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A NEW NATIONALIST EUROPE UNDER HITLER

**CONCEPTS OF EUROPE AND TRANSNATIONAL
NETWORKS IN THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST SPHERE
OF INFLUENCE, 1933–1945**

Edited by
Johannes Dalfinger and Dieter Pohl

ROUTLEDGE


A New Nationalist Europe Under Hitler

Nazis, fascists and *völkisch* conservatives in different European countries not only cooperated internationally in the fields of culture, science, economy, and persecution of Jews, but also developed ideas for a racist and ethno-nationalist Europe under Hitler. The present volume attempts to combine an analysis of Nazi Germany's transnational relations with an evaluation of the discourse that accompanied these relations.

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Sphere of Influence, 1933–1945

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Abbreviations

AA	Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office/Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Central State Archive), Rome
AMPG	Archiv der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft (Archive of the Max Planck Society), Berlin
AOeAW	Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences), Vienna
AOeGZ	Archiv der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Zeitgeschichte (Archives of the Austrian Society for Contemporary History), Vienna
ASMAE	Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Historical Archive of the Italian Foreign Ministry), Rome
BArch Abt. MA Freiburg	Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Militärarchiv Freiburg (Federal Archives, Department Military Archives Freiburg)
BArch Berlin	Bundesarchiv Berlin (Federal Archives Berlin)
BArch Koblenz	Bundesarchiv Koblenz (Federal Archives Koblenz)
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Bavarian Main State Archives), Munich
CA	California
ca.	circa
CAUR	Comitati d’Azione per l’Universalità di Roma
CDJC	Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
cf.	compare/see by the way of comparison
CSIC	Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Center for Advanced Scientific Research), Madrid
D.C.	District of Columbia
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service)

DEGRIGES	Deutsch-griechische Warenausgleichsgesellschaft
DFG	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Society)
DGARQ	Direcção-Geral de Arquivos (Directorate-General of Archives), Lisboa
diss.	dissertation
DJG	Deutsch-Japanische Gesellschaft (German-Japanese Society)
e.g.	for example (<i>exempli gratia</i>)
ed.	editor/edited by/edition
eds.	editors
et al.	and others (<i>et alii</i>)
et seqq.	and the following ones (<i>et sequentia</i>)
FEK	Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ελλάδος (Official Gazette of the Greek Government)
FNAT	Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho (National Foundation for Joy at Work)
fol.	folio
HStAM	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hessian State Archives), Marburg
i.e.	that is (to say) (<i>id est</i>)
ibid.	in the same place (same publication)
idem	the same (author)
IEP	Instituto de Estudios Políticos (Institute of Political Studies)
IFK	Internationale Filmkammer (International Film Chamber)
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute of Contemporary History), Munich/Archiv des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte (Archives of the Institute of Contemporary History), Munich
IOS	Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung (Institute for East and Southeast European Studies), Regensburg
ISG Frankfurt am Main	Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main (Institute for the History of Frankfurt), Frankfurt am Main
J.O.N.S.	Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalistas (National-Syndicalist Committees of Attack)
LMU Munich	Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
LP	Legião Portuguesa (Portuguese Legion)
LTi	Lingua Tertii Imperii (language of the Third Reich)
LUCE	L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa
M.A./MA	Magister artium/Master
MA	Massachusetts

MD	Maryland
MP	Mocidade Portuguesa (Youth Legion)
MWT	Mitteleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag (Central European Economic Conference)
n.	note/endnote
n.d.	no date
n.p.	no place/no page
NA	Národní archiv (National Archives), Prague
NDH	Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia)
NE	Nebraska
NIOD	Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies (Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies), Amsterdam
NJ	New Jersey
no.	number
NSB	Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, German Nazi Party)
OeStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – Archiv der Republik (Austrian State Archives – Archives of the Republic), Vienna
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (High Command of the German Army)
PA AA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office), Berlin
Ph.D./PhD	Doctor of Philosophy (Philosophiae doctor)
PVDE	Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado (Surveillance and State Defense Police)
RFK	Reichsfilmkammer (Reich Film Chamber)
RFR	Reichsforschungsrat (German Research Council)
RKFDV	Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of German Nationhood)
RKK	Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture)
RMVP	Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
s.a.	without a year (sine annum)
s.l.	without a place (sine loco)
s.n.	without name (of publisher) (sine nomine)
s.v.	under the word (sub verbo)

SD	Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS (Security Service of the SS)
SOEG	Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft (Southeast Europe Society)
SOkA Olomouc	Státní okresní archiv (State District Archive), Olomouc
SS	Schutzstaffel
TNA	The National Archives, Kew/London
UAI	Union Académique Internationale
UFA	Universum-Film Aktiengesellschaft
UN	União Nacional (National Union)
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C./Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C.
VNV	Vlaams Nationaal Verbond
vol.	volume
vols.	volumes
WBR	Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung (Vienna library in the City Hall, collection of autographs), Vienna
WWI	World War I
YV Archives	Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem

Introduction

Johannes Dafinger and Dieter Pohl

Between 14 and 18 September 1942, delegates from fourteen nations met in Vienna's Nazi "Gauhaus," the former Austrian parliament, for a Youth Congress that sought to lay the foundation for a European Youth Federation (*Europäischer Jugendverband*). While the congress was underway, German Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels "engaged in a strong polemic against the idle talk concerning a 'New Europe.'"¹ Vienna seemed to him "like a remake of the [1848] Frankfurt Congress, except that back then it was men with beards that had met while this time it was the [Hitler] youth (*Pimpfe*) that were indulging in useless tattle."²

The minister's skepticism concerning the initiative launched by the heads of the Hitler Youth, Baldur von Schirach and Artur Axmann, however, was not shared by all members of the Propaganda Ministry. The Reich Press Office, working under the authority of the Propaganda Ministry, informed the editors of German magazines that the topic "should be taken up by as many magazines as possible," because it had "special political significance and topical relevance."³ These articles were to express the idea "that the European Youth Federation represents the association of the best and most constructive forces among the European youth of today, who are working and fighting for a new Europe."⁴

In the eyes of the participants and organizers of the Vienna congress, what form was such a "New Europe" under Hitler to take? In his own speech, Baldur von Schirach described Europe as a "bundle of national forces" (*Strahlenbündel nationaler Kräfte*) that was opposed to any "pan-European endeavors."⁵ He also saw Europe as a "community of destiny" on account of its common enemies, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain.⁶ Furthermore, Schirach excluded Jews from his vision of Europe. "Every Jew who operates in Europe," he stated, "is a danger to European culture." To the loud applause of his audience, he congratulated himself on having deported "tens of thousands of Jews" from Vienna "to the ghetto of the East." This had been "an active contribution to European culture."⁷

The chapters collected in the present volume are based on talks given at a conference at the Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt in July 2013. They explore what "Europe" meant to a range of groups and individuals within the National Socialist sphere of influence and how a new nationalist Europe began to become a reality in the fields of science, academia, culture, economics, and racial policy.

“The National Socialist sphere of influence” is not only understood here as the space under the military control of Nazi Germany. Instead, it also refers to a cognitive sphere of discourse between National Socialists, fascists, and conservatives of an ethnonationalist disposition who agreed on the basic principles of this new European order. Besides those based in Germany, many of the participants in this discourse were located in East-Central and Southeastern Europe (i.e., in countries that moved politically to the right in the 1930s). In Western Europe, this discourse was limited to sections of highly polarized societies. This polarization can best be observed in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. Italy constitutes a special case here since, until Germany reached a position of absolute hegemony at the turn of 1940/1941, Mussolini and his followers developed their own fascist plans for the continent, which conflicted with those of the Nazis.

