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Emissaries of Nazism:

German Student Travellers in Romania and Yugoslavia in the 1930s[1]

Abstract: In the 1930s, National Socialist students travelled from Germany to south-eastern Europe on study visits and 'Land Service' assignments organized by the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* with the aim of reaching and influencing German-speaking minority communities in Yugoslavia and Romania. Inspired by the idea of a single German *Volkstum* transcending state borders, the students saw themselves as emissaries of Nazism, promoting Nazi racial doctrines and techniques of social and political organization, and covertly cooperating with the 'renewal movements' (*Erneuerungsbewegungen*) of the 1930s that sought to align Romanian Germans and Yugoslav Germans more closely with the Reich. The article examines a range of trips by Reich German students to Yugoslavia and Romania between 1933 and 1939 while focusing particularly on the reports by a group of women students who travelled to Romania in 1935. It asks how far these 'missions' to 'Germandom abroad' provided additional momentum for the Nazi student movement in the Reich and explores how male and female students positioned themselves with distinct roles in a 'struggle' that continued outside the borders of the Reich after the consolidation of National Socialist power in Germany. It shows how the students on their travels to south-eastern Europe looked for a 'homeland away from home' but were also gratified by discovering elements of the 'exotic' and 'remote' in the locations they visited. Finally, it asks how far travel and mobility functioned for men and for women as a commodity associated with power and influence, to be deployed in building their own careers, but also to be harnessed to the cause of widening the horizons of 'Germans abroad'.

Key Words: travel, National Socialism, students, Romanian Germans, Yugoslav Germans

In 1960, Gertrud Knopp-Rüb published a story in the West German yearbook of the Dobrudja Germans about an encounter that took place in an unnamed village in the

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Dobrudja region in south-eastern Romania a year or two before the Second World War.[2] Threshing corn in his farmyard, one of the villagers watched as a group of strangers entered the village and stopped at his farm. He saw that there were about twenty of them, dressed in tightly-fitting shorts of a type considered unsuitable in that part of the world. The group turned out to be students from Germany. They were quickly made welcome by the curious but hospitable villagers who offered them food and lodging. The farmer who had first encountered them took in two of the group. He tried to answer their questions about his ancestors from Württemberg, listened to their explanation of why they had come so far to seek out the German colonies near the Black Sea, and heard their stories of what Germany today was like. The stories exerted "eine seltsame Verzauberung" upon the farmer, who found himself unaccountably restless after the students had moved on. Life in the village continued seemingly as before, but the villagers spoke more frequently about Germany and "[wollten] nicht mehr so recht zufrieden sein […] mit manchem, was bisher so war".[3] Then came the war, the forcible uprooting of the Dobrudja Germans agreed between the Reich and Romania in October 1940, their transfer from one transit camp to another and finally resettlement in occupied Poland. Knopp-Rüb's narrative ended with the farmer, having lost both his sons in the war, trekking westwards in winter as defeat loomed, recalling the August day back in his village when he had first felt stirrings of restlessness and longing – the moment when all his troubles had begun – and now finally seeking a permanent home in the 'land of his fathers'.

In her fictionalized account, Knopp-Rüb presented the travelling students from the Reich as harbingers of destruction, implanting into the stable rural world of the pre-war Dobrudja Germans an urge to encounter new horizons and a fascination with a remote but powerful Germany. Her narrative offers a Dobrudja German perspective on encounters that took place across many areas of German-speaking settlement in south-eastern Europe in the years before the Second World War. Strongly inflected by hindsight and nostalgia, it is constructed as a fable in which the Dobrudja Germans are bewitched by the visitors from afar. Whatever its plausibility, her account raises questions about the nature and purpose of these student trips and the impact of such travel – on the participants, but also on those they visited.

From 1933 onwards, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* (DSt), the central coordinating body representing the student organizations at German universities, organized study visits and so-called *Landdienst* ('Land Service') projects in south-eastern Europe.[4] These vacation assignments to support 'Germandom abroad' were inspired by the idea of a single German *Volkstum* transcending state borders. This notion gained currency after the First World War, particularly among the younger generation of the Protestant middle classes.[5] Subsidized by the *Volksbund* (until 1933:

Verein) für das Deutschtum im Ausland (VDA), the student trips targeted German-speaking populations mainly in Romania and Yugoslavia, which were the destinations for sometimes more than a hundred students a year;[6] smaller numbers were involved in trips to Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The students headed for the villages, often spending only a short time in each, staying with peasant families, helping with farm work, playing with children, organizing youth, and putting on entertainments: in the process, they sought to instil in their hosts a message of pan-German belonging and solidarity. They also conducted investigations which could range from examining children's teeth to recording hair and eye colour, trawling through church records for data on births and deaths, or sketching the layout of a typical peasant home. Such data-gathering often fed into dissertations or reports submitted to agencies concerned with the welfare of 'Germandom abroad'.

Hitherto the 'borderlands and foreign' activism of Nazi students has figured in passing in portrayals of students in the Third Reich and their more common form of Land Service projects in the eastern provinces of the Reich.[7] Student *Landdienst* and study visits focused on south-eastern Europe are mentioned in accounts of *Südostforschung* and the careers that opened up for committed researcher-activists within Nazi scholarship.[8] The role of 'Reich German' students as emissaries of Nazism is also mentioned in histories of the German-speaking minorities of Romania and Yugoslavia that analyse their political development in the interwar period, their manipulation by the Third Reich and their collaboration in the Nazi 'New Order' during the war.[9] These minority populations, estimated at around 500,000 for Yugoslavia[10] and around 550,000 for Romania,[11] were to be found in several different regions within each state. In Yugoslavia, the German-speaking settlements were particularly in the western Banat, the Batschka and Baranya, in Syrmia and Slavonia, in parts of Slovenia (for instance the Gottschee/Kocevje region), and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Romania, German-speaking settlements existed in Transylvania, Bukovina, the Romanian (eastern) Banat, Bessarabia and Dobrudja. In the course of the 1930s, the German minorities in both countries were split and polarized due to the rise of *Erneuerungsbewegungen* ('renewal' movements) which styled themselves as movements of the 'younger generation'.[12] These factions opposed the established, more conservative forces that had hitherto dominated the representative institutions of the German-speaking population and demanded instead a more militant assertion of minority interests and a closer alignment with National Socialism.[13] In explaining the growing influence of Nazism on the German minorities of Yugoslavia and Romania, student 'missionaries' from the Reich have been seen as a factor alongside the German-speaking Romanian or Yugoslav students who embraced Nazism while at German universities and who exported it back to their home communities.[14]

This article examines the organized and publicly-sponsored trips to Yugoslavia and Romania by students from the Reich as a variety of political travel. Research on political travel has asked about the purposes and consequences of travel for political ends, the cultural practices and the power relations involved in such journeys.[15] Suggestive pointers for an exploration of the travels of German students as emissaries of Nazism are offered by several strands of recent work on nineteenth- and twentieth-century political travel and travel writing. Studies of international fact-finding visits and agitation tours indicate how the growing possibilities of long-distance travel since the nineteenth century contributed to the spread and exchange of political ideas and practices across borders and boosted nascent political and social movements.[16] Other research has highlighted the part played by travel and tourism in nation-building efforts and 'nationalizing' campaigns in borderlands and across borders.[17] Further angles are offered by the literature on colonial travel and travel writing, with its focus on encounters with the exotic and alien 'other' and its insights into the power implicit in the colonial traveller's gaze.[18] Writing on travel from a gender perspective has meanwhile raised the question of whether men and women, if travelling for political ends, travel differently, or record their experiences in particular ways.[19]

In light of this research, a number of themes and questions emerge which are pursued in this article. The first question concerns the function of travel for Nazism as a political movement after the takeover of power in 1933: to what extent were 'missions' to 'Germandom abroad' a way for Nazi student leaders to convey a sense of continuing dynamism during the consolidation of power in the Reich, and for male and female students to position themselves with distinct roles within this 'struggle'? The second issue is how Reich German students saw the German-speaking minorities abroad: whether students experienced their journeys as reassuring encounters with 'homelands away from home', or whether their search for the remote, the 'exotic' and the unfamiliar on their travels reflected a 'colonizing' gaze upon south-eastern Europe. Thirdly, the article asks how far travel and mobility functioned for men and women as a commodity associated with power and influence, a 'good' that they sought to acquire for themselves and which they bestowed upon or denied to others as part of a political strategy.

The sources used in the following are predominantly unpublished records relating to the 'borderlands and foreign work' ('Grenz- und Auslandsarbeit') of the *Deutsche Studentenschaft*, the coordinating national organization of German students which from 1936 became effectively united with the leadership of the National Socialist German Students' League (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*) to comprise the overarching Reich Student Leadership (*Reichsstudentenführung*). While a complete account of this cross-border activism would need to

consider trips to other countries as well, the focus here is on Yugoslavia and Romania because these two countries were the major targets of Nazi student Land Service and study trips outside the Reich between 1933 and 1939. The reports of a group of women students who travelled to Romania in 1935 constitute a key set of sources enabling a comparison of the practices and experiences of female students with those of men, and an assessment – reading between the lines – of how their efforts were received. Inevitably, most of the sources used reflect the 'view from the Reich'. They shed little direct light on the attitudes of the Romanian Germans and Yugoslav Germans, and the narrow focus of the reports on the German-speaking minority means that the majority nationalities of Yugoslavia and Romania are scarcely mentioned. But in order to highlight an alternative perspective that cannot be explored further here, I also discuss two texts written by Romanian Germans (one already cited above) that mention student visits from the Reich in their recollections of life in the Dobrudja before the Second World War.

