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German Radio Propaganda

REPORT ON HOME BROADCASTS DURING THE WAR

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A WARTIME BOOK

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Preface

THIS book reports how the Second World War was presented by the German propagandists to the German people. While such information on the indoctrination of the Germans may soon be only of historic interest, it must nevertheless be taken into account in any serious discussion of the future of Europe and Germany. This report grew out of the research of a group of students who, for more than two years, joined in a co-operative effort.

On 1 April 1941, the Research Project on Totalitarian Communication at the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research began its work under the directorship of the two senior authors of this book. Supported by one of the large foundations, it was assigned to develop methods for the study of enemy propaganda and to train American social scientists for prospective government work in this field. The work of the project was to be mainly concerned with propaganda by radio, the importance of which was high-lighted by the experience of the war in Europe. In this general field, the study of German home broadcasting seemed to offer the best opportunities for training and research.

The American public has little opportunity to gather information about these broadcasts since they are mainly transmitted on standard waves, inaudible on this side of the Atlantic. Our work was, therefore, dependent upon the help of the monitoring service of the British Broadcasting Corporation—with which one of the senior authors, E. Kris, had been connected in a research capacity throughout the first year of the war. The broadcasts, monitored in England, are collected in the 'Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts,' which the British Broadcasting Corporation

put at our disposal. This invaluable, restricted document was supplemented by other documents and information bearing upon our work, made accessible to us through the efforts of John Salt, formerly director of the British Broadcasting Corporation European Services, now deputy director of the British Broadcasting Corporation's New York office.

The research work of the project was carried out in close contact with various government agencies, and its research papers, a list of which is given in Appendix III, were issued almost exclusively to government agencies in Washington, London, and Ottawa. In these studies, now accessible in some of the larger public libraries, the methodology of our research was discussed in some detail. While quantitative analysis of propaganda texts is laborious and time consuming, it serves as a useful supplementary technique for the study of propaganda trends. Many of our findings are contained in this book in the form of tables and graphs.

For better or worse, the book bears the hallmark of its origin. Written by one author, it might have shown more unity of presentation. But one author could never have mastered the research data. Joint authorship made for repetition and divergencies in style that no editorial pains could altogether eliminate. Group work, with its stimulation and mutual criticism, has its salutary effects, however, when dealing with an intricate subject matter likely to arouse emotional reactions. Workers with widely different backgrounds—sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, and historians; Americans, Austrians, and Germans—have contributed their share to this book; and in doing so have often compromised on individual preferences.

In addition to the permanent staff, well over a score of social scientists contributed to the work of the project. Many of them were called to work in government agencies or are now in the Armed Forces, which prevented their continued co-operation on this publication. The help of Ursula Wasserman in preparing parts of the manuscript was particularly valuable; and her contributions to Research Paper #6 were frequently used. Joseph

Shor's contributions to Research Paper #2 also form an intrinsic part of our data.

The work of the project underwent a re-organization in May 1942, when H. Speier went to Washington as Chief German Analyst of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service of the Federal Communications Commission. However, he remained co-director of the project.

The present book was begun in November 1942 and the manuscript was completed on 30 July 1943. Paper shortage delayed its publication. In postscripts added to some chapters in November 1943 and in a final section added to Chapter XIII we supplemented the material and tried to indicate where later events have corroborated or invalidated our views. On the whole there was little surprise in store—our main thesis that the decline of Nazi propaganda would precede that of the German army seems ever more clearly evidenced.

Authorship cannot be established in the case of all chapters, since in most cases the contents of chapters and sections were planned collectively, and drafts of one author were rewritten by another. An approximate division of work is indicated below. In part one, the first and fourth sections of Chapter I were written by H. Speier,¹ the second by E. Kris. Chapter III was written by H. Paechter; Chapter V by H. B. White. In part two, Chapter VI was written by E. Kris, VII by H. Paechter, except for section three, written by S. Axelrad and J. Loeb. Chapters VIII to XI were written by H. B. White. In Chapter XII, section one was written by E. Kris and J. Loeb, section two by J. Loeb, section three by H. Paechter and H. Speier. The first section of Chapter XIII was written by H. Herma, the others and the postscripts by H. Speier, the Epilogue by E. Kris. The senior authors, assisted by Janice Loeb, functioned as editors. The authors owe particular thanks to Margaret Mascaret and Muriel Landsberg, who helped them to keep up to schedule.

¹ Published in a slightly different form in *Social Research*, Vol. x, September 1943, under the title: 'The Decline of German Propaganda.'

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PART I
THE STAGE

I

National Socialist Home Propaganda, Its Structure, Technique and Limitations

I. NAZI PROPAGANDA AND VIOLENCE

WORDS may achieve what bullets do not accomplish, because words do not kill. A ruthless and powerful man would be foolish if he killed opponents he could use for his own purposes. The dead can neither fight nor work. At best, they may be used as examples to frighten others, equally powerless, into yielding in order to keep alive.

Political propaganda in Nazi Germany is a form of coercion; while it lacks the bluntness and irrevocability of physical violence, it derives its ultimate efficacy from the power of those who may, at any moment, cease talking and start killing. Political propagandists are so occupied with their craft that they have no time for executing the threats they utter. They leave the coercion of the recalcitrant who remain unimpressed by verbal threats to men with different skills and weapons. For this reason, the relation between propaganda and physical violence is often obscured. National Socialist propaganda, however, cannot be understood if its relation to National Socialist terror is overlooked. Goebbels at home would be ineffectual without Himmler, and Goebbels addressing foreign audiences would be a comical figure were it not for Germany's armed might. At home, Goebbels bends the Germans; Himmler breaks them.

The effect of Goebbels' eloquence at home is in large but undeterminable measure the effect of State and Party power.

The very existence of this power affects action, speech, and attitude. The heart, said Spinoza, is in a certain respect dominated by the supreme authority which has means to effect that people 'believe, love, and hate, etc., what it wills.' And he adds that it is not necessary to prescribe such feelings, but that authority itself engenders them.

The propagandist does not always utter threats. More often he announces what has happened, confining himself, whenever possible, to events that convince the people that their government is strong, profitable, and good. Thus he rallies in admiration of the government all those who fear its power or want to have a share in it, who gain from its actions, or who are pleased by righteousness and devotion to moral principles.

Whether the propagandist utters threats of violence or merely announces what the government has done, he tries to strengthen the authority of the government among the governed, so that the governed will like to do what the government wants them to do, and dislike doing what the government wants to be left undone. Both as a public-relations man of the police and as a celebrator of governmental accomplishments the propagandist eliminates dissent in the political community.

His role is easy when there are accomplishments to celebrate. Then he can tell the truth, letting facts 'speak for themselves.' If he must cope with failure rather than success, he may still choose to tell the truth, either because he assumes that the governed are loyal enough to endure it and that they may even be incited by it to greater exertions, or because he is afraid of endangering his prestige by lying when the truth will spread through other channels. In general, however, no accomplishment is so great as not to tolerate propagandistic enlargement, and no failure so small as not to invite propagandistic efforts to render it even smaller. To a varying degree, the propagandist is constantly tempted to make use of one or several of the many forms of deception: slanting news by selection and emphasis, boasting,

empty promises, flattery, the pretense of righteousness, studied enthusiasm, straight-forward lies, inventions, etc.

Ever since September 1939, Goebbels has announced what German soldiers do. This is his primary, though not his sole function; and this is both the source and the main limitation of his strength; his weakness is a consequence of German military defeats. German domestic propaganda has declined as Germany's position has deteriorated on the fields of battle. For the Nazi propagandist plays only a secondary role. He cannot protect German cities from being bombed. He cannot revive dead German soldiers. He cannot produce tanks. He cannot conquer the British Isles, take Stalingrad, or slow down the retreat of his armies. He can only say that German cities will not be bombed. He can try to conceal the number of German casualties. He can talk about 'secret weapons,' predict an invasion of Britain, claim—as Hitler did on 8 November 1942—that Stalingrad *has* been taken, and call retreats 'disengagements.'

When there is a great victory, however, the propagandist has his heyday. He describes it, praises it, and inflates its importance by arranging superb celebrations. Out of victory, he finds the material to comfort his friends and harass his enemies. He exploits what the soldier has achieved, and promises further achievement. In short, the propagandist deals in words and ceremonies within a framework of action and blood.

At home, propaganda supplements victory or is a substitute for it, just as propaganda directed toward the enemy is a substitute for violence before the caissons roll, and a supplement to it when they are rolling.¹ In periods of stalemate or inaction, it is easier for the propagandist to offer substitutes for victory than it is in periods of setback or defeat. In such periods his is the unhappy task of explaining away the situation. He promises what the soldier has not given, or he repeats the stories of past vic-

¹ See Speier, Hans, and Otis, Margaret, 'German Radio Propaganda to France during the Battle of France,' *Radio Research*, ed. by P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton, Vol. 3, 1942-3. In press.

tories. Although he exhorts people not to despair, any military triumph, however small, would be more successful. He attempts to transform military defeats into moral victories—and thus into tokens of future military success. When the Sixth German Army was encircled and beaten before Stalingrad, Goebbels tried to work this miracle.

In the days of limited war, the morale of noncombatants was of little consequence to generals and statesmen, partly because many noncombatants were illiterate, interested in parochial gossip rather than in world news. There was little need to try to make them feel they had a cause in the war of their rulers. In the machine age, with its reduced religiosity and its increased interest in news, mass armies, mass production, and mass exposure to violent death require a larger measure of co-operation from the people. All who are not too ill or too old for work are indispensable in the war effort. Too many bullets would put an end to all co-operation. Propaganda is a technique for avoiding impractical bloodshed. In Germany today, military officers address workers and award them Knight Crosses to War Merit Crosses. The German radio talks to farmers, housewives, sailors, soldiers in the occupied territories, workers, and foreign workers—all in special programs. All these groups of the population are important in the total war effort.

Napoleon I used to address his whole army, but he did not need to speak to the nation he ruled when he embarked upon a new conquest. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, Napoleon III and William of Prussia issued proclamations to both the army and the nation, but there was no systematic effort to reach individual groups of the population by continuous and special appeals. In the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great spoke to his generals and officers before a battle, but he declared that he did not wish to bother his civilian subjects about the wars he was waging. Then war was limited; today, war is total.²

² On the problems of total war, see the discussion and bibliographies in Wright, Quincy, *A Study of War*, 2 vols., Chicago, 1943; and Lasswell,

Like mechanized fighting, domestic propaganda is not a phenomenon peculiar to Nazi Germany. In total war the governments of all belligerent countries must induce a large part of the population to co-operate voluntarily in the total war effort. Major or minor changes in the mode of life are required, their incisiveness depending on the wealth, location, and state of preparedness of the belligerent country. Hardships are imposed and sacrifices demanded everywhere. Whoever is to endure sacrifices or even to give up the pleasures he likes best will do so the more readily, the more firmly he believes he is serving a just cause that is certain to win and one that will bring not only glory to his country but also advantages to himself. In all belligerent countries, the justice of the cause must be taught to those who do not immediately see it clearly. Confidence must be maintained in the face of setbacks, and unity of mind must be preserved.

Does domestic propaganda in Nazi Germany differ from propaganda in other countries at war? The difference is as great as that between dictatorship and democracy—in a sense, even greater, because of the peculiar influence the pre-war history of National Socialism exerts upon National Socialist war propaganda.

Intentionally or unintentionally, Goebbels once paraphrased 'formation of public opinion' (*Bildung der oeffentlichen Meinung*) into 'public formation of opinion' (*oeffentliche Meinungsbildung*). He was arguing that *something* should be formed, but the resultant has little in common with what is called

H. D., 'The Garrison State,' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 7, 1940, p. 7. For the impact of total war on propaganda, see the following studies by Hans Speier: 'Morale and Propaganda,' in *War in Our Time*, ed. by Speier, Hans, and Kaehler, Alfred, New York, 1939; 'The Social Types of War,' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46, 1941, pp. 445-54; 'Treachery in War,' *Social Research*, Vol. 7, 1940, pp. 258-79; 'Class Structure and Total War,' in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 4, 1939, pp. 370-80; 'The Effect of War on the Social Order,' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 218, 1941, pp. 87-96; 'Ludendorff: The German Concept of Total War,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, ed. by E. M. Earle, 1943.

public opinion in the non-totalitarian world. It lacks independence and spontaneity, and has no publicly recognized impact on policy. The Nazi elite has coined a new, euphemistic term for dominating the masses by apparently non-violent means. It is *Menschenfuehrung*, which means literally 'guidance of men' and may be freely translated as government through the people, despite the people.

Clearly, the nature of leadership or guidance depends on the leader, his goals and the opinions he holds of the people he leads. Hitler represents both the redemption of Germany's inglorious failures in the past, and at the same time the consummation of her glorious heritage. Like a magician giving youth to the aged, wealth to the poor, and health to the sick, Hitler is capable of transforming the substance of the German people. His role in changing and illuminating the hidden meaning of Germany's history is used by Nazi propaganda in presenting German culture as an anticipation of Nazi culture.

Even more important than Hitler's sway over the past, however, is 'the wisdom, the righteousness, the goodness, and the greatness, and especially the genius of his leadership' in regard to the present.³ There has not been a single successful campaign in this war that has not been attributed to Hitler's strategic genius. He has been credited with planning victory down to the last detail. Likewise, when Germany passes through a 'crisis,' Hitler is usually said to have prevented it's turning into disaster.

Finally, prophetic gifts are attributed to the Fuehrer, which enable him to include the future, too, in the orbit of his power. His infallibility is the core of Nazi news and his intuition governs the predictions the experts make. In the Leader State, propagandists derive whatever they say about the future from Hitler's intuition. Similarly, whatever is said about German success in the present testifies to Hitler's energy. More than that, the insistence of German propagandists on German foresight and

³ Goering, 20 May 1942.

initiative in this war is a consequence of Hitler's political position as the leader of the Reich. In a sense, all Nazi news is news of Hitler's forcing fate according to the dictates of his will.

On Hitler's fifty-fourth birthday, after the second Russian winter, Goebbels still spoke of 'the strong magic power of the Fuehrer's personality.' He also made the following statement, extraordinary in both content and style:

When among the many other arguments in favor of the certainty of our final success we also mentioned recently, in a speech at the Berlin Sportpalast, the argument that we believe in victory because we have the Fuehrer, then we received, a few weeks later, torrents of letters, especially from the front, mostly written in fiercely embattled positions, bunkers and fox-holes—letters in which this particular proof was felt to be the most convincing one in comparison with all other, merely factual proofs.

This statement should not be dismissed with the smile of the rationalist who does not believe in beliefs. Hitler's 'magic power' resides in the action of those who believe in his power. And Nazi propagandists do everything possible to nourish this belief, whether they share it or not.

As is well known, Hitler has not hesitated to express, in *Mein Kampf*, his utter contempt for the masses, their lack of intelligence, their forgetfulness, and their 'feminine' character. In the higher Nazi circles, the belief in the manageability of men has replaced the belief in man's perfectability; the enjoyments of propagandists have superseded the cultural heritage of the West.

For all this professed contempt for the masses, however, the Nazi elite does not disregard the man in the street. Theirs is a post-democratic despotism which must present itself as a truly popular government in order to retain power. No democratic leader claims so often as Hitler to be the spokesman and representative of the people. Nor has any democratic government ever felt so constantly urged to protest that it is loved and admired by a firmly united nation.

