Chapter in edited volume

Documenting *Heimkehr*: Photography, Displacement and 'Homecoming' in the Nazi Resettlement of the Ethnic Germans, 1939–1940, in: Jennifer Evans, Paul Betts and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (eds), *The Ethics of Seeing: Photography and Twentieth-Century German History*, 79-107

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Elizabeth Harvey

[Insert Fig 4.1 here]

Fig. 4.1 'Latvian Germans being filmed by *Wochenschau* (newsreel) cameraman boarding bus in courtyard of premises of Frauenbund in Riga, c. November 1939'. Photographer: Alexander Frankenstein. Archive of the Carl-Schirren-Gesellschaft, Lüneburg.

]fl[The group of men and women dressed in winter clothes, carrying suitcases and waiting to board a bus parked in a courtyard do not present an obviously noteworthy spectacle. But our attention is caught by the cameraman in the foreground: something significant is clearly being filmed, and this act of recording has itself been captured by a photographer. According to the caption provided for the photograph, now held in the archive of a Baltic German cultural association, the image shows a newsreel cameraman from Germany filming in the courtyard of the building of the German Women's League (Frauenbund) in Riga, where Latvian Germans about to be resettled to the Reich gathered to board a bus taking them to the harbour. The photographer, Alexander Frankenstein, had published before 1939 in the *Rigasche Rundschau*, and his work had included documenting the activities of increasingly Nazi-oriented Baltic German youth groups.[1]

Frankenstein's photograph is one example of the efforts to create a photographic record of the mass transfers of ethnic Germans from eastern and south-eastern Europe to the Reich from October 1939 onwards, under the aegis of Himmler as 'Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom' (Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums, or RKF). The bulk of this documentation covered three waves of supposed 'homecoming' (*Heimkehr*) in particular: the Baltic Germans from Latvia and Estonia between October and December 1939; the Volhynian, Galician and Narev district Germans from Soviet-occupied eastern Poland between December 1939 and February 1940; and the Bessarabian, Bukovina and Dobrudja Germans from Romania between September and December 1940 (of the Romanian territories from which Germans were transferred, Bessarabia and northern Bukovina had been annexed by the Soviet Union at the end of June 1940).[2] The first two of these transfers were improvised at speed following the Nazi–Soviet pact and attack on Poland. Up until 1939, the German Reich had regarded areas of German settlement in eastern and south-eastern Europe as outposts of 'Germandom' and sources of potential leverage in foreign policy. Now, Hitler declared in a speech to the Reichstag on 6 October 1939 that eastern and south-eastern Europe were 'full of unsustainable fragments of German ethnicity' ('mit nichthaltbaren Splittern des deutschen Volkstums gefüllt'), who were to be resettled to achieve a 'reordering of ethnic conditions'.[3]

As early as the 1940s and 1950s, studies of the resettlement programme highlighted the way in which the resettlers were a manoeuvrable mass of human material, uprooted, screened and then selected or rejected as potential colonizers for the conquered territories.[4] More recent studies have located the resettlement programme within the wider context of racist population restructuring in Nazi-occupied Europe, in which native non-Germans were displaced, expropriated, deported, exploited as forced labour, and murdered.[5] As the resettlers arrived in successive waves, planners and occupation authorities were under pressure to

screen and select them, and to seize space and resources to accommodate them.[6] By the end of 1942, nearly 630,000 ethnic Germans had been transferred to the Reich from different areas of German-speaking settlement in eastern and south-eastern Europe; of these, around 60 per cent had been resettled, with the rest remaining in resettler camps as part of Nazi Germany's expanding 'camp society'.[7]

Other portrayals of resettlement have focused on the specific consequences for particular resettler groups. These have brought out the mixed motives as well as external pressures that underlay the decision by different minority groups to agree to resettlement, and the ambivalent role that resettlers ended up playing if settled as colonizers in occupied Poland.[8] While they felt discriminated against in comparison to 'Reich Germans', and while young male resettlers were pressured into joining the Waffen-SS, the different groups of resettled ethnic Germans became de facto beneficiaries, however reluctant, of the policies that plundered and persecuted Poles and Jews, and some were enthusiastic Nazi supporters and activists. This complex and ambivalent picture is something with which community organizations of former resettlers have come to grapple, even while other new findings – for instance the uncovering of evidence that sick and elderly resettlers became victims of euthanasia – have in turn reinforced a memory of victimization.[9]

In the research hitherto on resettlement, photographs feature mainly as illustrations, and are rarely commented on.[10] But the sheer quantity of photographs taken for official purposes alerts us to a phenomenon worth exploring in its own right. The official photographic record included images published at the time in newspapers, illustrated periodicals and picture volumes, along with texts and captions portraying the population transfers as a 'Heimkehr ins Reich' ('homecoming to the Reich') or, even more grandly, as a modern *Völkerwanderung* ('migration of peoples').[11] Other photographs were not immediately destined for publication but for the archive. Images of the resettlers in their

former homelands, on the move and in the process of resettlement in territories annexed by the Reich, above all in Poland, were acquired by Himmler's RKF agency and by the Deutsches Ausland-Institut (DAI) in Stuttgart, which was commissioned by Himmler to document the resettlement.[12] In light of this profusion of images, both published and stored, it is worth asking what made the taking of photographs such a vital part of the resettlement operation, and what it was about photography that might have rendered it such a compelling medium for National Socialists in their effort to control how contemporaries – including resettlers themselves – viewed the resettlement programme.

Here, it is worth briefly considering some wider issues relating to the interpretation of such visual documentation. The chapters in this volume share a concern with documentary photography (and/or with photographs as documents more generally) and with the nature of photographs as a record of radical transformations in recent German history. They probe the ways in which photographs, with their apparent 'raw' immediacy – their 'proximity effect'[13] – have a propensity to shock, stir or haunt the viewer. As such, these documentary photographs could and can be used as tools for political or moral ends: they may have been intended to induce in viewers at the time of their production and dissemination a response of empathy or engagement, and they may still trigger such responses in historians analysing them today. Historians may thus ponder an 'ethics of seeing' in the sense of formulating an appropriate ethical response to viewing certain photographs of past events from today's perspective. In the case of the official documentation of the Nazi resettlement programme, the viewer today faces several challenges. On the one hand, the photographs have to be analysed as a legitimation of dictatorial politics that masqueraded as care, support and welfare. The photographers' choices of subject matter, the clichés and compositional devices that constituted this manipulative visual communication have to be teased out. On the other hand, the viewer today can also consider the situation of the resettlers in front of the lens.

Using other sources, it is a major challenge to reconstruct the diverse and shifting responses of different groups of resettlers: their attitudes ranged from zealous and willing collaboration with Nazism to resigned or grumbling compliance with the regime's orders. In light of that, how appropriate or fruitful is it to try and decipher official photos as evidence of resettlers' responses to their uprooting at the time?

