimb003f029/mode/2up> (Accessed June 7, 2020); Reich Committee for Tourist Traffic, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 10-17, from the Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/florencemendheimb003f029/mode/2up> (Accessed June 7, 2020); Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 13-16, 22-23.

²²³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 16-18; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 6-15; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 4-5; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 4-5; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 4-11.

²²⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 22-23; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 15-27; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 12-14; 20-22; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 19-22; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 12-15; 20-23.

²²⁵ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 4; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 10-11; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 25, 27; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 21; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 24.

²²⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 6, 11; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 16; Reich Committee, no. 3, 1934, 23; Reich Committee, no. 6, 1934, *Germany*, 24; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 24.

²²⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 6.

²²⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 10.

²²⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 18.

destination: “Thousands have made the pilgrimage to this pleasant land, and quaffed the health-giving fruit of its vineyards, and many who have come alone have wandered further with a companion. As soon as the banners of spring are unfurled come pleasure-ships sailing down the stream of the Rhine, filled with joyous, expectant crowds. One after the other they come.”²³⁰ The tourism promotion also advertised German winter sports this way: “Every winter this still too little known skiing district wins new and enthusiastic devotees.”²³¹ The foreigner was persuaded to visit the National Socialist country. This performative discourse was subtle at times: “Whole forests of skis are on the move, carried under the arms or on the shoulders of people whose bodies and souls are hungry, who wish to breathe their fill of the winter air, to free their lungs from the dust of the office records, and to clear their eyes which were dimmed [...]”.²³² The metaphor ‘forests of skis’ seemed to refer to the great number of skiers that visited Nazi Germany. The foreigner was also seduced to visit the country in articles about events: “But the Passion Play in 1934 will also bring faithful old friends and many new friends in the world beyond the confines of Germany to Oberammergau [...]”.²³³ The magazine articles promoted a holiday in Nazi Germany as an unforgettable experience.²³⁴ The tourism promotion made the reader reflect on the country’s positive aspects. Descriptions about cities like Munich usually contained a summing-up of tourist facilities, sights, and activities.²³⁵

Nonetheless, a normative discourse also made Nazi Germany appear peaceful. The country was described with positive adjectives and nouns such as ‘quiet’, ‘peace’, ‘pleasant’, and ‘home’.²³⁶ Other times, the country was said to be ‘restful to the spirit’.²³⁷ The tourism promotion addressed tourists’ doubts about safety, by making the country seem pleasant. Descriptions about towns and cities regularly made them appear homely and familiar. Such normative discourse featured in the article about Munich: “You have trees and parks everywhere, green among the grey of the houses. And you have fine streets and squares in your city where birds sing because the trees where they nest are carefully tended.”²³⁸ The comment about singing birds helped the reader forget about any safety risks. Moreover, the

²³⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 13.

²³¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 18.

²³² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 13.

²³³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 16.

²³⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 25.

²³⁵ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 24.

²³⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 13; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 10; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 6; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 10; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 16.

²³⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 14.

²³⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 24.

international reader learned that he would feel at home in the city: “But while remembering the favours showered on this modern Munich we must not forget dear old Munich where geraniums blossom in the window boxes and the little gardens echo with the notes of the zither and guitar in a way that recalls the light-hearted gaiety of Vienna.” The positive metaphors of blossoming geraniums and guitar notes made Munich become known for a homely atmosphere in which the foreigner would not have to fear for his safety. The city Cologne was also described with the adjective ‘homely’.²³⁹ German Mountain inns were described with this adjective as well.²⁴⁰ The foreigner was thus being convinced to associate Nazi Germany with peace, instead of political violence.²⁴¹ An article about the Alpine foreland contained such discourse as well: “[...] a district where the visitor is enveloped in an atmosphere of homeliness that appears to come from all sides, from the water, the forests and the mountains and the men of this part of the country”.²⁴² The homely atmosphere was said to be everywhere in Nazi Germany.

The behaviour of the German natives also contributed to this positive atmosphere. The Germans were usually described in the articles with the adjective ‘friendly’.²⁴³ They were also described in a way that made them appear familiar and innocent: “But who ever saw such friendly smiling Madonnas as those in the local churches, and who ever saw Joseph von Lauff's figures chatting to each other? There is a genuine Rhenish trait about the whole surroundings, something that makes men happy and gives them peace.”²⁴⁴ The travellers’ doubts about safety were being dispelled. It seemed like the German natives had nothing to do with the current politics of the country. The international tourist was promised a warm welcome: “Townsmen and visitors are accorded a hearty welcome, and soon feel entirely at home with the local people. When the sun sets townsmen and country folk assemble in the cosy taverns, where the wine-growing peasants tell of good and bad wine years, of the treasures that lie hid in their cellars, and of their work, their cares and their hopes.”²⁴⁵ The native German was more than just friendly. The visitor would be treated like family. He would feel ‘entirely at home’. The summing-up in the latter part of the quote made this clear as well, as it listed everything that the native German would tell the visitor about. Many of those things were very personal. Such a bond was also formed during events. In an article

²³⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 10.

²⁴⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 11.

²⁴¹ Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

²⁴² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 25.

²⁴³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 5; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 24.

²⁴⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 5.

²⁴⁵ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 21.

about Carnival it was described: “For generations it has held residents, newcomers and strangers enchanted in an intimate, friendly circle. The joyous laughter, ready native wit and the buoyant good-humour of the Carnival merry-makers bind one and all in a happy companionship.”²⁴⁶ The atmosphere during Carnival was positively referred to as ‘intimate’, ‘friendly’, ‘joyous’, and ‘happy’. The reader learned that he could partake in the event like any other German. He did not need to fear that he would be excluded from the fun. There was no need to fear the German people.

It was also regularly stated that the German natives would help anyone in dire need: “The men and women of Stettin go about their business in their beautiful town proud and upright, dignified and yet good-tempered, friendly and always ready to help, with a straightforward sense of humour comprehensible even to outsiders.”²⁴⁷ The Germans desired to make foreigners feel comfortable. Peasants were for example said to be: “[...] far from reticent and distrustful in contact with the stranger who visits his beautiful homeland”. By stating that the peasant would be ‘far from reticent and distrustful’, it seemed as if the article addressed the concerns that foreigners currently had about a holiday in Nazi Germany. The article removed the fears about safety.²⁴⁸ Other times, the articles stressed the hospitality of the peasantry.²⁴⁹

The *Germany* magazines thus also conveyed a normal image of the country. This image was both attractive and unaggressive. The German people were said to be anything but barbaric. The foreign tourism promotion of the Weimar era conveyed a similar image.²⁵⁰

The tourism magazines of Nazi Germany also made the country appear modern. The first magazine of *Germany* that appeared in 1934, already featured such themes. This magazine contained articles about the achievements of the German railways and German plane development.²⁵¹ In these articles, the uniqueness of the German industry was stressed regularly: “German civil aviation will be one of the most important means of inducing foreign visitors to come to Germany.”²⁵² Other magazines featured similar articles about ‘the largest ship-lifting plant in the world’, ‘attractive stations’, and ‘Germany’s amber industry’.²⁵³ Just like the tourism promotion of the Weimar Republic, these magazines made foreigners believe

²⁴⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 10.

²⁴⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 24.

²⁴⁸ Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

²⁴⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 21.

²⁵⁰ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 66-67.

²⁵¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 14-15; 21.

²⁵² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 21.