The attitudes of the people in Germany are closely watched

by the government and the party so that policies can be adapted to pre-established responses. When those responses are missing, popular feeling can be both stimulated and simulated by organized party action. Whenever it has seemed expedient to vent 'the wrath of the people' upon the Jews, synagogues have been burned by the Brown Shirts, and the party press has written of the spontaneous outbursts of popular indignation. The collection of winter clothing for the German troops in Russia during the winter of 1941 was presented as the spontaneous gesture of a people eager to express its gratitude to the soldier. The period of collection which covered Christmas week was extended beyond New Year's Day, ostensibly because of the unexpected wave of enthusiasm which flooded the collection centers. At the time of 'total mobilization' in March 1943, when the middle classes were plowed under, Dr. Goebbels opened a new division in his ministry to handle recommendations on how to conduct the war more efficiently. Suggestions with regard to the conduct of total war were to be addressed by all compatriots to the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Wilhelmplatz 718, Berlin W-8. The history of National Socialism abounds with cases of planned spontaneity, organized license, and bureaucratized mass participation in politics.

Democratic participation in politics has not been abolished in Germany; rather, it has been perverted. The masses are politically busy, but they are without influence. They are organized for purposes of mutual supervision, of eradicating privacy and leisure, and of stifling real spontaneity. If they look at what they are doing, they must know that they have never been more deeply engaged in politics. But precisely for this reason they participate in the strangulation of their political freedom. The net of Nazi politics in which they are caught is, to a large extent, of their own making.

The masses participate in Nazi politics not only for purposes of mutual control but also for other reasons more truly propagandistic in character. According to carefully planned designs,

the masses create, and participate in, a vicarious political reality consisting of parades, meetings, anniversary celebrations, and beflagged medieval towns. It is a world suggesting the strength and success of the Nazi cause with a degree of persuasiveness that words alone do not have. Music, rhythm, and color play a more important part in it than reason. In this world, which is packed with opportunities for overwhelming sensory experience, success is made visible and audible, righteousness becomes extraordinarily exciting, and strength a crushing immediate experience of organized crowds. Like a carnival, it is a world of physical imagery containing no trace of everyday life with its compromises and worries, but offering instead a miraculously purified reality of elation and triumph. Propaganda through mass meetings is called 'active propaganda' by Nazis.

Words cannot compete with the impact of this vicarious reality upon the masses. Hadamowsky, one of the leading Nazi publicity men, once expressed this by saying that the most nearly perfect newsreel, the most accomplished radio reporting, or the most effective write-up of a mass meeting are merely publicity for the immediate participation in such demonstrations. This Nazi perversion of democratic participation in politics is predicated upon the contempt for man as a reasonable being and the exploitation of his capacity for being fooled by pleasures which prevent him from reasoning soberly.

In part, Nazi propaganda according to the principle of vicarious participation is made possible by the complex social organization of our life. Were our life parochial and our work unspecialized, as it is, for example, on a self-sufficient farm, it would be futile to offer to us an image of reality so spurious and yet so presumptuous as is the vicarious reality of Nazi origin: it would clash with what we know to be true from our life and work. The social world we live in, however, is highly complicated and evades immediate experience. In our strictly specialized existence it takes perspicacity, reliable information, and mental effort to orient ourselves intelligently in this world. We are sure of what

we do within the narrow confines of our life, but beyond its pale, the wide world of facts on which we depend easily fades into hazy imagery. Nazi *Menschenfuehrung* exploits this situation in the interest of Nazi rule.

Since the Nazis believe that the immediate sensory experience that participation provides exerts a more powerful influence on man's attitudes than arguments do, they use every verbal propaganda technique that fosters the illusion of immediacy and concreteness. Hence their preference for the spoken rather than the written word, for eye-witness reports rather than summary accounts, for a personalized presentation of the news rather than sober, impersonalized discussion, for illustration rather than explanation. Since the Nazis are also convinced of the suggestive power of the individual, they encourage group listening rather than individual listening. Since they are convinced that the human mind can be manipulated into habits, they prefer repetition to amplification. And frequently they use 'magic' words, the meaning of which is impervious to reason but which evoke a state of emotional gratification.⁴

The same factors that make for the bizarre and spectacular character of Nazi propaganda at home are responsible for its inherent weakness. The Nazis overestimate the importance of propaganda. In part this may be the result of a myth they have been spreading for too many years. Early in their career, they adopted a convenient lie expounded by German generals who could not reconcile themselves to their defeat in the last war. They claimed that Germany had been 'stabbed in the back.' While they never agreed who did the stabbing—the enemy, the Socialists, the home front, the Jews, the Freemasons—or whose back had been stabbed—that of the army, the people at home, the civil authorities, the military leadership—the legend proved

⁴ See Paechter, Heinz, *Magic Thought and Magic Grammar in Totalitarian Propaganda*, mimeographed memorandum, and *Nazi Deutsch*, a dictionary of new terms created since 1933, issued by Office of European Economic Research, New York, 1942. Mimeographed.

too useful in the Nazi Party struggle for power not to be incessantly repeated. The adoption of this legend may have been a major mistake. At least in the present war, its shadow has repeatedly darkened the political horizon in Germany: Nazi leaders must now insist that there will not be another stab in the back because the people are loyal and their leader will not flee to Holland.

Another weakness in Nazi propaganda grows out of their attributing their historic success altogether to their own merits, making no allowance whatever for luck, accident or connivance.

The Nazis developed their propaganda technique in the domestic struggle for power. Until 1933, they engaged in a cutthroat competition with other political parties. These parties were regarded not as political opponents but as enemies, and the history of the party up to 1933 is still being celebrated as a series of martial victories. Casualties did occur at the time. Bullets were fired, and there was knifing, but the main weapons were not made of steel. In those days, Hitler was a drummer racing by car and by plane from beer hall to beer hall. His efforts were bent not on defeating any armies, but on inducing non-Nazis to vote the Nazi ticket, and, above all, on persuading non-voters to become voters—for him. Nazi skill in those days consisted, to a large extent, in attracting popular attention by organizing mass meetings and parades, and by filling the streets with men who wore uniforms without belonging to any armed force. After the Nazi Party succeeded in gaining power, the professional pride of the propagandists was strengthened. They believed that they had moved a little world by words, and their inclination to overrate the importance of their job is perhaps understandable.

After the seizure of power Dr. Goebbels became a Minister. In the years from 1933 to 1939 he controlled the feelings and thoughts of the followers of Hitler as well as of the non-Nazis, and organized a staged reality which all Germans came to regard as the only real and worthy political world. Supported by other Nazi leaders and their staffs of experts, Goebbels controlled and

organized both the masses and the world in which they lived.

One can readily see that at that time, when Germany was at peace, Goebbels' job was easy. He was a Promoter General of an enterprise run by the Nazi elite. There was even less fighting then than there had been in the years of 'conquest.' Broadly speaking, Goebbels could confine himself to the propagandistic exploitation of fresh events and of the anniversaries of old events that the Nazis considered memorable.

One of his tasks consisted of producing substitutes for the traditions National Socialism had disrupted, so as to decrease the number of skeptical or unhappy Germans who disliked Hitler. Traditions are the deepest source of order in the political community—a fact which explains the extraordinary concern of the Nazi Government with home propaganda. Much totalitarian home propaganda must be regarded as an attempt to replace lost traditions.

With the outbreak of war, things changed. Hitler's rule over the world about which Goebbels talked was now contested. For the first time in Hitler's political career, his enemies were out to conquer, and victory meant what it said, not 'votes' or an oration. This time, battles were battles, and peace became a memory.

The principles of domestic Nazi propaganda, however, did not change, and it is this rigidity which accounts for its inherent weakness. Goebbels began this war by treating it as though it was another election campaign or another party anniversary. He made every effort to have the masses at home share vicariously in the exploits of the armies. Reports, pictures, and films sent home by the members of the propaganda companies offered stimulating evidence that everything was under Hitler's control. In the radio transmissions from the front the sound of marching feet could be heard, motors roared, and bombs exploded. It was all very 'real' once more. *Baptism of Fire*, the film about the Polish campaign, contained pictorial evidence of Germany's streamlined right and mechanized might. For a few pfennig people at home could see how nicely Poland vanished on a screen

map under the elegant insistence of arrows which represented Hitler's divisions.

Was war no longer horrible to the righteous? Had Hitler succeeded in adding to his glory the extraordinary transformation of war into profitable looting expeditions, utterly disastrous to the vile and decadent enemy but almost bloodless to the victor? How had the Fuehrer put it, so very neatly, after the fall of France?

Millions risked life and limb and were at any moment prepared . . . to make for their people the greatest sacrifice of which a man is capable. *Hundreds* of them now lie buried with their fathers who fell in the Great War. [19 July 1940]

Only hundreds . . .

Blitzkrieg was not only an impressive form of war, it was also a necessary pre-condition of Goebbels' home propaganda. The war had to proceed according to plan. Hitler had to remain in control of military events and thus of history. The Nazi technique of dominating the masses by having them participate vicariously in the fighting at the fronts was predicated upon swift and profitable victories.

But armies may bog down. The enemy may upset time schedules, inflict heavy losses, and wrest the initiative from the aggressor. Even German cities may be bombed, and the war may go on and on with no end in sight. When this happens the Nazi technique of vicarious mass participation in war is brought to nought. Then the reality of war clashes with its artfully transfigured image. The sham reality of war patterned after the model of party demonstrations in times of peace dissolves in the grief which the real war causes.

The most telling index of the two phases of the war are the German casualty figures. Before the invasion of Russia, it had been Nazi propaganda practice to issue absurdly low casualty admissions. For example, according to the German High Command's Final Report of 15 June 1940 on operations in Norway, 1,317 army officers and men had been killed. In France, 'hun-

dreds' had died according to Hitler, the official German figure being 27,074. In the Balkan campaign 57 officers and 1,050 other ranks of the Army and armed SS were 'lost and killed,' while the fatal casualties of the airforce amounted to 15 officers and 84 other ranks. According to the same source, the German General Staff Review of 1941 (broadcast on 12 June 1941), the losses of the army in Crete were 20 officers and 301 other ranks, and of the air force, including parachutists, 105 officers and 927 other ranks killed.

Nazi propaganda continued to publish extremely low casualty figures during the Russian war. According to German admissions, however, the number of fatal casualties suffered by the Germans in *the first two months* of the Eastern campaign was *about twice as high as the grand total for all previous campaigns in the war*. On 19 September 1941, the German Communique announced: 'After careful examination, our losses from 22 June to 31 August 1941, in the case of the army including the armed SS, amount to 84,354 dead, 291,690 wounded and 18,921 missing; in the case of the air force, 1,542 dead, 3,980 wounded and 1,378 missing.' By December 1941, the officially admitted casualty figure had doubled. Hitler stated on 11 December that 162,314 Germans had been killed and 571,767 wounded in Russia. Another grand total was published on 2 July 1942, at an opportune moment, when the Germans occupied Voronezh. Victory news was used as a screen for talking about losses: the score had risen to 272,000.

On 8 November 1942, the day after the invasion of North Africa, Hitler mentioned German losses again. By this time, it had become Nazi propaganda practice to stress the 'humanitarian' character of Hitler's strategy. For example, Stalingrad had not fallen, because the German Fuehrer, unwilling to repeat a 'Verdun,' wanted to save German lives. Addressing a party crowd in the Loewenbraeukeller in Munich, Hitler mentioned incidentally that the fatal German casualties in the Second World War had been 'scarcely 350,000.' He compared this figure with that of

more than two million German soldiers who had been killed in the First World War.

Hitler also emphasized the fact that the number of Reichstag members who had fallen on the field of honor was 39 in this war, but had been 'only 2' in the last. The discussion of casualties was becoming distinctly defensive. The comparison with the casualties in the First World War seemed favorable enough, but the very fact that it was made indicates that Nazi propaganda could no longer ignore such comparisons. The commentaries which followed up Hitler's casual announcement, in his Hero Memorial Day speech of 21 March 1943, of 542,000 Germans killed in this war amply repeated the same performance. Instead of comparing Hitler's ridiculously low figure with the Russian claims, which ran into millions, it was again pointed out that the last war had been ever so much more disastrous.

By the same token, insistence on the losses suffered by the Party functionaries, the SA and SS, clearly reveals that Hitler felt urged to defend himself against ugly rumors at home about Nazi privileges in an allegedly German war. On 7 May, when he delivered a funeral oration at the bier of Victor Lutze, Chief-of-Staff of the Storm Troopers, he returned to the same theme, beginning his speech with the following apology:

At a time when the war demands many woeful sacrifices of men and women, and unfortunately even of children in our people, the National Socialist Party carries an especially high blood burden. In all formations of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the armed SS, are members and followers of our movement, and they do their duty in an exemplary fashion. From the National Socialist Reichstag down to the mature age groups of the Hitler Youth the numbers of our dead from our movement proportionally far exceed the average of the share of all the rest of the people.

Lutze, it will be remembered, was killed when his automobile skidded on a highway in Germany. Hitler's insistence on the sacrifice of the Party made on the fields of battle was therefore

quite inappropriate and can only be explained by his preoccupation with popular criticism of Nazi shirking in the war the Nazis had started.

Finally, on 19 June 1943, Goebbels bluntly said in *Das Reich* that Germany had been waging 'real war' only 'since December 1941.'

Dr. Goebbels must be credited with some foresight in realizing earlier than any other leading Nazi that the war in Russia required a new kind of domestic propaganda. Many weeks before Hitler and his Press Chief, Dr. Dietrich, announced the collapse of Russia (on 3 and 9 October respectively), Goebbels began to give warning, subtly at first, soon with greater insistence, until finally, all his stooges adopted his new strategy. The early ecstasies of Blitz victory were replaced by appeals to heroic sacrifices, flights into the past and the future, musical escapism, horrifying pictures of enemy terror to come, and—beginning in the winter of 1942-3—by stark realism in the reports from the front.

According to Goebbels, the war had assumed unforeseen dimensions. It had developed into a struggle for survival. The Germans were no longer pitted against their enemies, but also against the hardships of nature, against the 'vicissitudes' of war, and against Fate. The Nazi-centric image of the world disintegrated.

Dr. Goebbels tried to put something more adequate in its place, something—less propagandistic. When the hour of hardship and suffering strikes, people grow tired of cleverness, and more than cleverness Goebbels could not give. It eventually became apparent that the propaganda principle of vicarious participation in the sham reality of war was so integral a part of Nazi politics that it could not be abandoned in defeat. Goebbels tried to modify it by promoting what may be called a sham morality of war.

Especially in the second Russian war winter, heroism and sacrifice became the key words of his home propaganda. But sacrifice for what? The new Europe for which the Germans were said

to be crusading had remained a singular illustration of Goebbels' total failure in this total war. In none of the European countries overrun by the German war machine and scourged by German occupation had Nazi diplomacy and Nazi propaganda succeeded in effecting any considerable measure of voluntary co-operation with the Nazi regime. Instead, Quisling had become a synonym of betrayal, failure, and toadyism all over the world. As to the heroic appeal, German gratitude for the defense of Stalingrad, which according to Goebbels and Goering had stemmed the 'onrush of the Steppes,' was spoiled by creeping suspicion on the part of the German masses that Hitler had mis-planned the invasion of Russia.