The construction of a mission to south-eastern Europe

When students travelled to German-speaking areas of south-eastern Europe after 1933, they were hardly treading new ground.[20] A concern with German-language settlement areas across central, eastern and south-eastern Europe had been a hallmark of the bourgeois German youth movement since its inception before the First World War. Journeys to eastern and south-eastern Europe became an important part of the repertoire of the so-called *Bündische Jugend* of the post-First World War period in both Germany and in Austria, and efforts to coordinate and promote such 'borderlands work' were undertaken from 1925 onwards by the so-called *Mittelstelle für Jugendgrenzlandarbeit*.[21] Such journeys were partly conceived as bonding exercises and schools of leadership.[22] At the same time, youth movement travel had a political purpose: participants crossed the much-resented borders of post-Versailles Europe in order to protest against them. Along with a host of other organizations operating in the field of German ethnopolitics in this period (including those in Austria discussed by Pieter Judson in this volume), the *Bündische Jugend* amplified an idealized vision of 'Germandom abroad', proclaiming that the *Volk* was preserved in pristine but endangered form in enclaves far from the Reich.[23] Expeditions to German settlements in eastern and southeastern Europe also began to be organized by student organizations in a number of German and Austrian universities in the 1920s. In the student press, the significance of ethnopolitical activism focused on 'the borderlands and abroad' was discussed in grandiose terms: it was not, one insisted, just a question of 'nature conservation' or 'looking after' the German dias-

pora, but of activating and involving German minority communities in the struggle for revision of the Versailles settlement and for a 'new Europe'.[24]

Deutsche Studentenschaft organizers of 'borderlands work' after 1933, some of whom had been active in the pre–1933 youth movement, drew on its ideas and travel practices while stressing new priorities.[25] The task of 'looking after' the German-speaking communities of south-eastern Europe was presented in 1933 by Volker Dick, a student organizer in Freiburg, as particularly urgent in the wake of the 'national revolution': it was vital to disseminate news of developments in Germany and offer support in the face of allegedly mounting political pressures.[26] But the students' aim was not just to make gestures of solidarity: it was also to train the rural populations they visited in techniques of self-organization.[27] The leader of the 'borderlands office' (*Grenzlandamt*) at the University of Halle, Kurt Marschelke, who by 1935 was acting as national coordinator of student trips to Yugoslavia, outlined to the university rector the principles of this activism: "kämpferisch-politische Zielsetzung und Bekenntnis zum Führer des deutschen Volkes. Sendungsbewußtsein: für ein germanisches Reich deutscher Nation."[28] Nazi students' praise for the supposedly authentic peasant ways of German-speaking farmers in the villages of Yugoslavia and Romania was often coupled with criticisms of their supposed deficiencies: their particularist sense of regional identity, their attachment to the Churches, their falling birthrates. Propaganda and training in Nazi values and forms of community organization would, in this vision, turn disunited or reactionary German-speakers into communities that would demarcate themselves sharply from their 'alien' surroundings and be mobilized for the larger cause of Germandom.

At the same time, student organizers made it clear that they saw trips to Yugoslavia and Romania as beneficial to themselves and to the Nazi movement and as a factor in the Nazification of higher education. Trips to the German-speaking settlement areas of south-eastern Europe would provide "eine Erziehung in außenpolitischen und volksdeutschen Fragen von der Praxis her".[29] Participants who conducted research on the communities they visited would bring back data that would inform dissertations, group projects and publications. Gathering students across different faculties with this focus would, argued Marschelke, give impetus to the university's new commitment to ethnic/national politics and produce students oriented to the "Ostwendung des Reichs", Germany's new turn to the East.[30] The leader of 'external work' (*Außenarbeit*) at the University of Würzburg made similar claims at a start-of-semester training camp in October 1937. Trips abroad to support German minority communities and to bring back research data would, he argued, add to specialist knowledge but also raise consciousness in university life generally: academic subjects would be grasped anew from a perspective broadened by an awareness of Germandom in its entirety.[31]

Travel also created networks of activists working for the pan-German vision. Cooperation between university students and the Hitler Youth over joint trips would widen the pool of youthful leaders within the Reich able to organize travel abroad and build a political movement in what was constructed as enemy territory.[32] Covertly-organized trips abroad together with Austrian students would create a 'greater German' movement in miniature, gathering together in advance of the Anschluss what the 1919 settlement had supposedly forced apart. [33] A further element in the activist pool were the foreign students studying in the Reich who were German-speaking citizens of the countries of south-eastern Europe. After 1933, the organization for students in German universities who were 'Germans from abroad' was brought into line with the Nazi student organizations and re-named *Bund Auslanddeutscher Studenten*.[34] Among their ranks were Romanian Germans and Yugoslav Germans who offered expertise to Reich German students preparing their journeys and provided links to the *Erneuerungsbewegungen*. If the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* was officially neutral in the conflict between 'renewers' and more conservative groups within the German minorities of south-eastern Europe, its sympathies and contacts were clearly with the 'renewers'.[35]

As student organizers developed their rationale for travel assignments, questions arose about the deployment of women students. While male student organizers sometimes used imagery reminiscent of a paramilitary troop, for instance referring to a 'rear area' (*Etappe*) of operations,[36] they were also ready to concede a role for women, and women student organizers, mindful of the restrictions and discrimination encountered by women students at the time, were insistent on their involvement. In her report on the winter semester 1935/1936, the Berlin student organizer Hertha Suadicani voiced her impatience with the view that women had no role to play in politics and foreign affairs: "Immer wieder bekommt man zu hören: Mädels sollen keine Politik machen und erst recht keine Außenpolitik." On the contrary, she argued, women students were crucial to borderlands work with 'Germandom abroad': they would never be seen as politically dangerous, and they were naturally suited to carry out tasks in relation to culture, social welfare and hygiene.[37] As far as Land Service organizers went, she was in fact pushing at an open door. The (male) organizer of 'borderlands work' at the Technical University in Munich outlined at a weekend camp for 35 women students in June 1934 that women could penetrate remote enclaves and be particularly effective "wo das kulturelle Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl mit dem Gesamtdeutschtum erst geweckt werden muß", instilling national awareness through singing and dancing. On the other hand, they could be sent to places where male students were already arousing suspicion, such as Czechoslovakia, South Tyrol and Slovenia.[38]

There was, however, disagreement over whether women should be sent abroad in mixed-sex groups. One objector thought that the 'primitive' reaction of local peasants in a region like Slavonia would be to assume that the male students had brought along their girlfriends.[39] One woman organizer had in 1934 taken the view that if women were really to take advantage of their supposed 'harmlessness', they should operate separately. Women joining mixed groups would be as liable to suspicion as their male travelling-companions "da jeder weiß, daß die Jungen aus Deutschland mit Tendenzen ins Land kommen".[40] Others insisted that mixed-sex groups were ideal.[41] The organizer of borderlands work at the University of Freiburg praised the contribution by the female members of the group to the summer 1934 Land Service expedition to Slavonia. Far from reacting badly, the peasants had taken it for granted that men and women students worked together, and it was above all the presence of women – with their capacity to forge close bonds with their host families and particularly with women and children – that had enabled the group to achieve the sought-for overall 'depth of influence' (*Tiefenwirkung*) on the villagers.[42] This evocation of women's presumed social skills reflected a totalizing vision in which teams with all-round competence, embodying the complementarity and comradeship of the sexes preached in Nazi propaganda, would ensure maximum impact 'on the ground'. In practice, women students continued – as a minority of participants – to take part both in mixed-group trips and in separate women-only expeditions.

As the student Land Service trips to south-eastern Europe developed from 1934 onwards, efforts by the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* at planning and coordination increased, with two offices (*Außenstellen*) created for trips to Yugoslavia and Romania respectively, the latter staffed initially by a Bessarabian German. These offices liaised with the universities that were nominating and training volunteers and with their network of contacts in the countries concerned to decide where groups should go and what they should do, whether this was taking part in a work camp with local German-speaking youth, or, more typically, living and working in villages with German-speaking peasant families. The VDA granted subsidies for travel; universities also contributed some of the costs, and the participants typically paid around a third of their travel expenses.