The current state of research

For a long time, historians interpreted Europe under German domination as obeying a top-down model of rule. In general, this was based on the observation of three patterns:

In attempting to overcome the economic crisis of the 1930s, Nazi Germany sought to increase its economic influence, particularly in Southeastern Europe. This region was considered both as providing an agrarian basis for the German Reich and as a field of competition with British foreign economic interests. Following the Anschluss of Austria in 1938 in particular, Nazi Germany became the main export market for Southeastern Europe, and especially for Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. This was a result of the German practice of *Großraumwirtschaft*, which led to a certain degree of political dependency on Germany. Some historians even spoke of a German “Informal Empire” in Southeastern Europe.⁸

This economic integration policy was accompanied by Hitler’s diplomatic pact-building strategy. The origins of the later “Axis” lay both in Germany’s search for allies and Japan’s and Italy’s attempt to secure their expansionist policies. Although the development of the Axis followed a rather convoluted path, it culminated in the Tripartite Pact of 1940, a strategic propaganda move against the Western Powers. While Japan continued to act in almost complete independence from Germany, Italy became more and more dependent on Hitler from late 1940 onward. German hegemony was even greater in those states which benefited from the German-Italian arbitration agreements, the Vienna Arbitrations of 1938–1940, such as Hungary and Bulgaria, and of course in the new states created by Germany and Italy: Slovakia in 1939 and Croatia in 1941. For a long time, historians regarded the latter in particular as “satellites” or even “puppet regimes.” More recent studies, however, have stressed that these states were able to pursue their own agendas, at times even independently of German policies.⁹

The third and most important element here is Germany’s direct rule in occupied Europe from 1938, when the Sudetenland was annexed, until 1944–1945, when it even invaded its Axis partners Hungary and Slovakia. The impact of German – and until 1943 Italian – occupation varied in different regions. In

general, Poland and the occupied regions of the Soviet Union were completely subdued; parts of the population, especially Jews, were murdered, and national policies and cultures were completely demolished. Even under German occupation and with restricted autonomy, however, conservative and fascist models of education and culture were able to endure, though nationalism could not be fully expressed. Collaborationist governments such as the more conservative ethn nationalist regime in Vichy France and the national administrations in Belgium, the Netherlands, Serbia, and Greece enjoyed limited autonomy, especially in areas that were not considered important by the occupiers. Only rarely did radical fascist forces come to power, as with the Ustasha in Croatia in 1941, the Nasjonal Samling in Norway in 1942, and the Arrow Cross in Hungary in late 1944.¹⁰

From a traditional perspective, then, Hitler's Europe was a top-down structure in which the Germans gave orders and others obeyed. More recent approaches, however, have demonstrated that international and transnational relations within Hitler's Europe were far more complex: They were not only influenced by German actors, but also by non-Germans, and – more importantly – not only by state actors, but also by non-state actors. They cannot be reduced to bilateral (or even intergovernmental) relations; they rather form international or transnational actor networks. Nor were they limited to the spheres of diplomacy, war, and economics: There were also numerous and often close relations within the cultural sphere.

In recent decades, increasing attention has been paid to this complexity, and not without good reason. This renewed attentiveness was stimulated by the broader use of new theoretical approaches in the field, in line with a general shift from “diplomatic history” to “international history” in recent historical studies.¹¹ This change of terms first of all indicates a dissatisfaction with the discipline's traditional focus on state politics. Historians no longer reduce international relations to diplomatic relations, nor politics to the politics of a state and its organs. They see non-state actors – including both social groups and individuals – as important protagonists in the world of international relations and insist on analyzing their discourses, actions, and interactions with one another, along with those of state actors.¹²

To be sure, this is not to say that state agencies were or became irrelevant to the course of international relations during the era covered by the present volume.¹³ In the fields of academia and culture treated in the chapters that follow, the state became a powerful player around the turn of the twentieth century. This was an era in which governments – following the French example – were trying to transform cultural prestige into national prestige and thus began to elaborate a cultural diplomacy (*auswärtige Kulturpolitik*) to this end.¹⁴ There were nevertheless other important players alongside governments and state administrations. Artists and scholars who maintained contact with colleagues in other countries pursued their own policies. Furthermore, intermediary agencies were established to mediate between individuals and the state and between actors in different countries. In Germany, the most important of these intermediary agencies were the *Deutsche Akademie* (the forerunner of today's *Goethe Institut*),¹⁵ the *Auslandsvereine*,¹⁶ the *Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung*, the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (*DAAD*),¹⁷ and, during the Second World War, the German Cultural Institutes

(*Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Institute*) in various European capitals.¹⁸ These were not all entirely independent from the German government. Yet even during the Nazi era, they retained a certain degree of autonomy.

As well as acknowledging the importance of non-state actors, recent historical studies have also paid greater attention to certain aspects of transnationality. If individuals or social groups in different countries interact with one another, they form networks that transcend national borders. They might not act as “representatives of a nation, but as ‘fellow human beings’ or as members of a certain political, religious, unionized or cultural group.”¹⁹

This idea has to be applied carefully to any study of transnational relations within the ultranationalist context of Nazi-German hegemony.²⁰ The nation, transformed into the “*Volk*,” continually formed the most important reference point for the National Socialists’ self-conception and, to varying degrees, for nationalist discourses in other countries. And yet, as Arnd Bauerkämper puts it, “the relationship between transnational relations and cross-border entanglements on the one hand and nationalist delimitation on the other is not contradictory.”²¹ This debate was recently continued in two special issues on the “dark side of transnationalism” and the ideological diversity of the “agents of internationalism.”²² If we consider the interwar period, we do indeed observe something like an “international of the nationalists” in right-wing and fascist milieus. As early as 1920 there were negotiations between leading German, Hungarian, and Austrian nationalists on the establishment of a “White International,” which ultimately never materialized.²³ At the same time, Italian fascists “propagated the model of a new transnational European fascist civilization purportedly embodied by their dictatorship.”²⁴ The *Partito Nazionale Fascista* and Benito Mussolini’s seizure of power had inspired others to found fascist parties in their own countries; some of them were supported or even directly financed by the Italians, and later by Rosenberg’s *Außenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP* (NSDAP Office of Foreign Affairs).²⁵ Italian fascists initiated efforts to unite these groups into a “Fascist International,” a term used by Asverso Gravelli, who organized the first congress of right-wing conservatives and extremists in Rome in November 1932. The following year, Mussolini founded the *Comitati d’Azione per l’Universalità di Roma* (CAUR), which hosted two further international conferences, one in Montreux in December 1934, which saw the participation of fascists from several European countries, including Vidkun Quisling and Oswald Mosley, and another in Amsterdam in April 1935.²⁶ The ties between the participants nonetheless remained loose. They could not agree with one another on certain important questions, including the relevance of race, and the German Nazis were not part of CAUR.²⁷ More importantly, prior to 1941–1942, fascist parties did not come to power outside Italy and Germany, though authoritarian regimes did adopt fascist elements, as in Slovakia. The Italian Fascists and the German Nazis therefore found their allies among authoritarian rather than fascist parties and governments.²⁸ In our view, the foundation of a common discourse between these conservative and authoritarian groups and the Italian and German fascists was ethnonationality or the *völkisch* principle, which we shall discuss in more detail later.