The photographic effort to capture the resettlement operation also needs to be seen in the wider context of photography during National Socialism. Photography was harnessed to the purposes of the regime in myriad ways, whether this entailed taking heroizing shots of Nazi leaders, staging and recording mass events and communal rituals, presenting military campaigns as a dramatic spectacle, producing reassuring images of timeless German landscapes or creating a taxonomy of human types designed to underpin messages about racial quality and inferiority.[14] But there may be more specific reasons why it was crucial for the agencies involved in resettlement to generate the right sort of photographs of the operation. Wilhelm Fielitz, in examining the media accounts of the resettlement of the Volhynian Germans, notes the portrayal of resettlement as a quasi-military operation or 'victory'.[15] He also finds a process of 'image management' at work in which sceptical or indifferent 'Reich Germans' were to be persuaded that the incoming resettlers were not only 'real' Germans (contrary to the impressions created by the unfamiliar speech or outlandish appearance of some resettler groups) but 'exemplary' Germans.[16] Fielitz's suggestions are a point of departure for exploring how official photographs of resettlement reflected the regime's response to the dual challenge of justifying the abandonment of historic areas of German settlement and 'selling' the resettlers to a possibly prejudiced public. At the same time, the images may also have been intended to reassure, motivate and flatter the Party faithful, who were called upon to realize the vision of an 'expanding *Volksgemeinschaft*' in wartime. In exploring photographs taken as part of the official record, it can be asked what

conventions and traditions – for instance, the striking or unusual 'human interest' images characteristic of the illustrated pictorial, or those of ethnographic, '*Heimat*' or 'racial' photography – may have influenced the photographers' choice of subject matter and the way they composed their images. But it is also important to explore how cameras magnified the power of the technocrats in charge, and how visual scrutiny was part of the apparatus of control over the settlers.[17]

If taking photographs was an indispensable part of the resettlement operations, the impressions they provided were slippery and prone to be read in contradictory ways. For all the 'authenticity effect' that makes photographs such vivid documents of past events, they can yield more than one meaning.[18] A published image of an elderly or traditionally clad resettler, or a nurse looking after small resettler children, might be read by contemporaries in different ways, even if captions and layouts were used to 'fix' the meaning for readers/viewers. How far such cross-cutting readings might have suggested themselves to those who looked at these images at the time is impossible to say, but in the following I highlight some of the jarring or ambiguous elements in photographs and photoreportages that are visible to an observer today. These include cases where a photograph contains odd or seemingly extraneous elements that confound a straightforward reading of its content, contradicts the caption attached to it, or jars with another juxtaposed image. This is not to suggest that there is a 'real' history to be uncovered from photographs through a process of unmasking, but to emphasize the possibility of alternative readings.

]ha[***Heimat,* Community, Race**

]fl[The official photographic record of resettlement had a number of strands. Professional and skilled amateur photographers who belonged to German minorities abroad and who before 1939 had been documenting 'German life' beyond the borders of the Reich found new

subject matter in the preparations for departure and the process of resettlement. Photographs by Wilhelm Holtfreter and Alexander Frankenstein from Riga appeared in an article series on the 'homecoming' of the Baltic Germans in the newspaper of the German Labour Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront or DAF) *Der Angriff* in November 1939 and in the illustrated volume *Der Führer ruft.*[19] Photos of resettlement taken by the Protestant church official Arthur Kräenbring from Tarutino in Bessarabia were collected by the DAI.[20] Other documentary photos were taken by members of the 'resettlement commandos' of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle. These included reserve policemen such as Hans Richter, who produced an illustrated souvenir volume celebrating his contribution to a series of different resettlement operations,[21] but also 'ethnographic experts' who had established themselves in the burgeoning organizations concerned with German '*Volkstum*' in the interwar period. They included the Austrian Lothar von Seltmann, head of the Vienna branch of the Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland (VDA), and Karl Stumpp, himself from Bessarabia but based since 1933 in Stuttgart as the head of the local branch of the VDA and then as head of a research unit on Russian Germans initiated jointly by the VDA and DAI.[22] With the switch in Nazi policy after August 1939 towards German minorities in areas within or bordering the Soviet sphere of influence, such *Volkstum* experts were now mobilized to secure 'their' Germans abroad as a transferable resource for the Reich.

Another important strand of the official photographic record was provided by press photographers and photojournalists, whose work appeared in newspapers and the illustrated press, in illustrated volumes (for instance, in the series 'Volksdeutsche Heimkehr'), and at exhibitions. Copies of their photographs, sometimes accompanied by draft captions indicating a prospective propaganda message and notes about where they were published, also fill the photo archive collections of the DAI and the RKF.[23] Many professional press photographers were by now working for the propaganda corps (Propaganda-Kompanien, or PK) of the

Wehrmacht or SS,[24] but women photojournalists, notably Liselotte Purper, also became involved in documenting resettlement. Purper travelled to Belgrade in October 1940 to document the transfer of the Bessarabian and Dobrudja Germans, and in particular the 'womanly work' involved in caring for the resettlers en route.[25]

Several themes recur in the photographs of resettlement that were published in newspapers, periodicals and illustrated volumes and that can also be found in the collections of the RKF and DAI. One is the (rural) homeland before departure: here, photographers drew on the genre of *Heimat* photography to show farmhouses and village life as indicators of the peasant identities of the resettled Germans from eastern Poland and from Romania. *Heimat* photographs with their captions could show how traditional customs prevailed even in the upheaval of departure: the DAI photo collection contains images from German villages in Bessarabia of the last washday, the last slaughter of a pig, the last service in the local church, and farewell ceremonies at graveyards. A second major theme of the official photographic record was the 'community on the move': the collective departures and journeys made by the resettlers and the progressive stages of their supposed integration into a widening community of Germans. Images of the moment of departure evoked Baltic German enthusiasm for Nazi Germany – for example, in a photo showing a number of passengers giving the Hitler salute on board a ship en route from Riga, and in one displaying the festive atmosphere of departure from Bukovina with an image of a young woman decorating a train carriage with flowers.[26] In November 1940, Liselotte Purper photographed Dobrudja German resettlers walking up the jetty at Cernavoda to embark on a ship travelling up the Danube to Belgrade bound for the transit camp at Semlin (Figure 4.2). According to the information accompanying the print in the DAI archive, the photo was shown at an exhibition organized by the Nazi women's organization, the NS-Frauenschaft, in Stuttgart in October 1941.

[Insert Fig 4.2 here]

Fig. 4.2 'Dobrudja German resettlers walking up the jetty at Cernavoda to embark on Danube ship bound for Belgrade and the transit camp at Semlin, November 1940'. Photographer: Liselotte Purper. Bundesarchiv Bild 137-071224.

]fl[Purper's photo is shot in sunlight against a backdrop of rural landscape: it includes resettlers with elements of traditional dress (in the figures at the front, the man's hat and the woman's headscarf), as well as the white registration labels that feature in many resettlement photos.[27] The upward movement of the procession ascending the jetty aligns with the smiling face of the woman in the foreground to signal a confident mood and willing departure.