²⁵³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 20-21; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 20-23; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 9-11.

that Germany was the most modern nation in Europe.²⁵⁴ The tourism promotion of the Nazis seemed to contain representations, similar to those in the Weimar tourism promotion. Articles about automobile exhibitions, the construction of the German autobahn, and the experience of driving a car in Germany made the country appear modern. Numerous editions of *Germany* contained such articles.²⁵⁵ At first glance, the Germans probably wanted to attract car-owning tourists. Nevertheless, the focus on the car in tourism promotion was not a new phenomenon. Elisabeth Piller argued that the automobile had already become a symbol of modernity in the tourism promotion of the Weimar Republic. The Nazis merely replicated their approach. Car travel had been promoted to foreign tourists, long before the National Socialist project of roadbuilding had started.²⁵⁶

The themes in the *Germany* magazines were the same as those in the tourism promotion of the Weimar era. Germany's musical heritage was extensively promoted again. Articles about the music of Richard Wagner, Johann Sebastian Bach, and Franz Liszt were regularly included in the magazines.²⁵⁷ It was mentioned by Elisabeth Piller that the Weimar tourism professionals started the trend of promoting Germany's musical heritage, to reclaim a reputation that was lost in the Great War.²⁵⁸ German musical composers were promoted as the legends of music: "The creative spirit has never been transmuted into music so completely as in Bach's case, and hence his work is superior to all ties of time, and, in spite of all the conditions imposed on his style by the time in which he lived, the musical language in which he speaks has become an everlasting symbol."²⁵⁹

The same was true for articles about academic heritage. Articles about student life at German universities and the scientific Harnack house made the reader aware of the country's significant involvement in academics and science.²⁶⁰ It could be read about the Harnack house: "Here German scholars may exchange their views with scientific men from all parts of the world when the latter are in Germany Rooms with the most modern equipment, named after the great men of Germany's past, provide every possible comfort for the foreign quest who wishes to discuss with his German colleagues the latest advances in his field of research

²⁵⁴ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 67.

²⁵⁵ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 23-25; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 25-29; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 4-12; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 12-17; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 4-9.

²⁵⁶ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 67.

²⁵⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 9-11; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 24-26; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 18-19.

²⁵⁸ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 67.

²⁵⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 11.

²⁶⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 23-27; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 24-25.

and add to his knowledge through learning of the latent German contributions.”²⁶¹

Nazi Germany became a nation that embraced modernity in the *Germany* magazines. It was difficult, however, to find instances in which the material addressed an American reading public in particular.²⁶² Perhaps this was the result of an ideologically-motivated decision of the Nazis. Fascists despised the American system of modernity.²⁶³ Nonetheless, there is too little evidence to support this claim. In the British newspapers I even came across an advertisement that used a quote of the famous American writer Mark Twain.²⁶⁴ Elisabeth Piller noted that the tourism promotion of the Weimar Republic regularly featured quotes from well-known Americans.²⁶⁵

What can be argued, is that the National Socialist tourism professionals reproduced the same themes. Not much seemed to have changed in that regard. The tourism promotion also remained attractive. The country was described as beautiful and suitable for almost any tourist activity. The tourism promotion also made the country and its people appear peaceful and familiar, just like the tourism promotion of the Weimar era did.²⁶⁶ The tourists’ doubts about safety were dispelled through such a normative discourse.²⁶⁷ The promotion did not seem to have changed much. What would change, however, if the material was studied in more detail? Did the tourism promotion contain a fascist discourse that helped promote National Socialism?

3.3 Fascist discourse

Newspaper advertisements

It was difficult to discover fascist discourse in the newspaper advertisements. The anti-capitalist discourse that I set out to analyse, did not receive a prominent place in those. It rather appeared in much more subtle ways. Most of the time, the negative aspects of

²⁶¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 24.

²⁶² Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.

²⁶³ Gentile, “Impending Modernity,” 7.

²⁶⁴ GRIB, “MARK TWAIN.”

²⁶⁵ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 66.

²⁶⁶ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 66-68.

²⁶⁷ Koshar, *German Travel*, 129.

capitalism, namely individual greed and materialism, were not condemned nor mentioned.²⁶⁸

Nevertheless, in *The Times* of January 1939, it can be read how: “The fellowship of winter sport makes no distinctions of class or purse.”²⁶⁹ The metaphors ‘class’ and ‘purse’ seemed to stand for wealth. This quote seemed to make an indirect reference to places where distinctions based on wealth did exist. By stating that such ‘distinctions’ did not exist in the harmonious ‘fellowship’ that was German winter sport, the GRIB made it known that Nazi Germany was a welcoming community. It appeared to be a community in which no ‘meaningless’ categorizations, such as class, existed. This message matched the Nazis’ worldview. They wanted to establish a society in which societal differences existed based on race or nation.²⁷⁰ Several of the selected newspaper advertisements also used the phrase: “In all classes of hotels, in the pensions, and in the characteristic wayside inns you may be sure of a kindly and courteous welcome.”²⁷¹ The first part of the sentence contained a summing-up of all the possible places in which tourists could stay in Nazi Germany, from ‘hotels’ to ‘wayside inns’. This summing-up contained a hierarchy. The places of stay were summed up from the most expensive, to the least expensive. The GRIB seemed to want to stress the point again that all classes would be treated the same in Germany. No distinctions would be made. All the accommodations, from modest to luxurious, would provide a ‘kindly’ and ‘courteous’ welcome. The newspaper, therefore, promoted fascists’ ideal of a classless society.²⁷²

Only one advertisement contained criticism of materialism. In an advertisement about the health resort Bad Nauheim, one could read how the resort followed the ideal of: “Luxury without extravagance.”²⁷³ Fascism protested against the materialism that was promoted by capitalist forces, who chased after excessive amounts of luxury.²⁷⁴ Such forces were labelled ‘decadent’ by the fascists. Extravagance is what luxury becomes when there is too much of it. The inclusion of this sentence was strange. The advertisement primarily advertised the names of the hotels in Bad Nauheim and included the quote: “The hotels you always go back to.”²⁷⁵ While the ad in its entirety looked like a normal promotional advertisement, the German Railways Information Bureau deemed it beneficial for the promotion of the spas to include this extra piece of information. It was deemed necessary to tell potential tourists about the

²⁶⁸ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 181-182.

²⁶⁹ GRIB, “Sun, Skis, Sport.”

²⁷⁰ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 252.

²⁷¹ GRIB, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE £ (August 12),”; GRIB, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE (August 8),”; GRIB, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE (July 4),”; GRIB, “Visit GERMANY where the £.”

²⁷² Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 252.

²⁷³ GRIB, “Bad=Nauheim.”

²⁷⁴ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 116-117.

²⁷⁵ GRIB, “Bad=Nauheim.”

moderate level of luxury in the resort. The anti-elite critique of fascism became a vital part of the advertisement.

The examples listed above were exceptions, however. The advertisements rarely contained a discourse that aimed to promote Nazi Germany as a classless society. It also happened only once that a place was promoted for having a ‘reasonable’ level of luxury. What about the *Germany* magazines though? They might have contained more examples of such a discourse, especially since the style of magazine articles lent itself well to the interchanging of knowledge and ideas.