In any case, certain European countries including Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and those with authoritarian governments – many of them in Southeastern Europe – were culturally, academically, and economically intertwined, and developed a common discourse on Europe. The bonds between them led to the formation of transnational networks that can only be understood through a transnational analytical approach.

These theoretical considerations have been reflected in more recent empirical studies on transnational relations in the fields of science and academia, culture, and sports within the National Socialist sphere of influence. A number of publications have analyzed the relations between Nazi Germany and other individual countries, significantly broadening our understanding of interconnections within the aforementioned fields under Nazi influence. Particular attention has been paid to Franco-German relations,²⁹ though Germany's relations with Italy,³⁰ Greece,³¹ pre-war Poland,³² and its Axis partner Japan³³ – to name just a few – have also been analyzed. The studies that are of particular interest with regard to the present volume are those that do not limit their focus to bilateral relations, but rather compare the nature of German relations to several different countries, or even adopt a transnational perspective. One of the pioneers in this field is Jan-Pieter Barbian, who as early as 1992 published an article on all of the “Third Reich's” cultural agreements (*Kulturabkommen*).³⁴ Since then, more publications have appeared, many penned by Frank-Rutger Hausmann, who has analyzed the transnational relations enjoyed by German specialists in Roman languages and literature³⁵ and by the Nazi-dominated European Writers' Union.³⁶ Hausmann's study on the German Cultural Institutes (*Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Institute*) which, as noted previously, were established in many European countries during the Second World War, has been particularly influential.³⁷ Other historians have focused on the dissemination of the German language abroad,³⁸ on student and academic exchange,³⁹ and on international sports events and Nazi Germany's international sports policy.⁴⁰ A summary of these can be found in Frank Trommler's monumental monograph on Germany's foreign cultural relations in the twentieth century.⁴¹

For the first time, the present volume attempts to combine an analysis of Nazi Germany's transnational relations with an evaluation of the discourse that accompanied these relations. It thus considers how the relations between Germany and other European countries are linked to the discourse about “Europe” in Germany and these other countries.

During the Second World War, observers from outside Germany – journalists, academics, writers, politicians, members of resistance movements, and so on – claimed that the Nazis were concealing their plans to conquer Europe by insinuating that their aim was only to “defend Europe.” These observers called the Nazi-German policy “anti-European.” Even before the war, they considered National Socialism an “un-European” ideology.⁴² Research on conceptions of Europe within the National Socialist sphere of influence has long followed this line of interpretation.⁴³ The only studies to take the Nazis' own discourse on Europe seriously were, paradoxically, uncritical approaches towards a fascist

vision for Europe⁴⁴ or written by those hostile to European integration in the context of the European Union.⁴⁵

Among serious historians, Peter Stirk was the first to

suggest that to treat the National Socialists' ideas of Europe as propaganda in the service of conquest is too simple [. . . because it] fails to recognise Europe as a contested concept and it fails to recognise National Socialist ideology and practice as an attempt to "make Europe," to bring Europe into existence.⁴⁶

In our view, Stirk is right on both counts. The very fact that resistance movements in several European countries, along with Germany's wartime enemies, felt the need to develop alternative visions for the future of Europe⁴⁷ indicates that Europe was indeed a contested concept. In 1941, for example, a British newspaper wrote that a "fatal blow might be struck at the Nazi cause if the democracies could show that they had a better programme for Europe than Hitler."⁴⁸

In fact, Europe was also a contested concept within Nazi Germany, since various individuals and groups were at work developing their own vision of a "new European order." Europe was variously conceived as a Germanic Europe,⁴⁹ as a large *economic* area (*wirtschaftlicher Großraum*),⁵⁰ as *Mittleuropa*,⁵¹ as an anti-Bolshevik "community of destiny" (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*),⁵² and so on. What still has to be discussed – and some of the contributions in the present volume do precisely this – is whether all of these visions were incompatible with one another or whether they had some features in common (i.e., whether there was anything like a core notion of a new nationalist Europe under Hitler).

Whether there was such a notion or not, all of the various conceptions of Europe amounted to "form[s] in which European unity was conceived" and thus served to guide the actions of individuals and groups in the aim of realizing a certain order.⁵³ Alfred Rosenberg, Joseph Goebbels, the SS, the *Mittleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag*, the German Foreign Office, groups of *völkisch* writers, and many others besides all wanted to make *their* vision of Europe a reality.

This line of interpretation has again been taken up in more recent studies. In her contribution to a special journal issue on "anti-liberal Europe," Iris Schröder echoed Stirk's contentions, stating that the Nazi "New Europe" was not "only a National Socialist propaganda weapon," but that the term "Europe" also referred to "an abundance of competing political beliefs and goals and not least [to] a European policy that was actually implemented – for the most part by the National Socialists."⁵⁴

In this light, the argument put forward by older studies therefore has to be inverted: The very fact that contemporary actors called the Nazi plans for a new nationalist Europe "anti-European" shows just how contested "Europe" as a concept actually was. For the Allies, labeling the Nazi plans "anti-European" was part of a political strategy that sought to counteract German propaganda. The Nazis themselves, however, claimed to be "defending" Europe against the Allied powers – which meant both the "plutocratic" West and the "Asiatic-Bolshevik" East.⁵⁵

On both sides, the terms “Europe” and “European” were used normatively, implying that only one’s own side was “good” and “European.” Both the Nazis and their enemies thus referred to Europe in a positive sense and called their visions of the future “European,” but “Europe” was understood differently in each context.

Interpreting Europe as an “imagined community” does not constitute a revolutionary approach. Nevertheless, the Nazi vision of Europe – which, as the various contributions to the present volume show, was fully consistent with Nazi ideology – is one that has been left out of most intellectual histories of the continent.⁵⁶ This would appear to be due to a logic similar to that which governed the historical debate on the notion of a “Nazi modernity.”⁵⁷ If historians use the terms “modern” and “European” as self-evident analytical categories, the Nazi era must appear to them as an aberration in Europe’s path towards “modernization” and “European integration.” One can only see “Nazi modernity” and a “Nazi Europe” as possible versions of each respective notion if these terms are used critically and based on the understanding that historically one has to speak of modernities and Europes in the plural. Both debates therefore call for historization, of modernity and of Europe.

A new approach to a *völkisch* and nationalist Europe under Hitler

The most appropriate common denominator of all the Nazi and right-wing conceptions of Europe is the German term “*völkisch*,” which is almost untranslatable into English. The adjective *völkisch* was adopted by German ethnonationalist groups that considered the nation to be constituted by ethnicity rather than by citizenship. On this view, the nation is not restricted to the ethnicity contained within the borders of the nation-state, but also includes minorities of the same ethnicity abroad. *Völkisch* groups were highly anti-Semitic and some even tried to overcome Christianity by creating a new confession, as with the later Nazi “god believers” (*Gottgläubige*).⁵⁸ Adherents of the *völkisch* movement distinguished themselves from the Italian fascists and National Socialists through their strong emphasis on traditional values. They could be found among the broad range of right-wing groups formed after 1918, such as the Party of National Independence in Hungary (*Magyar Nemzeti Függetlenségi Párt*) and the National Christian Defense League in Romania (*Liga Apărării Național Creștine*), but also among conservative parties such as the German National People’s Party (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*). There was some overlap with fascist groups, especially where youth organizations were concerned, yet *völkisch* groups tended to be more bourgeois and were embedded within traditional elite networks, such as those within science and academia. They were also more attached to traditional conservative culture, and less violent. As ruling parties, they tended towards authoritarian practices and the suppression of fascist groups.