Among the images of departures and journeys, one outstanding motif that caught the eye of photographers and picture editors was that of the wagon treks.[28] These featured in some of the resettlement operations, notably that of the Volhynian and Galician Germans from eastern Poland and that of the Bessarabian, Dobrudja and Bukovina Germans from Romania. For resettlers, the trek option had the straightforward purpose of allowing them to transport as much of their belongings as would fit on a wagon (for those who travelled by train, the baggage allowance was limited).[29] But for the purposes of resettlement documentation and published propaganda, the trek evoked much grander meanings associated with peoples in history setting out to new lands and frontiers.[30] If a single covered wagon with a family perched on top – as in the cover image from Hans Richter's *Heimkehrer* – could evoke pioneer individualism, a wagon train could suggest the 'organized migration of peoples' (*organisierte Völkerwanderung*), the synchronized movement of a community united in a quest for a better land.[31] Likewise, trek photographs conjured up the toughness of the Volhynian and Galician Germans in the face of subzero temperatures, as well as the resettlement commandos' mastery over space: the efficient dispatch and arrival of a trek

could be seen as applying lessons from the most recent military campaign, while anticipating the next. Seltmann's trek narrative emphasized moments of drama where he and his comrades came to the rescue of resettlers, less so the accidents and mortality associated with the treks from Volhynia and Galicia in midwinter: his photos of the trek correspondingly stressed the battle against the weather.[32]

Border-crossings at significant staging points were made into 'news' shots capturing the moment of transition from one world and epoch to another. One much-photographed scene showed Himmler at the end of January 1940 welcoming the final treks crossing the bridge at Przemysl from Soviet-occupied Poland into the General Government (Figure 4.3).[33]

[Insert Fig 4.3 here]

Fig. 4.3 'The Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police, Heinrich Himmler, greets homecomers on the bridge at Przemysl' (transl. of original caption), from Hans Richter, *Heimkehrer: Bildberichte von der Umsiedlung der Volksdeutschen aus Bessarabien, Rumänien, aus der Süd-Bukowina und aus Litauen* (Berlin: Eher,1941).

]fl[Photographs of this scene appeared in *Das Schwarze Korps*, in the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, in Hans Richter's *Heimkehrer*, and in the VDA picture calendar for 1941.[34] Another commonly photographed border-crossing was at the bridge over the Pruth river from Soviet-occupied Bessarabia into non-occupied Romania.[35] The image shown in Figure 4.4 was archived in the RKF photo collection and published in a 1942 illustrated volume in the 'Bücher der Heimkehr' series.[36]

[Insert Fig 4.4 here]

Fig. 4.4 Archive caption: 'Homecoming of the Bessarabian Germans: A resettler transport crosses the bridge over the Pruth, which forms the border between Russia and Romania' ('Heimkehr der Bessarabiendeutschen: Ein Umsiedler-Transport passiert die Brücke über den Pruth, der die Grenze zwischen Russland und Rumänien bildet'), 13 October 1940. Photographer: unknown. Bundesarchiv Bild 183-L09719.

]fl[Photographs taken in camps and collection points conveyed the sense of communities not only on the move but also being forged in new ways through the experience of resettlement. The enforced communal living, eating and sleeping on the decks of ships and in transit camps made the resettlers appear as a collective. This was a gift to photographers, who seized on the variety of 'human interest' in camp life to capture scenes that fitted the genre of photoreportage while suggesting the intensity of new encounters and relationships. The photos in Richter's *Heimkehrer* include several shots of uniformed members of the Order Police helping in the transit camp Semlin near Belgrade, carrying a laundry basket full of clean dishes, holding a baby and helping to feed small children. In a camp that presented itself as one big family, policemen could assume the guise of indulgent fathers. More typically, women were pictured as the 'helping hands' that demonstrated the German community spirit supposedly unleashed by the resettlement programme, and resettler mothers and children were the preferred motifs chosen to represent grateful recipients. Figure 4.5 shows two resettlers, presumably mother and daughter, probably Dobrudja Germans, being served food by a female helper, with two boys in the background looking into the camera: the archive record card notes that this was another photo to be used in the NS-Frauenschaft exhibition in Stuttgart in October 1941. Figure 4.6 shows a photo that was published in the DAI journal *Deutschtum im Ausland* at the end of 1940 showing a Bessarabian German mother and baby with a nurse.[37] The journal provided the caption, 'We leave the graves

behind but bring the cradles: A nurse's hands tend one of the youngest German resettlers from Bessarabia' ('Die Gräber lassen wir zurück, aber die Wiegen bringen wir mit: Schwesternhände betreuen einen der jüngsten deutschen Umsiedler aus Bessarabien').

[Insert Fig 4.5 here]

Fig. 4.5 'Female resettlers and helper'. Caption on archive record card: 'Verpflegung während der Fahrt' ('Food being served during the journey'), October/November 1940. Photographer: Liselotte Purper. Bundesarchiv Bild 137-071225.

[Insert Fig 4.6 here]

Fig. 4.6 'Bessarabian German mother with baby and nurse'; published in *Deutschtum im Ausland* 23(11/12), November/December 1940. Photographer: unknown. Bundesarchiv Bild 137-061927.

]fl[In these and similar images, resettlers are shown in the communal facilities of transit camps en route to the Reich, encountering helpers who served them food, handed out clothing and tended to their children. Such images emphasized the mobilization of a larger 'community of action' (*Volksgemeinschaft der Tat*) and the resources being poured into the welfare of the resettlers in the midst of war.[38]

A third motif in official resettlement photography was physiognomy as an indicator of the resettlers' resilience and 'racial' quality. Such photographs followed in a tradition of ethnographic photography from the interwar period, when academic ethnographers and (after 1933) racial biologists headed to areas of German settlement abroad to study the customs, environment, health, and physical features of 'Germandom' in eastern and south-eastern Europe.[39] Such projects sometimes included photographing farmhouses and the layout of

villages, but also the features of the people they encountered as part of the study of racial types.[40] Published portraits of resettlers mixed images of youth and age, with captions highlighting the resettlers' value as additions to the population of the Reich. Figure 4.7 shows a Volhynian grandfather and grandson: the striking features of the photo are the old man's white beard and bushy eyebrows, his traditional fur collar and cap, and his intense gaze (not into the camera). It was published in Lothar von Seltmann, *Tagebuch vom Treck der Wolhyniendeutschen*, and a virtually identical shot was published in the VDA-Bildkalender for 1941. Figure 4.8 is a portrait by Erich Märtz of Jochen Bippus, the son of the headmaster of the school in Tarutino in Bessarabia.

[Insert Fig 4.7 here]

Fig. 4.7 'Grandfather and grandson – returned home to the great Reich of their people' (trans. of original caption). From Lothar von Seltmann, *Tagebuch vom Treck der Wolhyniendeutschen* (Potsdam:Voggenreiter,1941).

[Insert Fig 4.8 here]

Fig. 4.8 'Portrait of Jochen Bippus from Tarutino in Bessarabia'. Index card information notes that photo was to be published in *Das Schwarze Korps*; typed caption on back noted that he was the son of a headmaster 'at the intellectual heart of the ethnic German colony, Pomeranian descent. A real German boy's face – a sign that the Bessarabian Germans have kept themselves racially completely pure and unmixed over four generations' ('Er ist der Sohn eines Direktors aus dem geistigen Mittelpunkt der volksdeutschen Kolonie, pommerscher Herkunft. Ein echtes deutsches Jungengesicht, ein Zeichen dafür, dass sich die Bessarabier rassisch ganz rein und unvermischt über die 4. Generation erhalten haben'). Photographer: Erich Märtz. Bundesarchiv R49 Bild-0406.