Goebbels' strategy of gloom⁵ reached its climax at the time of the annihilation of the Sixth German Army before Stalingrad, announced in the Special Communique of 3 February 1943, the only one devoted to a smashing German defeat. The propaganda of heroism and public mourning was as spectacularly theatrical as the Blitz victory propaganda had been.

On 12 March 1943, after the recapture of Kharkov by the Germans, Dr. Goebbels had to protest that he had not been inspired by any 'purposive pessimism' (*Zweckpessimismus*) when he had told his audience of Germany's most severe crisis of the war. Is it possible to imagine that Churchill might have protested at any time that he was really sincere when he said, on 10 May 1940, that he had nothing to offer but 'blood, toil, sweat, and tears'?

As losses mounted at the front and German cities were subjected to heavier assaults from the air, destruction and death became visible in Germany. No longer did the harvest of war consist of wine from France and furs from Norway. Moreover, following the defeat before Stalingrad, the middle classes were thrown into factories and family life was totally disrupted in consequence of the 'total mobilization' of manpower. Goebbels

⁵ See pp. 201-3.

emphatically rejected 'the accusation made against us by our enemies that this is an imitation of bolshevism,'⁶ but the *Schwarze Korps*, the organ of Himmler's Elite Guards, added scorn to the misery of the middle classes and welcomed their final destruction.

By this time, even the masses in Germany must have felt that the future was darkening. Heavier sacrifices had to be imposed upon the Germans at home, and Nazi propagandists insisted that they were necessary in order to stave off the next crisis. They were also said to be sweet in comparison with the bitterness of defeat. The 'When we shall win . . .' of blitzkrieg days was altogether replaced by the 'If we were to lose . . .'

Nazi propagandists threatened the masses not only with the dismemberment of the Reich but also with slavery, famine, the exportation of German youth, and with mass sterilization—all to be inflicted upon the Germans by the Jew who 'has built up a terroristic military power in Bolshevism' and 'camouflages himself as plutocracy and capitalism' in England and America. Thus, the sham morality of total war was implemented by threats of revenge and retribution to be meted out to all Germans by a ruthless enemy. The curse of the men and women suffering under the yoke of the conqueror was, in this way, broadcast by the conqueror's propagandists.

The crisis of German propaganda grew throughout the spring of 1943. In previous years of the war, German armies had completed the conquest of new lands or had once more been on the march during the month of June: Norway, the Low Countries, and France in 1940, the Balkans and Crete and the invasion of Russia in 1941, Tobruk and the progressing siege of Sevastopol in 1942. The fourth June of the war passed without the resumption of new German strategic operations. In addition, submarine sinkings declined sharply in April, May, and June, while the fury of the air war over Western Germany reached a new high. These developments could not fail to impress on the German

⁶ 18 February, 1943.

mind that the present had become dark and the future fatally uncertain.

The Nazis were forced to sacrifice their most vitally important propaganda claim, namely that the German armies always have the initiative and thus dictate the course of events. As late as 4 July, 1942, Dr. Goebbels had said: 'A strategy which exhausts itself in the defensive will paralyze in the end the initiative and the active power of a nation.' On 31 May 1943, Lieutenant General Kurt Dittmar, Germany's leading military commentator, tried to silence popular doubts of Germany's ability to embark upon a new offensive in Russia. He said: 'The question "Who can attack?" is less relevant at present than the question "Who must attack?"' Thus, by a phrase, initiative was transformed into a sign of strategical weakness. The Germans, said Dittmar, were 'waiting'; and waiting 'despite the apparent passivity connected with it, constitutes a very high active factor, because it is based on a certain consciousness that sooner or later the enemy must attack.'

The image of the Fuehrer, too, was modified by defeat. Hitler's magic power thrives on success. It will crumble when the German armies are decisively defeated, under the impact of force rather than dissuasion.

When Hitler after a long abstention from appearance in public delivered his short Hero Memorial Day speech of 21 March 1943, in Berlin, German propagandists pointed out that his 'face had set.' And Goebbels, in his birthday speech, broadcast by Radio Allouis on 19 April 1943, commented on the Fuehrer's face as follows:

The traces of hardness, of determination, but also of deep suffering for his people and, in a larger sense, for mankind, which altogether against his will and intentions must bear so much bitterness and so many burdens, have here become unmistakable.

By this time, Nazi propagandists made subtle suggestions that perfect planning in war is not always possible and that the genius

of great generals should not be measured with the yardstick applied to experts.

Thus, implementing the general adaptations of their propaganda to the second, more serious, phase of the war, the Nazis tried to humanize the portrait of the Fuehrer by modifying his infallibility and by substituting for intuition and omniscience the suffering of a great genius who wrestles with fate.

In the winter of 1942 and in the spring of 1943, when the United Nations seized the initiative on three fronts—in Russia, in the air over Europe, and in Africa—the position of the Fuehrer as the prime mover of the world, about which Goebbels and all other Nazis used to talk, was for the first time seriously endangered. Hitler himself did not talk any more, as he had done in the early phase of the war, of ‘a hundred,’ ‘five hundred,’ or ‘a thousand’ years to come to be determined by German conquest. In fact, he kept silent altogether. After 8 November 1942, he did not address any German mass meeting for a whole year; instead (on 30 January, 18 February, 5 June, etc.) the big political speeches were given by Goebbels, as Hitler’s silence became habitual.⁷

2. ROUTINES OF PROPAGANDA

While, in the fourth year of the war, the armed forces of the Nazi State continue to fight with habitual skill, the voice of the propagandist has become hoarse. Nazi propaganda is deteriorating more rapidly than any other instrument of State or Party power. Its foundations are crumbling before the shock of military setbacks and Germany’s new defensive role in warfare. German propaganda, based as it was on the appearance of omnipotence and the monopoly of initiative, presupposed an enemy who does not resist effectively and does not act spontaneously. Nazi propaganda is less adaptable to a change from triumph to setback than propaganda of any other social order.

⁷ For later developments see postscript, p. 139.

Many observers have suggested that the Nazis are masters of 'psychological warfare,' and that they have followed new psychological approaches in their propaganda.⁸ But we find that we cannot corroborate these opinions. Nazi propagandists have originated little; they borrowed general principles and technical devices from socialism, communism, and Italian fascism; and they also leaned heavily upon the routine of advertising as practiced in a competitive society. They rationalized their propaganda practice in verbose writings, but their views are merely the traditional views of all demagogues. They believe that the people—whom they consistently call 'the masses' in their writings on propaganda—are crowd-minded, and that in a crowd individuals are dehumanized, inflammable matter. Nazi propagandists believe that repetition can make words all powerful over the mind, can make man a set of reactions to stimuli. They believe that fear and hate, love and devotion can be heightened to such frenzy that these emotions alone will dictate the course of action. They also believe that man can be seduced by profit and the promise of loot. But, most of all, they believe in the power of suggestion emanating from the leader.⁹

All this is true of man: he is sometimes more easily suggestible than at other times; he sometimes reacts to stereotypical stimuli; he fears and hates, and his judgment can be swayed; he is also corruptible. But no matter how good or bad he is, he has what the Nazis do not mention—the faculty of reasonable judgment. Nazi propagandists hardly ever mention reason in their writings; their propaganda is meant as an attack upon it.

When hardships grow, when facts disprove the propagandist's assertion and experiences belie the prophecies of the inspired leader, people will tend to infringe upon the propagandist's pre-

⁸ Cf. *German Psychological Warfare*, edited by Ladislav Farago, New York, 1941.

⁹ For a more detailed psychological analysis see Kris, Ernst, 'The Danger of Propaganda,' *American Imago*, II, 1940, pp. 1-42 and: 'Some Problems of War Propaganda; A Note on Propaganda, New and Old,' *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, Vol. XII, 1943, pp. 381-99.

rogative and start to judge and to ask questions. Then the official newspaper of the National Socialist Party must carry an article to say that discussion is welcomed by the Government provided that it does not reach the enemy ears.¹⁰ In short, a state of affairs has arisen which Nazi propaganda was devised to prevent.

In the days of the Weimar Republic, National Socialist propaganda was geared to the 'conquest of the masses.' After the accession to power, the goal was modified. Propaganda, said Goebbels, should be used to bulwark power and to eliminate all serious opposition by acquainting the people 'with certain ideals in such a way that they *yield voluntarily and without inner resistance*' to the aims of the leader. He claimed that without propaganda a modern state is helpless against the subversive forces of anarchy and chaos.¹¹ By anarchy, we suppose, Goebbels meant critical ability, and by chaos, political controversy.

In order to make people yield to propaganda 'without inner resistance,' the propagandist, Goebbels said, must be invisible. In actual fact, there is no visible trace of censorship in Germany. Newspapers do not appear with those blank spaces which to Europeans are an obvious indication of government restrictions on freedom of the press.¹² Old-fashioned censorship is made superfluous by more refined methods, with supervision centered on the political selection and 'responsibility' of the producers, i.e. editors and writers, rather than on scrutiny of their products. The publicist, as a member of the elite, is well indoctrinated and will know how to implement the Ministry's daily directives. But should misunderstandings occur, the directives of the next day may contain a reprimand.¹³

¹⁰ *Voelkischer Beobachter*, 3 July 1943.

¹¹ See Goebbels, J. P., *Propaganda als Mittlerin*, Berlin, 1934.

¹² In Czechoslovakia, where blank spaces were familiar from censorship in the last war, they were explicitly forbidden in Nazi instructions to the Czech Press after the occupation. See Kris, Ernst, 'German Censorship Instructions for the Czech Press,' *Social Research*, May 1941, pp. 238-46.

¹³ See Lochner, Louis P., *What about Germany?* Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, 1942, p. 272. When news on England was not handled according to plan, the directives said: 'Berlin Monday sheets, accustomed to sob-

Since uniformity might, however, reveal the true extent of supervision, German propaganda attempts to avoid standardization whenever possible. Political and military commentary is not always prescribed in detail. The directives to the press define the general line, indicating the type of treatment and the importance to be given the particular event. When the German battleship *Bismarck* was sunk, the press instructions issued on 17 March 1941, read as follows: 'Reports about the *Bismarck* may not exceed two columns. Commentary must be manly without much pathos.'¹⁴ Within such limits, individual writers are expected to appear as independent as possible.

In the modern world, man is dependent on news brokers, specialists who make a living by informing him about events.¹⁵ In the democracies these news brokers serve their customer, the public; in a totalitarian country they serve the Government. In a democracy, news is offered to the public by competing agencies which, while interested in profit, must also be concerned with truth—on principle or because their public demands it. In Germany, news is the monopoly of government and a decisive means of social control, and truth is not one of the recognized values.¹⁶

The difference is blurred nonetheless by the type of reporting. The German reporter writes as freshly as his American colleague; he has a similar technique of reporting observations, of interviewing participants in events, and of dramatizing their experience; he quotes sources and gives evidence. But he is not free

writing, are publishing headlines which run counter to this instruction; if headlines similar to those which appeared today recur, English news will be forbidden altogether. The editors can then see how they will edit their pages.'

¹⁴ Quoted by Lochner, *op. cit.* p. 9.

¹⁵ For the following see: Kris, Ernst, 'Mass Communication under Totalitarian Governments,' in *Print, Radio, and Film in a Democracy*, ed. by Douglas Waples, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942, pp. 14-40.

¹⁶ Power, however, proves profitable, as can be seen from the balance sheet of the Eher Publishing House in Munich, in which the Fuehrer is the main shareholder, or from the process of 'rationalization' which in the spring of 1943 led to the liquidation of many German newspapers and periodicals not owned by party members.

to look for his story; his reports are about what he was made to see, and indoctrination helps him to see what his superiors want him to see. He interviews those who will tell the story that jibes with the official version of the event,¹⁷ and his quotations from foreign sources are selected to lend the government's point of view the appearance of universal approval. In all that concerns the speed of reporting, the Nazis closely follow the habits of the competitive news services of the democracies. Sometimes their competitors are their enemies and then reporting enhances Germany's reputation for veracity. But speed of reporting is also considered an achievement in itself reflecting the efficiency of their news service.¹⁸

In using the scoop, the Nazis perverted another custom of competitive news systems, for many of their scoops were official releases, or news especially created for a propaganda campaign. When in 1940 it seemed essential to endow the hate campaign preceding the invasion of Denmark and Norway with greater immediacy, secret documents were suddenly 'discovered' in the Polish Foreign Office in Warsaw. These were said to implicate the American Ambassadors Bullitt, Biddle, and Kennedy, in a conspiracy with England, France, and Poland against Germany, thus justifying the invasion of Norway as an attack against a world-wide system of encirclement. Shortly afterwards, a second sensation was arranged. A map of Europe was discovered in the background of a photograph of Reynaud and Sumner Welles, published in *L'Illustration*. This map was said to show post-war Europe as projected by Allied leaders, with Germany and the little neutrals stripped of their frontiers.¹⁹

¹⁷ There were rare exceptions in the first year of the war, when radio interviews with front soldiers took occasionally an unexpected and unwanted turn. After that, recording was introduced as a means of supervision. During the German offensive of 1941 in Russia, however, even this supervision did not prevent interviewed soldiers from saying things which the paid propagandist never said.

¹⁸ Cf. Gordon, Matthew, *News is a Weapon*, New York, 1942.

¹⁹ Speier, Hans, 'Magic Geography,' *Social Research*, September 1941, pp. 310-30.

Opportune discoveries have since become routine in German propaganda. The most fateful of these was in the spring of 1943, when, at Katyn, near Smolensk, the corpses of 10,000 Polish officers allegedly murdered by Soviet soldiers made a sudden appearance. It was a time when German propaganda did its best to drive a wedge between Russia and her Western allies and was in dire need of news to divert the homeland from the military situation. The Polish Government-in-Exile, opposed to Russia's claims on Poland's eastern frontiers, fell into the German trap by supporting Germany's suggestion of an investigation by the International Red Cross. They apparently did not realize that the same propagandist had used a similar technique in 1939 to justify the eradication of the Poles, when Goebbels discovered the Polish outrages at Bromberg. The discovery of the corpses of Katyn was presented to the German people as an event of the first magnitude, as tangible evidence of Russian atrocity, intended to support the hope that the civilized world would one day appreciate Germany's struggle against the foe of all mankind.

In July 1943, German propaganda followed up the Katyn story with the discovery of another mass grave at Vinnitsa in the Ukraine. This time the victims were peasants, and German propagandists called it 'the little man's Katyn.' In handling this new Russian atrocity, the propagandist unwittingly revealed that there were Germans who had noticed the fact that only officers had been victims at Katyn and who had interpreted the atrocity campaign as a symptom of fear in their own leaders.

Even when the faked event is later contradicted by information from outside Germany, its purpose is probably fulfilled if it can create momentary confusion and inflame emotions to surround a particular action. However, in the day-by-day reporting of military events, the propagandist must aim at long-term credibility. The Nazi propagandist is not motivated by a preference for lies, and he knows their danger; he is apt to tell as much of the truth as is expedient and limit his lying as far as possible to

places where he is not likely to be caught. But information seeps into Germany from Allied broadcasts. Soldiers write letters and return home on leave. Even Axis-controlled broadcasting stations may not be co-ordinated to the last detail. Thus the distortion of news must be limited to those fields in which statements can least easily be disproved by the audience; and here much depends on the type of fighting to be reported.