Germany magazines

A critique of capitalism was already featured in the first magazine of *Germany*. The practices of the founders of Berlin were criticized on page 4: “The “founders’ years” after the war of 1870 which were accompanied by an excessive growth of highly capitalistic tendencies provided the German capital with dwelling and business quarters of which all that can be said is that it would have been better if they had never been built.”²⁷⁶ The word combinations ‘excessive growth’ and ‘highly capitalistic tendencies’ carried negative connotations. They motivated the reader to think about the negative aspects of the capitalist system. The negative aspect here was growth for the sake of growth. The community did not benefit at all from the founders’ work. The criticism becomes even more obvious if the sentences are analysed. The last sentence made it very clear that there was nothing positive about the buildings. Moreover, life for the Berliners could have been better if the dwellings of the greedy founders had not been built. The criticism continued: “The characteristic features of the dwellings, in accordance with the hypocritical views of the period with their tendency to false showiness, is that there are two or three enormous and gorgeous rooms of no use to ordinary people on the street front [...]”²⁷⁷ The negative adjective ‘hypocritical’ encouraged the reader once more to be critical of Berlin’s past. The inclusion of ‘of the period’ taught the reader that these ‘hypocritical’ views were now a thing of the past. The reader also learned more about the ‘capitalistic tendencies’ of the founders. The enormous rooms they built were of little use to the (ordinary) German. It could have been the case that the article condemned Jewish practices of building here since the Nazis were particularly critical of the so-called ‘Jewish-

²⁷⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 4.

²⁷⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 4.

materialistic spirit'.²⁷⁸ They usually became the scapegoats. The latter part of the quote seemed to attack both individualism and capitalism. It was made clear that only the individual benefitted, while the community did not at all. Such discourse seemed to contain the general elements of fascism's anti-capitalist and individualist critique.²⁷⁹

Fascism was promoted as the solution for the negative aspects of capitalism. It could be read on page 6 of that same article: "Ofcourse the Berliner is, after all, a German like all the other Germans who really want nothing but to work hard and obtain in return their modest share of the joys of this life."²⁸⁰ In the first part of the sentence, it was made clear that the desires of the Berliner, were the same as those of other Germans. They always cherished the community. In the latter part of the sentence, the ideal was communicated again. The quote communicated the ideal of the regular German, but also that of its counterpart. Germans desired a 'modest' share of joys. The adjective 'modest' communicated the idea that one should not be greedy, but only take as much as one needed. People who thought differently were excluded. The so-called 'Jewish-materialistic spirit' would, therefore, exclude them as well from the greater German community.²⁸¹ The quote thus promoted an ideal, but also an ideological view. Anyone who did not put the community first would be excluded from German society.

An article about the Pergamon museum taught the reader even more about fascists' ideals, as it promoted fascism's vision of a world without class differences.²⁸² It could be read in the article: "The evening conducted visits are attracting an increasing number of visitors of all classes a proof of the soundness of the idea that led to the erection of this museum."²⁸³ The idea of building the Pergamon museum was positively referred to with the adjective 'sound'. The Nazis promoted classicist art and heritage to inspire the present, it was the lifeblood of the people.²⁸⁴ However, it was also a good idea to have built the museum, simply because of 'the proof' that the Pergamon's visitors came from all walks of life. The article promoted the idea of *Heimat*. This idea came up in the 1920s, as nationalists wanted to promote the importance of being embedded in local culture originating from one's place of belonging.²⁸⁵ The article thus promoted classic Greek art and heritage as if it was German. Griffin has argued that the promotion of such art also contributed to the exclusion of other forms of art

²⁷⁸ Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 86.

²⁷⁹ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 181-182.

²⁸⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 6.

²⁸¹ Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 86.

²⁸² Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 252.

²⁸³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 8.

²⁸⁴ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 307.

²⁸⁵ Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 152.

and other people. It was only considered the art and heritage of Aryan people.²⁸⁶ The article thus contained a fascist discourse because it aimed to promote class equality between poor and rich, but also because it aimed to exclude those who did not have Aryan origins.²⁸⁷ The article promoted a community in which race or nation decided one's standing.

It was expected that the fascists' ideal of a classless society would be regularly promoted in the texts, as the introduction claimed that the articles in *Germany* would contain information about: "[...] the new German national community in which parties and classes are unknown".²⁸⁸ The ideal was promoted several times. In an article about the Saar region, for example, it could be read how: "The people of the Saar district never attached importance to great social differences. There is no gulf between the captain of industry and the working man. This, too, is in accordance with tradition."²⁸⁹ The authors of *Germany* promoted the social values of the Saar region. In the second sentence of this quote, a contrast was made between the highest class of the 'captain of industry' and the lowest class of the 'working man'. This portion of the text emphasized that the Saar people were all equal. Class differences did practically not exist. The magazine mentioned that this was 'in accordance with tradition', which seemed to have been stated to convince people of the positivity of the Saar people's social values. The article greatly praised the Saar people for their traditional way of living. Adherence to tradition was a celebrated virtue.

It was expected that there would be more instances in the *Germany* magazines in which the 'classless society' of Nazi Germany was positively talked about, especially since the introduction stated that this would be the topic of future *Germany* magazines. Nevertheless, the ideal was still promoted in many of the articles, although in a less obvious way. Texts that promoted communal feelings among the German people, were a prime example. In an article about the Lake of Constance, such feelings were stimulated: "It seems to me that no real German could come to this country who would not feel in his inmost heart the fraternal appeal made by its cities and towns, and by all the villages with their ancient half-timbered houses and their peasants with faces like those in Durer's and Hans Weiditz's woodcuts."²⁹⁰ Every German was addressed in this quote. The inclusion of 'no real German' seemed to suggest that you wouldn't be truly German if you couldn't see the appeal of these German cities and

²⁸⁶ Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 305.

²⁸⁷ Ibidem, 252.

²⁸⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 2.

²⁸⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 24.

²⁹⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 18.

towns. Communal feelings were further reinforced by the use of the word combination ‘fraternal appeal’. It was suggested that you should feel a brotherly bond with the people living in the cities and towns. Germans were urged to share memories in the next part of this sentence. The woodcuts of Albrecht Durer were mentioned to make Germans aware of what they all had in common. It was expected that all Germans had seen Durer’s work. The quote communicated the idea that the German community supposedly didn’t know anything about class distinctions. The German community of Nazi Germany rather appeared to be united by blood. It also promoted the idea of *Heimat*.²⁹¹ Germans needed to know their culture.

More instances could be found, in which the magazine articles directly addressed the German people. In many of those instances, the German was made to feel part of a broader, classless community. Nonetheless, these instances never included any critique of other communities. Moreover, it’s to be expected that someone was addressed in the texts by his nationality, rather than his class. The fascist discourse in these kinds of quotes was therefore too subtle to pay more attention to. It was thus decided to only focus on the instances in which the promotion of fascists’ ideals was more obvious.

Returning to the discourse analysis, it was interesting to see that the actual critique on capitalism focused most on the past of Germany. By doing that, the Nazis’ break with history was emphasized. An example of this criticism of the past can be found in one of the articles in the first magazine: “And then, about the end of the 19th century, when the then prevailing materialistic views led to the whole of Germany being regarded merely as a field for exploitation of purely financial and economic importance [...]”.²⁹² The addition of the word ‘then’ made it clear that this was purely a matter of the past, it was suggested that materialistic views had since disappeared in Germany. The addition of the adjective ‘purely’ next to ‘financial’ made the reader realize that the financial exploitation of Germany did only benefit capitalist forces. The financial exploitation which had happened in the past was said to be strictly in the interest of the individual exploiters themselves. It may have been the case that the article addressed the issue of the ‘Jewish-materialistic spirit’ here and thus contained antisemitism.²⁹³ The imaginative language turned the whole country into a victim of exploitation. It distanced the exploiters from the German community. Every native German was being exploited and therefore everyone had a reason to resent this practice.