Before departure, participants were expected to attend study groups at their home university to prepare for their trip.[43] Final briefings were given at week-long training camps. It was not assumed they would be able to speak the language of the country: unusually, in 1935 a Freiburg student organizer proposed that future travellers to Slavonia should take 10 hours of lessons in Serbo-Croat.[44] What was expected of them, according to guidelines circulated by the coordinating office for Romania in December 1935, was that they could sing a wide repertoire of songs,

perform folk dances and sketches, organize sports for village youngsters and speak effectively in public: at least one member of the group, it specified, must be able to play the accordion.[45] Singing and performing sketches would, according to Marschelke, the coordinator for Yugoslavia, open up the hearts and minds of the villagers ("die Gemüter öffnen") and prepare the ground for anthropological, economic and medical investigations.[46] They were also told what to pack and not to pack: Marschelke told group leaders in June 1935 to check their groups for tell-tale items of clothing (brown), military-style belts (*Koppelschlösser*) and to avoid dressing in uniform style so as not to attract unwanted attention from the local police.[47] However, much was left vague. The leader of a Würzburg group heading to Romania in summer 1936 asked Emil Necker, the Bessarabian German coordinator of trips to Romania, about the political infighting currently raging among the Romanian Germans (this was a reference to the rival factions of National Socialist-oriented 'renewers', one led by Fritz Fabritius and the other by Alfred Bonfert). He was simply told that details of the political situation would be given at the preparatory camp just before departure.[48] Women students bound for Romania in the summer of 1935 wrote in vain to Lieselotte Machwirth, leader of the Nazi women students' organization (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nationalsozialistischer Studentinnen* or ANSt) asking for clarification about what they would be doing.[49] In response to a worried father enquiring about the lack of organization and information, Machwirth replied irritatedly: "An der Grenze und im Ausland braucht man Kämpfer, die anderen mögen im Inland bleiben."[50] What mattered, it seemed, was not knowledge of their destination so much as commitment to a political goal.

The quest for 'action'

The vision underpinning the student mission to south-eastern Europe was one of pan-German identity and homogeneity: all German-speakers would be welded together in a community transcending political borders on the basis of common language, racial identity, culture and ideology. In principle, the more that 'homelands abroad' came to resemble the Reich German model, the better. But students on their vacation assignments were not really expecting or hoping to find German-speaking enclaves in Romania or Yugoslavia that were just like home. As missionaries, they sought tasks and challenges. As travellers, moreover, the students sought something less 'like home', more novel and more interesting, where they could gather authentic 'travel experiences' and where they in turn could make more of an impression. If the students attracted the attention of the Romanian or Yugoslav police, this could constitute some of the adventure they anticipated. If local Ger-

man-speakers turned out to be refreshingly uninformed about Hitler's Germany, this boosted the visitors' sense of self-importance. If the students' arrival generated friction within the German-speaking community, this offered them an opportunity to prove themselves in political combat; if a prominent representative of the *Erneuerungsbewegung* with whom they were supposed to be working expressed irritation at their clumsiness or arrogance (as was the case when Freiburg students visited Slavonia in 1936) they reacted with wounded outrage.[51] What the students sought were places sufficiently 'familiar' for the local population to welcome them as Reich Germans and where they could claim comradeship and affinity on the basis of common ethnicity, but sufficiently 'other' for their arrival to make a difference. What they found, however, was sometimes more complex than they envisaged.

One of the goals of student 'foreign and borderlands work' was in theory to blend in and conduct propaganda in a way that would not create difficulties for their hosts. Students from the Reich were supposed to avoid drawing attention to themselves, but in practice bungled efforts at secrecy and problems with permits and visas could make the student travellers embarrassingly visible. Isolde Jahn, arriving in Temeschburg/Timisoara/Temesvar in the Romanian Banat at the beginning of August 1935, searched in vain for the local contact she had been given: having already attracted onlookers' attention with their suitcases, she and her fellow-student had to conduct long conversations with neighbours before discovering the right address.[52] Emma Klöpfer and her two fellow-students whose assignments took them to Bessarabia in the summer of 1935 had to go to ground for several days to avoid the police and then decamp early to Bucharest after they tried and failed to bribe railway officials, and after their visas ran out.[53] The students' own lack of caution and their urge to make their presence felt contributed in some instances to intensified surveillance and police interventions. Freiburg students travelling to Slovenia in 1933 got arrested after they had marched singing into the town of Gottschee/Kocevje.[54] Volker Dick, a member of that group, got arrested again in Yugoslavia in spring 1936.[55] A supposedly secret camp in the mountains in Slovenia run in summer 1935 by the Reich German Anne Heidrich for 50 Yugoslav German girls came to police attention because local Slovene farmers had spotted suspicious quantities of milk being delivered there – and, as Heidrich admitted, because they had held a Sunday morning ceremony outdoors with the girls in uniform saluting the flag.[56]

International tensions grew in the wake of Germany's annexation of Austria in March 1938 and police surveillance of Reich German travellers intensified both in Romania and in Yugoslavia. One student sent a postcard to Germany from the Sathmar region of Romania in July 1938 complaining that the authorities were making things particularly difficult for them: "In jedem Reichsdeutschen wird ein Spion

vermutet […] Das Judentum sitzt wieder hoch im Sattel und hetzt die Behörden auf uns. Aber trotzdem ist der Erfolg sehr gut."[57] Erica Senff, a Reich German student who spent several weeks in Yugoslavia in 1938 similarly noted the intensified surveillance by the police of Reich Germans, but was also highly critical of the way other students behaved on their travels. The way such groups carried on, she observed, meant that soon no group trips to Yugoslavia would be possible at all. Her recommendation was to avoid shorts and dirndl dresses, abandon the rucksacks and the Wandervogel look, and instead to pretend to be a real tourist with money to spend. Yugoslav Germans were, she reported, furious at the carelessness of Reich Germans – "die schon durch ihre kurzen Hosen der Polizei auffallen" – greeting them with "Heil Hitler".[58]

Senff claimed that her strategy of disguising herself as a lady ("sich als 'Dame zu verkleiden'") was more effective as a way of minimising the attention of the Yugoslav police, though she herself had a several brushes with them. She, like other women students, seemed to relish the stories of having had to take steps to avoid the police, and there is little evidence from the students' reports that women students were regarded as generally harmless. Only one student claimed that the police had given her no difficulties and had accepted the grounds she had given for her stay. She noted that while in some places the police were "scharf hinter aller deutschen Jugendarbeit her", in one village the policeman had sent his children to join in the games and came to watch in the evenings.[59]

Just as travellers generally like to think they are discovering something new, students were particularly pleased if they ended up in remote places off the beaten track.[60] Their journey could then be imagined as a colonial-style journey of exploration to unknown regions, the irony being that they were merely tracking earlier waves of German colonizers who had gone before them. The experience of 'first contact' was recorded with satisfaction if it turned out that Reich Germans had not visited the village for years, or even since the First World War. "Wir haben Dörfer besucht, in denen noch nie deutsche Gruppen Halt gemacht haben", reported Volker Dick after the 1933 trip to Yugoslavia.[61] Their novelty value as Germans from the Reich could impress local inhabitants, as Isolde Jahn remarked about one village she visited in the Romanian Banat in summer 1935.[62] It could moreover help make the students' visit into an 'event'. One such staged 'entry' took place in a village in the Gottschee region in summer 1933: the students started singing on the village green, a crowd quickly gathered, before long the villagers were singing their own songs in response, and by the end of the evening in the tavern the students were teaching the locals Nazi songs.[63]

The students found it much less gratifying to find themselves in places where Reich German visitors were a familiar sight and where locals had firsthand know-

ledge of Germany. If youth work was already organized along the lines of the Hitler Youth, if local German-speakers were already aligning themselves with Nazism, the students felt their efforts were superfluous. As Sophie Weber, a 22-year-old student from Cologne, observed in her report on her Land Service in Transylvania in summer 1935, it was out of the question to tell the Transylvanian Saxons, except those in the most remote rural areas, anything about 'the movement' in the Reich, the organization of the Hitler Youth or the Labour Service: "das wissen sie alles schon längst".[64] Likewise, Hilde Busse, the regional ANSt leader for East Prussia, felt herself to be out of place when she arrived in July 1935 in the village of Hatzfeld (Jimbolia) in the Romanian Banat. Here, she reported, youth work among the German minority was unusually well-organized compared to the rest of the Banat region. Busse was glad to move on from Hatzfeld to a spell in a work camp where she took part under a false name, pretending to be a Romanian German studying in the Reich, and finally to the town of Lugoj, where she was able to set up a group for girls from scratch.[65]

