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

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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.

² Baranowski, Nolzen, Szejnmann, A Companion, 2.
³ Ibidem, 2.
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 \textit{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

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\(^6\) Koshar, \textit{German Travel}, 159.
\(^7\) Ibidem, 134.
\(^8\) Ibidem, 134.
\(^10\) Ibidem, 10.
\(^12\) 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{18} In the tourism promotion of the previous government, such images were included to convince American tourists that Germany was a peaceful nation.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{21} She also based her argument on the fact that the tourism slogans and the images in the materials stayed the same.\textsuperscript{22} Elisabeth Piller has therefore not attempted

\textsuperscript{16} Ibidem, 190-191.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibidem, 144-145.
\textsuperscript{19} Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 66-67.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibidem, 67.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibidem, 74.
\textsuperscript{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

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23 Ibidem, 74.
27 Griffin, Modernism and Fascism, 181-182.
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 intensifed the conflicts over the distribution of wealth. Speculators, bankers, and monopoly capitalists were blamed for the recession. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. International tourists were most concerned about their safety in the country, due to rumours about violent incidents. 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

32 Koshar, German Travel, 129.  
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.  
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 Reichsbahnzentrals 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.

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. 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.

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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

\(^{43}\) 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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.
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

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.


\(^{61}\) 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. 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

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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.
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. 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. 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). Peukert noted that the Nazis wanted to establish order. Weimar society had experienced lots of political crises and economic recesses. 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. 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. The Nazis condemned the period of the Weimar Republic. They emphasized the chaos and declared to pursue the opposite. The Nazis strived for the

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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.
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. Nonetheless, they also tried to keep news about their persecutions of ethnic and political enemies hidden.

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. Nevertheless, it wasn’t just the continuation of foreign tourism that contributed to an image of normality, but also the experience of it. A holiday in Nazi Germany was still fun. Foreign tourists did not experience the country any differently after 1933. 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.

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. Seductive and nonaggressive representations of Weimar Germany helped nations forget about Germany’s controversial role in the First World War. The prominence of nonpolitical content in the tourism promotion helped foreigners forget about current politics. 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.

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.

84 Trommler, “Between Normality and Resistance,” S84.
86 Ibidem, IX.
87 Ibidem, 151.
88 Koshar, *German Travel*, 132.
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. Many people thought that it was risky to visit the country since people might be hostile. Some even wondered whether they would need to bring a gun. 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’.” Fascists protested against materialism and the greed of capitalist forces. 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. The creative process behind products had become a quantifiable commodity, due to the mechanization of industries. Fascists wanted to create a ‘healthy’ community. They promoted their distinct version of modernity. The nation needed to be reinvented. 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.
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

¹⁰³ Ibidem, 143.
¹⁰⁵ Semmens, Seeing Hitler’s Germany, 130; Koshar, German Travel, 129-130.
¹⁰⁶ Koshar, German Travel, 79.
mission was to sell Germany abroad. 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. The offices were Nazified, which meant that all directors had to apply for membership to the Nazi Party.

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. The promotional material aimed to ‘bridge the gap between the New Germany and other countries’. 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 syntaxis 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.

Beyen described how words can be associated with the discourse of an author or the ideological, professional, or societal group to which he belongs. He also stated that words can give agency to a specific person or group. 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. Adjectives can also have a performative

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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.\textsuperscript{117} Word combinations can contain deeper meanings as well. Such combinations usually consist of an adjective and a substantive (noun).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibidem, 69.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibidem, 98.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{121} The working class expressed its concerns at a time when both bicycles and cars allowed people to travel.\textsuperscript{122} The new 8-hour workday also provided workers with more free time.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{124} Tourism became part of a rapidly developing ‘mass culture’ next to cinema, radio, and sports.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{127} It became necessary to escape the city to escape the monotony of daily life.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{120} Barton, \textit{Working-class organisations and popular tourism}, 11.
  \item \textsuperscript{121} Zuelow, \textit{A History}, 135.
  \item \textsuperscript{122} Ibidem, 135.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} Rosenbaum, \textit{Bavarian Tourism}, 39.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Gotham, “Selling New Orleans to New Orleans,” 323.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} Rosenbaum, \textit{Bavarian Tourism}, 41.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} Ibidem, 39.
  \item \textsuperscript{127} Zuelow, \textit{A History}, 143.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Rosenbaum, \textit{Bavarian Tourism}, 41.
\end{itemize}
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.
132 Walton, Histories of Tourism, 65.
133 Ibidem, 66.
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.\textsuperscript{149} The promotion conveyed a nonpolitical image of Germany.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibidem, 65-66.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibidem, 66.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibidem, 67.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibidem, 60.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibidem, 67.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibidem, 69.
\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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. 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. The international RDV offices had as a general goal to counteract foreign criticism of Adolf Hitler and his Third Reich.