In another article about aviation development, it was discussed how competition

²⁹¹ Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 152.

²⁹² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 22.

²⁹³ Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 86.

hindered the progression of that field. It was written: “A number of aviation companies competed for supremacy in the air in Germany, but, as in all other spheres of economic life, a dissipation of available forces could only lead to a diminution of services, so that German civil aviation could not be successfully developed until all the civil aviation companies were merged in the German Lufthansa in 1925.”²⁹⁴ The competition of companies was referred to here as a ‘dissipation of available forces’. The noun ‘dissipation’ made it clear that competition was considered to be a waste of energy. That point was further emphasized with the noun ‘diminution’, which appeared later. It was made clear that competition hindered efficiency. The competition of German companies was thus criticized. The German aviation industry only achieved success when forces were finally bundled. The reader learned that the individual greed which fueled competition got one nowhere. It was rather the ideal of people working together for the greater good, that was promoted to be the best for everyone.

The *Germany* magazines contained more criticism of individual greed. In an article about the city of Lübeck, it can be read how past merchants cared more about the protection of their trade than palaces and a life of luxury.²⁹⁵ The noun ‘palace’ and word combination ‘life of luxury’ seem to be used as metaphors with negative connotations. They implied that the general merchant of the past usually desired a life of extravagance. The Lübeck merchants were said to be different. They saved their money, in case the city was attacked.²⁹⁶ The author of the article seemed to want to promote the idea of placing community needs above individual needs. The honorable act was contrasted with the dishonorable act. The ‘good’ Lübeck merchants were praised.

Honorable values such as this one were promoted elsewhere in the magazines as well: “The princely merchants are no longer as rich as they once were; yet money was never the deciding factor for the culture of the old Hanseatic patricians [...]”.²⁹⁷ The articles in the *Germany* magazines urged the reader to care about more in life than money-making. The reader was being convinced to care for something that was more ‘meaningful’.

One article about the Oberammergau Passion Play made known what ‘meaningful’ meant. It was said about the actors: “The “fee” they receive at the end of the season hardly makes up for what they would have earned by their work, but the Passion Play year is a year

²⁹⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 21.

²⁹⁵ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 14-15.

²⁹⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 14-15.

²⁹⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 12-13.

of sacrifice, and the spirit of sacrifice is the spirit of our forefathers.”²⁹⁸ It was made clear again that money was of lesser importance. The adverb ‘hardly’ suggested that the ‘fee’ was barely enough. Nevertheless, this was not considered to be a negative thing. It was rather turned into a positive thing, by making it part of the metaphor of ‘spirit of sacrifice’. It’s interesting to note that the Nazis tried to promote the play, which included scenes of the crucifixion of Jesus, as anti-semitic propaganda.²⁹⁹ The ‘spirit of sacrifice’ that the article ultimately referred to, may thus have been controversial. It may have been a reference to the hardships that the German people suffered under Jewish influences.

The *Germany* magazines rarely condemned money-making practices which were still happening in the present. Only one example was found. When an article about wine-making talked about the Roman practice of destroying Gallic vineyards to weed out the competition of their wines, it was added: “Even now states are still in the habit of adopting such shameful petty measures.”³⁰⁰ Adjectives with negative connotations were used again. The use of the word ‘petty’ implied that the author didn’t see any benefit whatsoever in it. The expression about states still being in the habit of doing these things seemed to imply that they could still change their ways. National Socialism might have been the answer.

These were, however, all the fascist critiques that could be found in the *Germany* magazines. While the magazines featured a critical discourse on capitalism numerous times, the overarching majority of the articles didn’t feature it at all. Most of the articles contained a non-ideological tourist discourse. This discourse aimed to make Germany, its culture, and its people attractive to foreign tourists. The analysis of the source material seemed to prove Elisabeth Piller’s argument about the continuity of tourism promotion in Nazi Germany.³⁰¹ The themes and content of the newspapers and magazines were similar, but the tourism promotion also did not contain much ideological fascist discourse. It can be concluded that a ‘normal’ tourist discourse was reproduced in the foreign tourism promotion of Nazi Germany. This discourse probably convinced some foreigners of the ‘normality’ of Nazi Germany. The country was turned into an attractive destination for the holidays in the foreign tourism promotion. Little was fascist about the image that the material conveyed.

²⁹⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 18.

²⁹⁹ Helena Waddy, *Oberammergau in the Nazi Era: The Fate of a Catholic Village in Hitler’s Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 137.

³⁰⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 8.

³⁰¹ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 74.

3.4 References to National Socialism

National Socialist references were also searched for in both the discourse and content of the *Germany* magazines and the GRIB's newspaper advertisements. If such references could be discovered in the material, they might provide an even better idea of what was truly different about the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany.

Germany magazines

What may be concluded from the results, is that the *Germany* magazines included far more references to the 'new' National Socialist Germany. That is not surprising. The introduction of the first *Germany* magazine included the specific statement: "'Germany" would not do justice to its name if it did not also contain information about the new German Reich, about the young National-Socialist Germany and its honest will to work and peace, and about the new German national community in which parties and classes are unknown."³⁰² It was therefore expected that a decent portion of the magazines' content would contain information about National Socialism.

First, it was analysed whether the material included any Nazi symbols and pictures of prominent Nazi figures. It was also analysed how the country was addressed in the articles. Was it made clear that the country was ruled by National Socialism?

The *Germany* magazines contained a decent amount of pictures of notorious Nazi figures, like Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, Hermann Göring (a prominent person in the Nazi Party), and Führer Adolf Hitler.³⁰³ The names of these Nazi officials were also mentioned in the texts of the articles.³⁰⁴ It's quite weird to see pictures of these people in the tourist literature. The promotion had certainly changed in this regard since the foreign tourism promotion of the Weimar era was strictly nonpolitical.³⁰⁵ It matched the Nazis' intentions to use international tourism to enhance the reputation of the regime abroad.³⁰⁶ The

³⁰² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 2.

³⁰³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 9, 24; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 6; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 25, 30; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 4, 6; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 10; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 3; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 4-6.

³⁰⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 2, 21, 23- 24; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 5, 25; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 3; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 5; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 7.

³⁰⁵ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 66-67.

³⁰⁶ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 130; Koshar, *German Travel*, 129-130.

pictures of Nazi officials helped tourists associate their positive travel experiences in Nazi Germany with the regime. Pictures of swastikas and eagles were occasionally discovered in the articles as well.³⁰⁷ The authors of the *Germany* magazine articles addressed the ‘new’ Germany as ‘The Third Reich’, ‘The German Reich’, or mentioned that the country was ruled by National Socialism.³⁰⁸ The existence of National Socialism was therefore not kept hidden in the foreign tourism promotion. Moreover, the influence of the Nazi state on tourism promotion was noticeable. Since the growth of international tourism in Nazi Germany was attributable to measures undertaken by the regime, it was to be expected that the Nazis wanted to take credit for it.³⁰⁹ The Weimar Republic did the same. Tourism promotion in the Weimar republic had a diplomatic function as well. Piller argued that it was used to improve the reputation of the country and in turn its diplomatic relations with other nations.³¹⁰ The Nazis thus ascribed a similar meaning to foreign tourism promotion. What changed were the details. It can additionally be argued that the pictures and references did not receive the most prominent spot in the travel magazines. The foreign tourist was not bombarded with Nazi propaganda. The tourism promotion remained generally unchanged.