Land warfare is more easily checked and more easily understood by the layman than is fighting at sea and in the air. Advance through enemy territory and the capture of towns prove themselves, so to speak. In actual fact, German reports of territorial gain were more accurate than reports on aerial and naval action, at least before the Russian campaign. This tendency was probably determined in part by a tradition of sober reporting in the army carried over from the last war.

The reports of the German Navy are less hampered by a tradition of sobriety than those of the Army. During the last war, divergence steadily increased between the officially claimed and the actual U-boat successes of the German Navy. In this war, losses of German merchantmen are never announced, and it is obvious that sinkings of enemy ships are exaggerated. Happenings at sea can be less easily checked than happenings on land; the extent of damage done to a ship is not always easy to ascertain; and the Allied navies are conveniently reticent in denying enemy claims. The miscarriage of truth need not always be deliberate; it tends to be engendered by the situation. The returning U-boat captain receives promotion and medals on the strength of his claims. His desires for aggrandizement play conveniently into the hands of the Propaganda Ministry, interested primarily in doing its job cleverly and getting away with as much as possible.²⁰ In the course of the present war, U-boat successes rose so frequently at just the right time to offset unsavory news from

²⁰ For example, U-boat captain Prien claimed the *Ark Royal* more than two years before it was actually sunk.

other fronts, or while other fronts were quiescent, that we may suspect that propaganda effect is an important consideration in reporting U-boat action.²¹

Reports about air fighting are equally difficult to check. The extent of damage done to the enemy on the ground and to his planes in the air cannot always be judged with accuracy. Added to this is the fact that the air force under Goering is the new Nazi weapon—its spirit is close to the Party and without any vestigial traces of allegiance to a non-party tradition. No general, for instance, ever stepped out of character sufficiently to promise Germany that she would not be invaded, as Goering promised Germany that she would not be bombed. While reports on aerial action against England were freely distorted in the early phases of the war, since the Battle of Britain the propagandist has been forced to consider the ever-growing prestige of BBC reports; later, claims of RAF losses over Germany were not so excessively exaggerated as during the Battle of Britain. However, when dealing with Russia, the propagandist became bold. The following contradictory statements on total Russian airplanes destroyed were found in radio transmissions between 8 November and 22 November 1941 by the research staff of the BBC:

8 Nov. 1941: 'More than 15,000' Russian planes captured or destroyed. (Hitler.)

17 Nov. 1941: Same figure, but as of beginning of October: 2,174 additional planes claimed for the period 1 October to 8 Nov., 'according to yesterday's German communique.' (Speaker from Allouis in German.)

While the total claim had thus increased to 17,174 planes as of 16 Nov., it shrank again four days later.

21 Nov. 1941: 15,877 planes destroyed or captured 'up to yesterday's reports.' (Speaker from Frankfurt in German.)

²¹ See Figure xxvi, p. 385. Even details of etiquette are planned. Oechsner quotes a press instruction saying: 'Last month the Luftwaffe got most of the credit for sinking ships. This month, you will run more PK reports of submarine cruises, pictures of submarine commanders and roundups of submarine activities.' (Oechsner, Frederick, and associates. *This Is the Enemy*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1942, p. 254.)

22 Nov. 1941: 'Nearly 16,000 aircraft.' (*Political Review*.)

22 Nov. 1941: '16,912 Soviet aircraft.' (Breslau to England.) ²²

The Nazi propagandist can distort news by a simple confusion of rhetoric so that no details will stand out for direct rebuttal. A statement by Amery, British Secretary of State for India, was introduced over the radio by the phrase: 'Amery forgets that . . .' A thoroughly inadequate summary of a Churchill speech was interlarded with phrases such as 'in his usual fashion,' 'the usual Churchillian forecasts,' and 'he made the involuntary admission.' The subtle transposition of comment for news, of evaluation for description, predigests the material to make independent judgment of the event impossible.

However, the texture into which items are woven is more significant than the distortion of a single report.²³ News items are rarely independent but rather put together like stones in a mosaic to produce a desired picture. Nor is the planning limited to a minor adjustment of items; news is made to implement large and carefully constructed contexts. When American production is to be minimized, the German people hear about a country in which experts cannot agree, and where civilians and military authorities represent conflicting interests, a country in which the rationing system has failed and much food is being bought on the black market. No individual news item needs to be false or invented in order to convey this picture; it can be conveyed by mere selections from any American tape. Slanting may then be helpful here and there, minor or major changes may reinforce the individual traits, but such alteration is often less important than the selection itself.

Selected and slanted news and falsifications based on fallacious analogies occur everywhere. Since good news leads to bigger

²² The device of substituting specific digits for round numbers to give the impression of accuracy can be compared to the use of speed and the reliance on the quality of immediacy to give a scoop the appearance of authenticity. Russian military communications make the same use of digits, and the Germans may have copied this practice from their enemies.

²³ See pp. 63-66.

newspaper sales, headlines in newspapers of the democracies may exaggerate enemy losses and whole reports may be slanted to please the public. But in a democracy there are always correspondents, experts, and commentators who endeavor to correct false impressions, rash hopes, and prejudices by eliminating misleading comparisons, simplifications, or unwarranted generalizations, and by adding new facts. They try to build as complete and objective a body of information as possible around the news of the day—and the best of them succeed in creating understanding. In Germany the news selected by the government and all commentary miraculously reinforce each other. The German who has just been treated by the newscaster to news on American economic disorganization hears from his commentator that *everything in American life is based on bluff*.

Sometimes the desire for consistency of interpretation can prove detrimental to the appearance of efficiency so highly cherished by the German propagandist. If a policy of interpretation has not been established, news must be delayed. The German report on the Allied landing in North Africa in November 1942 was withheld for over 24 hours while Allied broadcasts were informing many German listeners of the fact. Delays in reporting, contradictions, and other mishaps in communication, regularly noticed and exploited by Allied propaganda, are bound to occur, since the co-ordination between the routine of news reporting and the planning of propaganda can function smoothly only as long as the German propagandist deals with events he can foresee.

The contexts created by the propagandist are the more easily acceptable to his audience, the more familiar they are. The German people will be inclined to believe the lurid descriptions of rationing and the black market in the United States because of their own experience with shortages. But the propagandist depends upon another type of familiarity, developed not through experience but by his manipulation of minds. Each new interpretation is made to sound familiar because it supplements or confirms views previously expressed; and, whenever possible,

familiarity leads from the current event to the depths of Nazi ideology. With only slight exaggeration, one might say that if Goebbels succeeds in his plan, thinking is reduced to recalling, and the right recall can be induced by 'conditioning.'

Hitler in *Mein Kampf* calls propaganda 'political advertising.' From a superficial study of its intricacies, he derived the conviction that simplification and repetition are the main instruments of 'salesmanship in business and politics.' 'Effective propaganda,' he says, 'has to limit itself only to a very few points and to use them like slogans, until even the very last man is able to imagine what is intended by such a word.' But simplification without repetition will not do; propaganda rests on a 'sometimes unbelievably rough and thorough belaboring of the mind,' on 'a barrage,' to quote one of Goebbels' collaborators,²⁴ 'which overwhelms the senses.'

The Ministry of Propaganda has based some of its routines upon these views, particularly the exploitation of stereotypes. There is no agitator who does not use stereotypes to simplify events and vilify the enemy; all war propaganda abounds in them. Stereotypes intensify the emotional charges of a sentence, and, when they stand alone, they can act like slogans. Nazi propagandists are not satisfied with using stereotypes in a haphazard fashion. They do not merely call their own army 'glorious,' 'brave,' 'victorious,' and the enemy 'vile' and 'treacherous,' as did the Imperial German propagandists; they systematize their use of stereotypes with that precision Goebbels calls 'scientific,' and which is known to every advertising agency.

Not only are major propaganda themes frequently repeated and discussed from various angles, so that, whatever the approach and variation, the prescribed theme of the propagandist emerges as a result. They are also condensed into significant formulas, into single words or simple combinations of words, which repeated *ad libitum* can eventually replace the larger con-

²⁴ Weinbrenner, Joseph, *Handbuch des deutschen Rundfunks*, 1938-9.

text. The associations that are to be stimulated by the stereotypes are created gradually by the propagandist, who assumes that they will return when the appropriate stimulus is given, once their coherence has been firmly established.²⁵

One of the main concerns of Nazi propaganda is to provide moral justification for Nazi aggressive actions. Hitler, in full agreement with most German nationalists and reactionaries, expressed the conviction in *Mein Kampf* that it had been an unforgivable mistake of the Imperial German government ever to have admitted partial responsibility for the First World War. 'It would have been far better to burden the enemy entirely with this guilt, even if this had not been in accordance with the real facts, as it was indeed the case.' In the Second World War, German propaganda has closely observed this prescription. Responsibility for the war, for its extension, and for each new savagery has been attributed by German propagandists to their enemies. This lesson was then embodied in certain stereotypes. During the Polish campaign, German propagandists hardly admitted that war had broken out; the invasion was described as a punitive expedition, and an instruction issued by the Ministry at that time shows the propagandist's concern about wording: ²⁶

The word 'war' must be used as sparingly as possible, especially in headlines; preferably the expression 'state of war' is to be used. In relation to Poland, it is neither a 'war' nor a 'state of war,' but 'reprisals for Polish attacks and provocations.'

²⁵ The term 'stereotype' was introduced by Walter Lippmann (*Public Opinion*, New York, 1922), who speaks of 'standardized pictures in the head,' but does not distinguish between the stereotype as a stimulus and as a response. This distinction was introduced by Allen E. Edwards ('Studies of Stereotypes, I., The Directionality and Uniformity of Responses to Stereotypes,' *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1940, Vol. xii, pp. 357-66): 'A stereotype is a stimulus which arouses standardized preconceptions which are influential in determining one's responses to the stimulus.' The term 'stereotype' as used in this book usually refers to the 'stimulus.' The standardized preconceptions were purposefully created by German propagandists and the stereotype is made to condense various elements of the contexts of propaganda.

²⁶ German Censorship Instructions for the Czech Press, issued on 25 September 1939. See Kris, E., *Social Research*, 1941, p. 243.

In later phases of the war, other themes in the propaganda of justification were handled by means of stereotypes. The argument that Britain and France had declared war on Germany and had prepared the incumbent attack was embodied in the stereotype 'war-monger,' and, when a stronger word was needed to blame England for the extension of war, the propagandist temporarily stressed the word 'aggressor.' In these and many similar cases we have reason to assume that the use of the vast majority of stereotypes is regulated by the Ministry of Propaganda. Detailed studies have shown that the introduction of a new stereotype or the disappearance or modification of an old one indicates changes in propaganda policy.²⁷

The German propagandists are so convinced of the power of stereotypes that they sometimes take great pains to destroy those of the enemy. German propagandists seldom refer to the 'United Nations,' and when they do, the term is used ironically in a context that demonstrates disunity. When 'Battle of Britain,' coined by Churchill in his speech of 22 May 1940, began to suggest the first German defeat, Nazi propagandists did their utmost to prevent the phrase from gaining familiarity in Germany. In one case, they even decided to appropriate outright the enemy's stereotype. When the BBC's V campaign gained ascendancy in Europe in the summer of 1941, and the V sign, originally meant to stand for the French *victoire* and the Flemish *vrijheid*, grew into the rallying symbol of European freedom, the Germans organized a V campaign of their own in which V was supposed to stand for *Viktoria*.

Preparations for this fraud were made at high speed. On 10 July Hans Fritzsche urged the European people to unite against

²⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this subject see: Research Paper #7, Research Project on Totalitarian Communication, *A Typological Analysis of Stereotypes Used in German News Broadcasts*, Doctoral Dissertation by J. Goldstein, written in partial fulfilment of requirements for the Doctor of Social Science degree at the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, The New School for Social Research. Mimeographed.

England.²⁸ On the 12th, he announced a European Monroe Doctrine; and on the 15th, he summed up both themes by exalting the volunteers who fought on the Russian front. On the 17th, he thought that it would be a good idea to have a symbol for the common ideals of European nations and declared that by good fortune it happened to be at hand, since all European fighters and all the radio stations had spontaneously adopted the idea of a lucky telegraphist who, anxious to speed a Special Announcement, had simply broadcast 'V,' which everybody knew could mean only *Viktoria*. The European peoples had erected gigantic V signs everywhere, and the Czechs in Prague were to have V fireworks that very evening. On the 20th, Fritzsche came to tell the people that a great insult had been done the European nations by Churchill, who had stolen the idea and pretended that he had invented the whole thing—despite the fact that Europe was already rallied under this sign. The appropriation of symbols from the enemy has often been practiced by Nazi propagandists. Their use of May Day, their practice of incorporating a few bars of earlier German war songs into their own new war songs, or even the adaptation of Red Army songs, are but a few examples out of many.

Stereotypes need not refer only to arguments used by the propagandist but can, and usually do, refer to the images he has created in the minds of his audience and the complex imagery with which he daily manipulates their ideas. When the German propagandist speaks of the Jew, that word is a stereotype which evokes an image. 'The picture in the head' is of something dirty, with a long nose, sensual, scheming and plotting to destroy Germany; each of its attributes is fully determined and rich in connotation, while some are interchangeable. When the Jew is poor and in rags, his revenge is dangerous; when he is rich and lives in London or Washington, his power is fearful. But it is always the same image, one of great visual vividness and high

²⁸ For Fritzsche's function and personality, see pp. 71 ff. and 91 ff.

emotional charge. When the German propagandist speaks of 'victory,' the word automatically spells tank, advances, annihilation, German action and triumph; and, in turn, words such as 'tank' and 'German action' may evoke the whole image of victory, which is familiar from photographs and newsreels.

The German propagandist talks about the world to his audience in terms of images.²⁹ These projections are not only simplified to the utmost, but are also of remarkable coherence. In the ideal instance no inconsistent traits appear in them. The words that are to build up the image are vivid, composed like a poster, seductive, easy to remember, and meant to be 'taken for real,' but deprived of the complexities of reality. In discussing Nazi manipulation of day-to-day information, we said that individual items are made to fit like stones in a mosaic. The analogy applies equally to the formation of an image. Not only the news, but all that is said about the Leader, Germany, the National Socialist Party, the German soldier, the enemy and his leaders, and about their actions, victory, or setback, is planned so as to fill a configuration. All descriptive, informative, evaluative, or speculative detail is subordinated to it.

In the projection of the world to his audience, which we here call his imagery, the Nazi propagandist leans heavily upon whatever part of German tradition is capable of being assimilated to his purpose. In all he says there predominates a compound of cynicism and mysticism which for twenty years has been the creed of all Nazis and for ten years the daily indoctrination of all Germans. The propagandist is convinced that his imagery

²⁹ The term 'image' as used in this book denotes a subjective deviation from reality, an impression of material or non-material facts with the characteristics of vividness, simplification, and distortion. By image we mean both the stimulus and the response to it. For the former, we also use imagery. In the study of historiography a somewhat similar concept of imagery was used in reference to the image of the artist. (See Kris, E., and Kurz, O., *Die Legende vom Kuenstler*, Vienna, 1935; Kris, 'Zur Psychologie der aelteren Biographie,' *Imago*, xxi, 1935.) See also Homburger-Erikson, E., 'Hitler's Imagery and German Youth,' in *Psychiatry*, Vol. v, 1942, 475-93.

has grown deep roots among the German people. He assumes that it has become so familiar that whenever he exposes only part of an image the public will tend to supply the rest. He hopes that this tendency will be an obstacle to reasonable examination of the meaning of his words and that the urge toward completing a familiar pattern will take the place of thinking.