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. Nonetheless, the normal experience of tourism could convince international tourists that the regime wasn’t all that bad. 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. 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.
them to turn their hatred towards capitalist forces like bankers and monopoly capitalists. 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. The inter-war period lent itself well for this since tourism was becoming a popular mass activity at this time. 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. 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

165 Griffin, Modernism and Fascism, 242.
166 Rosenbaum, Bavarian Tourism, 41.
for Germany." 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 themself 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. 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. 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. 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.

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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!” The reader was being encouraged to visit Nazi Germany. The phrase ‘see Germany for yourself’ was regularly used in the publications of the GRIB. 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. It was expected that the experience of travel in Germany would make prejudice and bias towards the country ‘melt away’.

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. 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. Moreover, the services of well-known German health resorts, like Wiesbaden and

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175 Koshar, *German Travel*, 117.


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

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

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.” Such examples were rare, however.

What can be concluded is that the German Railways Information Bureau tried to
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.” 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.” 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.” Phrases like ‘living is very reasonable’ and ‘everything at reasonable, honest prices’ made this also clear.

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. From spas to hotels, from garage facilities to pensions, they all seemed to have the most favourable prices to ‘suit all means’. It might have been a conscious tactic of the Nazis to attract tourists from multiple classes. Tourism doubled as a foreign policy. If the Nazis could attract a bigger audience, they could in turn convince more people that the

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189 Semmens, Seeing Hitler’s Germany, 12.
National Socialist regime was not that bad.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{191} Just like the tourism promotion of Weimar Germany, a seductive representation of Germany featured in the tourism promotion of Nazi Germany.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{193} This was certainly the case in advertisements that promoted winter sports: “There are sport competitions, ice carnivals, balls and concerts, cinemas and cabarets.”\textsuperscript{194} Tourists would appreciate the many winter activities that Nazi Germany offered.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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 […].”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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

\begin{footnotes}
\item[190] Ibidem, 130. 
\item[192] Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.
\item[193] GRIB, “WELCOME TO GERMANY (May 15).”; German Railways Information Bureau, “Germany WELCOMES YOU,” \textit{The Times}, July 6, 1938, The Times Archive.
\item[194] GRIB, “Sun, Skis, Sport.”
\item[195] GRIB, “The GERMAN ALPS.”
\item[196] GRIB, “Germany WELCOMES YOU.”
\item[197] GRIB, “Visit GERMANY where the £ buys more..”
\item[198] GRIB, “HEIDELBERG.”
\end{footnotes}
gay young people having a grand time”. 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 […]”.

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. These doubts also related to the German people themselves, many were afraid that they would be hostile. The GRIB’s advertisements removed their doubts. The advertisements regularly stated that the native Germans would happily welcome them.

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.” 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. 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. 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.”

The rumours about violence and the country’s political instability were thus counteracted in the

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199 GRIB, “Skis in Germany.”
201 Koschar, German Travel, 129.
202 Semmens, Seeing Hitler’s Germany, 150-151.
205 GRIB, “In Germany you will find.”
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.” Such phrases were used regularly: “Everywhere, always, the ready smile, the unaffected eagerness to please.”

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. 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.

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. 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’. 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. 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. 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. The same themes and messages were communicated to tourists.

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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.
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’.”
216 Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 74.
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!” 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.” 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.” 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. Cities, towns, and regions were also popular topics. Winter sports were often promoted as well. Articles about events, like Carnival...
and the Olympic Games, were also included in the magazines.\textsuperscript{223} German nature gained a prominent place in the material.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{225} They were more than just beautiful, although such adjectives with positive connotations were regularly used to describe the German regions, cities, and landscapes.\textsuperscript{226} The landscapes were even said to be magical.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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 […]”\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{223} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1934, 16-18; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1938, 6-15; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1938, 4-5; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1936, 4-5; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 9, 1936, 4-11.

\textsuperscript{224} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1934, 22-23; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 3, 1934, 15-27; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 5, 1934, 12-14; 20-22; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 6, 1934, 19-22; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 7, 1934, 12-15; 20-23.