National Socialism occasionally featured as a topic in the *Germany* magazines. One article promoted the positive influence of National Socialism on German student life.³¹¹ The destructive ideology was said to honor the values of solidarity, sociability, honour, hard work, academic freedom, and fun. The article did not include a reflection on the divisive aspects of the ideology. The article rather promoted National Socialism as a unifying force. It even attempted to convince the reader that all foreign students would be warmly welcomed by the National Socialist student community.³¹² The native students’ obligatory participation in the Storm Troops or Sturmabteilung was proudly promoted as a sort of community service.³¹³ It can thus be argued that this article normalized the image of National Socialism. It wasn’t mentioned that some students would be excluded by the ideology. Even though it was expected that the article would contain a lot of information about current politics, it focused more on the current (student) culture of Germany. The inclusion of this topic thus matched the other topics in the *Germany* magazine, which were also almost entirely about the culture of

³⁰⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 1, 25; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 15; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 6-7; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 3, 13.

³⁰⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 3, 5, 21-23; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 22-23, 25-26; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 18; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 13, 23-26.

³⁰⁹ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 150.

³¹⁰ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 73.

³¹¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 23-27.

³¹² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 27.

³¹³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 26.

the country.

Another article in the *Germany* magazine discussed the conservation policy of the National Socialist government.³¹⁴ The positive achievements of National Socialism were promoted. Foreign tourists were being convinced to appreciate the governments' efforts to protect nature. Many tourists travelled to Germany to see its nature. This article would make them realize that it was because of National Socialism, that there was still a lot of nature left to see. Evidence for this was found in another article: "The fact that we are still able to enjoy the beauties of the Heath is undeniably due to the law for the protection of natural beauty spots under which an area of 96 square miles was acquired, with the Wilseder Berg and the "Totengrund" in the centre, and preserved from "modern improvements"."³¹⁵ The tourism promotion diverted the attention away from the destructive politics. While the topic of National Socialist conservation policy was ultimately a political one, the article talked more about the beauty of German nature.³¹⁶ The reader was encouraged to reflect on the positive aspects of the regime, rather than the negative ones. The image that the article conveyed, was still nonpolitical. It was nonpolitical in the sense that it did not contain any references to the kind of politics which the Nazi regime was currently being criticized for. The article counteracted the reputational damage by not mentioning the bad reputation. The Weimar Republic did the same thing.³¹⁷

The movement and ideology of National Socialism were also normalized in articles about Munich and Nuremberg. These two cities were important places for the political movement. Munich was the birthplace of the Nazi Party. Nuremberg was the city in which the Nazi Party held rallies every year. The article about Munich only contained a small section that was about National Socialism. It presented the Bierkellerputsch (coup d'état led by Hitler in 1923 to bring down the Weimar Republic) as an honourable act in a battle 'against oppression'. This battle was waged between the German people and an 'illguided government'.³¹⁸ The article about Nuremberg was even more interesting. It contained just a tiny paragraph at the end which mentioned the annual Nazi rallies. Nuremberg was said to be the 'symbol of german unity'.³¹⁹ When the article thus talked about National Socialism, it presented it as a unifying force. Nevertheless, the movement and ideology were not the main topics of the article at all. The sights, history, culture, and people of Nuremberg received all

³¹⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 22-23.

³¹⁵ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 11.

³¹⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 22-23.

³¹⁷ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 48.

³¹⁸ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 25.

³¹⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 18.

the attention. This was also the case in the article about Munich.³²⁰

The politics of National Socialism thus did not get much attention in the *Germany* magazines. Elisabeth Piller seems to have been right.³²¹ Nazi Germany was faced with the same resentments and suspicions as Germany in the 1920s and built on the strategy that was used then.³²² Most, if not all articles, conveyed an image of Germany that was nonpolitical. The reader learned much more about ‘normal’ topics like the country’s history, nature, and culture. An image of normality helped readers forget about the brutal nature of the National Socialist rule.³²³ What about the newspaper advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau? Did they feature references to National Socialism?

Newspaper advertisements

The newspaper advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau did not seem to have been Nazified much. Only three advertisements contained common Nazi symbols, like the swastika and the eagle.³²⁴ The newspaper advertisements also did not refer to the ‘new’ Germany as ‘The Third Reich’, ‘German Reich’, or ‘National Socialist Germany’. The advertisements rather talked about ‘the new Germany’ and ‘a new nation’.³²⁵ Sometimes National Socialism was referred to as ‘the spirit of the age’.³²⁶ National Socialism was never directly mentioned. Notorious Nazi figures were also not given any attention in the advertisements. The tourism promotion of the German Railways Information Bureau kept the existence of the ideology and movement hidden. The country was not promoted as the country of National Socialism. The advertisements promoted Germany as the country of charming hosts. These hosts were said to adhere to the tradition of saying “Auf Wiedersehen” to every traveller.³²⁷ The image that the advertisements conveyed of Germany was therefore pretty much nonpolitical. The arguments of Elisabeth Piller seem to be true. Tourism was used as an unobtrusive political instrument to improve the country’s negative image abroad.³²⁸

³²⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 24-27.

³²¹ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67; 74.

³²² *Ibidem*, 74.

³²³ *Ibidem*, 48.

³²⁴ GRIB, “Come & SEE.”; GRIB, ““Seeing is believing”.”; GRIB, “G E R M A N Y: OLYMPIC.”

³²⁵ GRIB, “Come to GERMANY (march 24).”; GRIB, “B E R L I N.”

³²⁶ GRIB, “Come & SEE.”

³²⁷ GRIB, “VISIT GERMANY WHERE THE £ BUYS MORE (July 4).”

³²⁸ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 74.

It can be said about the tourism promotion in its entirety, that only little reference was made to National Socialism. The ideology and movement were seldom the subjects of the articles. The tourism promotion rather promoted Nazi Germany as the perfect tourist country. This was the case in the newspaper advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau. The reader was not made aware of the existence of National Socialism at all. The *Germany* magazines mentioned National Socialism occasionally. Nevertheless, Nazism never became a dominant topic. Pictures of Göring and Goebbels were included next to pictures of beautiful landscapes. References to National Socialism were made, right next to recommendations of common tourist sights. The *Germany* magazines thus looked much more like travel literature, rather than political propaganda.

3.5 Political references

Germany magazines

It was discovered that the *Germany* magazines occasionally referenced current politics. An article about the Polish city Danzig included such references.³²⁹ The Polish city was said to be a German one, torn away by the Versailles Treaty of 1919: “It was a French dictate which made of Danzig a free city in 1807 and in 1814 tore the city away from its German motherland; once more this was done a hundred years later by the Dictate of Versailles. But the heart of the Danziger could not be torn from his German fatherland.”³³⁰ The return of Danzig to Germany was said to be inevitable. It was mentioned that the city was ‘stolen’ from the German people at the end of the First World War. Moreover, it was suggested that the people of Danzig wanted their city to become part of Germany again. There is no indication that the citizens of Danzig wanted this to happen. Nevertheless, the article continued: “Here, where the separation from the motherland is so evident to all who come, are united all the treasures of the German soul and of German landscape, German culture and German humanity.”³³¹ It was kind of surprising to come across this statement in the article. It’s now widely known that Danzig, along with the rest of Poland, was invaded by German troops in 1939. The article made the Germans’ desires for territorial expansion clear but did so in an inconspicuous way. The Polish Danzigers were said to be Germans at heart. It was not

³²⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 22-23.

³³⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 22-23.

³³¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 22-23.

suggested that Danzig was part of a political and military quest for 'lebensraum'. The city was rather described as a German city, of which its citizens desired to be conquered again. The article conveyed an image of a peaceful Nazi Germany, which only conquered territory if the people unanimously desired that. It did not make the reader think that the country had any wishes to use violence to achieve its goals.