On the basis of these considerations, the present volume takes a new approach to analyzing right-wing Europe under Hitler. We argue that a vision of a *völkisch* and nationalist Europe was a model that allowed for consensus between Nazis, fascists, and *völkisch* conservatives. The 1920s and above all the 1930s witnessed

a transformation of conservative milieus. Conservatives in considerable numbers came to embrace new forms of nation-building based on the principle of ethnoscience (which we call the *völkisch* principle), thereby excluding Jews, Roma, and ethnicities considered as foreign. Previously, the nation had not played a significant role in the political thought of “classical” conservatives, just as “classical” conservative themes did not play a significant role within the emerging *völkisch* milieu. It was particularly anti-Semitism and a radicalized anti-Bolshevism that brought such conservative circles closer to the fascist right.

The German Nazis had no clearly defined catalogue of ideological imperatives in the manner of the communists’ classical Marxist texts. Yet Lutz Raphael convincingly argues that “[t]his basic ‘deficiency’ was, in fact, one of the reasons for the phenomenal spread of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*,”⁵⁹ since it made it possible to integrate conservative, nationalist, and national liberal ideas⁶⁰ into what he calls the discursive ideological “field” of National Socialism.⁶¹ “National Socialist ideology . . . was open to ideas coming from other social and political contexts and to different traditions.”⁶² Those non-Germans who formed part of the new nationalist Europe under Hitler were not only “working towards Nazi Germany” (Ferenc Laczó) as well.⁶³ Many proponents of the *völkisch*, conservative, authoritarian, or fascist political spectrum in other European countries went along with the German Nazis to some extent because this suited their own interests.

“Freedom of expression”⁶⁴ was within Germany nonetheless limited insofar as “pivotal elements of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* . . . form[ed] a kind of common denominator linking the different viewpoints.”⁶⁵ These key elements had to be accepted by all those who wished to “retain some sort of position” within Nazi Germany.⁶⁶ The “field” of European reasoning within the National Socialist sphere of influence likewise combined “fluidity and flexibility with a set of convictions and core arguments.”⁶⁷ The vision of a *völkisch* and nationalist Europe united different groups behind a common idea, even in countries whose authoritarian governments suppressed fascist opposition movements. Opinions that lay beyond the bounds of the “sayable” were not tolerated. Inside these bounds, however, we can observe a plurality of diverse and sometimes even opposing standpoints.

The “site” in which the pivotal elements of a *völkisch* and nationalist vision of Europe were negotiated was the zone of generally non-diplomatic contacts and relationships in the fields of science and academia, culture, economics, and racial policies. In this regard, Rüdiger Hachtmann has shown that, in Nazi Germany, “informal contacts and networks of communication played a much larger part than they had before.”⁶⁸ Elite clubs “gained importance as information exchanges, spaces of communication, and informal forums of coordination.”⁶⁹ This also holds true for communication across national borders: here too, informal networks played a greater role during the Nazi era than they had previously. The new nationalist Europe under Hitler was elaborated in the hallways of opera houses, in the cafeterias of academic institutions, and in the private living rooms of entrepreneurs and business leaders. From there, these visions of Europe found their way into the columns of journals and newspapers and the opening speeches of cultural events.

Relationships within the Nazi “New Europe” went hand in hand with German military and political dominance. One effect of this dominance was to exclude significant parts of the population from this new Europe. Both German and non-German political opponents, who had their own plans for the continent, were silenced. Jews, moreover, were completely excluded from the public sphere under German and Axis rule, along with the majority of people living in the alleged “German living space” (*deutscher Lebensraum*) in Eastern Europe. Following the occupation of Poland, for example, Germany simply attempted to destroy traditional Polish cultural life, though exceptions to the rule remained.⁷⁰ This is why Eastern Europe plays no role in the contributions to this volume.

The book is divided into four sections. The first is devoted to visions of Europe. Visions of Europe within the National Socialist sphere of influence were all based on the conviction that *Völker* (the plural of *Volk*) should become the building blocks of every political order. In his contribution, Ulrich Prehn shows that German scholars of constitutional law, international law, and *Volkswissenschaften* (*Volk* studies) referred to *Völker* as “persons” (*Volkspersönlichkeiten*) bearing their own rights. International law, in their view, would thus have to be replaced by an ethnonational groups’ law (*Volkgruppenrecht*). As Prehn notes, the idea of such a universally applicable *Volkgruppenrecht* nonetheless became obsolete in practice during the Second World War and served merely as a rhetorical tool for legitimizing the Nazis’ *völkisch* policy.

Other chapters in this section discuss the significance of the category *Volk* beyond the judicial sphere. Core elements of National Socialist visions of Europe were based on *völkisch* thinking and it was held that the continent should be structured along *völkisch* lines. As Johannes Dafinger underscores in his contribution, Europe was understood as a “family of *Völker*,” each of which had its own peculiarities and its own way of life and culture. Other ideological assumptions of the discourse on Europe in Nazi Germany included the notion that its different *Völker* all belonged to one “Aryan” race – thus excluding Jews from the Nazi “New Europe” – and the belief that they were jointly endangered by their common enemies of “plutocracy” and “Bolshevism,” both of which were regarded as “Jewish” and “international.” The subject of Johannes Koll’s chapter, Arthur Seyss-Inquart, shared these views. Taking Seyss-Inquart as an example, Koll reconstructs the development of such ideas in *völkisch* German nationalism in right-wing political circles in Austria. He also discusses the relevance of these visions for the German occupation policies that Seyss-Inquart helped to shape in his capacity as deputy general governor in Poland and reich commissioner in the Netherlands. In Koll’s view, the Nazis’ discourse on Europe was intended to legitimize and idealize German rule over the continent and to conceal its brutality. Dafinger, meanwhile, places greater emphasis on grounding the Nazi visions of Europe in the context of the Nazis’ broader ideology and European policy.

The subsequent chapters turn towards the contribution made by actors outside Germany to visions of Europe within the National Socialist sphere of influence and to their reaction to the German visions. Tim Kirk’s chapter constitutes the first comprehensive overview of the various responses to German plans for a New

European Order and the associated German propaganda abroad. Kirk emphasizes that the European conservatives and fascists who collaborated with the Nazis had their own plans and visions for the continent's future. In the Nazis' new nationalist Europe, they saw an opportunity for their agendas, yet over the course of time were often disappointed with how the "New Order" developed. Their proposals, moreover, were rarely taken seriously by the German leadership. Kirk also argues that debates about the "new order" were usually limited to a narrow elite, the most active among them being members of a right-wing intelligentsia. As far as can be observed on the basis of the available sources, the general public in Western Europe showed little sympathy for Nazi Germany and Nazi propaganda from the outset. In East-Central and Southeastern Europe, however, some sections of the population welcomed the Nazi "New Europe." As is evident from the Hungarian newspaper *Donaueuropa*, the dialogue between German Nazis and local elites made the ideas and principles of the Nazi "New Europe" increasingly "normal."