The students' preferred scenario was one in which they could establish a comradely affinity with their hosts on the basis of a shared German identity, but at the same time use their special status as Reich Germans to promote their ideas, gather information and interrogate local ways. Winning over the locals with evenings spent singing could be the prelude – as the biology student Hans Grimm described in the case of a visit to a village in the Batschka region of Yugoslavia in 1934 – to gathering information about family size, undertaking 'anthropometrical measurements' and securing an invitation to return for a further visit the following year.[66] Women students working in Romania in 1935 sought to use their authority as Reich Germans to organize local girls and young women, but also to apply their particular perspective as women to the intimate sphere of domestic, family and bodily matters. The medical student Herta Bolle spent several weeks in three different villages in Bukovina/Buchenland visiting German-speaking families, inspecting their homes and hygiene, dress and domestic architecture, noting family size, infant mortality figures, cases of TB and 'feeble-mindedness' and exercising her 'racial' expertise by staring at their physique and the shape of their skulls: "Frauen etwa 1.60 m, Männer 1.70 m und weniger, untersetzt, derbknochig, mittel blond. Dazwischen größere mehr dinarische Typen mit flachem Hinterkopf und dunkel, und besonders unter den Männern manchmal große nordische Typen mit scharf geschnittenen Gesichtern, die auch friesische Bauern sein könnten." These Bukovina Germans, she concluded, were still "heute noch ausgesprochen deutsche Typen" easily distinguishable from their Romanian though less so from their Ukrainian neighbours.[67]

Bolle's main task, however, was to boost the nascent *völkisch* organizations for girls that had been set up in rivalry to confessional organizations. Her efforts faced

several obstacles: trouble with the Romanian police, hostility from the local German Protestant and Catholic clergy, and village quarrels. The problem with these people, she wrote, was that they hailed Nazism, admired the Reich and Hitler, and passed around copies of the anti-semitic scandal sheet *Der Stürmer*, but still kowtowed to the authority of the Churches and were obsessed with distinctions of wealth. As Bukovina Germans they were at odds with the larger Romanian German community of the Transylvanian Saxons and felt patronized by them. One thing that did unite the Bukovina Germans, however, and even united them with non-Germans, was anti-semitism: "Den Hass gegen die Juden haben die anderen Völker mit ihnen gemeinsam, wenn sie auch nicht so unter ihm zu leiden haben wie die Deutschen." Sharing this sentiment, Bolle reported as fact the stories she had picked up locally about Jews allegedly boycotting German farmers, controlling the trade in artisan products and even, as doctors, poisoning the Germans. Looking forward to a time when the Romanians would turn decisively against the Jews, she reported of hopes that the Iron Guard would do well at the next elections.[68]

Other reports by women students on their assignments in Romania in summer 1935 also chose to highlight the obstacles they had encountered, and, as if to underline their capacity as women for political combat, their fearlessness and resilience in dealing with them. Emma Klöpfer, in her report on the village where she and her two colleagues spent three weeks, described one of the wealthiest and most influential peasants as irrevocably pro-Romanian and the landless agricultural workers as Communists who made sure that the Nazi visitors were closely watched by the police. Disregarding the surveillance, Klöpfer gathered dozens of local youngsters for regular sing-songs in the vineyards outside the village, telling them in the intervals between the songs about the Reich and about Germany immediately after the war, conjuring up 'Jewish domination' as a feature of the post-war years. Reich German visitors and Romanian German youngsters bonded in their imagined victimhood: "Am besten verstanden sie uns, wenn wir von der Judenherrschaft der Nachkriegsjahre erzählten, denn das war ihnen vertraut, das spürten sie jeden Tag selbst."[69] Klöpfer also made it her business to tell the older inhabitants of the village not to believe religious periodicals that alleged that Christians in Germany were persecuted and young people in Germany no longer attended church.[70]

Sophie Weber from Cologne, touring Transylvanian villages in the region of Reps in summer 1935, was similarly combative in her encounters with what she saw as village obstinacy. In one village, she recounted, she confronted the male leader of the local Church-affiliated 'brotherhood' (*Bruderschaft*) who had allegedly told the Romanian police that Weber's colleague, the local girls' leader aligned with the Bonfert movement, was spreading 'Hitlerist propaganda'. Weber denounced the young man publicly as a traitor to the German cause. She also challenged a group of 'indif-

ferent' village youth attending the village social she had organized with a local girls' leader and who turned out to have acquired city habits and tastes for modern dancing. At the end of the evening, hoarse from shouting orders, Weber won her battle to make them do folk dancing, and followed up her onslaught on successive evenings with lectures on wearing folk costume rather than 'city dress'. These and other experiences led her to pass withering comments on the Transylvanian Saxons of Reps, their "sittliche und völkische Schwäche" and their inability to grasp the essence of National Socialism.[71]

Students liked to think when they moved on at the end of their assignments that they had made their mark on the people they had met. Few seemed concerned, however, that their interventions might trigger a local backlash against those they had been organizing. Emma Klöpfer was particularly insouciant in this respect, summing up on her stay in the village of Leipzig in Bessarabia by noting that she had heard that police monitoring of the youngsters in the village had been stepped up since their departure: "Es mag sein, daß die Jugend, die wir drei Wochen lang führten, durch unsere Arbeit nachher wieder viel mehr Schwierigkeiten hatte. Aber sie hatte bestimmt auch wieder viel mehr Mut und Kraft und die Jungen und Alten von Leipzig werden uns nicht vergessen."[72]

The uses of mobility

The opportunity to travel was something Reich German students took for granted. While they liked to think of themselves as offering 'service' to the cause of the *Volkstum*, they also gained notable individual benefits from their travels. These ranged from tourist pleasures to the acquisition of expertise that they could deploy in building their careers. At the same time, the habit of travel was a practice that Reich German students saw as potentially benefiting Romanian Germans and Yugoslav Germans as well. Travel could put those living in remote rural corners of south-eastern Europe in closer touch with political developments that would align the German minorities of south-eastern Europe with the Reich: but mobility, uncontrolled, also had its dangers for a *Volkstum* that was supposed to draw its strength from peasant culture.

Reich German students had a political agenda when they travelled to Yugoslavia and Romania, but this did not stop them enjoying the classic experiences of the tourist. In July 1936, fifteen Würzburg students headed for Romania via the cities of the old Monarchy. Their tourist impressions were heavily coloured by the 'national-political' and anti-Semitic clichés of the time: they found Vienna to be "eine tote, verlassene Stadt, die nur noch von der Vergangenheit zehrt"; in Pressburg/Bratislava

they were struck by "'tschechische' Soldaten, die fast durchwegs deutsch sprachen" and "seltsame Gestalten in schmierigen Kaftans und schwarzen Ringellöckchen"; while Budapest appeared to them as a city of "Zauber und Großartigkeit" but also populated by "unheimlich viele Juden". As they travelled by steamer down the Danube they were clearly in excellent mood: "frisch und unbekümmert brausten unsere nationalsozialistischen Kampflieder über das Wasser dahin." Arriving in Orsova in the Romanian Banat, they were delighted by the sight of peasants in picturesque folk costume and even more impressed by how cheaply they could buy meat, fruit and other agricultural products.[73]

A year earlier in Romania, the women students sent by the ANSt had enjoyed a variety of sightseeing and other tourist experiences. Isolde Jahn enthused to Lieselotte Machwirth about the delicious food in the village of Liebling in the Banat: "ich schwimme in Melonen, Weintrauben und gutem Essen."[74] The student organizer of trips to Romania jokily described Emma Klöpfer's enthusiasm for Bessarabia: "sie ist direkt begeistert, namentlich ihre Hauptbeschäftigung, im Sande zu wühlen, hat ihr großen Spaß gemacht. Und das Meer überhaupt."[75] Sophie Weber took time off in the middle of her two-month stint in Transylvania for a three-day trip to the mountain resorts of Busteni and Sinaia in the Carpathians on the invitation of a female 'comrade'.[76] Ingeborg Metzner's journey to the Romanian Germans in the villages of the Dobrudja had taken her en route to the Black Sea port of Constanza, evoked in her report as a classic 'Balkan scene': "riesige Öltanks und Getreidespeicher im Hafen, geräuschvolles, farbenfrohes Leben in den Straßen: Matrosen, Militär, Rumänen in Nationaltracht, Türken, Zigeuner, Seeleute und Badegäste aus allen Ländern."[77] Among this lively mix, she added from her perspective of the ethnicity expert, the few hundred Germans had now virtually vanished as a group.[78]

The chance to travel in south-eastern Europe offered pleasures and excitements. But travel had its uses too from a career point of view. Having foreign travel experience gave additional leverage to young Reich Germans with ambitions to play a role in the expanding Nazi sphere of influence. With the growth of *Volkstumsforschung* and *Volkswissenschaft*, academic careers were built on research that began with projects undertaken during vacation assignments and Land Service trips to Yugoslavia, Romania and Hungary.[79] Student 'borderlands and foreign' activists encountered each other and built networks with more established *Volkstum* experts at meetings of Professor Kleo Pleyer's VDA-based think-tank, the *Volkswissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis*.[80] There were jobs to be had in Party organizations, in journalism or in institutions ranging from the *Deutsches Auslands-Institut* to the research institutes for *Südostforschung* (research on south-eastern Europe) in Germany and Austria. Student borderlands activism was the curtain-raiser to a number of careers for male National Socialists, and this was also true for some women.[81]

There were also specifically female networks that women students could bring into play. Isolde Jahn hoped that Land Service in Romania and her resulting contact with the ANSt leader Machwirth would help her job prospects: writing to Machwirth in December 1935, she asked what her chances were of a job after graduation in the Berlin headquarters of the Nazi women's organization *Deutsches Frauenwerk*, perhaps in the home economics or in the foreign section.[82] Machwirth in the meantime had been obtaining funds for a trip to Poland for Hilde Busse, who had worked in the Romanian Banat during the summer. Busse travelled through Poland in October-November 1935 with the aim of boosting the girls' and women's work within the 'Young German Party' in Poland (*Jungdeutsche Partei*): in particular, she laid plans for women students from the Reich undertaking Land Service in Poland following the Romania model. Machwirth was meanwhile trying to carry on the work started in Romania. In October 1935 she applied for RM 1100 to enable two women to study in Klausenburg and Czernowitz as a cover for working with Romanian German girls' organizations.[83]

Mobility was something a generation of Nazi students took for granted as a feature of their personal and professional lives. If travel had become a habitual aspiration of the educated middle classes, it was also a crucial career asset. However, when others tried to travel too, they were more wary. From the standpoint of 'strengthening Germandom', untrammelled individual mobility was problematic: rootlessness appeared as the antithesis of peasant culture. And yet the mobility of Romanian and Yugoslav Germans – from region to region, and across national borders – could also serve the project of generating wider networks and integrating and homogenizing the larger 'community of German-speakers'.