This is the timeless expectation of all propagandists. Wherever they work, political imagery arises. In the democracies this process is curbed by specialists who strive to break the spell and to halt the formation of dangerous images by a clarification of issues. Even in dealing with the enemy at war, experts in Britain and in the United States have presented factual evidence to dissipate the spirit of misleading imagery, which demagogues prefer. In Germany, instead, the tendencies that lure men toward that dream-like world where shapes replace concepts and emotions prevail over scrutiny are systematically exploited.

When the German propagandist reports on a speech by Mr. Churchill, he need not repeat so frequently what he has formerly said. Churchill's image, he assumes, exists in the minds of the listeners. It is that of a fat, old, doddering, but evil-looking man, with a plutocratic cigar and a glass of whiskey, a drunkard who lies in inebriation, a criminal who sadistically enjoys the war. The propagandist simply refers to this image when he says that Churchill, 'stammering with impotent rage, has rescued himself by old and hackneyed phrases.'

If changes occur in the world of events, the German propagandist gradually tries to modify his image. Not all images lend themselves to re-edition. When Churchill's greatness as a leader was finally proved by success, the German propagandist, seemingly unable to redraw the image, had to adjust himself to the change by exhibiting his image less frequently.

The propagandist can avoid speaking of Churchill but cannot avoid speaking of war itself. As the war continues, its image must be modified. In the days of the Blitz, the image of war was identical with that of victory. War was the irresistible advance of the

German army. The enemy may have suffered, but efficient German youth leapt from conquest to conquest. In the first German war films, *Baptism of Fire* and *Victory in the West*, no corpses were shown. But when the battles in Russia brought home the reality of war, the image had to be modified. The soldier was no longer a martial boy scout, no longer clean and elastic; he grew in age, became a hero sacrificing his life for his country, fighting against the hardships of nature and the treachery of bestial enemies. The romantic knight of the tanks, rushing on autostradas through western Europe, became a tired infantry man stuck in eastern mud. At that time, the German people refused to see newsreels which continued to render the old image of the war, and the director of the film section of the Propaganda Ministry had to expatiate on why no corpses had been shown.³⁰ The old image of the war was re-edited; gradually, corpses appeared in the newsreels, horror was admitted; and out of horror grew the stylized heroism at Stalingrad. The changing features of the war were absorbed into a revised image.

The principles of Nazi news policy have been formulated by Eugen Hadamovsky: ³¹ 'People have relied upon so-called Human Reason, without taking into consideration its dependence on the impression of the context. Nowadays, we receive this impression to a large extent indirectly, namely through the news . . .' The German news service does not aim 'at being objective, free and independent, as is the ambition of the liberal gentlemen of the press who consider themselves the center of the universe.' The policy to be adopted in a specific case is merely a practical application of basic belief. According to Hadamovsky, news is 'selected and interpreted' in accordance with the 'spiritual foun-

³⁰ Kracauer, Siegfried, *Propaganda and the Nazi War Film*, New York Museum of Modern Art Film Library, Lithoprint, 1942, and *The Conquest of Europe on the Screen*, The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., Experimental Division for the Study of Wartime Communication, Harold Lasswell, Chief, Document No. 5; Kris, Ernst, 'The Imagery of War,' in *The Dayton Art Institute Bulletin*, October 1942.

³¹ Hadamovsky, Eugen, *Propaganda und nationale Macht*, Berlin, 1933.

dation of National Socialism.' Since the Fuehrer's decisions are supreme directives, the spiritual foundation of National Socialism includes all apparent contradictions and any opportunism required by the demands of a specific situation. Hadamovsky is also aware of the limitations of the method he advocates.

Everybody is dependent on the news and must believe it in spite of the strongest resistance on the part of his reason if he finds it confirmed again and again and does not find it refuted anywhere . . . Against news, everybody is defenseless as long as he has to rely solely upon himself.

Thus, in justifying the monopoly of propaganda as the only means of complete indoctrination, he recognizes the danger that the monopoly may be broken. In wartime, the BBC and the *Voice of America* are refuting the version presented to the German people by the Propaganda Ministry; and the German who has the courage to listen to foreign broadcasts need not 'rely solely upon himself.' But there are more tangible and more effective refutations than even the alternatives presented to the listener. There are facts, which cannot be denied. 'Only a few facts,' says Hadamovsky, 'can tell their own story without comments to bring forth their meaning.' Defeat is such a fact.

3. THE DANGER OF OMNIPOTENCE

The manipulation of news, the creation of images and stereotypes, the manifold artifices that promote the latent purposes of propaganda are the work of the invisible propagandist. While the invasions of 1940 were prepared over months by the invisible propagandists, the fact of invasion was announced by Goebbels and Ribbentrop in person. The visible propagandist is he who exercises personal power, and his function is that of political leadership. All Nazi leaders are visible propagandists in this sense. They continually contribute to German propaganda and redirect its course. The daily flow of communication consists, to a considerable extent, of quotations from their speeches.

Hitler is not only the supreme leader of the Reich and as such the prime subject of German propaganda; he is also the supreme propagandist. Hitler, the propagandist, has largely created among the Germans the image of Hitler, the Leader. He himself indicated the direction of his heroization in Nazi propaganda by consistently stressing the miraculous character of his own career. He taught the Germans to look upon his successes not only as evidence of his power or ability but also as proof of his inspiration; inspiration, in turn, became the foundation for his claim of infallibility.

Under Hitler's guidance German propaganda established the image of Hitler's omnipotence in the years of appeasement, and reinforced this image in the first two years of war. Propagandists needed only to exploit changes on the map—the like of which had not been witnessed since the time of Napoleon. In these years the German people were guided through a world where there was only one who acted; from the day when German panzers cut through the French defenses, Hitler had no opponents, but only victims.

When the wells of triumph dried, the task of propaganda became arduous, and readjustments were necessary. First, the image of omnipotence was stressed even further; later, it was modified and substitutes were introduced. In the first period, roughly from the winter of 1941 to the fall of 1942, Hitler himself intervened by increasing the scope of his personal leadership; in the second period he spoke little.

Omnipotence presupposes full control of space and time. In dealing with space, Nazi propaganda adopted two devices: limitation and expansion. When further advance became impossible, they claimed that the European living space, from the Eastern front to the Atlantic, could not be assailed by the enemy. It was the Fortress of Europe in which Germany was unopposed. Everything else became a mere forefield of the fortress. The propagandist emphasized the wealth, productive capacity, and moral

unity of the occupied space as a substitute for conquerable new worlds. Propaganda also referred to the Japanese co-prosperity sphere; but this reference did not gain pre-eminence until the propagandist turned to his second device and made the world expand. Then he spoke of large geopolitical units, of warring continents and supercontinents, and thus replaced the unconquered steppes of Russia by the unconquerable magnitude of the globe.

The propagandist's problems increased when he dealt with time. The treatment of the past involved the least difficulty. Past triumphs could be re-celebrated, and even past setbacks, when magnified and described as crises which the Fuehrer had mastered, could be used to enhance the image of his greatness.

In dealing with the present, the paramount problem was to prove Hitler's freedom of action. If he could no longer do what he liked to do, then his omnipotence would be visibly impaired. There were several phases in the propaganda defense of Hitler's monopoly of initiative. At first, propaganda simply denied that Hitler's initiative could be or was ever subject to limitations. In 1940, when the Battle of Britain had ended in defeat, and British propaganda had been asserting that Hitler, unable to carry out his plan of invasion, had been stopped for the first time, German propaganda waged a battle of denial for many months. Hitler, it was said, would invade Britain in his own good time, and not at the moment prescribed by the BBC.⁸²

In the winter campaign of 1941-2 in Russia, it was no longer possible to deny that omnipotence had been impaired, since Moscow and Leningrad remained unconquered. The death roll lengthened and the wounded streamed home. When the offensive failed and the armies had been driven back from Rostov—which was never admitted—the propagandist conceded a loss of initiative, but he did not admit that initiative had been lost to the

⁸² A year later, when Hitler hoped to conquer Moscow within a few weeks, he finally admitted his failure with regard to England (3 Oct. 1941).

enemy. The offensive, it was officially said, had come to an end, but it had been lost to Nature, not to the foe.

In the next case, the initiative displayed by the enemy passed unrecognized once more. It was, in fact, denied. When Allied armies landed in Africa in the winter of 1942, German propaganda asserted, after a short hesitation, that since the 'Anglo-Saxons' landed at a place not occupied by German armies, they had not landed where they wanted to land or where Germany minded their landing. Germany was allowing them to play at invasion.

At about the same time, Germany's claim to sole initiative was once more challenged by the Russians. German propaganda now responded with the argument that the initiative of the enemy was futile. The Russian offensive of 1942-3 was said to have failed at the last moment, and the situation was said to have been saved by the superhuman sacrifice of the heroes at Stalingrad. The conquest of Africa, a side show, did not alter the fact that invasion was bound to fail after initial success. And the air raids were mere acts of gratuitous barbarism incapable of disrupting German production.

It is to some extent misleading to divide the defense of omnipotence into successive phases, because the four arguments appeared at all times. Even in the spring of 1943, it was occasionally hinted that the Fortress of Europe was a base from which Germany could launch an attack at any moment. Our division corresponds to the periods in which each argument predominated and merely indicates the shifting trend.

In war, as in all times of great tension, dealing with the future is the propagandist's hardest problem. In a later section, we shall describe how the routines of forecast are handled by German propagandists. Here we discuss only one aspect. Much of what the German propagandists say about the future is derived from and ultimately related to Hitler. When others repeat or vary his predictions, they are forecasts; when Hitler refers to them,

he frequently speaks of prophecy. 'As a prophet,' he said on 8 November 1935, 'I foreshadowed the only possible way for progress in the future.'³³ 'As a prophet,' he declared on 13 September 1936, 'I can say to you: this Reich has lived only through the first days of its youth. It will grow on into the centuries.'³⁴ And again, on 19 July 1940, Hitler claimed: 'In my speech of October 6, I prophesied correctly the further development of this war.' True to the proverb, Hitler has frequently referred to those who laughed at his prophecies. 'In the course of my life,' he said on 30 January 1939, 'I have very often been a prophet, and have usually been ridiculed for it.'³⁵ Prophecy is no mere word for Hitler. He once said: 'But if the voice speaks then I know the time has come to act.'³⁶ In 1934, this was said to a visitor in private conversation; on 21 December 1941, Goebbels repeated it in a speech to the German people.

In victory, the past is linked to the future by the fulfilment of promises. In defeat, promises are not fulfilled and past predictions become an obstacle to the propagandist.³⁷ The turn of the tide was marked by Hitler's failure to destroy the Red Army in the fall of 1941, as he had said he would. For a while, Goebbels asserted that the government's forecasts had failed only once, when estimating the military strength of Russia, and even then there were mitigating circumstances:

Granted we made a single false forecast during the whole war, that was regarding the remaining Soviet power of resistance . . .

³³ *Hitler's Speeches*, ed. by Baynes, Norman H., Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 136.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 208.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 740; Hitler made similar statements on 8 Sept. 1936 and repeatedly afterwards, for instance on 10 Dec. 1940 and on 8 Nov. 1942.

³⁶ See Rauschnig, Hermann, *The Voice of Destruction*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1940, p. 181.

³⁷ The handling of prediction in periods of setback and defeat closely parallels the handling of Germany's monopoly of initiative. Past predictions are justified at first and new predictions are made with ever more frantic insistence, until a time when the fiction of infallibility breaks down under its own weight and must be abandoned. See Fig. III, p. 107.

And even this forecast was correct at the time it was made, but it was thrown out by the early setting in of winter . . .³⁸

However, the prophet himself tried once more to prove his own prophetic power by showing that present predictions would be proved right because previous predictions had been fulfilled. On 30 September 1942, Hitler quoted himself as follows:

On 1 September 1939, in the Reichstag, I expressed two facts; first, after this war has been forced upon us, no power of arms and no period of time shall ever be able to force us upon our knees; secondly, in case Jewry causes the outbreak of an international world war for the eradication of other Aryan peoples, then not the Aryan peoples, but Jewry will be eradicated.

Since all Hitler's listeners were aware of the fact that the Jews had been eradicated in Germany, the prophecy of an unconquerable Germany was, by association, made more plausible.

In the spring and early summer of 1943, the German prediction policy broke down. The breakdown occurred as a consequence of German military defeats: the Russian victories in the winter of 1942-3, particularly the victory over the Sixth German Army at Stalingrad, the conquest of Africa by British, American, and French armies, the marked decline in U-boat successes beginning in April, and the concerted air assault of Allied planes on Western Germany.

Goebbels realized that the myth of the prophetic gift of Nazi leadership depended upon the myth of German military initiative. On 30 April 1943, he insisted that not even 'the informed expert' was in a position to determine correctly the factors composing 'a situation.' In May,³⁹ Bruno Brehm, a poet, delivered a talk before the Fichte Society on 'the Limitations of Predictions,' which contained a complete renunciation of the Nazi policy:

Reproaches against false prophecy are stupid, as we have seen what a rare, rare accident it is, when not only the general, but

³⁸ 10 July 1942.

³⁹ No more accurate date available.

also the particular enters our life. The moment the deed sets in, the prophecies fall silent.

In war, as in every other calling, one does what one can, and seldom what one would. Therefore, if one wishes to have a little success in the affairs of the world, and especially in military undertakings, one must make the greatest plans. For one always lags behind them. If one draws up such plans, one is sure to win success at some point.

Finally, on 19 June 1943, Dr. Goebbels published an article in *Das Reich*, entitled 'On Talking and Being Silent,' which amounted to a desperate attempt to stem the tide of popular criticism and to restore the waning prestige of the government. He had no single word to say about the Fuehrer's ability to master fate, to plan and dictate the course of military events; instead, he affected the pose of humility: 'Not only we have formed the development; the development itself has also dragged us into the maelstrom of events.' His words on prediction and prophecy were also a far cry from the pretentious claims made during the first phase of the war.

Certain circles demand from it—the government—that it should not only analyze correctly the present situation, but should also predict accurately and correctly the future.

Of course, Goebbels did not admit that Hitler, Goering, Ribbentrop, and other Nazi leaders had made wrong predictions; he simply claimed for the Nazi Government 'the sovereign right also to make occasional mistakes.'

Talk of government 'mistakes' should not occur too often; that it occurred at all is surprising in view of the profound necessity for totalitarian governments to maintain the claims of infallibility, omniscience, and efficiency upon which they are based. Goebbels is therefore more likely to protect the Nazis by devices other than humility. German propaganda began ever more frequently to use words like Fate and Destiny. Action was removed to a higher plane where complexity could be acknowledged and

setbacks made to appear infinitesimal against a background of cosmic proportions. By enlarging the image of space to immeasurable magnitude, by enlarging time to comprehend the destiny of man, German propaganda hoped to create the impression that the continuation of war was an act of Fate. Hitler was in tune with Destiny, and by this union his greatness was again to be magnified.