The chapters by Marició Janué i Miret and Cláudia Ninhos focus on the Spanish and Portuguese stance towards the Nazi "New Europe." With its doctrine of the "*Raza de la Hispanidad*" (Hispanic race), Spain's fascist party, the Falange, had incorporated ideas into their ideology that had the potential to conflict with the Nazi vision of Europe. Janué i Miret's contribution focuses on this doctrine, which started to be developed from around 1892, following the 400-year anniversary celebrations of Columbus's "discovery" of America. Over the course of time, "*Hispanidad*" stood for various different justifications of the spiritual or cultural unity of Spain with its former colonies in Latin America. From the middle of the 1930s, fascist intellectuals began to place special emphasis on the importance of Spain as an imperial power for the cohesiveness of the "*Hispanidad*" community. For our purposes it is especially important that they also assigned Spain a leading role within Europe. Indeed, alongside Germany and Italy, they saw Spain as one of the three leading European powers. This would seem to call into question the German claim to European leadership, yet the potential rivalry it implied never became manifest. On the contrary, Spain's own racial theory – though not grounded in biological reasoning – was compatible with the general consensus on how societies should be structured in the "New Order."

In a similar vein, we can observe a number of preconditions for, and obstacles to, the integration of António de Oliveira Salazar's Portugal into the Nazi "New Order." The Portuguese dictator was aware that Nazi Germany's policies and its rising power posed a threat to the sovereignty and independence of other European nations, and was convinced the Nazis would use their position to dominate Europe. In her chapter, Ninhos analyzes a report, sent to Salazar by the Portuguese diplomat in Berlin, Pedro Tovar de Lemos, on the Nazis' plans for a "New Order" in Europe. The report mentions a number of other differences between German and Portuguese political objectives where the role of the churches, political parties, and not least the Jewish population are concerned. At the same time, Tovar and Salazar noted that the Portuguese government could agree with many principles of the Nazi "New Order." In particular, this New Order was seen as an ultra-nationalist "third way" between parliamentary and capitalist liberalism on the one

hand and Marxist socialism on the other, and this appealed to Europe's fascist and authoritarian leaders. As Ninhos shows, the "radical right" therefore "emerged as the standard bearers of a 'New Order.'"71

The second section of the volume is devoted to contacts, cooperation, and exchange between Nazi Germany and other European countries in the fields of science, academia, and culture. The chapters in this section show that a new nationalist order was already poised to emerge in Nazi-dominated Europe, but with different implications for different regions or countries. Maria Zarifi's chapter offers an insight into the various cultural activities initiated by German institutions with the aim of fostering good relations with Greece. Her main focus, however, is on the initiatives undertaken by German scholars in order to conduct scientific, and more specifically agricultural, research in Greece. German botanical expeditions and the founding of German research institutes in Greece nonetheless only received limited support from Greek scholars. Most were unwilling to cooperate with their German colleagues. Zarifi therefore concludes that, in the Nazi "New Order," Greece amounted to no more than a region in which the Nazis exercised their *Großraumpolitik*.

In his contribution, Ian Innerhofer analyzes debates among German and South-eastern European experts on the concept of overpopulation. Their highly questionable Malthusian approach, which claimed that, since "backward" agrarian societies had higher population levels in rural areas than were necessary for agricultural production, they were overpopulated, enjoyed some popularity in scholarly discourse in the 1930s, and not only in Germany. Innerhofer demonstrates the close ties between German and Southeast European economists up to 1944, which were strengthened through some of the latter having studied in Germany. They all shared the overpopulation paradigm, though from different motives. While the German experts favored agricultural intensification and the transfer of "superfluous" workers to the Reich, the Southeast European actors preferred industrialization as a way out of the "overpopulation trap." Both sides shared *völkisch* interpretations of overpopulation and all supported "ethnic consolidation" through demographic changes that disadvantaged or threatened minorities.

Holger Impehoven, meanwhile, discusses how German institutions provided foreign students with scholarships to study in Germany, even during the Second World War. Half of these scholarships were given to foreign students from South-eastern Europe. This reflected the German geopolitical tradition of thinking of the region as a German "hinterland." The recruitment of local elites from South European countries was intended to secure future German dominance in the region. Impehoven argues, however, that this approach was neither new nor specifically driven by *völkisch* ideas. It rather followed patterns of cultural diplomacy found among many great powers. In the occupied Baltic States and Northwestern and Northern Europe, Germany used the same instrument of awarding scholarships to foreign students, yet for a different purpose. Their aim was to effect an "ethnic transformation" in these regions. Certain students were selected from these Baltic States who were regarded as "suitable to merge into the German people."⁷² Through their stays in Germany, students from Northwestern Europe were to

be reminded of the fact that they belonged to the “Germanic” peoples. Impekenoven interprets these efforts as explicit attempts to contribute to the creation of a racially defined “New Europe.” Furthermore, many students who applied for the German scholarships shared this vision and saw themselves as part of the future elite of the “New Europe.” Such a positive attitude towards the Nazi “New Order” nonetheless had to be predicated on the belief that this order would last. When the fortunes of war shifted and a German defeat became likely, the Nazi model of Europe thus lost much of its attractiveness.

The exchange and co-production of films between Germany and Italy and between Germany and Japan are the subjects of Silvia Hofheinz’s contribution. An attempt to reorganize the exchange and production of films at the European level was made through the founding of the International Film Chamber (*Internationale Filmkammer*) in 1935 (and its subsequent revitalization following a period of decreased activity), which Goebbels hoped would make Europe’s film industries capable of competing with the United States, via the pooling of resources and know-how. The International Film Festival in Venice (the Biennale) was seen as the place where a new European unity, “in the spirit of the New European Order,”⁷³ would be demonstrated in public.

Plans for intertwining national institutions at the European level are also the topic of Felicitas Seebacher’s contribution. Seebacher demonstrates that, in the early 1940s, the presidents of the German (which also included the former Austrian) Academies of Sciences attempted to assume the leadership of the Union Académique Internationale, a union of academies for the humanities. They assumed that it was inevitable and justified that German scholars would play a leading role in Europe’s future academic world. Their plans were not put into practice before the Second World War came to an end.

The third section of the volume explores various visions of a Europe-wide economic order in the National Socialist sphere of influence. Special attention is given to conceptions of a Greater Economic Area (*Großraumwirtschaft*) that would be dominated by Germany.

Markus Wien’s chapter argues that the Central European Economic Conference (*Mitteleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag*, MWT) did not regard itself as an executive body of the Nazi regime’s expansionist foreign policy. Seeking rather to construct a German-dominated Greater Economic Area in Southeast Europe, it understood itself as an advocate of German economic interests. In cooperation with German research institutes such as the *Südostinstitut* in Munich or the *Institut für Mittel- und Südosteuropäische Wirtschaftsforschung in Leipzig*, the MWT developed economic concepts centered around notions of *Volkstum* (national culture).

Raimund Bauer’s contribution, meanwhile, focuses on a later period and penetratingly illuminates the dynamic of the German discourse on the “new economic order” in Europe during the Second World War. Under the influence of the war effort itself, Germany’s war aims (along with their communication) changed decisively over the course of time. Bauer identifies three distinct phases. After the Wehrmacht’s initial victories, Nazi officials and German economic experts pushed for the establishment of a *Großraumwirtschaft* stretching from Northern

to Southeastern Europe. This, they assumed, would create an almost autarkic Europe under German hegemony, and should serve German interests first of all. During this first phase, the short-term needs of the war economy were overshadowed by long-term objectives. With Germany's attack on the Soviet Union (and the onset of the second phase), the question arose of how the conquered territories were to be integrated into the future economic order. They were not seen as part of the projected *Großraum*, but as areas designated for colonial exploitation. There were nonetheless also voices highlighting the need to win the support of at least part of the population – the Ukrainians, for example, who for Alfred Rosenberg belonged to the “European family of peoples.” Following the German defeat at Stalingrad, the exigencies of the war then came to play a much bigger role in the third phase. The “New Europe” was now referred to as “an existing community, its common culture and shared fate,”⁷⁴ which was facing an existential threat in the form of Bolshevism. All talk of colonization had to stop, since it would only drive people in Eastern Europe into the arms of the enemy. At stake here was not only a change of rhetoric, but some actors also demanded a change in the Nazi occupation policy in Eastern Europe.