Such portraits could convey either the message that the incoming Germans were already visibly identical with the Germans in the Reich, or that the scattered islands of 'Germandom abroad' included people who appeared 'other' but were still capable of integration into the expanded '*Volksgemeinschaft*'. The photograph of the Volhynian grandfather is an example of the iconography of settlers as distinctive but 'authentic'; in the case of the portrait of Jochen Bippus, by contrast, the boy's features could have been slotted into any propaganda image of the Hitler Youth. Whether the photographer himself 'saw' in racist categories or not, it is clear from the caption added to the back of the photo that the boy's features were to be presented to readers of *Das Schwarze Korps* as evidence of 'racial quality'. A nearly identical portrait of Bippus from the same series was published as a group of four in *Das Schwarze Korps* in September 1940 in a feature entitled 'They have remained German' ('Sie sind deutsch geblieben'), with the caption: 'The face of the Bessarabian Germans has remained as purely German as their whole way of life' ('Das Gesicht der Bessarabiendeutschen ist so rein deutsch geblieben wir ihre ganze Art').[41]

The official photos documenting resettlement deployed established photographic genres and themes of *Heimat* photography, news photography, 'human interest' photos and 'racial' portraiture to support a narrative that attached familiar Nazi propaganda messages about homeland, community and 'blood' to novel and newsworthy stories of 'homecoming'. The repetition of these narratives in illustrated periodicals, calendars and picture volumes – first the Baltic Germans, then the Germans from eastern Poland, and then the Germans from Romania (other resettlements involving the South Tirol Germans and the Lithuanian Germans got less coverage) – tended to flatten out the differences between the individual episodes of resettlement. A pictorial feature in *Das Schwarze Korps* in January 1941 entitled 'Magnet Grossdeutschland' showed graphics of treks converging on the Reich, and close-up

portraits of resettlers with a caption explaining that 1940 would go down in history as the year of 'great treks', which brought nearly half a million ethnic Germans 'back to the Reich'. Photographs with their easily repeated, easily grasped motifs of confident faces and human columns in motion lent themselves to this homogenized vision of the Nazi reordering of 'blood' and 'space'. However, a closer look at some of these images and how they were used also reveals some potentially discordant messages.

]ha[**Mixed Messages?**

]fl[Photographs were chosen and captioned in order to underpin key propaganda messages about resettlement, but in some cases it seems unlikely that their effect would have been so straightforward. Resettlement had to appear as the inevitable unfolding of destiny, a logical end to the German 'cultural mission' in a number of settlement areas abroad. It could not be presented as a policy contingent upon the Reich's demand for human resources and Hitler's power-play with Stalin: at this stage of Nazi–Soviet relations it was out of the question to refer in the press to resettlement measures as a response to impending or actual Soviet occupation.[42] This was a difficult message to convey visually. Photographs that made the '*Heimat* abroad' look idyllic – images that had been the common currency of organizations such as the VDA up to that point – might prompt the viewer to ask why all this was being abandoned. In September 1940, *Das Schwarze Korps* published, as part of its reportage on the resettlement of the Bessarabian Germans, a photo of the village of Leipzig in Bessarabia with the caption, 'A German village that in its landscape and layout looks like a piece of Germany' ('Ein deutsches Dorf, das in Landschaft und Anlage wie ein Stück Deutschland anmutet'). The text declared that the act of creating such German settlements abroad would somehow remain as a 'lasting cultural achievement' (*unvergängliche Kulturtat*), even though many such communities were now 'returning home'.[43] 'For a hundred years this was *Heimat*'

('Hier war hundert Jahre Heimat') ran the caption for one of the images in a photo reportage in the DAF newspaper *Der Angriff* in October 1940, showing the village of Kulm in Bessarabia. The caption went on to explain that 'German peasants had founded 150 such villages in a strange land': now, 'the Reich had called them and they were returning home'.[44] Here the texts seem to be straining to counteract the impression given by the photos. Still more incongruous was the continuing reproduction of such pre-departure photographs in celebratory accounts of resettlement, as in the volume by Andreas Pampuch on the 'homecoming' of the Bessarabian Germans, where the text and photo captions were written in the present tense. The photographs heightened the impression that here was a world immediately present and accessible, whereas typically the photos were all that remained of settlements that were gone. 'The sunlit realm by the sea bears a rich harvest' ('Das Sonnenreich am Meere trägt reiche Frucht'), read the caption to a lavish colour photograph of maize, peppers, grapes and melons from the Black Sea region, as if the Bessarabian Germans were still there to harvest them.[45]

Portrayals of the resettlers themselves could also produce contradictory effects. Their image, as Fielitz has observed in relation to the Volhynian Germans, had to be managed to emphasize the resilience and potential that could be harnessed to the new project of colonizing the conquered territories.[46] But other ideas were also being conveyed: the boundlessness of Nazi welfare and the superiority of Nazi organization. In the case of the Baltic Germans from Latvia and Estonia, there were some mixed messages in the Party press. Alongside reports on the 700-year tradition of German culture in the Baltic region and the intellectual traditions and cultural contributions the resettlers brought with them,[47] a series in *Der Angriff* emphasized the vigour of a Nazified 'younger generation' of Baltic Germans in contrast with the supposedly class-ridden patrician elite, and pointed disparagingly to the Baltic Germans' ageing population and low birth rate.[48] It was thus a double-edged decision

by the *Illustrierter Beobachter* to illustrate its piece on the 'homecoming' of the Baltic Germans with photographs of elderly and ailing Baltic Germans transported on stretchers. The captions repeated the well-worn message that the Reich was now reclaiming Germans abroad who up until now had ploughed their efforts into their host countries, and declared that age and sickness had not prevented these elderly Baltic Germans following the 'call of the Führer'. The photos, however – one showing seven soldiers carrying an elderly woman on a stretcher onto a train – suggested that the Reich was generously taking on a burden of care.[49]

Some photo reports on the Bessarabian Germans pictured them above all as a foil for the efforts of the resettlement teams and volunteers from the Nazified Yugoslav German organization, which had donated food and clothing for the resettlers and helped to staff the Danube ships and the transit camp at Semlin. A report in the *Münchner Illustrierten Presse* in October 1940 (Figure 4.9) praised the discipline and performance of the Yugoslav Germans in a text alongside photos of a crowd of Bessarabian German resettlers spilling haphazardly through the camp. In one image, captioned 'resettlers in conversation with a Red Cross nurse', the tall, white-clad figure of the nurse looks down at a hidden figure beneath her, while a black-clad woman with a headscarf in the foreground is seen only from behind, an anonymous 'type', coded above all through her clothing.[50]

[Insert Fig 4.9 here]

Fig. 4.9 'Durchgangslager Belgrad-Semlin'. *Münchner Illustrierte Presse* 17(42), 17 October 1940. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ac 8058-17.1940.