Failure in forecast is no Nazi monopoly. All propagandists in wartime have to prognosticate, and are occasionally mistaken. However, in democratic society, prediction has less importance. Democratic leaders do not habitually quote their fulfilled predictions. In his major views on the danger of Hitlerism, Churchill has been right since 1932, but he has hardly ever referred to the fact, not even when he was despised and attacked in the House of Commons. Once since he took office he invited some of his critics to search their speeches as he repeatedly searched his own. Churchill openly refers to his mistakes. On 3 July 1943, in his Guildhall speech, he said: 'I felt myself uplifted through all these years by the consideration with which the British people treated me, even when serious mistakes had been made.' The democratic leader may make mistakes, but mistakes are not his 'sovereign right'; he fails and succeeds because he is human. Fulfilled predictions are no evidence of his supernatural inspiration, and unfulfilled predictions are nothing but blunders.

There is some truth in Goebbels' allegation that the Germans would never have tolerated Mr. Churchill, since 'on no military or political development has he made the right forecast.'⁴⁰ This was Goebbels' way of conceding that the German people would not easily forgive the failures of leadership because their leaders pretended to be superhuman and infallible. The BBC has encouraged the Germans not to forget the prophecies and promises made to them, by consistently rebroadcasting the pledges and prophecies of Hitler. In 1939, the Germans could hear Hitler's

⁴⁰ 10 July 1942.

voice making the pledge to Poland which he had just broken; in 1943, they could hear Hitler's voice say that he would take Stalingrad, at a time when the Germans had already surrendered.

Under the protection of omnipotence and infallible leadership the common man does not ask questions. Dictators remain undisturbed while they conquer. But when the omnipotence of the leader is challenged by uncontestable facts, people become inquisitive. Goebbels' strategy of gloom, with its alleged realism, was intended to remedy this situation. In adopting frankness and realism as devices of persuasion, Goebbels hoped to retain the initiative in his struggle against the growth of doubt among the Germans. He publicly uttered complaints that he knew the people were making privately, and in thus taking the lead could re-direct their aggression. Some complaints he recognized as justifiable, and promised remedies or extolled sacrifice. Other complaints he exaggerated and then attributed them to groups among the German people with whom no German, he assumed, would like to be identified: bureaucrats, intellectuals, who in propaganda gradually take the place of Jews, loafers, and wealthy snobs. Frankness enabled the propagandist to further the pretense of popular participation and shift responsibility on to the people. Since the German whose house is on fire after a bombardment is not likely to wait for the government to extinguish the blaze, the propagandist praises his voluntary co-operation.

When Goebbels undertook the task of steering German propaganda from the period of victory to that of defeat, he not only had to cope with the impact of bad news, and the waning power of the image of omnipotence, but also had to combat the voice of the United Nations, which tried daily to undermine his claims. The propaganda of the United Nations reminded the Germans that they were being misled. Goebbels answered this argument by his strategy of frankness. Allied propaganda spoke of the war as a consequence of tyranny against which the German

people should react, and Goebbels answered this by pretending popular participation and a people's war.

The black-listener, who breaks through the Nazi monopoly of news and interpretation and is exposed to the facts which destroy belief in Nazi omnipotence, is first among those anathematized by Goebbels. He is called many names: bureaucrat, intellectual, or simply traitor, but in the last analysis he is the common man in Germany. He listens—perhaps not always with trust—to the enemy; he compares information from conflicting sources; he notes the honesty with which the BBC has for years painstakingly admitted defeats; he tries to discuss the chances of war with his friends. In short, he tries to make up his mind for himself.

4. A SUMMARY

The propagandist tries to strengthen the authority of the government among the governed, so that the governed will like to do what the government wants them to do, and dislike doing what the government wants to be left undone. The propagandist functions as a celebrator of accomplishments and as an eliminator of dissent. Obviously, he could confine himself to arranging public celebrations, if acquiescence to the government's policies were perfect, that is, if the government were so trusted that its policy would always be regarded by the governed as a realization of their will. To the extent that this is not the case, the propagandist functions as an eliminator of dissension, and his activity can thus be understood as proof of imperfect consensus in the political community. To put it briefly, if Hitler were wholly popular, Goebbels would be virtually unemployed.

The government facing opposition can resort to overt force, exterminating opposition by physical violence. This course of governmental action is practicable if opposition is not too widespread, and if there is no need to fear that persecution of opponents will arouse indignation, lead to a growth of the opposition, and defeat the ends of persecution. Since the government needs the co-operation of the governed, too liberal a use of

physical extermination of opponents becomes impracticable, not only because it may stain the moral reputation of the government, but also because it deprives the government of people it needs as workers and fighters. If the function of physical suppression of opponents to the government may be called that of the police, the propagandist may be said to reduce policing in the political community. If Goebbels were entirely successful, Himmler would be unemployed.

In order to achieve his ultimate end of strengthening the authority of the government, the propagandist must present all politically relevant events as desirable from the point of view of the governed. The extreme form of purveying news is reached when the propagandist tries to present all desirable events as a result of government policy. The emphasis is on 'all.' Certain events are clearly of the government's making. The propagandist will find it easy to attribute them to the wisdom and determination of the government. In general, it will never be too difficult for the propagandist to present any measure of domestic policy as a government action, which is either desirable in itself or praiseworthy because it prevents something undesirable from happening. It is different with political events over which the government has not full control.

In times of war, battles—the most important events—are conflicts between two political communities. Here the task of the propagandist who attempts to present all events as results of his government's action becomes more complicated. He must try to eliminate whatever evidence there is for the rival action of the enemy, because the very fact that the enemy acts is a most elementary proof of his not being controlled by the propagandist's government. The trick to which the propagandist resorts consists of claiming that no matter what happens his government, and his government alone, has had the initiative. The only exception to the claim of universal initiative pertains to the origin of the war itself. The enemy has caused the war and is morally responsible for it. Apart from his unique ability to create news by

committing atrocities, the enemy is utterly incapable of action. After having caused the war, he is only able to react to the events created by the propagandist's government. Thus, the world becomes a field of action for righteous omnipotence. It is this extraordinary presentation of all events as consequences of Nazi initiative, rather than any specific techniques of propaganda, which constitutes the outstanding characteristic of German domestic propaganda.

In times of war, Nazi propaganda rests upon the success of Germany's armed might. While it is difficult for any propagandist to handle setbacks, Nazi propaganda faces an insuperable obstacle if the German soldier is defeated.

II

The German Home Radio

1. NOTES ON ORGANIZATION

THE 1930's witnessed a vast expansion of broadcasting everywhere. Since the Nazis were in power for the better part of this decade, they take credit for the expansion in Germany.¹ Radio is for them the propaganda medium *par excellence*. They indicate various reasons for this belief: radio uses the spoken word, which they prefer to the written word;² radio provides for close participation in events and allows for the creation of starred personalities who gain followers through the attraction of their voices. Goebbels claims that when these potentialities are used to the full, 'the radio is the most important and far-reaching instrument for leading the people.'³

There is also one more reason for the Nazi preference for radio as a propaganda medium, which, however, they seldom discuss in public. Radio allows for double control. Not only can the ex-

¹ Germany, with 15,309,613 radio sets on 1 July 1939 and 16,004,391 in 1941, was surpassed only by the United States, with an estimated 52,000,000 sets. Counting three listeners per set, Greater Germany has 48,000,000 listeners. The Germans figure four listeners per set, which brings the number of listeners up to 64,000,000.

² In discussing the Party press, Goebbels writes: 'The reader was supposed to get the impression that the writer was in reality a speaker standing next to him and wanting to convert him to his opinion.' See Goebbels, *Kampf um Berlin*, 1934, pp. 18 ff. See also Herma, H., 'Some Principles of National Socialist Propaganda and the Radio,' *Radio Research*, ed. by P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton, III, 1942-3. In press.

³ Goebbels, Introduction to Hans Fritzsche, *Krieg den Kriegshetzern*, Brunnen-Verlag, Berlin, 1940; a collection of Fritzsche's radio talks at the beginning of the war.

perts plan what is said and how it is said and adapt their material to the changing requirements of policy, but they can even, to some extent, supervise listening. As a rule, everyone reads for himself, but listening can be done collectively. Since individuals may not tune in when they are supposed to listen to the speech of a leader or to other events of 'nationwide' importance, group listening, which 'forces the individual to subordinate his will to that of the community,' is organized on solemn occasions.⁴ The organization of listening groups rests with radio wardens, minor Party officials dependent on the local Party organization, who are also under the control of the Party's Office for Broadcasting. They have to report on the technical reception of broadcasts and on popular reaction, and, as spies, track down black-listeners to foreign broadcasts. Their main job is to see to it that every German is reached by his leaders.⁵

German broadcasting is controlled by three agencies: the Propaganda Ministry, the National Socialist Party, and the Reich Chamber of Culture. The Propaganda Ministry controls the content of the broadcasts; the Party organizes and supervises the listeners; and the Reich Chamber of Culture is the professional organization of the producers: broadcasters, writers, etc. Co-ordination of these three agencies is largely guaranteed by the fact that the central positions in the different agencies are held by the same men. Goebbels is not only Minister of Propaganda but also Director of the Party Propaganda Department and Presi-

⁴ Eckert, Gerhard, *Der Rundfunk als Fuehrungsmittel*, Berlin, 1941, p.

145.

⁵ The function of the radio section of the Party propaganda office is described in a confidential publication in these terms: 'The broadcasting organization of the NSDAP must exercise constant control of all German broadcasting, in order to co-ordinate the internal organizational, the technical, and the economic development of the broadcasting system with National Socialist principles. The effectiveness of radio propaganda will be assured by the organization of broadcasting wardens. All technical possibilities of broadcasting will be used to unite the entire nation at any time—whether through home, community, or nation-wide reception.' (*Organisationsbuch der NSDAP*, publisher: Der Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP, Dr. Robert Ley, Munich, 6th ed., 1942, p. 301.)

dent of the Reich Chamber of Culture. Hans Fritzsche is the head of two departments in the Propaganda Ministry and is chief of the Chamber of Broadcasting in the Reich Chamber of Culture.

While the Propaganda Ministry exercises the supreme direction and supervision of the content of radio propaganda, three of its divisions are immediately concerned with radio activities: the Radio Division,⁶ the Propaganda Co-ordinating Division under A. I. Berndt, and the Troops Entertainment Division. The Foreign Division of the Ministry, especially its archives, provide material for broadcasts, while the material furnished to the radio by news agencies is processed in the Home Press Division under E. Fischer, the Foreign Press Division under Brauweiler, and the Periodicals Division under Wilfred Bade—all directed by Press Chief Otto Dietrich.⁷

The Propaganda Department of the Party not only controls the radio wardens but is also in charge of radio publicity. One of its offices has the special task of maintaining contact with the State and the Wehrmacht. All script writers and radio broadcasters are compulsory members of the Chamber of Broadcasting of the Reich Chamber of Culture. The Chamber of Broadcasting has another Publicity Section and a Listener Research Section,

⁶ The Radio Division was headed successively by Alfred Ingemar Berndt (1939-40), Wolfgang Diewerge, and Hans Fritzsche, who took over this function when Diewerge was attached to the Chef de Cabinet, Naumann, working directly with the Minister of Propaganda. For biographies of these and other administrators and propagandists, see Sington, Derrick, and Weidenfeld, Arthur, *The Goebbels Experiment*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1943. The organization of the German radio is discussed here only in so far as it is essential for the subsequent analysis. For details on organization, see Sington and Weidenfeld, op. cit., and *Propaganda by Short Wave*, edited by Childs, Harwood L., and Whitton, John B., Princeton, 1942, where German sources are quoted. Also, Huth, Arno, *Radio Today*, Geneva Studies, Vol. XII, No. 6, Geneva Research Center, July 1942.

⁷ The centralization in radio administration may explain why up to now no instructions for radio propaganda have been smuggled out of Germany. The propaganda lines laid down in press instructions to which we frequently refer tally with our findings for the radio where the directions presumably are similar. See also p. 304.

which co-operates with the radio wardens and with the universities engaging in this kind of research.

The administrative management of the radio is entrusted to the *Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft*, which has two main divisions concerned with broadcasting. The Director General supervises all programs of direct political relevance: news reports and commentaries, counterpropaganda, and broadcasts to foreign countries; while the Program Division is responsible for all other broadcasts, such as musical programs, features, dramas, educational talks, general entertainment, and entertainment of the troops. The Program Division co-ordinates all broadcasts and arranges for exchanges between the 26 stations composing the Greater German radio.⁸

The transmitters composing the *Grossdeutscher Rundfunk* may be divided into three categories: the nationwide *Deutschlandsender*, the 13 regional transmitters or *Reichssender*,⁹ and the local stations (*Landessender* and *Sender*). The latter are always hooked up with the regional transmitters and function as relay stations only. Programs carried on a national hook-up emanate from different regional transmitters; a program from Vienna may be followed by one from Hamburg. For political broadcasts, however, all regional stations are hooked up together to insure nationwide distribution. Only certain non-political programs, those for farmers and children, and so-called cultural broadcasts are carried by individual regional stations and reflect provincial differences to a limited extent. The regional stations offer light music whereas *Deutschlandsender* carries serious music at those few hours of the day in which the listener may choose between a regional and a nationwide program.¹⁰

⁸ The German radio, as a government institution, does not carry advertising.

⁹ Stuttgart, Vienna, Cologne, Munich, Leipzig, Berlin, Saarbruecken, Hamburg, Breslau, Koenigsberg, Frankfurt, Boehmen, and Danzig—also transmitters located in territory conquered by the Germans, such as Radio Luxembourg and Allouis, are used for broadcasting domestic programs.

¹⁰ Before the war, the centralization of political programs was not as extensive. 'In 1938, the stations of the Reich exchanged among themselves

In addition to the German radio proper, German-controlled stations in the occupied countries, such as Radios Prague, Paris, and Hilversum, offer transmissions to which the Germans are allowed to listen. Interestingly enough, listening to Italian stations was not permitted. But German-controlled stations are not hooked up with the Reichsprogramm except for extraordinary occasions.

Political broadcasts are only a small part of the total radio diet of the law-abiding German listener. Eighteen out of twenty-one hours are devoted to entertainment. In the height of their enthusiasm, Nazi propagandists proclaimed that entertainment as such did not exist. The German radio, it was said, 'has purely political functions . . . even its cultural, entertainment, and current history broadcasts serve a higher political order . . .'¹¹

The success of German radio planning did not outlast the success of German arms. Between December 1941—after the retreat from Rostov—and June 1942, the German radio had to be reorganized. It was found that pure entertainment was needed despite all theory. A national program in a lighter vein had to be introduced to alleviate the boredom of listeners, who were switching off their radios more and more frequently.¹² Goebbels admitted that 'good humor is important to the war effort,' and promised that the radio would be 'a faithful helper' for the listener suffering from the strain of war. Light music was increased, and although jazz was still barred as an 'ugly squeaking of instruments offensive to our ears,' concessions were made to the taste of modern times, 'as a war measure.' And Goebbels, de-

52.7% of news broadcasts, 48.4% of musical programs, 14.9% of lectures, and 11% of literary broadcasts.' *Handbuch des Deutschen Rundfunks*, 1939-40, pp. 320-22; quoted by Huth, Arno, op. cit. p. 73, footnote 2.

¹¹ Kriegler, Hans, 'Der Deutsche Rundfunk—Aufgabe und Organisation,' in *Handbuch des Deutschen Rundfunks*, 1938-9, pp. 7-12.