The way that one article talked about the Saar region, was also surprising to me.³³² It was suggested that the people of the Saar region wanted to become part of Germany again. The Saar region had been 'taken' from Germany as well. Hopes for a return were expressed in the article: "All Germany praises the behaviour and the self-sacrifice of the men of the frontier, and is waiting with open arms to receive the faithful inhabitants of the Saar, now that the years of parting are coming to an end, and now that a brave, industrious and loyal population may be reunited with Germany to which it has belonged for a thousand years."³³³ The Saar people were said to have sacrificed themselves. They chose to live under foreign rule. While the article did not directly mention the Versailles Treaty, it was clear that the country was unhappy with its ratification.

The authors of the *Germany* magazines thus did not avoid talking about current politics. Some information about the current political situation of a region or city was included if it complimented the rest of the article. The article about the Saar region was a perfect example. The authors of the *Germany* magazines did not keep the territorial ambitions of Nazi Germany hidden. Nonetheless, they did not go out of their way to talk about it. The references to the current political situation were usually skillfully integrated into the magazines. They never became the main subject of the article, but rather featured as a kind of subtext.

One surprising statement was found for example at the end of an article about East Prussia. It was suggested here that the Tannenberg National Monument (near Hohenstein) recalled: "[...] the most skillful victory in the World War".³³⁴ While Germany's aggressive role in the First World War was considered a controversial topic in the tourism promotion of Weimar Germany, this was certainly not the case in the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany.³³⁵ Nonetheless, the statement was rather short and did not draw all the attention to itself. The rest of the article included much more information about the beautiful landscapes

³³² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 23-24.

³³³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 24.

³³⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 27.

³³⁵ Piller, "Managing Imponderables," 66-67.

and cityscapes of East Prussia.³³⁶

The authors of the *Germany* magazines occasionally tried to convince foreign readers of the peaceful intentions of Nazi Germany: “Even those foreign visitors who only spend a short time in Berlin will take home a lasting impression of the aims for which the German people are now striving and of their tenacious work in the cause of the peaceful progress of the world.”³³⁷ The reader learned from this statement that tourists would gain a more positive opinion of the country if they saw it firsthand. This was an actual strategy of the Nazi regime.³³⁸ The peaceful intentions of the National Socialist country were also made known in an article about the autobahn: “The greatest energy is being devoted to this peaceful work, the greatest road-building project in Europe. It is a symbol of the course and destiny of the newly arisen German Reich.”³³⁹ It’s clear that Nazi Germany was aware of its negative reputation and used foreign tourism promotion to get rid of it. The biases of readers were also counteracted in articles about the Olympic Games for example.³⁴⁰ Rumours were directly addressed with quotes of notorious Nazis: “Was it perhaps reasons connected with political propaganda? Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels answered the last question clearly in the negative on the occasion of the reception of 1,200 press representatives from all parts of the world. “Germany”, he said, “does not intend to use the Olympic Games to make propaganda for its State”.”³⁴¹ The Nazis certainly used the Olympic Games as propaganda.³⁴²

The tourist promotion counteracted rumours by spreading lies. It was suggested that the ultimate goal of the country was to live in harmony with the rest of Europe: “It was the voice of the people which made no difference between friends and foes of former days when they marched into the Olympic Stadium. It was the voice of the people that greeted the youth of France almost as cordially as the representatives of our Austrian brother country.”³⁴³

The tourism promotion of Nazi Germany also tried to counteract at times the same negative image as the Weimar Republic.³⁴⁴ The country still dealt with the issues derived from its role in the First World War. The ‘friends and foes of former days’ seemed to be a reference to that war.

³³⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 27.

³³⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1936, 6.

³³⁸ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 130.

³³⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 29.

³⁴⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 4-7.

³⁴¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 6.

³⁴² Koshar, *German Travel*, 131.

³⁴³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 7.

³⁴⁴ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 66-67.

The Nazi tourism promotion and the Weimar tourism promotion were very much alike. Both conveyed a positive image of the country to counteract a negative one.³⁴⁵ Elisabeth Piller argued that the Weimar tourism promotion dealt with negative opinions by providing an attractive, nonaggressive, and nonpolitical image of it. The country also appeared attractive and nonaggressive in Nazi tourism promotion. The promotional material included some references to politics. Nevertheless, the *Germany* magazines usually included such references as small side-notes in a bigger, attractive story. The articles usually talked more about German culture than German politics. Politics were normalized in the articles. References to the current political situation were only made if they would compliment the rest of the information about a given city or region. The articles generally promoted harmony and peace between peoples.

The *Germany* magazines also contained some more disturbing parts, however, which were located at the end of the magazines. Positive travel experiences of Nazi Germany were included here, right next to practical tourist information. It seemed like these experiences were included to convince potential travellers to go themselves.³⁴⁶ The *Germany* magazines contained only positive experiences. The travellers usually praised the country and its beauty, but occasionally praised the military troops of the country as well: “I must honestly admit that I regard the SA. and SS., the Storm Troops and Guards of the Revolutionary Army, as the best institution of the Third Reich in many respects. On the whole their behaviour is excellent. The spirit prevailing among them is infectious, and it will be long before I forget the enthusiasm with which an old Government official spoke of the true spirit of comradeship in his section.”³⁴⁷ It was surprising to see such a statement in a section that also included a message about ‘Germany’s first open air aquarium’. Nonetheless, the statement made one aware of the hidden objectives of the *Germany* magazines. These extremely positive travel reports convinced foreigners that the rumours about the country were all untrue. The country wanted to promote its peaceful intentions, just like the Weimar Republic.³⁴⁸ One magazine featured the travel experience of an American statesman, which promoted these peaceful intentions of Nazi Germany: “I am convinced that the German people are filled with an honest desire for peace corresponding to the assurance given by their Government. This desire for peace abroad

³⁴⁵ Ibidem, 66-67; 74.

³⁴⁶ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 28; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 28; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 30; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 28; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 7, 1934, 28; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1935, 30; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 9, 1936, 27-28.

³⁴⁷ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 28.

³⁴⁸ Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 74.

corresponds to the appeasement which has occurred at home.”³⁴⁹ Nobody would be given the idea that Germany wanted another war: “I have seen a great deal of discipline,” said Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, “but very little militarism. Those who speak loudest about war find a larger audience outside Germany than in Germany itself. I believe that Hitler and his people are really devoted to the cause of peace, but not at the cost of national self-respect.”³⁵⁰

Nevertheless, even these comments were rare. The most inconspicuous comments about Nazi Germany were the ones that appeared like actual travel experiences and not propaganda: “Germany is an inspiring country. There is a constant succession of scenic beauties of all kinds. In the Argentine they do not know Germany well enough, otherwise they would award it a special prize among tourist countries.” On being asked what he thought of the political situation in Germany, Monsignore de Andrea replied that he found everything in the best of order and in perfect peace, and that he could only say in conclusion that he was absolutely enchanted with Germany.”³⁵¹ The issue of Nazi Germany’s political situation was turned into an issue of safety. Such questions about safety made the reports look like normal travel reports. Travellers usually ask those kinds of questions before going on a trip. A normal tourist discourse thus remained prevalent. Another example was found: “I think it is safe to say that anyone who is considering travelling in Germany within the next month or so can assure himself that he will spend an extremely pleasant holiday, without the slightest fear of being embroiled in any political disturbance, and that he will return, as I have done, with great respect for German thoroughness and efficiency, and a certain warmth in his heart at the friendliness and kindness he met there.”³⁵² While this comment addressed the issue of ‘political disturbance’, the majority of the comment addressed the standard tourist questions. Is everyone friendly? Will the holiday be pleasant? It was therefore harder to recognize that this was propaganda.