On the one hand, Bauer contends that this evolution could be interpreted as a tactical change that “at least temporarily . . . sacrificed core National Socialist principles for the sake of military victory.”⁷⁵ On the other hand, however, Bauer offers another, more complex explanation: The fact that short-term war necessities required a reformulation of what was understood by “New Europe” served to aid those groups within the Nazi camp that even before Stalingrad tended towards a “pragmatic” and “*völkisch*” vision of Europe. They now had an additional argument on their side which “made them immune to critique.”⁷⁶ Ultimately, then, this supports the previously mentioned thesis that National Socialism was an “ideological field” – or as Bauer suggests, “that the National Socialist system rested on different ideological pillars.”⁷⁷ In our view, the *völkisch* visions of Europe were also National Socialist visions. At least in the last of the three phases distinguished by Bauer, these *völkisch* visions gained significant support within Germany, whether for ideological or tactical reasons. Furthermore, they had the best potential to build consensus among non-German Europeans.

The fourth section of the volume focuses on international cooperation between anti-Jewish scholars and on joint German-Italian practices of persecuting political enemies, Jewish citizens, and Sinti and Roma – practices that their perpetrators sought to justify via racial theories.

Despite being strict nationalists, anti-Jewish scholars in Nazi Germany engaged in international cooperation because they felt the need to tackle the international “Jewish question” through an international approach (i.e., by Europeanizing anti-Semitic research). Dirk Rupnow's chapter offers an overview of these international research activities. Important centers for anti-Jewish scholarship included the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question (*Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage*) in Frankfurt and Munich's Research Department on the Jewish Question at the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany (*Forschungsabteilung Judenfrage des Reichsinstituts für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands*). With the

support of Alfred Rosenberg, the Propaganda Ministry, and other ministries and party agencies, international anti-Jewish congresses and meetings were organized. Rupnow also shows how these activities were closely tied to anti-Jewish propaganda campaigns conducted abroad by the Foreign Office.

Patrick Bernhard demonstrates that the German-Italian Axis had a racist ideological foundation, which formed the basis for joint practices seeking to “purify” Europe from “racial” and political enemies. The chapter first explores the German Nazis’ fascination with Mussolini’s policy of social cleansing and imperialistic expansion in the 1920s and early 1930s. It then addresses the ongoing ideological rapprochement between Germany and Italy in the wake of the proclamation of the Axis in 1936, focusing on the shared notion of a Jewish-Bolshevik world conspiracy and the way in which Fascist Italy’s imperial aggression in Africa inspired the Nazis. Finally, it analyzes German-Italian cooperation in concrete persecutory practices. Bernhard focuses here on collaboration between German and Italian police against political enemies, Jewish citizens, and Sinti and Roma. What emerges through this process of exchange and collaboration is a blueprint for a fascist and National Socialist Europe.

Notes

- 1 Note by Martin Luther (Foreign Office) for a report to Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, September 17, 1942, printed in Hans Werner Neulen, *Europa und das 3. Reich: Einigungsbestrebungen im deutschen Machtbereich 1939–45* (Munich: Universitas, 1987), 104 (doc. 8). Luther quotes from a report by Gerhard Todenhöfer (German Foreign Office) about a Ministerial Conference on 16 September 1942. Cf. Michael Buddrus, *Totale Erziehung für den totalen Krieg: Hitlerjugend und nationalsozialistische Jugendpolitik* (Munich: Saur, 2003), 2: 797. All translations from the German are ours.
- 2 Willi A. Boelcke, “*Wollt ihr den totalen Krieg?*” *Die geheimen Goebbels-Konferenzen 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1967), 283. Cf. Buddrus, *Erziehung*, 797, n. 273.
- 3 “Europäische Jugendorganisation,” *Zeitschriften-Dienst*, no. 176/45, September 18, 1942, section 7560.
- 4 Ibid. On the European Youth Federation see also Christoph Kühberger, “Europa als ‘Strahlenbündel nationaler Kräfte’: Zur Konzeption und Legitimation einer europäischen Zusammenarbeit auf der Gründungsfeierlichkeit des ‘Europäischen Jugendverbandes’ 1942,” *Journal of European Integration History* 15, no. 2 (2009); Jürgen Reulecke, “‘Baldurs Kinderfest’ oder: Die Gründung des Europäischen Jugendverbandes in Wien am 14.09.1942,” in *Geschichte als Last und Chance: Festschrift für Bernd Faulenbach*, ed. Franz-Josef Jelich and Stefan Goch (Essen: Klartext, 2003). Pictures from the “Gauhaus” during the congress with depictions of “Europa and the bull” in Wolfgang Schmale, *Geschichte Europas* (Vienna, Colone and Weimar: Böhlau, 2001), 120, 126.
- 5 *Europa ist mehr als ein Kontinent: Ansprache des Reichsleiters Baldur von Schirach in der Stunde der Begründung des Europäischen Jugendverbandes in Wien am 15. September 1942* (n.p., n.d. [1942]), 10. The publication included also an Italian and a Spanish translation of the speech.
- 6 Ibid., 10.
- 7 Ibid., 5.

- 8 Hans-Jürgen Schröder, "Südosteuropa als 'Informal Empire' Deutschlands 1933–1939: Das Beispiel Jugoslawien," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 23 (1975).
- 9 Tatjana Tönsmeier, *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei 1939–1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003).
- 10 Efforts at synthesis: Czesław Madajczyk, *Faszyzm i okupacje 1938–1945: Wykonywanie okupacji przez państwa Osi w Europie*, 2 vols. (Poznań: Wyd. Poznańskie, 1983/84); *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, ed. The Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, vol. 5/1, 5/2 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1988/1999); Werner Röhr, ed., *Europa unterm Hakenkreuz: Analysen, Quellen, Register* (Heidelberg: Hüthig, 1996); Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008).
- 11 Akira Iriye, "Culture and International History," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, ed. M. J. Hogan and T. G. Paterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Frank Ninkovich, "Culture, Power, and Civilization: The Place of Culture in the Study of International Relations," in *On Cultural Grounds. Essays in International History*, ed. Robert David Johnson (Chicago: Imprint Publication, 1994).
- 12 Cf. for instance Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht, "Introduction – On the Division of Knowledge and the Community of Thought: Culture and International History," in *Culture and International History*, ed. Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2003), 5.
- 13 For a summary of recent reflections on the place of the nation-state in transnational histories, see Jessica Reinisch, "Introduction: Agents of Internationalism," *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 2 (2016): 199.
- 14 The history of this process in Germany in the twentieth century is excellently summed up by Frank Trommler, *Kulturmacht ohne Kompass: Deutsche auswärtige Kulturbeziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2014). On the theory of cultural diplomacy see Patrick Schreiner, *Außenkulturpolitik: Internationale Beziehungen und kultureller Austausch* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2011).
- 15 See Eckard Michels, *Von der Deutschen Akademie zum Goethe-Institut: Sprach- und auswärtige Kulturpolitik 1923–1960* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005).
- 16 See Jürgen Kloosterhuis, "Friedliche Imperialisten": *Deutsche Auslandsvereine und auswärtige Kulturpolitik, 1906–1918*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Lang, 1994).
- 17 See Holger Impekoven, *Die Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung und das Ausländerstudium in Deutschland 1925–1945: Von der "geräuschlosen Propaganda" zur Ausbildung der "geistigen Wehr" des "Neuen Europa"* (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2013).
- 18 See Frank-Rutger Hausmann, "Auch im Krieg schweigen die Musen nicht": *Die Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Institute im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002).
- 19 Ursula Lehmkuhl, "Diplomatiegeschichte als internationale Kulturgeschichte: Theoretische Ansätze und empirische Forschung zwischen Historischer Kulturwissenschaft und Soziologischem Institutionalismus," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27, no. 3 (2001): 411.
- 20 On this and the following, cf. Philip Morgan, *Fascism in Europe, 1919–1945* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 159–189 (chapter "Fascist internationalism").
- 21 Arnd Bauerkämper, "Transnational Fascism: Cross-Border Relations between Regimes and Movements in Europe, 1922–1939," *East Central Europe* 37 (2010): 215; cf. also Arnd Bauerkämper, "Ambiguities of Transnationalism: Fascism in Europe between Pan-Europeanism and Ultra-Nationalism, 1919–39," *German Historical Institute Bulletin* 29, no. 2 (2007): 45; Arnd Bauerkämper, "Interwar Fascism in Europe and Beyond: Toward a Transnational Radical Right," in *New Perspectives on the Transnational Right*, ed. Martin Durham and Margaret Power (Basingstoke/Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 40 (both with reference to opposing views