\textsuperscript{225} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1934, 4; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1934, 10-11; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 3, 1934, 25, 27; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 7, 1934, 21; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 9, 1936, 24.

\textsuperscript{226} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1934, 6, 11; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1934, 16; Reich Committee, no. 3, 1934, 23; Reich Committee, no. 6, 1934, \textit{Germany}, 24; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 9, 1936, 24.

\textsuperscript{227} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 3, 1934, 6.

\textsuperscript{228} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 3, 1934, 10.

\textsuperscript{229} Reich Committee, \textit{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.” The tourism promotion also advertised German winter sports this way: “Every winter this still too little known skiing district wins new and enthusiastic devotees.” 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 [...].” 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 [...]”. The magazine articles promoted a holiday in Nazi Germany as an unforgettable experience. 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.

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’. Other times, the country was said to be ‘restful to the spirit’. 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.” The comment about singing birds helped the reader forget about any safety risks. Moreover, the

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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 homesickness 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 Lauft’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.” 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.” 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. Other times, the articles stressed the hospitality of the peasantry.

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.

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. 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.” Other magazines featured similar articles about ‘the largest ship-lifting plant in the world’, ‘attractive stations’, and ‘Germany’s amber industry’.

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.
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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Germany} contained such articles.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{256}

The themes in the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 guest who wishes to discuss with his German colleagues the latest advances in his field of research.

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\textsuperscript{254} Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.
\textsuperscript{255} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1934, 23-25; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 3, 1935, 25-29; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1936, 4-12; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 9, 1936, 12-17; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1938, 4-9.
\textsuperscript{256} Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.
\textsuperscript{257} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 3, 1935, 9-11; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1936, 24-26; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1938, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{258} Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.
\textsuperscript{259} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 3, 1935, 11.
\textsuperscript{260} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 7, 1934, 23-27; Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1938, 24-25.
\end{flushright}
and add to his knowledge through learning of the latent German contributions.”

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

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\(^ {261}\) Reich Committee, *Germany*, no. 2, 1938, 24.  
\(^ {262}\) Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 67.  
\(^ {264}\) 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.\textsuperscript{268} Nevertheless, in \textit{The Times} of January 1939, it can be read how: “The fellowship of winter sport makes no distinctions of class or purse.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{273} Fascism protested against the materialism that was promoted by capitalist forces, who chased after excessive amounts of luxury.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{268} Griffin, \textit{Modernism and Fascism}, 181-182.
\textsuperscript{269} GRIB, “Sun, Skis, Sport.”
\textsuperscript{270} Griffin, \textit{Modernism and Fascism}, 252.
\textsuperscript{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 £.”
\textsuperscript{272} Griffin, \textit{Modernism and Fascism}, 252.
\textsuperscript{273} GRIB, “Bad=Nauheim.”
\textsuperscript{274} Griffin, \textit{Modernism and Fascism}, 116-117.
\textsuperscript{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-
materialistic spirit’. 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.

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.” 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. 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. 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.” 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. 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. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Germany} would contain information about: “[…] the new German national community in which parties and classes are unknown”.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{289} The authors of \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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.”\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{286} Griffin, \textit{Modernism and Fascism}, 305.
\textsuperscript{287} Ibidem, 252.
\textsuperscript{288} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 1, 1934, 2.
\textsuperscript{289} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 5, 1934, 24.
\textsuperscript{290} Reich Committee, \textit{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. 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 […]”. 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. 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.” 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. 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. 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 […]”. 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
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.
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.”

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. The names of these Nazi officials were also mentioned in the texts of the articles. 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. It matched the Nazis’ intentions to use international tourism to enhance the reputation of the regime abroad.

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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.
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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. The native students’ obligatory participation in the Storm Troops or Sturmabteilung was proudly promoted as a sort of community service. 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.
310 Piller, “Managing Imponderables,” 73.
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. 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." 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. 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.

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’. 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’. 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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{329} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1934, 22-23.
\textsuperscript{330} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 2, 1934, 22-23.
\textsuperscript{331} Reich Committee, \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{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”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{332} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 5, 1934, 23-24.
\textsuperscript{333} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 5, 1934, 24.
\textsuperscript{334} Reich Committee, \textit{Germany}, no. 5, 1934, 27.
\textsuperscript{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.
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. 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. 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.” 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. 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 friendless and kindliness 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textit{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.

\textsuperscript{354} Reich Committee, Germany, no. 6, 1934, 28.
\textsuperscript{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

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

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\(^{360}\) Semmens, \textit{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.
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