]p[Looking at figures 4.5 and 4.6 again, the photo composition here too underlines the hierarchy between helpers and resettlers. Figure 4.6, the image of the Bessarabian German

mother and baby, might be read as a Madonna and child motif, but the dyad of mother and baby is doubly disrupted, firstly by the camera – the mother is not looking down at her baby but into the camera – and secondly by the nurse. The viewer's eye is drawn in several directions: to the mother's face, to the arrangement of six hands at the bottom of the picture, and upwards to the right to the nurse's face, hair and cap. The disruptive visual effect of the nurse is highlighted still further by the way her waved blonde hair and uniform cap contrast with the traditional clothing and dark colouring of the young mother. While the caption highlights the work of the nurse, implying that her care is appreciated, that meaning is undercut by the wary and slightly disgruntled expression of the mother, whose hands are only loosely cradling the baby on her lap; the baby in turn grasps the nurse's thumb. The photo renders the mother as passive: the expert care is being provided by the nurse, seemingly undistracted by the camera, and focused on the baby. While the young Bessarabian German mother is unknown, the nurse can be identified as Rosemarie Lorenz, daughter of Werner Lorenz, the head of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle: she worked at the transit camp in Galatz.[51]

Other images supposedly showing the authorities' concern for the health of resettlers also seem, in hindsight, to communicate other meanings. They show – as Susanne Schlechter has pointed out – mothers being sidelined by nurses attending to their babies, babies and children being undressed and washed in public, and the small figure of an elderly woman, addressed as 'Mutter', facing a doctor in a sick bay, with three nurses looming over her.[52] Such images point to the wider context of Nazi biopolitics. Photographs of resettlers being inspected by medics and other 'experts' – such as the photograph published in a reportage in *Das Schwarze Korps* in January 1940 of a small Volhynian German boy stripped to the waist and standing before a desk under the gaze of Himmler and a host of other men – captured the way resettlers were scrutinized as part of the 'sluicing' (Durchschleusung) procedure. This

process, which also involved a photographic unit taking pictures of the resettlers, was the selection mechanism through which resettlers received citizenship and were accepted or rejected as colonists for the occupied East.[53] The Immigration Office (*Einwandererzentralstelle*), part of the RKF apparatus and the agency in charge of 'sluicing', tried to keep out of the press the nature of the 'racial' checks that were part of this process and conducted under the guise of medical examinations, but knowledge of them quickly spread.[54]

]ha[**Staging**

]fl[Photographs were supposed to capture resettlement as an experience, the 'Erlebnis' much featured in Nazi propaganda.[55] But photographers were also orchestrators of the action: each moment of taking a photograph was in itself an event, often the result of interaction between a photographer and the people placed in the shot.[56] The presence of press photographers and resettlement officials wielding cameras represented, in a larger sense, the regime's mastery of the whole process. The taking of photographs also underlined the significance of what was happening by signalling that it was a spectacle worth recording. More immediately, photographers could use the camera to marshal settlers already subject to the bureaucratic machinery of registration and transport. Resettlement gave photographers singular opportunities to get at their subjects: resettlers were 'on display' during their journey, exposed collectively to the camera, their privacy suspended for the duration. At the same time, they looked back at the camera and arranged themselves in shot, with or without the expected demeanour.

While the photos that were published normally showed the resettlers 'looking right', there is an occasional surprising exception (Figure 4.10). The photo of the group of Bessarabian Germans looking out of the train window, showing two small boys, a girl half

concealed by the window, and four adults – two in the foreground, another half hidden – shows a variety of facial expressions to the point that the caption jars with the photograph.

[Insert Fig 4.10 here]

Fig. 4.10 'The long-awaited moment: The departure for the Greater German fatherland, the great trek reaches its end' ('Der heißersehnte Augenblick: Die Abfahrt ins großdeutsche Vaterland, der große Treck geht zu Ende'). From: *Deutschtum im Ausland*, November/December 1940, Bildteil. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Zsn 1057-23/24.1940/1941.

]p[Some clues that can illuminate the process of staging resettlement for the camera can be gained from the images themselves as well as from contemporary texts and memoirs. The ubiquity of cameras and photographers, included in shots on the bridge at Przemysl and at the border-crossing over the Pruth (figures 4.3 and 4.4), became part of the visual narrative of resettlement. These knowing pointers to the all-pervasive media presence at key moments and locations add a dimension of staginess to already highly staged images. For Hans Richter, the 'embedding' of photography in the resettlement programme was a theme of both his text and pictures. A photo of the propaganda corps photographer ('Der PK.-Mann') featured in *Heimkehrer*, and Richter put himself among the media crowd when he described the press pack waiting at the hotel in Eydtkau for the arrival of the Lithuanian Germans. When the moment came, they joined the crowd flooding onto the marketplace to watch the barrier at the border being lifted and the first wagon of the trek approaching, at which point, as Richter notes, he began taking his pictures.[57]

Some involved in organizing and documenting the resettlement made wry comments about resettlers reacting to the camera. Alfred Karasek, the ethnographer turned resettlement

technocrat, and veteran of the resettlement of the Volhynian Germans in the winter of 1939/40, was in the autumn of 1940 overseeing the resettlement in the Beresina district of Bessarabia. In a private account quoted by Ute Schmidt, he described the filming of a resettler trek for the *Wochenschau*: his recollection was of resettlers becoming acutely self-conscious and 'freezing' in front of the camera, dropping the horses' reins in their eagerness to give the Hitler salute, horses bolting and the whole 'take' having to be repeated five times.[58]

Patronizing comments about resettlers' responses to being photographed can also be found in the diary kept by the photojournalist Liselotte Purper of her assignment documenting 'womanly work' in the resettlement of the Bessarabian and Dobrudja Germans – a rare first-hand account of documenting resettlement by one of the photographers involved. Much of this diary is concerned with Purper's impressions of 'the Balkans', her search for Reich German company, her entertainment, her shopping expeditions and her physical comfort or lack of it. This account of sightseeing and self-gratification sits alongside her expressions of admiration for the efficiency of the resettlement operation and enthusiasm about its significance for the Reich. Having spent a few days at the camp in Semlin in early November, she travelled to Romania to photograph Dobrudja Germans in their home villages as they prepared to depart, and accompanied them by boat up the Danube. She expressed some curiosity about and sympathy for the resettlers she encountered in the village of Cugealac as they packed up their final possessions before departure. Visiting one family in their home, she recorded the wife's worries about when she would sleep in her own bed again – 'it is such a journey into the unknown'.[59] However, on the boat back up the Danube Purper spent her time with the ship's crew and regarded the resettlers as the most likely source of the fleas that were plaguing her.[60] Back in Semlin, she was dismayed to find that she would once again have to travel in the company of resettlers on the train to Austria ('Fleas again!'): her

only consolation was that she would be able to disguise her extensive purchases as resettler baggage.[61] Purper's real enthusiasm was for her fellow Reich Germans and for their efforts and sacrifices devoted to building a 'common German Reich, the Greater Germany of A.H. [Adolf Hitler]'.[62] Composing her shots of resettlers in the camp at Semlin, she regarded them as something of a nuisance to be managed. She complained about having to take pictures without the help of an assistant to direct operations because her colleague from the Reich Women's Leadership press department had not yet shown up:]/t[

>]ext[Today I took some photos in the camp, in the kitchen and in the catering tent. But without an assistant this is scarcely possible. A great crowd (*Völkerschar*) immediately forms and takes up position. I cannot direct the huge horde and at the same time manage the camera and the image. The people are like children who have been much photographed by their parents and who cannot escape from stiff poses into moving freely.[63]]/ext[

]fl[However childlike or naive the resettlers may have seemed to Purper and resettlement 'old hands', some resettlers remembered being quite knowing themselves about the process of staging pictures. One Bessarabian German, interviewed a few years ago by Susanne Schlechter for her oral history project on the fate of the sick and elderly resettlers, recalled being kept out of a picture because she did not 'fit': her hair was too dark.[64] Whatever the truth of this, it suggests an awareness on the resettlers' part (that may admittedly be stronger in hindsight) about the importance of their physical appearance for the story being told about resettlement to the Reich. And Renate Adolphi from Riga, whose parents were friends of the photographer Wilhelm Holtfreter, remembered him calling on them in their new quarters in Posen/Poznań to document how Baltic German families were settling into their new

homeland in the Warthegau, and deciding that a visiting cousin should be added to the picture as an honorary sibling to make up a 'model' family of four children for the camera.[65] Here, resettlers collaborated in a performance in line with prevailing notions of the ideal.