The comments contained a normal tourist discourse. The travel experience of other travellers comforted international tourists: “Any British person choosing Germany for a holiday today can be assured of a good time — and in complete safety! Despite all the rumours and alarms a tourist can roam around anywhere without fear or worry.”³⁵³ The safety risks in Nazi Germany were said to be the same as in other countries. Sometimes a holiday in Nazi Germany was promoted to be unique: “On the whole our impression was that the

³⁴⁹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 28.

³⁵⁰ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 27.

³⁵¹ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 5, 1934, 27.

³⁵² Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 28.

³⁵³ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 28.

German officials were much nicer to us than those of any other European country that we visited, and also nicer than in former years.”³⁵⁴ These positive travel experiences did not feature in every *Germany* magazine. The final sections of the magazines rather regularly included information about future events, the transportation lines between cities, reduced train fares for foreigners, the opening of a new travel bureau, and new travel posters.³⁵⁵

The location of the positive experiences next to normal tourist information probably helped to normalize the ideological messages about The Third Reich. The magazines made Nazi Germany appear like a regular tourist destination, in which tourists could enjoy themselves without any issues. Politics never gained center stage.

Newspaper advertisements

The newspaper advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau were much less controversial. They promoted the country solely as a tourist destination. The country was advertised as hospitable, friendly, cheap, and modern. The country was said to have lots of sights and other touristy things to do. Political references could not be discovered at all in the promotional messages. The Nazi tourism promotion in the British newspapers was therefore most similar to that of the Weimar Republic. The foreign tourist was not made aware of the existence of National Socialism in the country.

What can be concluded from this? The promotional material did not seem to have been heavily influenced by National Socialism. It had already been concluded that the promotional material only contained marginal signs of a fascist discourse on capitalism and elitism. The *Germany* magazines contained criticism on (Jewish) capitalist competition, promoted equality between classes and the idea of Heimat, and taught the reader that there was more to life than money. Such discourse did not occur often, however. The majority of the articles contained a discourse that fit the genre of travel literature. The same was true for the newspaper advertisements. While moderate levels of luxury and equal treatment of all tourists were promoted, the vast majority of the material featured a ‘normal’ tourist discourse. A discourse that aimed to convey an attractive and peaceful image of the country and promoted the many activities and sights of the country.

³⁵⁴ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 6, 1934, 28.

³⁵⁵ Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1934, 28; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1934, 28; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 3, 1934, 28; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 1, 1938, 26; Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 27-28.

3.6 Criticism

While the newspaper advertisements and *Germany* magazines did not contain much fascist discourse, they did draw the attention of British commenters. Articles that mentioned the German Railways Information Bureau in London, were occasionally found in the British newspapers. The authors of the newspaper articles were often critical of the GRIB. One commenter in *The Penrith Observer* of September 1933 criticized a specific pamphlet of the GRIB: “It bears the imprint of a certain childishness: the childishness of the Hitler government in its apparently long-sustained belief in the credulity of the British people who, they were astounded to discover months after the Swastika reign of terror began, knew all about it, and a good deal more than the German citizens did [...]. It is unconsciously, unintentionally, a terse and delicious comment, with a delightful irony about it, on modern Germany. The paragraph is as follows: “The Hall of Peace in the Town hall at Osnabrück is to be converted into a museum”.³⁵⁶ The author criticized the Nazis’ desire to maintain peace. It’s clear why. The situation within the country had been anything but peaceful after the Nazis took power. Many political opponents had been arrested and many people felt unsafe.³⁵⁷ It was therefore quite humorous that the Hall of Peace was given to a museum. It meant that peace was certainly a thing of the past.

The promotion of healing spas was also mocked, as can be read in *The Yorkshire Post* of September 1939: “[...] in the centre of the German window remains a symbolic German eagle inviting us to “The Land of Healing Spas . . .” with the added information that 1.000 Healing Spas await the Traveller to Germany. No doubt some passing Cockney humorist has already made a terse comment about the spas and their healing qualities”.³⁵⁸ Germany had invaded Poland, a few days before this comment was made. It was therefore not surprising that the healing qualities of the country’s spas would be questioned.

The German Railways Information Bureau was also criticized for its promotion of Danzig: “The German Railway Information Bureau had significantly devoted one of their window displays to pictures and posters encouraging tourists to visit Danzig – now a free port under the Peace Treaty. But Nazi propaganda has always been thorough. A large model in the centre of the window had the inscription, “Germany : The Town Hall of Danzig.” [...] The coloured pamphlets that are being distributed to would-be visitors are more subtle. At the end

³⁵⁶ The Penrith Observer, “Echoes and Reflections,” *The Penrith Observer*, September 12, 1933, The British Newspaper Archive.

³⁵⁷ Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, *A Companion*, 433.

³⁵⁸ Correspondent of The Yorkshire Post, “Irony,” *The Yorkshire Post*, September 5, 1939, The British Newspaper Archive.

a line in block letters reads: “Danzig is German-but not in Germany”³⁵⁹.

Interestingly, the commenters didn’t refer in their criticism to the advertisements of the GRIB, which appeared frequently in British newspapers. It might have had something to do with the location of the newspaper advertisements. They were never featured on the front page. It could also be the case that the normal and attractive image they conveyed of the country, did not stimulate debates. Kristin Semmens maintained that public debates only started when the Second World War broke out.³⁶⁰ Nobody criticized the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany until then.

The analysis of commenters’ criticism of the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany thus reinforced Kristin Semmens’ conclusions.³⁶¹ While future academics could put the discussions about (the promotion of) travel to Nazi Germany central in his or her research, my preliminary conclusions seem to point towards a ‘success story’ of Nazi tourism promotion. The absence of ideology in both the newspapers and the advertisements probably convinced some foreigners of the normality of Nazi Germany. The promotion seemed professional. It contained attractive images of Nazi Germany. They were the standard tourism destination images of landscapes, sights, and people. They could have been used by the tourism professionals of other countries. What was distinct about the Nazi regime, was not put at the center of the promotional messages.

³⁵⁹ Birmingham Gazette, “Nazis are So Subtle,” *Birmingham Gazette*, June 9, 1936, The British Newspaper Archive.

³⁶⁰ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 144.

³⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 191.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have attempted to answer the question: “To which extent did international tourism promotion change under the Nazi regime?” The existing literature on Nazi Germany inspired my research heavily. I was not convinced yet that the foreign tourism promotion of the Nazi era had properly been studied. While some academics mentioned the topic in their research, it usually remained limited to a discussion of first impressions.

To answer my question, I set out to study two different source materials. One consisted of newspaper advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau in contemporary British newspapers. The other consisted of *Germany* travel magazines that were sent from Berlin to offices abroad like the German Railways Information Bureau, to reach foreigners that were interested in going to Nazi Germany for a holiday. I attempted to analyse the discourse in these materials, to find out whether there was something distinct about the promotion of the Nazi era. In my discourse analysis, I thus tried to find out whether the materials included criticism on the capitalist system and the elitist forces benefitting from it. Academics in fascism studies argued that this was a vital component of the ideology. Such criticism would also have fit with the times, as memories of the Great Depression of 1929 were still fresh in everyone’s minds. People had become aware of the wealth inequalities in their society and started condemning capitalist forces like bankers and monopoly capitalists. I also tried to find instances in which National Socialism was promoted as the solution for the negative aspects of capitalism and elitism since it was stated in the literature that the Nazis used tourism to change people’s opinions of the country and the regime. I combined the concept of fascism with the concept of normality. I researched whether the materials provided foreign tourists with a ‘normal’ image of Nazi Germany, meaning attractive, feminine, and nonpolitical. Such a normal image was also conveyed in the foreign tourism promotion of the Weimar era.