Some of the negative reactions to 'uncontrolled' mobility are evident in the reports of the women students who worked in Romania in 1935. Isolde Jahn lamented the impact of earlier emigration to the United States on the village of Liebling in the Banat: while American immigration restrictions had now stemmed much of this outflow, she reported, it still unsettled the villagers when family members living in the USA would return for a visit, tell fabulous stories of wealth and comfort and persuade their relatives to go there too.[84] Sophie Weber painted in her report a lurid picture of Gypsy ways spreading to the Transylvanian Saxon peasantry. Recounting stories she picked up about the success and wealth of the Gypsies in villages in the Reps area of Transylvania, she alleged that Gypsies travelled to Germany and came back rich enough from peddling (*hausieren*) to buy up the best houses in the villages from the Saxons. Even worse, she went on, they took Saxon peasants with them to Germany, who mixed with exactly the wrong type of Germans and who also returned rich and resolved never again to work on the land.[85] Plausible or implausible, Weber's stories illuminate a Nazi horror of the Gypsy –

along with the Jew – as the embodiment of a corrosive mobility inimical to German 'blood and soil'.

In another context, by contrast, long-distance travel to undertake peddling in Germany could be seen as an authentic German peasant tradition. In the autumn of 1934, following Land Service trips to Slovenia, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* with the support of the VDA promoted a scheme whereby several dozen men from farming families in the Gottschee region of Slovenia to came to Germany in order to peddle handicrafts – reviving a custom that went back for many generations. The results were mixed, as is evident from defensive memoranda written by Volker Dick, the Freiburg student most closely involved with the scheme.[86] For all that, the scheme continued and expanded in the course of the 1930s.[87]

Students from the Reich fostered other forms of travel and mobility for *Volksdeutsche* from south-eastern Europe as well. As they saw it, travel could broaden the horizons of the future cadres of 'Germandom'. Leading youngsters out from their villages on countryside hikes was seen by the Reich German students as having educational value: while hiking for youth was well-established in Transylvania, this was not true everywhere. The boys in the Gottschee region needed to be organized into hiking groups with the support of the Hitler Youth, wrote Karl-Heinrich Zimmermann after his visit to Slovenia in 1933: hiking beyond their home region on longer trips throughout Yugoslavia would prepare them for their future political tasks protecting Germandom.[88] For girls, hiking was still less well established, and a couple of the women students visiting Romania in 1935 tried it out on the girls they were working with. Isolde Jahn described how one Sunday she proposed to the girls' group she had taken over for the summer in Liebling a 'small' hike (*Fahrt*) including bathing in the river Temes. Since the mothers and above all the grandmothers objected so strongly, she set off with only nine girls: "[…] die über den 10km weiten Weg schrecklich stöhnten. Bade- oder Turnanzug besaßen die Mädels nicht und nur mit größter Mühe brachte ich sie dazu, einmal mit den Füßen wenigstens ein Stück ins Wasser zu gehen." However, she went on, the group enjoyed themselves and proudly told their friends who had stayed behind about their first 'hike'.[89] Hilde Busse, having set up a girls' group in the small town of Lugoj (also in the Banat), ambitiously organized three hikes in the course of a week, one of them a mixed hike including 22 girls, 10 boys and a Catholic priest where she recorded a "Marschleistung etwa 25 km".[90]

Visiting students also encouraged youngsters to leave their home environment to various forms of work camp, typically lasting a fortnight. Such camps – inspired by the Bulgarian labour service as well as by the work camps of the German youth movement – typically involved sports and some form of 'labour service' working with local farmers or on land improvement schemes. Romanian Germans

and Yugoslav Germans who had studied in the Reich set up work camps in their homelands as training grounds for the 'renewal' movements that became aligned to Nazism, and such camps were then boosted by the presence of visiting students from the Reich: many of the student activists travelling to Yugoslavia and Romania stayed (as Reich Germans, usually covertly) in a work camp. Such camps functioned as a 'counter-world' to the complexities of the multi-ethnic state; insofar as they brought together young people from different regions, they also served to overcome regional particularisms in favour of the larger idea of 'Germandom'.[91]

Aside from the possibilities offered by training camps, preparing Yugoslav and Romanian German youth for their future tasks might, in the view of some students, be best served by sending them to the Reich. A village girl who had never left home would never be an effective youth leader without thorough training in Germany, thought Emma Klöpfer after her stay in Bessarabia in 1935.[92] Anne Heidrich, having visited the town of Gottschee in 1934, was convinced that the Yugoslav German girls she met there needed taking right away from the urban environment of Gottschee and bringing to Germany for six months where they would live with a family, work hard and gain "ein Bewußtsein […] von ihrem Deutschtum und ihrer ganz persönlichen Verantwortung für das Deutschtum in Gottschee".[93]

Sources that shed light on how Romanian German youngsters experienced such opportunities for mobility are rare, but one memoir by a Dobrudja German provides an isolated glimpse. In 1960, Gerlinde Stiller published her recollections of growing up in south-eastern Romania in the 1930s as a member of the German-speaking minority.[94] Writing in the yearbook of the Dobrudja Germans – in the same issue as Gertrud Knopp-Rüb published the story outlined at the start of this article – she conjured up for her compatriots her childhood memories of village life, church festivals, schooldays and seasonal customs. Among her girlhood memories were vivid recollections of visits to the village by students and other young people from the Reich and from Transylvania. In Stiller's account, the children loved to hear the visitors sing: "da zersprang uns fast das Herz vor Freude, und man sehnte sich nach dort, wo diese jungen Menschen herkamen".[95] Their parents, meanwhile, outdid themselves in their efforts to show them hospitality. Chickens, butter, eggs, three-course meals: nothing was too good for the visitors. Such encounters with a wider world, Stiller went on, led village youngsters to seek out German minority youth organizations elsewhere in Romania, to take part in work camps in Transylvania and in due course to set up their own groups in Dobrudja. Stiller's own contribution, she remembered with pride, was to design a new folk costume for Dobrudja German girls.

Stiller's narrative – recounting how she and others were inspired by the visitors to visit other areas of German-speaking settlement in Romania and import back to

Dobrudja the heightened sense of ethnic consciousness they gained there – mirrored exactly the process of 'nationalization' that Nazi students claimed to achieve through their travels in south-eastern Europe. As such, it might be read as confirming that – in Stiller's case – the techniques used by Reich German students to set rural youth from Romanian German villages in motion had the effect intended. However, it is significant that the narrative breaks at this point and moves immediately to the section entitled *Wetterleuchten* ('Lightning'). The scene shifts suddenly to Germany's attack on Poland and the rumours that immediately began about 'bringing back' all Germans from abroad to the Reich. Whatever positive memories of her involvement in the Romanian German youth movement and of her invented folk costume Stiller wanted to convey, she ensured that in her account it was immediately overshadowed by the storm that was to break in 1940.

Conclusion

Nazi student journeys of agitation to south-eastern Europe after 1933 set out not only to implant a Nazi vision of pan-German identity into German-speaking communities beyond the borders of the Reich, but also to boost the Nazi student movement within the Reich. The networks created by the planning and carrying through of foreign travel extended to involve students from outside the Reich's borders, presenting the 'greater German community' in embryonic form, and the trajectories traced by student journeys helped project an image of the geopolitical reach and continent-wide capacity-building of organized Nazi students. Female student activists successfully pressed for their inclusion from the start. Their involvement was legitimated partly on the grounds of women's supposed cultural expertise and their capacity for establishing relationships of closeness and trust with their hosts, and particularly being good with children. But it was also promoted on the grounds that women belonged in this political mission because they could think and act politically just as men did, and because women travelling abroad in German minority areas could more easily appear 'unpolitical' and 'harmless' and thus beneath suspicion.