- in historiography). For general reflections on the specifics of transnational connections of the political Right, see Martin Durham and Margaret Power, "Introduction," in *New Perspectives on the Transnational Right*, ed. Martin Durham and Margaret Power (Basingstoke/Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- 22 *Journal of Contemporary History* 51, no. 1 (2016) (special issue "The Dark Side of Transnationalism"), esp. Kiran Klaus Patel and Sven Reichardt, "The Dark Side of Transnationalism: Social Engineering and Nazism, 1930s–40s"; *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 2 (2016) (special issue "Agents of Internationalism"), esp. Reinisch, "Introduction," 198, and Ana Antic, Johanna Conterio and Dora Vargha, "Conclusion: Beyond Liberal Internationalism."
 - 23 Bruno Thoß, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis 1919–1923: München als Zentrum der mitteleuropäischen Gegenrevolution zwischen Revolution und Hitler-Putsch* (Munich: Wölfle, 1978), 396–399.
 - 24 Bauerkämper, "Interwar Fascism," 45.
 - 25 Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Nationalsozialistische Außenpolitik 1933–1938* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Metzner 1968), 81–83.
 - 26 Marco Cuzzi, *L'internazionale delle camicie nere. I CAUR, Comitati d'azione per l'universalità di Roma, 1933–1939* (Milano: Mursia, 2005); Michael Arthur Ledeen, *Universal Fascism: The Theory and Practice of the Fascist International, 1928–1936* (Howard Fertig: New York, 1972), 104–132, 148.
 - 27 Arnd Bauerkämper, *Der Faschismus in Europa 1918–1945* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2006), 166–175.
 - 28 Cf. Martin Blinkhorn, *Fascism and the Right in Europe, 1919–1945* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), 88–93.
 - 29 Instead of many, see Hans Manfred Bock, Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus and Michel Trebitsch, eds., *Entre Locarno et Vichy: Les relations franco-allemandes dans les années 1930*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993). For occupied Paris, see for example Eckard Michels, *Das Deutsche Institut in Paris 1940–1944: Ein Beitrag zu den deutsch-französischen Kulturbeziehungen und zur auswärtigen Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993); Kathrin Engel, *Deutsche Kulturpolitik im besetzten Paris 1940–1944: Film und Theater* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003).
 - 30 Andrea Hoffend, *Zwischen Kultur-Achse und Kulturkampf: Die Beziehungen zwischen "Drittem Reich" und faschistischem Italien in den Bereichen Medien, Kunst, Wissenschaft und Rassenfragen* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Lang, 1998).
 - 31 Maria Zarifi, *Science, Culture and Politics: Germany's Cultural Policy and Scientific Relations with Greece 1933–1945* (Saarbrücken: VDM, 2010); Fedra Koutsoukou, *Die deutsche Kulturpolitik in Griechenland in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (1933–1944)* (Berlin: Metropol, 2008).
 - 32 Karina Pryt, *Befohlene Freundschaft: Die deutsch-polnischen Kulturbeziehungen 1934–1939* (Osnabrück: fibre, 2010).
 - 33 Hans-Joachim Bieber, *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945* (Munich: Iudicium, 2014).
 - 34 Jan-Pieter Barbian, "'Kulturwerte im Zweikampf': Die Kulturabkommen des 'Dritten Reiches' als Instrumente nationalsozialistischer Außenpolitik," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 74, no. 2 (1992).
 - 35 Frank-Rutger Hausmann, *"Vom Strudel der Ereignisse verschlungen": Deutsche Romanistik im "Dritten Reich"* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2000).
 - 36 Frank-Rutger Hausmann, *"Dichte, Dichter, tage nicht!" Die Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung in Weimar 1941–1948* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004). Cf. also Benjamin George Martin, "'European Literature' in the Nazi New Order: The Cultural Politics of the European Writers' Union, 1941–3," *Journal of Contemporary History* 48, no. 3 (2013).
 - 37 Hausmann, *Krieg*.