I’ve concluded that foreign tourism promotion did not change much during the Nazi era, although it changed in some regards.

The themes and content of the tourism promotion seemed to have not changed. They combined to make Nazi Germany appear like an attractive and modern nation with a rich academic and musical heritage. The tourist promotion tried to attract the widest audience, by stressing the variedness of the country and its cheap prices. A performative tourist discourse

invited foreign tourists to the country. The discourse in the texts also conveyed an image of Germany that was nonpolitical, nonaggressive, and attractive. Nazi Germany appeared to be a great tourist destination with lots of activities, heritage, and sights. The materials addressed foreigners' doubts about safety, by emphasizing the peaceful atmosphere in the country and the homely hospitality of its native people. A normalizing discourse thus helped foreigners think differently about the country. This matched academics' conclusions about the tourism promotion of the Weimar era.

The results of my fascist discourse analysis did not change this preliminary conclusion. Some evidence was found for the inclusion of an anti-capitalist and anti-elite fascist discourse that spoke criticism of competition, individual wealth-accumulation, and extravagance. The material also occasionally posited the 'classless' system of National Socialism and the idea of *Heimat* as healthy alternatives to the capitalist system.

The materials made some references to National Socialism. Pictures of prominent Nazi figures in the *Germany* magazines made the international reader aware of the influence of the regime on tourism promotion. The regime took credit for the positive experiences that tourism provided. This was certainly different. The foreign tourism promotion of the Weimar period was strictly nonpolitical. Nonetheless, only the details were different. The Weimar Republic also used tourism to improve the reputation of both the country and the government.

It was expected that National Socialism would gain a more prominent position in articles about cities like Munich and Nuremberg, as they were very important for the movement and ideology. National Socialism was normalized in the texts. It was turned into a unifying force in the articles of the *Germany* magazines, in stark contrast to the reality, in which it was a divisive force. When National Socialism thus featured in the texts, it featured positively.

The texts also referred to current contemporary politics at times, signifying another slight change in the material of the Nazi era. Sometimes the political situation in a region was discussed, like in articles about the Polish city of Danzig and the Saar region. The magazines also directly addressed the rumours about Nazi Germany, by stating that the country wanted nothing but peace and prosperity for Europe. The magazines included specific sections at the end, where important statesmen and foreign travellers talked about their positive experiences of their holiday in Nazi Germany. While these comments included controversial statements about the military troops of Nazi Germany at times, the majority of them seemed to look like normal travel reports. They mentioned that the country was beautiful, fun, and safe. International tourists seemed to have had a normal tourist experience. They did not experience

any violence or hostility when travelling through the country. The positive experiences were not included in every *Germany* magazine and when they were, they were usually located next to practical tourist information. The comments complimented the material. They gave travelers a better idea of what to expect when visiting the National Socialist country. While some changes were noted, the overarching majority of the material stayed the same. The *Germany* magazines were positive about the country and promoted its touristic assets.

The newspaper advertisements of the German Railways Information Bureau seemed to provide the least evidence that something had changed about the foreign tourism promotion. These advertisements never mentioned that the country had turned National Socialist. They also never addressed current politics. They seemed to look like normal tourist propaganda. The country was said to be interesting, cheap, and comfortable. The people were said to be kind and hospitable. While there were two instances in which the advertisements included pictures of swastikas and eagles in the advertisements, such instances were extremely rare in comparison.

It can thus be concluded that the foreign tourism promotion generally did not change during the Nazi era. The changes that were there, did not dominate the material. The same attractive, nonaggressive, and non-political image of Germany was conveyed by the tourism promotion of National Socialist Germany. A normative discourse was used to sway people's opinions of the country. The tourism promotion dispelled the doubts that some tourists might have had about their safety and improved the country's image, by emphasizing its peaceful atmosphere. While the material covered political topics occasionally, the regular tourist topics remained most prevalent. Sights, activities, landscapes, and people were most often talked about.

The British newspapers contained little criticism of the tourism promotion of the German Railways Information Bureau. British commenters condemned the promotional activities of the GRIB, but they only criticized its physical tourism promotion in the form of pamphlets, posters, and brochures. The GRIB's tourism advertisements or the *Germany* magazines were not mentioned. Perhaps the nonpolitical and nonaggressive image that the materials conveyed, made them appear less controversial. Nevertheless, this is purely guessing. It might also have had something to do with the accessibility of the materials. The GRIB's newspaper advertisements never featured on the newspapers' front page and the *Germany* magazines were only handed over to people that requested them.

Little is still known about the controversy of travel to Nazi Germany. While academic Kristin Semmens discussed the public criticism of the Nazi tourist office in New York, future research could try to analyse the discussions more widely and in a transnational context. Was criticism solely directed against the foreign tourism promotion of Nazi Germany, or also against fellow countrymen going to Nazi Germany? Did travellers receive any negative comments when they returned to their home country? Were discussions about travel to Nazi Germany more intensely waged in some countries?

Little is still known about the tourist numbers during the Nazi era. How successful was Nazi tourist promotion? Did the regime succeed in attracting significantly more visitors or was the growth that Kristin Semmens spoke about part of a general European trend?

Future research could also take Nazi tourist films into account since I did not have the time to access these. Such movies might have contained valuable information about the ways that Nazi Germany tried to sell itself to a greater public. That's especially the case since cinema started to become popular around this time, with the Olympic Games of 1936 being recorded for public consumption. It would be fascinating to see how Nazi Germany mobilized this new medium for its own political goals.

Finally, I did not possess the knowledge to look for things that were omitted from the tourism promotion after 1933. It would be expected that the Nazis refused to talk about some well-known artists or architects because they were not Aryan. Future research could certainly try to discover what was removed by the Nazis.

There are still many things unknown about Nazi Germany, even after all these decades. Nevertheless, with all the progress that has been made, it's expected that many questions will be answered in the future. This thesis has hopefully shown that tourism promotion can be used by countries as a tool in foreign policy. It also raises questions about the promotion of tourism by current controversial regimes in for example Russia, China, and North Korea. The past can teach us something about the present, in those cases.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The British Newspaper Archive

(Newspapers listed from A-Z and chronologically for each one).

Aberdeen Press and Journal

German Railways Information Bureau. "MUNICH." *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, May 28, 1934. The British Newspaper Archive.

German Railways Information Bureau. "Visit the ROMERBERG FESTIVAL at FRANKFURT." *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, July 2, 1934. The British Newspaper Archive.

Birmingham Gazette

Birmingham Gazette. "Nazis are So Subtle." *Birmingham Gazette*, June 9, 1936. The British Newspaper Archive.

Britannia & Eve

German Railways Information Bureau. "Come to G E R M A N Y: THE LAND OF HOSPITALITY." *Britannia & Eve*, May, 1935. The British Newspaper Archive.

Sunday Post

German Railways Information Bureau. "Spring comes early to Germany." *Sunday Post*, April 2, 1939. The British Newspaper Archive.

Telegraph and Independent

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