References to artifice were strikingly evident in Hans Richter's inclusion of a mock-up wagon trek from the film *Heimkehr* alongside his 'real' photos of resettlers.[66] En route via the General Government to East Prussia for his fourth and final resettlement assignment, Richter took a detour to visit Chorzele, where they were filming. There, he chatted with the film crew and took pictures for his 'collection' of the film star Paula Wessely, of the covered wagons on the marketplace in Chorzele, and of the mock-up of the Przemysl bridge. As he remarked in the text of *Heimkehrer*, 'In my photo collection I must have reality and the illusion of reality placed next to each other' ('In meiner Bildersammlung muß doch Wirklichkeit und Scheinwirklichkeit nebeneinander stehen').[67]

For all the emphasis on resettlers entering a 'German world' of order in the transit camps en route to the Reich, the comments of the resettlement teams and the self-conscious references to the staging of key moments in the resettlers' journeys point to the nature of the performance being enacted for their benefit, which emphasized planning, order and welfare. As would become clear when the resettlers remained in camps for months and sometimes years, this was a show that could at best only be maintained for a short period, and while the cameras were near.

If the resettlers had found themselves in the spotlight during their journeys to the Reich, they subsequently became, in a bizarre twist, a target audience themselves for propaganda featuring their own recent experiences. A film showing of *Heimkehr* was organized free of charge for resettlers in Litzmannstadt/Łódź, while the illustrated volumes that may have appealed particularly to Party activists were also handed out to resettlers themselves.[68] Photos of resettlement also appeared in the periodical *Wir sind daheim*,

published from November 1940 onwards for Bessarabian resettlers in camps in Saxony (and subsequently for resettlers more generally in camps across the Reich). A two-part feature in March 1941 entitled 'Heimkehr ins Vaterland' was illustrated with photos showing the registration and transport of resettlers and a scene from the transit camp at Galatz.[69] This reminder of their journey was accompanied by a series of articles in which resettlers preached the line to their fellow countrymen that looking back was futile, that their former homelands were not '*Heimat*' at all ('The place where we were until now was not our *Heimat*' ('Dort, wo wir bisher waren, war unsere Heimat nicht'), and that it was time to draw a line under the past and look to the future.[70] That message was in turn somewhat undercut by a report illustrated with photographs taken by Wilhelm Holtfreter, formerly of Riga and now based in Posen/Poznań, of farmhouses in the Warthegau. One was captioned 'Almost like in Bessarabia' ('Fast wie in Bessarabien'), urging readers to think that such visible echoes of the places they had left behind would make it easier for them to settle down in Poland.[71] Overall, however, the contributions to the periodical stressed to those immobilized in camps the vision of continued forward motion, underpinning this with photos evoking the 'final' trek that would take them to their allotted farmsteads.[72]

]ha[**Conclusion**

]fl[The photographic documentation of resettlement can be seen as reflecting the extraordinary effort required to legitimate resettlement as a policy. The hasty evacuation of German minority groups had to be interpreted as a historically inevitable 'homecoming', part of a grander plan for the consolidation and protection of 'German life' within the expanded borders of the Reich, rather than the result of power-political machinations and improvised decision making behind the scenes of the Nazi–Soviet pact. Propaganda had to gloss the bewildering shift in a policy that up to 1939 had celebrated areas of German minority

settlement in eastern and south-eastern Europe as outposts of German culture, but that now suddenly decreed that key parts of the '*Heimat* abroad' be abandoned. It is hard to know if this propaganda had the intended effect. The diarist Friedrich Kellner was sceptical, noting on 19 October 1939 that it was an 'act of cruelty' to 'ship people around … like goods within artificially drawn "Reich borders"'. He did not believe that the resettlers would stay put: '[T]hey will take the first possible opportunity to find a new "homeland" that is to their taste'.[73] But Kellner was an outstandingly scathing reader of the Nazi press.

The varied range of resettlement photos published suggested the 'action' of resettlement, the dynamic of a community in motion, and the technocratic 'order' into which the resettlers were supposedly being received. Photographs captured newsworthy 'historic moments' and gave the viewer the sense of witnessing events: departures, embarkations, border-crossings, encounters and arrivals. They suggested moods and emotions associated with 'homecoming' through motifs such as the provision of food, shelter and care. Photographers could deploy long-established aesthetic conventions of picture composition to make potentially banal scenes showing the transport of people and their luggage into something grander and more monumental. Furthermore, in the context of a visual culture infused with Nazi ideas on race, photographs could convey messages about physiognomy and 'belonging'. Meanwhile, the other side of this visualization of an expansive '*Volksgemeinschaft*' was exclusion and exploitation. Jews are not part of the published imagery of resettlement, even if they were compelled to assist in the process – for instance, when 'Jew commandos' were deployed to dig trains carrying Volhynian German resettlers out of the snow in January 1940.[74] Nor are the raids on Jewish and Polish property or the forced evictions of Polish and Jewish families part of the visual narrative. But it is no great leap to suggest that photos of displaced German families might help to legitimate coercion and violence against the Jews and Poles whose homes were seized for the incomers' benefit.

Moreover, it is conceivable that repeated images of 'peoples on the move' shepherded by teams of Germans in uniform accustomed the German public to the idea that any and every form of organized 'resettlement' was an event made normal by wartime conditions.

The published record of resettlement focused on the resettlers' initial journey and arrival; their subsequent journeys – for example, the later-resettled groups often shuttled from one resettler camp to another – are more sparsely recorded. Images of resettlers looking glum or resentful nearly always remained in the archives unpublished, as did the occasional documentary photo of Poles being evicted from their farms prior to the resettlers' arrival. But also underplayed in the published record were photographs of the Nazi-inspired community organizations in Bessarabia and Bukovina welcoming the resettlement teams or marshalling people for departure: such images featured relatively rarely in published reports, which emphasized instead the 'spontaneous' homecoming under the guiding hand of Reich Germans.