The students' journeys entailed interactions with places and communities that appeared to them both 'like home' yet 'other'. As they travelled through Yugoslavia and Romania, Reich German students registered the 'natives' chiefly in their guise as border guards and local police to be evaded, obstacles en route to their real destination. Neither male nor – despite their supposedly lesser visibility – female students were particularly adept at maintaining a low profile: the resultant encounters with the law disrupted their 'mission', but they made good travellers' tales and satisfied their urge for action. Arriving in German-speaking villages, the students

expected to find a 'home from home'. However, they were disappointed if the German-speaking communities they found abroad were already so familiar with and well aligned with the Reich that their presence as Reich Germans seemed superfluous. Instead, they preferred locations, the remoter the better, where their very arrival rendered them special. The colonial-style 'penetration' of inaccessible places and the encounters with milieux that seemed far removed from the modern world gave the visitors a sense of discovery and adventure as well as the chance to 'make themselves at home'.

The students' interactions with their target audience presumed familiarity and shared culture, whether this was to be found in a repertoire of songs or in denunciations of Jews and Gypsies. However, their attitudes to their hosts also presumed hierarchies of space, power and knowledge. These positioned the Reich as central, dominant and at the leading edge of political development, and the German-speaking settlements of south-eastern Europe as peripheral and backward. As Reich Germans and as seasoned travellers with political training and an academic education, the visitors saw themselves as emissaries destined to influence those most remote from the direct influence of Nazi Germany and draw them closer to the Reich. The trust inherent in host-guest relationships was used by the visitors to interrogate the customs and beliefs of their hosts – and to take sides in criticizing them. For women students, such an experience of 'political combat' in a still pluralist environment – whether this meant challenging the authority of leading local farmers, teachers or pastors, or denouncing a 'traitor' in public – may have been particularly novel and significant.

For the students themselves, international mobility was something they sought, and they liked to see themselves as taking such travel in their stride. On their journeys they could enjoy the hospitality of strangers as well as classic tourist pleasures. Freedom to travel was also the basis on which they gained knowledge of different environments and the capacity to adapt to them. For women students, travel served to underline their claim to competence, self-reliance and expertise: like men, they too could become 'old hands' with knowledge of particular places to share. For both sexes, travel experiences were a marker of their commitment to an expanding sphere of Nazi domination, and research projects conducted in the course of their journeys could be their entrée to the expert networks of the new *Volkswissenschaft*. However, Reich German students were wary if the young people they encountered in German-speaking communities aspired to similar freedoms. Rather than an uncontrolled mobility which could threaten the authenticity of rural tradition, the students prescribed for young Romanian and Yugoslav Germans only certain forms of travel and mobility that could serve the purpose of community formation and national consciousness-raising.

To take the story onwards into the Second World War and the resettlement of some of the German-speaking minority populations that the Reich German students had been visiting in the 1930s in south-eastern Europe would go beyond the scope of this article. But it is worth casting a glance, finally, at the strange reversals that the onset of resettlement in 1940 would bring to the German minorities of south-eastern Europe, following the precedents for the resettlement of German-speakers from the South Tyrol, the Baltic States, and eastern Poland.[96] Some of the student 'borderlands activists' of the 1930s quickly offered their services to the resettlement programme on the basis of their now established expertise in *Volkstum* matters: the enforced resettlement of the Germans from Bukovina, Bessarabia and Dobrudja was, for some of them, yet another opportunity to travel the length and breadth of Europe in pursuit of the policy of unifying and consolidating Germandom – while destroying long-established 'homelands' of German settlement.[97] Meanwhile, any predilection on the part of Romanian Germans to stay put on their ancestral soil had to be countered by new arguments that emphasised that homelands could travel – in the hearts of those who were being forcibly transferred.[98] For Romanian and Yugoslav Germans, the war would bring much enforced mobility and immobility, as they were often marooned in transit camps for long periods; meanwhile, it was the Reich Germans who were most likely to enjoy the power that mobility could bring.

Notes

1 I would like to thank Johanna Gehmacher for her criticisms and suggestions.
2 Gertrud Knopp-Rüb, Eine Sehnsucht klingt auf, in: Otto Klett, ed., Jahrbuch der Dobrudschadeutschen 1960, Heilbronn 1960, 7–16. On the history of the Dobrudja Germans as part of the German-speaking minority in inter-war Romania and their enforced resettlement in autumn 1940, see Dirk Jachomowski, Die Umsiedlung der Bessarabien-, Bukowina- und Dobrudschadeutschen: Von der Volksgruppe in Rumänien zur 'Siedlungsbrücke' an der Reichsgrenze, München 1984, esp. 21–24, 88–106.
3 Knopp-Rüb, Eine Sehnsucht, 10: 'a strange enchantment'; 'no longer really satisfied with the way certain things had been hitherto'.
4 On the structure of the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* before and after the National Socialist takeover of power, see Michael Grüttner, Studenten im Dritten Reich, Paderborn 1995, 19, 26–27, 63, 250–252. Student 'Land Service', used in the following without inverted commas, was a scheme where students spent several weeks in the countryside helping farmers.
5 Willi Oberkrome, Volksgeschichte: Methodische Innovation und völkische Ideologisierung in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft, Göttingen 1993, 23–28; Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe, Cambridge 1996, 112–134.
6 No overall statistics have been found, but for example an outline of DSt trips to Yugoslavia for 1935 listed 132 participants from the Reich and 87 from Austria: Südslawienfahrten und -Lager der Deutschen Studentenschaft 1935, o.D. Bundesarchiv Berlin (BA Berlin), NS38, 2461.
7 Grüttner, Studenten, 341–348; Haide Manns, Frauen für den Nationalsozialismus. Nationalsozialistische Studentinnen und Akademikerinnen in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich, Opladen 1997, 204–209, 233–237.

8 Gerhard Seewann, Das Südost-Institut 1930–1960, in: Mathias Beer and Gerhard Seewann, eds, Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches. Institutionen – Inhalte – Personen, München 2004, 49–92; Christian Promitzer, Täterwissenschaft: das Südostdeutsche Institut in Graz, in: Beer and Seewann, eds, Südostforschung, 93–113; Norbert Spannenberger, Vom volksdeutschen Nachwuchswissenschaftler zum Protagonisten nationalsozialistischer Südosteuropapolitik. Fritz Valjavec im Spiegel seiner Korrespondenz 1934–1939, in: Beer and Seewann, eds, Südostforschung, 215–235.

9 Hans Hermann Frensing, Die Umsiedlung der Gottscheer Deutschen. Das Ende einer südostdeutschen Volksgruppe, München 1970, 15–16; Dušan Biber, Nacizem in Nemci v Jugoslaviji 1933–1941, Ljubljana 1966, 427–429; Carl Bethke, 'Erweckung' und Distanz: Aspekte der Nazifizierung der 'Volksdeutschen' in Slawonien 1935–1940, in: Mariana Hausleitner and Harald Roth, eds., Der Einfluß von Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus auf Minderheiten in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, München 2006, 187, 191–194; Ute Schmidt, Die Deutschen aus Bessarabien. Eine Minderheit aus Südosteuropa (1814 bis heute), Köln 2006, 116–117. In the following, Reich German will be used without inverted commas to refer to inhabitants of the pre-war German Reich as distinct from 'Germans from abroad' (*Auslandsdeutsche* or *Auslanddeutsche*) or 'ethnic Germans' (*Volksdeutsche*), both the latter terms being used before the Second World War to refer generically to members of German-speaking minorities with foreign citizenship living outside the borders of the Reich.

10 Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Nationalitätenpolitik in Jugoslawien: Die deutsche Minderheit 1918–1978, Göttingen 1980, 15; Biber, Nacizem in Nemci v Jugoslaviji, 425–427.

11 Paul Milata, Zwischen Hitler, Stalin und Antonescu: Rumäniendeutsche in der Waffen-SS, Köln 2007, 21.

12 On the *Erneuerungsbewegung* among the Yugoslav Germans, see Bethke, 'Erweckung' und Distanz, 187–95; Thomas Casagrande, Die Volksdeutsche SS-Division 'Prinz Eugen': Die Banater Schwaben und die nationalsozialistischen Kriegsverbrechen, Frankfurt am Main 2003, 135–9; on the factions within the Romanian German minority in the 1930s, see Johann Böhm, Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland und die Deutsche Volksgruppe in Rumänien 1936–1944, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 35–43; Milata, Zwischen Hitler, Stalin und Antonescu, 26–34.

13 In the case of the Romanian Germans, a particularly complicated situation arose when the National Socialist *Erneuerungsbewegung* split in 1935 into sub-factions led by Fritz Fabritius and Alfred Bonfert respectively.

14 Wehler, Nationalitätenpolitik, 34; Jozo Tomasevich, War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–45: Occupation and Collaboration, Stanford 2001, 202. On Romanian German and Yugoslav German students, see also Elizabeth Harvey, Mobilisierung oder Erfassung? Studentischer Aktivismus und deutsche 'Volkstumsarbeit' in Jugoslawien und Rumänien 1933–41, in: Carola Sachse, ed., 'Mitteleuropa' und 'Südosteuropa' als Planungsraum. Wirtschafts- und kulturpolitische Expertisen im Zeitalter der Weltkriege, Göttingen 2010, 363–390.