¹² There had been 13 national programs before the war, which were reduced to 1 during the war, until March 1942, when a second national program was introduced during peak listening hours. According to our latest information, only 1 program was again available in May 1943. See also Goebbels' 'The Faithful Helper,' in *Voelkischer Beobachter*, 3.1.42.

fending the new policy, asked people 'not to speak of cultural decay . . . Germany no longer lives in the Biedermeier period.'¹⁸

There were important reasons for the reorganization of broadcasting other than setbacks of the army and hardship on the home front. Receiving sets were deteriorating, spare parts were difficult to obtain, and new sets could be made available only in urgent cases. Because of air raids, radio stations had to close down at 7:15 p.m. in the spring and summer of 1942, and even earlier in the winter. 'Despite the extraordinary increase in the number of transmitters which are at the disposal of the Reich,' said Fritzsche on 7 November 1942, 'the homeland itself and the gigantic area all the way to the front are far from being adequately supplied by clearly audible transmitters.' The statement seems difficult to understand in view of the fact that in January 1942 there were 128 stations under German control, including those in annexed and occupied territories. It was admitted, however, that some of the transmitters had to be used for jamming foreign broadcasts.

The reorganization of broadcasting led to changes in the personnel of the radio, two of which should be mentioned here. Hans Fritzsche, Chief of the Press section of the Propaganda Ministry, who had been in charge of radio counterpropaganda, was appointed to the newly created post of 'Delegate for the Control of the Political Aspect of the Greater German Radio.' This position involved the complete supervision of all broadcasting. On assuming his new office, Fritzsche declared that future talks and comments would 'wield a sharp blade in dealing with enemy propaganda,' thus hinting that the new measures might have been taken partly in response to increased listening by the home audience to foreign broadcasts. At the same time he advocated an 'intellectual convoy system, . . . lectures . . . based on the mental capacity of the masses.' Only 'the high-brows will be shocked,'

¹⁸ Quoted on the German radio from the *Voelkischer Beobachter* of 28 Feb. 1942. Fritzsche, discussing the practices of Allied radio stations in an earlier phase of the war, tried to correlate light music with defeat: 'After all, it is possible to put a dance record on a gramophone with trembling hands.' (12 Dec. 1939.)

he said, while those 'who are truly cultured will not take offense at the explanation of something that need not be explained to them.' He further declared that the news service would use special care in transmitting information to the front, so that the radio might help establish 'a bridge between front and homeland,' the relations of which seemed to have become difficult at the time. In June 1942, Goebbels' closest collaborator in the organization of the German radio, Eugen Hadamovsky, was relieved of his position as Chief Propaganda Organizer of the German radio and made Chief of Staff of the Propaganda Division of the Nazi Party, the organization which, as we have said, controls the receiving end of radio—the German people.

As early as 1934, Hadamovsky had drawn attention in his writings to the dangerous effect that foreign broadcasts might have in wartime. In prewar days, he had not only greatly enlarged the foreign broadcast division, but had also introduced new types of receiving sets which proved to be of particular importance for the management of the home front. The Nazis since 1933 had organized campaigns to increase their radio audience: radio exhibitions and 30 periodicals, of which the largest had 1,200,000 subscribers in 1939,¹⁴ carried the slogan 'Every fellow citizen a radio listener.' German listeners paid a license fee of \$6.00 per set each year, but the Nazis were liberal with free licenses—there were as many as 1,200,000 in 1942.¹⁵ While new listeners were thus recruited for Nazi home broadcasts, measures were taken to prevent them from becoming potential black-listeners in wartime. Two new types of sets were introduced: the People's Set (in May 1933) and a set for communal listening called the German Labor Front Set.¹⁶ While these were efficient enough to receive the *Deutschlandsender* anywhere in

¹⁴ Huth, Arno, op. cit. p. 74, footnote 4. All were suppressed in May 1941, 'to free the people's materials for other important war uses.'

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 74.

¹⁶ Communal listening is for a medium-sized audience; 'mammoth loud-speakers' are established in public places.

the Reich, they could hardly be used for listening to foreign broadcasts without alterations.

The supervision of the German radio by Goebbels' ministry determines its function and place in the whole of German propaganda. The radio is supposed to cater to the average German. 'Its technical character,' said Fritzsche in 1942, defending the German radio against much internal criticism, 'suggests methods that reach millions. It must reach all or it will reach no one. It cannot address small groups but must speak the language of the people.'¹⁷ This statement is corroborated by a comparison of radio and press. Regional differentiation and stratification according to Party allegiance and education distinguish the information carried in newspapers from that heard over the radio.¹⁸ For instance, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, papers read by executives, professionals, and other educated readers of upper-income groups, contain a great deal more information on business and economic affairs than does the radio.¹⁹ Their political commentaries are as a rule on a somewhat higher level than those of the radio and sometimes express views not sufficiently orthodox for the broad masses. On the other hand, *Das Schwarze Korps*, the paper of the SS guards, discusses public morale with the brutal frankness of the police director who demands a larger force and more severe punishments. Local papers also carry more detailed reports on air-raid damage, rumors, and complaints, which cannot be concealed from the people but should be kept from the enemy or the nation as a whole. Also the fact that the radio is audible to the enemy must limit its function in days of growing dissatisfaction. However,

¹⁷ Those who are 'unmoved or repelled' by the radio are once more the intellectuals, a 'small intermediary section.'

¹⁸ There is some evidence that national directives are regionally differentiated in the press.

¹⁹ Statements from newspapers when not quoted on the radio are used in this book only in exceptional cases, usually to clarify a parallel propaganda line expressed less bluntly on the radio. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* discontinued publication on 31 August 1943.

it is on comparatively minor points that the radio and press in Germany differ from each other; the main lines of propaganda are identical.

The press, film, and radio publicize each other; films such as *The Voice from the Ether*²⁰ or *Request Concert* were devoted to popularizing the radio. The radio in turn frequently reports on newsreels and on films of political importance; and quotations from the press play an indispensable part in radio propaganda. In short, the propaganda effects of all three media are co-ordinated to attack the political independence and the reasonable judgment of their audience.

2. THE MAIN TRANSMISSIONS²¹

To German propaganda and broadcast experts one of the chief virtues of the radio is that it allows for a sudden rallying of the German people. They call this state 'radio alarm.' Hans Fritzsche describes it in these terms:

The German radio . . . has managed to unite at certain hours, and for certain moments, Germans all over the world, welding them into one single listening community with one common purpose. A Fuehrer speech, relayed by the German wireless, unites Germans all over the world into a community.

Not one of us will ever forget how millions and millions of Germans, during the great historical events in the West, were all warned in one and the same second when the trumpets announced a new deed of glory by the German army. And when

²⁰ Request concerts are broadcast on short wave for Germans abroad and for seamen out of port. The request concert is in itself a device for increasing the interest in radio listening: Cf. Goedecke, Heinz and Krug, Wilhelm, *Wir beginnen das Wunschkonzert fuer die Wehrmacht*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1940; Hippler, Fritz, 'Innere und Aeussere Unwahrscheinlichkeiten,' in *Film-Kurier*, 1941, No. 106; Eckert, Gerhard, 'Rundfunk und Film,' in *Welt-Rundfunk*, June-July 1941, No. 3.

²¹ Much of the information contained in this section was made available through the courtesy of the Monitoring Service of the BBC. This chapter contains many direct and indirect quotations from documents produced by this unit. Ernest Gombrich, of the Monitoring Staff in England, has given us his advice and criticism. For additional information based in part on the same sources, see Sington and Weidenfeld, op. cit.

before did a nation so vividly participate in the conclusion of a great struggle period, as the German people, when it shared in the events of the beginning of the armistice with France? ²²

Radio alarm does not take place only in the case of an extraordinary event. On the German radio, alarm is institutionalized, especially in the most original of German radio transmissions, the Special Announcement.

Victory is reported to the German listener by a ritual which is rigidly prescribed: all radio transmissions are interrupted, the trumpets sound, the Special Announcement is read, and in conclusion, one of the war chants is played.

. . . The fanfares which precede Special Announcements are more than a signal, they are the voice of history. Every period has its own fanfares. All these fanfares and tunes, which are milestones in German history, are played by a brass band of 100 men.²³

If the victory was scored against England or the United States, the tune played is 'We Sail against England'; if the victory was scored in the East, until recently the tune was 'From Finland to the Black Sea, Onward, Onward.' When the victory is one of outstanding importance, these songs are preceded by the national anthem and the Horst Wessel song, and are followed by the solemn announcement: 'We shall now have a total air silence.' Sometimes listeners are warned well in advance that a Special Announcement is coming; march music is played in the interval, occasionally interrupted by orders to stand by.

Special Announcements were first used during the Norwegian campaign. Their most striking occurrence was on 29 June 1941, when, a week after the start of the Russian invasion, official quarters broke seven days of strained silence by twelve Special Announcements from the Fuehrer's Headquarters. The 29th was a Sunday and the announcements were broadcast one by one

²² 3 Dec. 1940.

²³ 16 July 1941.

throughout the day. The radio applied the principle of a war of nerves to their listeners, who had first been promised the week-end revelation, and then kept in a state of tension waiting from one announcement to another. The technique eventually proved somewhat embarrassing to the propagandists. In the winter of 1941 a broadcaster spoke of spring as the time when Special Announcements would return; for to the German people their appearance had become synonymous with victory. We shall later describe how substitute victories had to be manufactured to provide for continued Announcements, lest their absence reveal the true state of affairs.²⁴

Another device of the Nazi radio is the ringing of the 'Lutine Bell' when new sinkings of Allied ships are reported to the listener. The real bell, which originally came from the H.M.S. *Lutine*, a warship sunk around 1799 and later salvaged, has never been used for such sinister purposes.²⁵ It is kept in the board room at Lloyd's of London and is used there merely to obtain silence for important announcements. The Nazis, however, ring the bell for every ship sunk, while the radio audience is meant to sit in silence counting the score.

The news bulletin is the main transmission of any radio at war. The Nazis broadcast nine news bulletins a day, the first at 5:30 a.m.²⁶ and the last at midnight. The one broadcast at 8 p.m., which undoubtedly commands the largest audience, is often longer and more complete than the others.²⁷ The news broadcasts are sandwiched between entertainment music at lunch time. In public places, provisions for community listening are made,

²⁴ For the Special Announcement applied to defeat, see p. 431.

²⁵ Wright, Charles, and Fayle, C. Ernst, *A History of Lloyd's*, Macmillan & Co., London, 1928, pp. 387-8.

²⁶ The hours of transmissions are derived from the BBC Monitoring Reports, which use British Summer Time.

²⁷ An 8 p.m. news bulletin—the sample referred to in this book—may contain between 10 and 30 items, the average from period to period varying from 15 to 20. The time is not constant, but may vary, roughly, from 5 to 20 minutes.

and rest periods in factories are arranged in such a way as to induce the workers to listen to both. The news bulletins carry important official announcements; the High Command Communique, a comprehensive report of all fighting services, issued as a rule around 2 p.m., usually introduces the afternoon bulletins, and concludes the subsequent ones.²⁸ The Italian communique was usually broadcast in full at 4 p.m., and summarized later in the day. Bulletins frequently end with appeals for Winter Relief or the Red Cross, and with air raid precaution warnings or with announcements of talks and meetings.

The German news bulletin bears only a limited resemblance to its equivalent in Britain or America. It is not concerned with giving 'hot news' but, according to Hans Fritzsche, should aim at directing the listeners' attention to what the propagandist thinks is important.²⁹ Fritzsche's statement explains why findings in news bulletins are of particular importance for propaganda analysis. Several factors distinguish the Nazi news bulletin. Earlier in the war, the newscaster flooded it with invective—though he has sobered up considerably since the winter crisis of 1941-2. The newscaster not only reports on what has happened but also predicts what will happen. A significant news report is also often followed by items containing comments on the same event by the Axis and neutral press, giving the listener the impression that the whole world is occupied with the one particular incident. The news bulletin is organized on a special principle. The first sentence is meant to 'catch the listener's ear':

The first sentence is often decisive for the retention of the audience and an acoustically well-constructed opening is to the listener what the headline of a paper is to the reader. Just as the latter is intended to catch the eye, so the former must catch

²⁸ When major military operations are in progress, the High Command Communique is often delayed. It might then be given for the first time at 3 or 4 p.m. At 3 p.m. it is usually broadcast at dictation speed. For the propagandistic function of the High Command Communique, see p. 94.

²⁹ Fritzsche, Hans, *Handbuch des Deutschen Rundfunks*, 1938-9.

the ear and what follows must be formulated with a view to the acoustic effect.³⁰

The following is a typical example:

It was against the neglectful lack of shelters for women and children that, according to the English paper, the *Daily Herald*, the deputies of the miners' federation of South Wales protested, at a conference at Cardiff.

Ordinarily, the sentence would probably have run as follows:

According to the *Daily Herald*, deputies of the miners' federation of South Wales, at a conference at Cardiff, protested against negligence in the construction of shelters for women and children.

The phrasing of the item gives predominance to its propaganda content: here, the British Government's negligence of the welfare of women and children. In other cases, the propagandist may be served by a different technique.

When unfamiliar names and places appear in the news, they are repeated often enough to bring them home to even the dullest listener. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in Iraq, a news item repeated the name 15 times, often two or three times in the same sentence:

Iraq will defend its independence to the utmost—thus reads an appeal by the Iraqi army to the Iraqi nation, according to a report from Baghdad, capital of Iraq.

While the reader of a newspaper can pick and choose what he reads, the radio listener is compelled to listen throughout the length of an entire newscast if he does not wish to miss some important item. The Nazis are aware of this and give radio news purposive continuity to emphasize its propaganda appeal:

The shock value of news, which because of its suddenness immediately leads the hearer to take up a definite attitude, can be

³⁰ Raskin, 'Dramaturgie des Radio,' *Handbuch des Deutschen Rundfunks*, Berlin, 1939-40.

specially utilized in broadcasting, chiefly because the first news can be followed at will by supplementary items, using the receptive attitude which has been produced in mind and spirit, to achieve the desired end.⁸¹

The following news items from a broadcast during the Battle of Britain, are given a sequence by the broadcaster determined neither by their inherent subject matter, nor by their importance in the war situation. The items may be condensed as follows:

1. Damage by the RAF is described; a church, a war memorial, and a graveyard were destroyed in the district of Cologne. 'The debris of walls bears witness to the deliberate devastation of peaceful dwellings in villages harboring not a single military objective.' The RAF also used 'the dastardly weapon of incendiary leaves.' We will take revenge.
2. A British bomber was brought down by aircraft fire over western Germany. Another bomber 'mistook the blazing fire of the crashed bomber for the result of an earlier raid and released his own bomb without plan or sense. The bomb fell amidst dwelling houses.'
3. German air aces are decorated.
4. The German High Command Communique. It reports in detail successful bombing of London and weak enemy attack on residential districts in western Germany, including a church and a cemetery.
5. The Lord-Mayor of London stated that London would be defended to the last. He thus confirmed the military character of London.
6. BBC issues a heavily censored report on the air raid damage; on another occasion the BBC states that never before was a town so severely bombed. U.P. correspondents report on fire in London.
7. Report of the Spanish newspaper *A.B.C.* on the severity of the attack on London.
8. The Italian High Command Communique. It reports British raids on hospitals at Bardia, Tobruk, and Derna, and on civilian property in Benghazi. As a reprisal Italian raids on Mersa Matruh were undertaken. Further news on fighting in Ethiopia, which concerns Italian successes.