What, if anything, can photographs show about the experience of resettlement? First, they reveal the peculiar circumstances brought by the situation of uprooting and transfer: resettlers were exposed to the curious and intrusive gaze of strangers, which included having cameras pointed at them. Moreover, if the shots taken in public during transit were generally intended to flatter the settlers, it is important to recall that a further sequence of photographs would be taken behind closed doors during the battery of 'racial' tests that awaited them. Second, analysing photographs may reveal something about the reactions of resettlers and the interactions between commissioned photographers and their human subjects. Photographs are traces of something that was there, however momentary and whatever else was going on outside the frame.[75] This constitutes the power of the photograph, in that it conveys the impression of 'experience' and 'presence'. For this reason, a photograph challenges us as present-day viewers to respond to it and judge it as historical evidence.[76] But what are we

seeing in these faces and gestures? Looking repeatedly at these photographs at the very least suggests the complexity of the moment. We should not assume that the cheerful expressions of the resettlers, the Hitler salutes, the flag waving and flower strewing, were all elicited under duress. There was willing self-mobilization involved in resettlement alongside the pressures and anxieties that prompted people to accept it. At the same time, photographers compose their images, and people typically react to a camera if they are aware of it. We can assume that the camera's presence did often secure the 'correct' responses: gestures and expressions signalling confidence and optimism. And if hopeful expressions were merely fleeting or forced, it did not matter: the photo was lasting evidence that could be endlessly repeated and recycled as the war effort faltered and the resettlement programme ground to a halt. That said, as the image of the Bessarabian resettlers in the train carriage indicates, photographers were not always able to coax people into 'looking right'. And even the photos that met propaganda requirements sometimes betrayed other subtexts, revealing power relations within the expanded '*Volksgemeinschaft*', the scrutiny and control to which resettlers were subjected, and the signals that the resettlers' journey was knowingly staged as a performance.

Elizabeth Harvey is professor of history at the University of Nottingham. She is the author of *Youth and the Welfare State in Weimar Germany* (1993), and of *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization* (2003), which appeared in German translation as *'Der Osten braucht Dich! Frauen und nationalsozialistische Germanisierungspolitik* (2010). She is a member of the Historians' Commission appointed by the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs to research the history of the Reich Labour Ministry under National Socialism, and her current major research focus is gender and forced labour under

Nazism. She has published on different aspects of photojournalism in Nazi Germany, with a particular focus on the photographic documentation of Nazi territorial expansion and resettlement policies. In 2015 she co-edited with Maiken Umbach a special issue of *Central European History* on 'Photography and Twentieth-Century German History'.

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22. On Lothar von Seltmann, see Claudia Brunner and Uwe von Seltmann, *Schweigen die Täter, reden die Enkel* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2006); on Karl Stumpp, see Erich J. Schmaltz and Samuel Sinner, 'Karl Stumpp', in Ingo Haar and Michael Fahlbusch (eds), *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2008), 678–82.

23. On the photo archive of the RKF, see 'Information zum Bestand R49 Bild', Bestandsakte B198/3733, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

24. On the PK photographers: Sachsse, *Erziehung zum Wegsehen*, 194–98; Rainer Rother and Judith Prokasky (eds), *Die Kamera als Waffe: Propagandabilder des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Munich: Edition Text & Kritik, 2010).

25. On Liselotte Purper, see Katja Protte, 'Bildberichterstatterin' im 'Dritten Reich': Fotografien aus den Jahren 1937 bis 1944 von Liselotte Purper', *DHM Magazin* 7 (1997), Heft 20; Elizabeth Harvey, 'Seeing the World: Photography, Photojournalism and Visual Pleasure in the Third Reich', in Pamela Swett, Corey Ross and Fabrice d'Almeida (eds), *Pleasure and Power in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 177–204.

26. Holtfreter, 'Abschied von der alten Heimat', in Bosse (ed.) *Der Führer ruft*, facing 81; 'Der Heimkehrerzug wird geschmückt', in Richter, *Heimkehrer*, photo section (unpaginated).

27. Fielitz, *Stereotyp*, 110, 129–30.

28. 'Heimgekehrt ins Grosse Deutsche Reich', *Illustrierter Beobachter* 15(7), 15 February 1940; 'Blick auf die "Wagenburg" der Rückwanderer in Galatz', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Ausgabe Gross-Berlin, 15 October 1940, p. 8; '"Wir kehren heim": Begegnungen mit Bessarabien-Deutschen', *Der Angriff*, 14 October 1940, p. 3.

29. Döring, *Umsiedlung*, 68.

30. Fielitz, *Stereotyp*, 148–50.

31. 'Organisierte Völkerwanderung', *Das Schwarze Korps*, 3 October 1940, p. 2.

32. Seltmann, *Tagebuch*, 59; on mortality figures during the trek and afterwards, see Döring, *Umsiedlung*, 124; Fielitz, *Stereotyp*, 137–39; Valdis O. Lumans, 'A Reassessment of Volksdeutsche and Jews in the Volhynia-Galicia-Narew Resettlement', in Alan E. Steinweis and Daniel E. Rogers (eds), *The Impact of Nazism: New Perspectives on the Third Reich and Its Legacy* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 90.

33. Fielitz, *Stereotyp*, 113, 128; Katrin Himmler and Michael Wildt (eds), *Himmler privat: Briefe eines Massenmörders* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 2014), 222–23.

34. 'Der letzte Treck', *Das Schwarze Korps*, 8 February 1940, p. 3; 'Heimgekehrt ins Grosse Deutsche Reich', *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 15 February 1940; Richter, *Heimkehrer* [photo section, unpaginated]; VDA-Bildkalender 1941, 'Deutsche in aller Welt'.

35. Willibald Jenzowski, 'An der Pruthbrucke bei Galatz: Ankunft und Weiterreise der heimkehrenden Deutschen aus Bessarabien', *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17 October 1940, p. 3.

36. *Der Zug der Volksdeutschen aus Bessarabien und Nordbuchenland*, mit einem Geleitwort von Werner Lorenz (Berlin: Volk und Reich, 1942).

37. *Deutschtum im Ausland: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Ausland-Instituts Stuttgart* 23(11/12), November–December 1940, cover.

38. Spaeth, Lagebericht Jugoslawien: Volksgemeinschaft der Tat: Der Bau der Umsiedlungslager, undated. BA Berlin, R57 neu, 31; Richter, *Heimkehrer*, 13.

39. On ethnographic photography in Nazi Germany, see Ulrich Haegele, 'Die Visualisierung des Volkskörpers: Fotografie und Volkskunde in der NS-Zeit', *Fotogeschichte* 21 (2001), Heft 82, 5–20; Sachsse, *Erziehung zum Wegsehen*, 154–60; Falk Blask and Jane Redlin (eds), *Lichtbild – Abbild – Vorbild: Zur Praxis volks- und völkerkundlicher Fotografie* (*=Berliner Blätter: Ethnographische und ethnologische Beiträge 36.2005)*. On ethnographic photographs taken of Volhynian Germans in the 1920s, see Elke Bauer, 'Zwischen

Inszenierung und Authentität: Kontextualisierung ausgewählter Bildzeugnisse zum Alltagsleben der Deutschen in Ostmitteleuropa vor 1945', *Jahrbuch für deutsche und osteuropäische Volkskunde* 52 (2011), 137–64.

40. For example, Karl Pesch and W. Schürmann, 'Gnadenfeld: Ein Bericht über bevölkerungsbiologische, hygienische und gesundheitliche Untersuchungen in einer deutschen Siedlung in Bessarabien (Rumänien)', *Auslandsdeutsche Volksforschung* 2(2) (1938), 169–218. On student research projects in Yugoslavia and Romania before 1939, see Elizabeth Harvey, 'Mobiliserung oder Erfassung? Studentischer Aktivismus und "Volkstumsarbeit" in Jugoslawien und Rumänien, 1933–1941', in Carola Sachse (ed.), *'Mitteleuropa' und 'Südosteuropa' als Planungsraum: wirtschafts- und kulturpolitische Expertisen im Zeitalter der Weltkriege* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), 363–90.