15 Hans Erich Bödeker, Arnd Bauerkämper and Bernhard Struck, Einleitung: Reisen als kulturelle Praxis, in: Arnd Bauerkämper, Hans Erich Bödeker, Bernhard Struck, eds, Die Welt erfahren. Reisen als kulturelle Begegnung von 1789 bis heute, Frankfurt am Main 2004, 9–30.

16 Dietlind Hüchtker, Frauen und Männer reisen. Geschlechtsspezifische Perspektiven von Reformpolitik in Berichten über Galizien um 1900, in: Bauerkämper, Bödeker, Struck, eds., Die Welt erfahren, 375–390.

17 Alexander Vari, From Friends of Nature to Tourist-Soldiers. Nation Building and Tourism in Hungary, 1873–1914, in: Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, eds., Turizm. The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism, Ithaca and London 2006, 64–81; R. J. B. Bosworth, The Touring Club Italiano and the Nationalization of the Italian Bourgeoisie, European History Quarterly 27 (1997), 371–410; Pieter Judson, 'Every German visitor has a völkisch obligation he must fulfill': Nationalist tourism in the Austrian Empire, 1880–1918, in: Rudy Koshar, ed., Histories of Leisure, Oxford and New York 2002, 147–168, and his contribution in this volume; Elizabeth Harvey, Pilgrimages to the 'Bleeding Border': gender and rituals of nationalist protest in Germany, 1919–1939, in: Women's History Review, 9/2 (2000), 201–229.

18 Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, London 1992; Steve Clark, Introduction, in: Steve Clark, ed., Travel Writing and Empire, London and New York 1999, 1–28.

19 Sara Mills, Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism, London 1991; Dea Birkett, Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers, London 1989.

20 For an account of the pre–1933 youth movement from the perspective of a National Socialist activist who was involved in post–1933 Land Service trips to Yugoslavia and later in the Nazi resettlement programme in wartime, see Luise Fick, Die deutsche Jugendbewegung, Jena 1939.
21 Thomas Müller, Volk und Reich, in: Ingo Haar and Michael Fahlbusch, eds., Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften, München 2008, 700–704.
22 Helmut Neumann, Begegnungen mit südosteuropäischer Jugend. Notizen zu den Südosteuropa-Beziehungen der Schlesischen Jungenschaft und Jungmannschaft (1922–1932), in: Jahrbuch des Archivs der deutschen Jugendbewegung 9 (1977), 85–102. Some girls in the Deutsche Freischar undertook journeys to south-eastern Europe: L.G., Eindrücke auf der Banatfahrt 1931, in: Mädchen Heft 1, 1932 (Feb. 1932), 12–13.
23 Oberkrome, Volksgeschichte, 23.
24 Ullrich Hellbardt, Nachdenkliches zur Grenzlandarbeit, in: Der Student. Deutsch-Akademische Rundschau 10/9, 1.6.1929, 3–4.
25 Rudolf Urban, Tätigkeitsbericht des Grenzlandamtes der Studentenschaft der Universität Leipzig, Winter-Semester 1933/34, 16.3.1934; Rudolf Urban, Grenzlandamt der Studentenschaft der Universität Leipzig an den Leiter des Hauptamtes II der DSt Dr. Hermann Kügler, Berlin, 30.5.1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2574.
26 Volker Dick, Bericht über die Südslawienfahrt 1933 der Gruppe der Studentenschaft der Universität Freiburg vom 3.8. bis 27.9.1933. BA Berlin, NS38, 2544.
27 Karl-Heinz Zimmermann, Südslawienfahrt der Freiburger Studentenschaft im August und September 1933. BA Berlin, NS38, 2544.
28 Amtsleiter, Außenstelle Halle [Marschelke] to Dr Voigt, Rektor, Universität Halle, Einsatz in Südosteuropa. 20.3.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 2161: 'combative-political goals and dedication to the Führer of the German people' and 'consciousness of a mission to promote a Germanic Reich of the German nation'.
29 Marschelke, Bericht über die Südslawienfahrt der Halleschen Studentenschaft, 1. August – 18. September 1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2593: 'an education derived from practice in foreign policy and ethnic German questions'.
30 Ibid.
31 Anon., Studentische Außenarbeit: Referat, Semesterantrittslager Okt. 37 (Universität Würzburg). BA Berlin, NS38, IV 1 – 27.0/7.
32 Marschelke to Dr Luig, Geschäftsführer des Landesverbandes Prov. Sachsen-Anhalt des VDA, 3.12.1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2161.
33 On cooperation between Reich German and Austrian students: Anne Heidrich to Marschelke, 2.2.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 2161.
34 Georg Gegner, Die ausländischen und die volksdeutschen Studierenden an den reichsdeutschen Hochschulen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Südosteuropas, in: Student im Volk 1/1(1939), 10–13. According to this article, there were c.250 *volksdeutsche* students from Romania, Yugoslavia and Hungary studying in the Reich in 1934/5, most of them from Romania.
35 Wilhelm Sattler, Außenstellenleiter, Außenstelle Halle an die Reichsdeutsche Studentenschaft Graz, 23.5.1936. BA Berlin, NS38, 2589; Karl Widmer, Außenstelle der D.St. für Rumänien to Außenamtsleiter der nach Rumanien arbeitenden Einzelstudentenschaften, 23.11.1935; Karl Widmer, Außenstelle für Rumänien der D.St, Tübingen, to Artur Fink, Tarutino, 18.11.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 2590.
36 Kurt Marschelke, Bericht der Außenstelle für Südslawien der Deutschen Studentenschaft an das Auswärtige Amt, Kulturabteilung, 31.5.1935. BA Berlin, NS 38, 2461.
37 Hertha Suadicani, Bericht über die Arbeit im Außenamt der Studentenschaft der Universität Berlin: Mädelreferat, Wintersemester 35–36, 27.2.1936. BA Berlin, NS38, 4104: 'Again and again one hears it said that girls should not be involved in politics and certainly not in foreign affairs.'
38 Alfred Honig, Leiter des Hauptamtes II Grenzlandamt, Studentenschaft der Technischen Hochschule München, an Karl-Heinrich Zimmermann, Deutsche Studentenschaft, Grenzlandamt, 4.7.1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2547: 'where the sense of cultural connection with Germandom as a whole has yet to be awakened'.
39 Karl-Heinrich Zimmermann, Leiter des Grenzlandamtes der Deutschen Studentenschaft, to Oda Brückmann, 30.6.1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2545.