- 38 Michels, *Akademie*; Dirk Scholten, *Sprachverbreitungspolitik des nationalsozialistischen Deutschlands* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Lang, 2000).
- 39 Impekoven, *Humboldt-Stiftung*; Dieter Hoffmann and Mark Walker, eds., “*Fremde*” *Wissenschaftler im Dritten Reich: Die Debye-Affäre im Kontext* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011); Madeleine Herren, “‘Outwardly . . . an Innocuous Conference Authority’: National Socialism and the Logistics of International Information Management,” *German History* 20, no. 1 (2002). Fernando Clara and Cláudia Ninhos, eds., *Nazi Germany and Southern Europe, 1933–45: Science, Culture and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- 40 Hans Joachim Teichler, *Internationale Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Schorndorf: Hoffmann, 1991).
- 41 Trommler, *Kulturmacht*, 419–567.
- 42 See for example Paul Michael Lützeler, *Die Schriftsteller und Europa: Von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1992), 365–401, esp. 369, 379, and 393.
- 43 Robert Edwin Herzstein, *When Nazi Dreams Come True: The Third Reich’s Internal Struggle over the Future of Europe after a German Victory – A Look at the Nazi Mentality 1939–45* (London: ABACUS, 1982); Michael Salewski, “Ideas of the National Socialist Government and Party,” in *Documents on the History of European Integration. Vol 1: Continental Plans for European Union 1939–1945*, ed. Walter Lippgens (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1985); Jörg K. Hoensch, “Nationalsozialistische Europapläne im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Versuch einer Synthese,” in *Mitteleuropa-Konzeptionen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Richard G. Plaschka et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995).
- 44 Worth mentioning because of carefully collected primary sources – even if the interpretation is not convincing – is Neulen, *Europa*. Neulen separates the Nazi regime, which in his opinion was not fascist, from these discourses; the regime had been “hostile to Europe,” he claims. Hans Werner Neulen, “Einführung,” in Neulen, *Europa*, 21 et seqq.
- 45 John Laughland, *The Tainted Source: The Undemocratic Origins of the European Idea* (London: Little, Brown & Company, 1997).
- 46 Peter M. R. Stirk, “Authoritarian and National Socialist Conceptions of Nation, State and Europe,” in *European Unity in Context: The Interwar Period*, ed. Peter M. R. Stirk (London and New York: Pinter, 1989), 125.
- 47 See the introduction of the editor and the documents in Walter Lippgens, ed., *Europa-Föderationspläne der Widerstandsbewegungen 1940–1945: Eine Dokumentation* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1968); Stephanie Seul, “Europa im Wettstreit der Propagandisten: Entwürfe für ein besseres Nachkriegseuropa in der britischen Deutschlandpropaganda als Antwort auf Hitlers ‘Neuordnung Europas’ 1940–1941,” *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 8 (2006).
- 48 “German Economy and the War: Nazi Plan of Trade Domination in Europe,” *The Times*, 7.3.1941, 5, quoted from Florian Greiner, *Wege nach Europa: Deutungen eines imaginierten Kontinents in deutschen, britischen und amerikanischen Printmedien, 1914–1945* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014), 208.
- 49 Jürgen Elvert, *Mitteleuropa! Deutsche Pläne zur europäischen Neuordnung (1918–1945)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 309–386.
- 50 Carl Freytag, *Deutschlands “Drang nach Südosten”: Der Mitteleuropäische Wirtschaftstag und der “Ergänzungsraum Südosteuropa” 1931–1945* (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2012); Birgit Kletzin, *Europa aus Rasse und Raum: Die nationalsozialistische Idee der Neuen Ordnung*, 2nd ed. (Münster: LIT, 2002), 168–209.
- 51 Elvert, *Mitteleuropa!*, 219–307; Jürgen Elvert, “The ‘New European Order’ of National Socialism: Some Remarks on its Sources, Genesis and Nature,” in *Anti-liberal Europe: A Neglected Story of Europeanization*, ed. Dieter Gosewinkel (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2015).

- 52 Kurt Pätzold, "Antikommunismus und Antibolschewismus als Instrumente der Kriegsvorbereitung und Kriegspolitik," in *Der nationalsozialistische Krieg*, ed. Norbert Frei and Hermann Kling (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus, 1990).
- 53 Stirk, "Conceptions," 135.
- 54 Iris Schröder, "Europa im Zeichen des Hakenkreuzes: Historiographische Perspektiven im Wandel – Ein Kommentar," *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History*, Online Edition 9, no. 3 (2012), URL: www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/3-2012/id=4696, 2. In a similar vein, Arnd Bauerkämper has claimed that "fascist Europeanism cannot easily be dismissed as a mere propaganda maneuver." Bauerkämper, "Ambiguities," 44. Cf. also Antic, Conterio and Vargha, "Conclusion," 369–371 and David Brydan, "Axis Internationalism: Spanish Health Experts and the Nazi 'New Europe', 1939–1945," *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 2 (2016): 293–294.
- 55 Greiner, *Wege*, 197–203.
- 56 But see especially Kletzwin, *Europa*; Robert Grunert, *Der Europagedanke westeuropäischer faschistischer Bewegungen 1940–1945* (Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2012); Monica Fioravanzo, "Die Europakonzeptionen von Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus (1939–1943)," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 58, no. 4 (2010); Benjamin Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture* (Cambridge/MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2016); Bernard Bruneteau, "*L'Europe nouvelle*" de Hitler: *Une illusion des intellectuels de la France de Vichy* (Monaco: Édition du Rocher, 2003); Greiner, *Wege*; Mark Mazower, "National Socialism and the Search for International Order," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute Washington D.C.* 50 (Spring 2012); Mazower, *Empire*, 553–575. On the "ambivalent and even ambiguous nature of ideas, concepts and ideologies of European unity," cf. also Bauerkämper, "Interwar Fascism," 57.
- 57 See Riccardo Bavaj, *Die Ambivalenz der Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Eine Bilanz der Forschung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003).
- 58 On the German origins, see Uwe Puschner, *Die völkische Bewegung im wilhelminischen Kaiserreich: Sprache – Rasse – Religion* (Darmstadt: WBG 2001).
- 59 Lutz Raphael, "Pluralities of National Socialist Ideology; New Perspectives on the Production and Diffusion of National Socialist *Weltanschauung*," in *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives*, ed. Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 76.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 78.
- 61 In German: *Weltanschauungsfeld*.
- 62 Raphael, "Pluralities," 79.
- 63 Ferenc Laczó used the phrase in his presentation "Indigenous Roots and Transnational Embeddedness: On the Upsurge of Hungarian anti-Semitism, 1938–1941" at the conference "Right-Wing Politics and the Rise of Antisemitism in Europe 1935–1941" in Munich, February 18–20, 2016, which will be published as an article in 2018.
- 64 Raphael, "Pluralities," 78.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 76 with regard to National Socialism.
- 68 Rüdiger Hachtmann, "Social Spaces of the Nazi Volksgemeinschaft in the Making: Functional Elites and Club Networking," in *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives*, ed. Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 202.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 209.
- 70 Christoph Kleßmann, *Die Selbstbehauptung einer Nation: Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik und polnische Widerstandsbewegung im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann, 1971); Tomasz Głowiński, *O nowy porządek europejski: Ewolucja hitlerowskiej propagandy politycznej wobec Polaków w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000).
- 71 Cláudia Ninhos in this volume, 128.

- 72 Quoted in Holger Impeken in this volume, 180.
 73 Eitel Monaco, quoted in Silvia Hofheinz in this volume, 196.
 74 Raimund Bauer in this volume, 243.
 75 Ibid., 246.
 76 Ibid., 248.
 77 Ibid., 247, but with other word order there.

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Volksgruppen Rights versus Minorities Protections

BArch Berlin: Federal Archives Berlin (Bundesarchiv Berlin), Berlin.

BArch Koblenz: Federal Archives Koblenz (Bundesarchiv Koblenz), Koblenz.

PA AA: Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswrigen Amts), Berlin.

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BArch Koblenz: Federal Archives Koblenz (Bundesarchiv Koblenz), Koblenz.

IFZ Munich: Archives of the Institute of Contemporary History (Archiv des Instituts fr Zeitgeschichte), Munich.

NIOD: Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies (Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies), Amsterdam.

SOkA Olomouc: State District Archive (Sttn okresn archiv), Olomouc.

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CDJC: Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine), Paris.

ISG Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Frankfurt (Institut fr Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main), Frankfurt am Main.

PA AA: Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (Politisches Archv des Auswrtigen Amts), Berlin.

USHMM: Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.

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ACS: Central State Archive (Archivio Centrale dello Stato), Rome.

AMPG: Archive of the Max Planck Society (Archiv der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft), Berlin.

Archives of Interpol (Archives dInterpol), Lyon.

ASMAE: Historical Archive of the Italian Foreign Ministry (Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri), Rome.

BArch Berlin: Federal Archives Berlin (Bundesarchiv Berlin), Berlin.

BArch Abt. MA Freiburg: Federal Archives, Departement Military Archives Freiburg (Bundesarchiv, Abteilung Militrarchiv Freiburg), Freiburg.

BayHStA: Bavarian Main State Archives (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv), Munich.

NA: National Archives (Nrodn archiv), Prague.

PA AA: Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswrtigen Amts), Berlin.

TNA: The National Archives, Kew/London.

YV Archives: Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem.

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