41. 'Sie sind deutsch geblieben', *Das Schwarze Korps*, 12 September 1940, p. 3.

42. See the comment by the director of the DAI in November 1939: Dr Czaki, 'Das Umsiedlungswerk der Balten', 27 November 1939', in BA Berlin, R57/neu/25: 'Wenn auch in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit (Presse) aus naheliegenden Gründen ein Zusammenhang der baltischen Aussiedlung und dem russischen Vordringen in Estland und Lettland abgestritten wird, so stehen natürlich beide Ereignisse doch in ursächlicher Verbindung.' '(Even if in German public outlets, notably the press, the connection between the Baltic evacuation and the Russian penetration into Estonia and Latvia is denied for obvious reasons, of course the two events are causally linked.')

43. 'Sie sind deutsch geblieben', *Das Schwarze Korps*, 12 September 1940, p. 3.

44. 'Heimkehr aus Bessarabien', *Der Angriff*, 12 October 1940, p. 7: '150 solche Dörfer hat das deutsche Bauerntum dort in fremdem Land gegründet. Jetzt rief das Reich – die Bauern kehren wieder heim.'

45. Andreas Pampuch, *Heimkehr der Bessarabiendeutschen* (Breslau: Schlesien-Verlag, 1942), frontispiece.

46. Strippel, *NS-Volkstumspolitik*, 98–116; Leniger, *Nationalsozialistische 'Volkstumsarbeit'*, 175–213.

47. *Völkischer Beobachter* reports cited in Fielitz, *Stereotyp*, 104–5.

48. Four-part report 'Von der Düna zur Weichsel: Baltendeutsche im Aufbruch – Erlebnisse und Gespräche in Riga', *Der Angriff*, 27, 28, 29 and 30 November 1939.

49. 'Baltendeutsche kehren heim', *Illustrierter Beobachter* 14(49), 7 December 1939, p. 1742.

50. 'Durchgangslager Belgrad-Semlin', *Münchner Illustrierte Presse* 17(42), 17 October 1940, p. 3.

51. Reference to both Lorenz daughters working at Galatz: R.G. Waldeck, *Athene Palace* (New York: Robert McBride and Co., 1942), 304–5.

52. Examples in Heinrich Reister (ed.), *Das große Aufgebot: Bildbericht 1. Herausgegeben vom Landespropagandaamt der deutschen Volksgruppe in Jugoslawien* (Novisad: Druckerei- und Verlag-AG, 1941), images including 'Reinlichkeit ziert alle Zeit', 'Große Wäsche der Kleinsten', 'Wollen mal sehen, Mutter, wo es fehlt'. For comments on such pictures, see Schlechter, 'Verschwundene Umsiedler', Ordner A, 8-14.

53. 'Die große Heimkehr', *Das Schwarze Korps*, 25 January 2014, p. 11. Caption: 'Während der Aufnahmeuntersuchungen, die einen unvorstellbar guten Allgemeinzustand unserer heimgehkehrten Volksgenossen feststellen ließen: Die Jahre der Not, die Trecks durch Frost und Schnee haben die abgearbeiteten Männer und Frauen nicht zu erschüttern vermocht'. On the photographs taken as part of the 'sluicing' process, see Strippel, *NS-Volkstumspolitik*, 102.

54. Strippel, *NS-Volkstumspolitik*, 171–73. For an explicit reference to ‘völkische und rassische Bewertung’ in a publication targeting resettlers: Waldemar Löbsack, ‘Im SS-Ansiedlungsstab Posen-Litzmannstadt’, *Wir sind daheim* 16, 16 March 1941, p. 9.

55. Gerhard Paul, *Krieg der Bilder, Bilder des Krieges: Die Visualisierung des modernen Krieges* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 226.

56. Susan Sontag, ‘In Plato’s Cave’, in *On Photography* (New Work: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 11.

57. Richter, *Heimkehrer*, 31.

58. Schmidt, *Deutsche aus Bessarabien*, 156.

59. Liselotte Purper, *Tagebuch*, 12 November 1940. Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, Rep. 1 / 2 Wk./F1/M11’.Es ist doch so eine Fahrt ins Dunkle’.

60. Liselotte Purper, *Tagebuch*, 15 November 1940. Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, Rep. 1 / 2 Wk./F1/M11.

61. Ibid., 1 December 1940.

62. Ibid., 12 November 1940.

63. Ibid., 4 November 1940.

64. Schlechter, ‘Verschwundene Umsiedler’, Ordner B (‘Krankentransporte nach Schlesien’), p. 26 (recollections of Klara F.).

65. Interview with Renate Adolphi, Lüneburg, April 2013.

66. On the film *Heimkehr*, see Gerald Trimmel, *Heimkehr. Die Strategien eines nationalsozialistischen Films* (Vienna: Werner Eichbauer, 1998).

67. Richter, *Heimkehrer*, 30.

68. Fielitz, *Stereotyp*, 158.

69. *Wir sind daheim: Mitteilungsblatt der Umsiedlungslager Bessarabien im Gau Sachsen*, subtitle later changed to ‘Mitteilungsblatt der Umsiedler aus Bessarabien – Buchenland –

Dobrudscha' and then to 'Mitteilungsblatt der volksdeutschen Umsiedler im Reich'. 'Heimkehr ins Vaterland' Teil 1, *Wir sind daheim* 14, 2 March 1941, pp. 8–9; 'Heimkehr ins Vaterland' Teil 2, *Wir sind daheim*, 9 March 1941, pp. 8–9.

70. Rudolf Weiss, 'Unsere Heimkehr ins Großdeutsche Reich', *Wir sind daheim* 1, 24 November 1940, p. 2; 'Vorwärts den Blick', *Wir sind daheim* 1, 24 November 1940, p. 3; cf. also Paul Franz, 'Blut und Boden sind erwacht', *Wir sind daheim* 17, 23 March 1941, pp. 8–10.

71. The picture of the farmhouse was taken by Wilhelm Holtfreter. 'Deutscher Osten, Lebensaufgabe der deutschen Volksgruppe aus Bessarabien', *Wir sind daheim* 13, 23 February 1941, pp. 8–9.

72. 'Der Treck zur neuen Heimat', *Wir sind daheim* 8, 19 January 1941, pp. 9–10.

73. Friedrich Kellner, *'Vernebelt, verdunkelt sind alle Hirne': Tagebücher 1939–1945*, ed. Sascha Feuchert et al., Vol. 1 (Gottingen: Wallstein, 2011), 41. 'Ist es nicht eine Rohheit, Menschen aus ihrer 2. Heimat (Südtirol, Baltikum) wo ihre Vorfahren sich vor Jahrhunderten seßhaft gemacht haben, einfach wie eine Ware nach irgendwohin innerhalb künstlich gezogener "Reichsgrenzen" zu verfrachten. Ich glaube nicht daran, daß diese Leute für alle Ewigkeit auf dem ihnen zwangsweise angewiesenen Wohnplatz ausharren. Sie werden die erste beste Gelegenheit wahrnehmen, um sich nach ihrem eigenen Geschmack eine neue "Heimat" zu suchen'.

74. Döring, *Umsiedlung der Wolhyniendeutschen*, 142.

75. Sontag, 'In Plato's Cave', 5.

76. See the chapters by Elizabeth Edwards and Julia Adeney Thomas in this volume.