40 Oda Brückmann to Karl-Heinrich Zimmermann, 23.6.1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2545: 'since everyone knows that boys from Germany arrive with political intent'.
41 Emil Necker to Außenamt der Studentenschaft der Univ. Würzburg, 4.3.1936. BA Berlin, NS38, 2590.
42 Peter Boehm, in: Landdienst in Slawonien Sommer 1934. BA Berlin, R57 DAI 474/41.
43 Studentenschaft der Universität Freiburg, Grenzlandamt 14.1.1935 an das Grenzlandamt der D.St. and an die Außenstelle Jugoslawien der D.St, Halle, betr. Frühjahrsarbeit in Slawonien. BA Berlin, NS38, 2546.
44 Grenzlandamt Universität Freiburg, 14.1.1935 to Grenzlandamt der DSt. BA Berlin, NS38, 2546.
45 Außenstelle Rumänien an die nach Rumänien arbeitenden Einzelstudentenschaften, 7.12.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, IV 1 – 27.0/10.
46 Kurt Marschelke to Dr. Luig, Geschäftsführer des Landesverbandes Prov. Sachsen-Anhalt des VDA, 3.12.1934, requesting subsidies including for excursion to Yugoslavia Easter 1935: 850 RM. BA Berlin, NS38, 2161.
47 Marschelke, 25.6.1935 an die Fahrtführer. BA Berlin, NS38, 2461.
48 Schmidt to Necker, 16.5.1936; Necker to Schmidt, 22.5.1936. BA Berlin, NS38, IV 1 – 27.0/10.
49 Ingeborg Krüger to Lieselotte Machwirth, undated [July 1935]. BA Berlin, NS38, 4105.
50 Lieselotte Machwirth to Werner Drenckhahn, 27.7.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 4105: 'What we need in the borderlands and abroad are fighters, the rest can stay at home.'
51 Wolfram Papperitz, Hauptamtsleiter, Außenamt, Die Studentenschaft der Universität Freiburg i. Br., to Wilhelm Sattler, Außenstelle Südslawien der DSt, Halle/Saale, 17.6.1936. BA Berlin, NS38, 2589.
52 Isolde Jahn to Lieselotte Machwirth, 1.8.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 4105.
53 Emma Klöpfer, Bericht über die Arbeit der Landdienstgruppe der A.N.St. in Bessarabien. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865.
54 Volker Dick, Bericht über die Südslawienfahrt 1933 der Gruppe der Studentenschaft der Universität Freiburg vom 3.8. bis 27.9.1933. BA Berlin, NS38, 2544.
55 Wilhelm Sattler to Anne Heidrich, 5.3.1936. BA Berlin, NS38, 2589.
56 Anne Heidrich to auslanddeutsches Jugendreferat im VDA, 17.2.1936. BA Berlin, NS38, 2589.
57 Wilhelm Fuchslocher, postcard from Romania to Rolf Wilkening, 23.7.1938, BA Berlin, R57 neu, 531: 'Every Reich German is seen as a spy. […] Jewry is riding high once again and is whipping up the authorities against us. But we are still having great success.'
58 Erika Senff to Deutsches Auslands-Institut Stuttgart, 22.10.1938. BA Berlin, R57 neu, 687: 'who attract the attention of the police just because of the shorts they wear.'
59 Ingeborg Metzner, Landdienst in Rumänien: Dobrudscha. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: 'quick to crack down on all German youth work.'
60 Hagen Schulz-Forberg, Introduction: European Travel and Travel Writing: Cultural Practice and the Idea of Europe, in: Hagen Schulz-Forberg, ed., Unravelling Civilization: European Travel and Travel Writing, Brussels 2005, 22.
61 Volker Dick, Bericht über die Südslawienfahrt 1933 der Gruppe der Studentenschaft der Universität Freiburg vom 3.8. bis 27.9.1933. BA Berlin, NS38, 2544: 'We visited villages where German groups have never stopped before.'
62 Isolde Jahn, Bericht über Banat. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865.
63 Karl-Heinz Zimmermann, Südslawienfahrt der Freiburger Studentenschaft im August und September 1933. Ein Bericht über die Lage deutscher Sprachinseln in Slowenien und Bosnien. BA Berlin, NS 38, 2544.
64 Sophie Weber, Bericht über den zweimonatlichen Landdiensteinsatz in Siebenbürgen. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: 'they know all that already.'
65 Hilde Busse, Bericht über die Arbeit im Deutschtum des Banats (Rumänien) vom 23. Juli – 4. Sept. 35. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865.
66 Hans Grimm, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Arbeiten einer Südslawien-Fahrtgruppe [1934]. BA Berlin, NS38, 2161.
67 Herta Bolle, Landdienst im Buchenland – Sommer 1935 (Tereblesti, Hliboka, Molodia), BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: 'Women around 1,60 m tall, men 1,70 m and less, short, coarse-boned, medium blond. Among them some taller more Dinaric types with dark hair and the back of their heads a flat shape, along with tall Nordic types with sharply cut features, who look like Frisian peasants'; 'today still markedly German types.'

68 Bolle, Landdienst im Buchenland, BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: 'The hatred of the Jews is something the other nationalities have in common with [the Germans], even though the others do not suffer under him [sic] as the Germans do.' On the rise of anti-semitism among Romanians and Romanian Germans in Bukovina, see Hildrun Glass, Zerbrochene Nachbarschaft. Das deutsch-jüdische Verhältnis in Rumänien, München 1996, 381–382; Mariana Hausleitner, Gegen die Zwangsrumänisierung. Die Kooperation von Bukowiner Deutschen, Juden und Ukrainern in der Zwischenkriegszeit, in: WerkstattGeschichte 32 (2002), 31–43.
69 Emma Klöpfer, Bericht über die Arbeit der Landdienstgruppe der A.N.St. in Bessarabien. BA Berlin NS38, 3865: 'this was what the youngsters understood best, as this was familiar to them, they feel it every day themselves.'
70 Ibid.
71 Sophie Weber, Bericht über den zweimonatlichen Landdiensteinsatz in Siebenbürgen. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: 'moral and völkisch weakness'.
72 Emma Klöpfer, Bericht über die Arbeit der Landdienstgruppe der A.N.St. in Bessarabien. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: 'It may be that the young people that we led for three weeks will have since then experienced many more difficulties. However, they will no doubt also have much more courage and strength, and young and old in Leipzig will not forget us.'
73 Fahrt nach dem Rumänischen Banat [unsigned, undated]. BA Berlin, NS 38, IV – I-27-0.7. 'a dead, deserted city that only lives on its past'; 'Czech soldiers who mostly spoke German' and 'strange figures in greasy caftans and curly black sidelocks';'magic and grandeur', 'Jews in vast numbers', 'our National Socialist fighting songs rang out fresh and carefree over the water'.
74 Isolde Jahn to Lieselotte Machwirth, 26.8.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 4105: 'I am swimming in melons, grapes and good food.'
75 Emil Necker to Artur, o.D. BA Berlin, NS38, 2590: 'she is really enthusiastic, she particularly loves doing her main thing, digging in the sand. And of course the sea.'
76 Sophie Weber, Bericht über den zweimonatlichen Landdiensteinsatz in Siebenbürgen. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865.
77 Ingeborg Metzner, Landdienst in Rumänien 1935. Gebiet: Dobrudscha. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: 'giant oil tanks and grain silos on the harbour, noisy, colourful life on the streets: sailors, soldiers, Romanians in national costume, Turks, Gypsies, seamen and seaside tourists from every part of the world.'
78 Ibid.
79 For examples of research projects, see Harvey, Mobilisierung oder Erfassung.
80 Bericht über die Tagung des Volkswissenschaftlichen Arbeitskreises im VDA am 17. u. 18. Mai 1937 im Freiherr vom Stein-Haus zu Kalkhorst bei Lübeck, im Auftrage der Bundesleitung herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Kleo Pleyer. BA Berlin, NS38, IV 1-27.0/12 (with list of participants).
81 For examples, see contributions by Seewann, Promitzer and Spannenberger in: Beer and Seewann, eds, Südostforschung; Harvey, Mobilisierung oder Erfassung.
82 Isolde Jahn to Lieselotte Machwirth, 29.12.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 4134.
83 Lieselotte Machwirth an das Aussenamt der D.St., 1. 10.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 4105.
84 Isolde Jahn, Bericht über Banat. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865.
85 Sophie Weber, Bericht über den zweimonatlichen Landdiensteinsatz in Siebenbürgen. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865.
86 Kurt Marschelke to Volker Dick, 14.11.1934; Bericht über die Gottscheer Bauern in Heidelberg, 8.1.1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 2561; Volker Dick, Stellungnahme zu der Frage der Betreuung der Gottscheer Bauern, 11.12.1934; Stellungnahme zu dem Bericht der Abteilung C III des Reichsnährstandes an den Stab des Stellvertreters des Führers über die Gottscheer Bauern, 18.12.1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2593.
87 Frensing, Die Umsiedlung der Gottscheer Deutschen, 16–17.
88 Karl-Heinrich Zimmermann, Südslawienfahrt der Freiburger Studentenschaft im August und September 1933. BA Berlin, NS38, 2544.
89 Isolde Jahn, Bericht über Banat. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865: '[…] who groaned terribly about the 10-kilometre route. None of them had bathing suits or gym kit and only with enormous effort did I get them to go into the water at least with their feet.'
90 Hilde Busse, Bericht über die Arbeit im Deutschtum des Banats (Rumänien) vom 23. Juli – 4. Sept. 1935. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865 : 'distance achieved ca. 25 km.'

91 On German work camps in Romania, see Milata, Zwischen Hitler, Stalin und Antonescu, 32–33.
92 Klöpfer, Bericht über die Arbeit der Landdienstgruppe der ANSt in Bessarabien. BA Berlin, NS38, 3865.
93 Anne Heidrich, Bericht von der Fahrt der Freiburger Mädelgruppe nach Gottschee 1934. BA Berlin, NS38, 2545: 'consciousness of their German identity and their particular personal responsibility for Germandom in Gottschee'.
94 Irmgard Gerlinde Stiller geb. Leyer, Heimat – Umsiedler, Ansiedler, Flüchtling, Neubürger, in Klett, ed., Jahrbuch der Dobrudschadeutschen 1960, 31–94.
95 Ibid., 38: 'our hearts almost burst with joy and one longed to be there where these young people came from.'
96 Jachomowski, Umsiedlung; Robert L. Koehl, RKFDV: German Resettlement and Population Policy 1939–1945, Cambridge MA 1957; Valdis Lumans, Himmler's Auxiliaries: The Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle and the German National Minorities of Europe, 1933–1945, Chapel Hill NC and London 1993; Isabel Heinemann, 'Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut': Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas, Göttingen 2003; Markus Leniger, Nationalsozialistische 'Volkstumsarbeit' und Umsiedlungspolitik 1933–1945: Von der Minderheitenbetreuung zur Siedlerauslese, Berlin 2006.
97 Harvey, Mobilisierung oder Erfassung; Harvey, Management and Manipulation: Nazi Settlement Planners and Ethnic German Settlers in Occupied Poland, in: Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, eds., Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century, London 2005, 95–112.
98 For an example of this argument see Hans Richter, Heimkehr. Bildberichte von der Umsiedlung der Volksdeutschen aus Bessarabien, Rumänien, aus der Süd-Bukowina und aus Litauen, Berlin 1941, 10–11.