⁸¹ Eckert, Gerhard, *Der Rundfunk als Fuehrungsmittel*, Berlin, 1941.

9. Details about the bombing of Mersa Matruh according to Stefani release.
10. A Reuter message is quoted to the effect that the Italian advance in Egypt was resolute.
11. The Bulgarian Parliament acclaimed Hitler and Mussolini.
12. The German Minister for Education, Rust, on his way to Florence.
13. Appeal for Winter Relief.
14. This item reads: 'When enemy aircraft fly into German territory during the night, every beam of light may cause disaster. The utmost attention should therefore be given to the blackout and no lives must be endangered.'

This bulletin is so tightly composed that it can be translated into a continued account of the news.

Our enemy is ruthless and he deliberately bombs civilians. His pilots are not even competent and do not act according to plan [items 1, 2]. Our airmen are gallant, their successes are outstanding, and we are about to destroy the enemy's capital [items 3, 4]. We are justified in doing this, since in the enemy's own words his capital is a military objective [item 5]. While the enemy's official news service attempts to deny our successes, he contradicts himself in his denials and neutral observers confirm how severe were the blows which we dealt [items 6, 7]. Our allies, too, score successes in faraway lands; here again the enemy is ruthless and attacks only civilians, while our ally directs his attacks against a powerful fortress, and even the enemy admits that his stronghold is threatened [items 8-10]. We have gained new friends amongst neutrals, and even in wartime the cultural relations with our ally are strengthened [items 11, 12]. In this favorable situation, you are asked to contribute to the cause by gifts of money. 'Beware of enemy raids by completing your blackout.'³²

In this story the emphasis clearly shifts from the attack against the enemy's inhuman behavior to self-justification—from the enemy's failure to Germany's success.

This example is typical on the whole, although the technique

³² Kris, E., 'Mass Communication under Totalitarian Governments,' op. cit. pp. 22-4.

is not always as apparent. It is also less pronounced in periods of great military action than at other times. But even then the items are often given a sequence which has little relevance to their importance as news.

On eleven of the thirteen days of the Battle of Crete, the sequence of military news was interrupted by some other subject that would manipulate the listeners' attention as the propagandist wished. On nine out of the thirteen days, more than one such change of subject matter took place to make the news bulletins tell a desired story.⁸³

War is dramatized for the listener in the *Front Report*, a program that might be described as a verbal newsreel.⁸⁴ It is composed of supposedly eye-witness reports and interviews, never broadcast directly, but recorded and edited.⁸⁵ The separate items are often linked together by recordings of war songs and military marches. *Front Reports* last for about 20 minutes and are now broadcast at about 7:15 p.m., supper time for the average worker. During the first few months of the war in Russia, three *Front Reports* were given a day, in the morning, afternoon, and late evening. After 1 January 1942, the number decreased to about eight a week, on five out of seven days. The *Front Report* of the

⁸³ A similar analysis for the period of 14 August to 18 September 1941, during the Russian Campaign, shows that in this period, only on 7 days the military news continued without deviation. On 24 days, one deviation occurred; on 13 days, more than one change of subject matter was found advisable.

⁸⁴ For a further discussion, see Speier, Hans, 'Radio Communication of War News in Germany,' *Social Research*, viii, Nov. 1941, pp. 399-419.

⁸⁵ In the *Handbuch des Deutschen Rundfunk*, 1939-40, it is pointed out that the record strips used can be cut and pieced together like film. This must greatly facilitate the technique of superimposing sound effects on the recording, of sub-editing in general, and of doctoring in particular. Yet these opportunities are used with as much caution as skill. Indeed most of the material broadcast in *Front Reports* seems genuine, although many surprise effects—such as Goering 'accidentally' passing by the microphone—are certainly staged, and the interviews with members of the services rehearsed, for 'on military matters' says Eckert, 'every word had to be fixed beforehand, so that an actuality program was out of the question.' Eckert, Gerhard, *Der Rundfunk als Fuehrungsmittel*, p. 145.

Week is presented on Sundays at 10 a.m. and often repeats the most exciting reports previously broadcast.

The *Front Reports* are issued by the Propaganda Companies, the Nazi organization of war correspondents and cameramen. They are attached to various units of the armed forces and accompany troops into actual combat. The staff of the Propaganda Companies is under the supervision of the Ministry of Propaganda and at the same time in close contact with the High Command of the armed forces; the Propaganda Company personnel seems to be subject to the discipline of the officer commanding the fighting unit to which they are attached. Casualties among members of the Propaganda Companies are widely advertised, and the Iron Cross, Second Class, is a military distinction reserved for them.⁸⁶

The brilliance and vividness of the *Front Reports* are a source of great pride to German propagandists. 'I believe there is no German,' said Fritzsche, 'who will ever forget those broadcast reports sent to the homeland from German planes during attacks on English cities.'⁸⁷ They compare their own efficiency with the 'dull' interviews in British newspapers or on the BBC, and praise the speed with which the records are rushed to the transmitting stations, in order to let listeners participate in victory as quickly as possible. A *Front Report* describing the German entry into Bulgaria was introduced by an account of how the record had been rushed to Vienna by a relay of runners, a motorcycle and two airplanes, and then telephoned from Vienna to Berlin.

The *Front Reports* attempt to 'bridge the gap' between soldier and home front, by allowing the radio listener vicarious participation in war. Noncombatant and combatant are supposed to become united in a common experience, where imagination and emotions are aroused and the capacity for rational thought is dulled. All the elements that make up a *Front Report* are deter-

⁸⁶ E. Hippler stated that 10% of the cameramen engaged in filming battle scenes have died in action. (15 Jan. 1942.)

⁸⁷ 3 Dec. 1940. See p. 400.

mined by this consideration. Should a communique report the capture of a town, it is apt to be followed a day or so later by *Front Reports* which give eye-witness accounts of the happening. The abstract content of the communique is vivified and given exciting actuality. Here, troops are seen advancing, dusty and tired—but full of expectancy. There, sappers clear a minefield under fire. An officer tells how, this morning, his anti-aircraft battery shot down four enemy planes; and Sergeant Schulze is described capturing twenty-three prisoners—glad to be taken. The town is stormed, but the population greets the conquerors with flowers. The commentator describes all this and may even produce a civilian, who speaks haltingly into the microphone. He is, the commentator explains, thanking his liberators. The condensation of events in time vitalizes the image of an efficient war machine. The *Front Reports* dramatize fighting, but they give no picture of the war; they feature small groups or individuals in action and build up the image of the German soldier.

The noncombatant is supposed to accept this conglomeration of data and detail as a full documentary report, a true picture of the war. Sentimental analyses of the soldier's character and lyrical descriptions of the surrounding landscape are sometimes added to make acceptance easier and more gratifying. Actuality is also heightened by introducing the reporter by name. However, from the beginning of the Russian campaign, *Front Reports* gradually changed in style. While victory lasted, they glorified the war, but in Russia they referred early to the hardships of the soldier's life. Since the soldiers can listen to what is said, distortion cannot be too blatant; and the once-idyllic *Front Reports* have become one of the means of supporting Goebbels' campaign of realism. The *Front Report* thus changed its function, and presented the endurance and sacrifice of the front soldier as a model for the civilians of the home front. Fritzsche points to the essential aspects of these changes when he says:

The radio reporters of the Propaganda Companies were able, during the past years, to reproduce and convey scenes of the

happenings out at the front . . . Today we can concentrate on the interpretation of the individual human experience or the larger context.⁸⁸

In June 1943, the radio ban on accounts of air-raid horrors was suddenly lifted—perhaps to whip up hatred of the enemy in areas that had not yet been bombed, or perhaps to silence complaints about Goebbels' evasive treatment of air war over the radio. In any case, star reporters of the Propaganda Companies were sent out to cover bombing raids in western Germany; they came back with realistic descriptions of suffering and carnage; and almost overnight the inhabitants of the Rhineland cities were transfigured into heroes.

Before the *Front Reports* assumed the burden of ethical appeal, the task had been entrusted to a special transmission called the *Voice of the Soldier*, inaugurated on Sunday, 28 January 1940, and dropped after 23 August 1942. In the first summer the hour was shifted from 4:00 to 5:30 p.m., and in the second summer to 6:00 p.m., peak Sunday listening hours. The tone of the program suggests that it might have been a substitute for religious broadcasts of other kinds, and enunciated ideals appropriate to the National Socialist State, presenting the soldier as a model. The first program was supposedly given by an officer on a visit to the West Wall, but such actual identification was soon dropped in the interests of awe, and the program was likely to begin and be punctuated by the oracular announcement: 'This is the Voice of the Soldier,' or later, 'This is the Voice of the Front.'

National unity and fulfilment of its attendant duties were the special message of the Voice, which varied in urgency during the course of the war. Direct exhortations were infrequent before the end of February 1942, but increased thereafter. While *Front Reports* in the days of victory were still providing pleasurable excitement for the listener, the *Voice* traded in pity, anxiety, fear, and sometimes guilt. Thoughts of death, sacrifice, and horror

⁸⁸ 11 July 1942.

were permitted to appear in the *Voice of the Soldier* when the difficulties of the Russian campaign were hardly reflected in other transmissions.⁸⁹

At 6:30 p.m. the German radio broadcasts a half-hour program which was first called *Topics of the Day* (*Zeitgeschehen*) and later *Mirror of the Times* (*Zeitspiegel*). This program is centralized for the whole of the Reich, though somewhat similar feature programs are broadcast by local transmitters in the morning. Its importance is such that a special department exists to prepare it.

It is the function of *Mirror of the Times* to provide contact between government and people by describing and justifying various government measures, by enlarging upon events reported in the news broadcasts, and by preparing the public for changes in action or policy. Its comments are frequently naive and are evidently addressed to a part of the audience which, in the opinion of the broadcaster, needs somewhat simplified explanations. *Mirror of the Times* seems most specifically concerned with strengthening morale by extolling the achievements of the home front. It glorifies selected portions of German tradition and tries to establish some sort of unity with that tradition. When it participates in the general attack upon the enemy, it often does so through the promotion of 'geopolitics.' Later, political features and commentaries became rarer, while travel talks, description of inspiring scenery, idyllic items from 'New Europe,' featurettes and lyrical monologues were given more frequently. In brief, it was found necessary to increase its entertainment value.

The *Mirror of the Times* of 1 June 1943 may be taken as a fairly typical example. The following is a summary of its items:

1. Reichsleiter Baldur von Schirach brings to the knowledge of the people of Vienna a decree signed by the Fuehrer on 4 May, according to which the 44th Infantry Division

⁸⁹ An evening program, *The Call of the Volga*, broadcast quite frequently in the winter of 1943, seems to have partly replaced the old *Voice of the Front*. Its tone is similarly elegiac.

is invested with the name Reich Grenadier Division Hoch- und Deutschmeister.

2. German children in Hungary. Dialogue between a reporter and an official of the Social Welfare Office.
3. The exhibition of German Art in Rome is held under the protection of Minister Polverelli and German Ambassador von Mackensen.
4. Fanfares announcing 'Belgrade,' one of a series of talks called 'European Capitals during the Fourth Year of the War.' The National Theatre, which had been burned out, reopened a long time ago and now produces German operas and plays, such as *Freischuetz* and *Minna von Barnhelm* in Serbian, as well as Serbian plays. Security in Serbia is menaced by fanatics, but a Serbian volunteer corps, sworn in a few days ago, will help to maintain order.
5. Venus and Jupiter. Talk on the eclipse of the two stars on 1 June 1943 at 7 p.m.

Of the political commentators, Dr. Hans Fritzsche is one of the most conspicuous. Born in 1900, he is a journalist by training. He was connected with the official German News Agency DNB (*Deutsches Nachrichten Buero*) and became its chief editor.⁴⁰ Early in the war, his talks followed the main news bulletin at 8:00 p.m., assuring him a large audience. Occasionally he would be absent 'on official business' and return to the microphone full of 'hot news' from the front or from the spot of vital political developments. Sometimes he would cut in off schedule because he had allegedly found news so 'hot' that he did not wish to deprive his listeners of the excitement. He always gave the impression of being in intimate touch with events and of having sometimes instigated them himself. He would occasionally announce what would be published in tomorrow's press, and often seemed to be creating the Party line right before his audience, as he tracked down an enemy lie, exposed the desperate blunders of the enemy news service, or debunked the enemy leaders.

The very fact of being a counter-propagandist seems to have

⁴⁰ See also pp. 91 ff.

been a secret of Fritzsche's success. All attempts at starring him would have been of little avail had the German listener not been so eager to obtain some information about the non-German world, even in the form of enemy propaganda seen through Nazi eyes. Fritzsche appeared to be the only German in constant touch with the enemy. He himself described his work as an assignment from the German people to pick out of enemy propaganda whatever seemed worth answering. But he did more than that: he allowed the German listener to take part in the difficult battle of words; he showed him how he, the lone knight errant, fought the evil dragon and his wily conspiracy of lies. He once talked two hours before Churchill was scheduled to speak in the House of Commons and asked questions about shipping losses which the Admiralty had previously denied. After Churchill's speech, he reappeared with the triumphant announcement that Churchill had not dared to answer him. He addressed him as 'You, Herr Churchill' and complained to his listeners that, once again, he had been double-crossed by the Prime Minister. This play-acting made him a political clown, but it gave his listeners the illusion of witnessing a political clash with the enemy at first hand.

Counter-propaganda allowed Fritzsche to develop a manner in striking contrast to the timid conformism of other speakers. In earlier years of the war the flippant and jeering style that made Fritzsche a star was much imitated by other political commentators and even by news broadcasters. In November 1942, he was put in control of the whole German radio. In this capacity he speaks fairly regularly, once a week, but his style has changed somewhat. He has adapted himself as best as he could to the changed situation, which he would be the last to under-rate.

No other political commentator has had a build-up comparable to that of Fritzsche. Less personalized, less interesting in either style or rhetorical devices, their comments are still based on a review of enemy communications, but none of them is as gifted as he in seeming to entangle the enemy in a net of contradictions;

none has a comparable talent for stressing the propaganda aspects of events. They alternate before the microphone, each of them specialized in one of the many fields Fritzsche knew how to synthesize. Some of them are responsible for the *Political Review*, broadcast since 1941 around noon. This transmission apparently derives its inspiration from Fritzsche. At first it was anonymous but since Christmas 1942 its speakers are named. They include Otto Kriegk, Max Clauss, Peter A. Riebe, Neuschaller, Adolf Halfeld, Karl Scharping, and others.

Routine political commentary lost significance in comparison with Goebbels' weekly editorials in *Das Reich*, read over the radio on Saturdays at 7:45 p.m. and sometimes rebroadcast on Sundays.⁴¹ They had first been quoted in the summer of 1941, and became a regular feature in the early fall, when it obviously became apparent to Goebbels that victory was not around the corner. Especially during the first few months of their appearance Goebbels' articles were far ahead of the average radio output in tone and content. They tried to prepare the people for protracted war and discussed, with a certain sobriety, problems of the homeland that could only be skirted if not avoided altogether by lesser propagandists: complaints and rumors, the black market, the strained relations between soldiers and civilians, and the ever growing apprehension about the outcome of the war. For a long time these weekly broadcasts carried the full burden of what has come to be known as Goebbels' strategy of gloom.

Possibly, Goebbels' articles were something of an experiment to revise what he called 'the psychological direction of the war.' They could introduce new lines of argument, and reactions to them could be tested. Trends of thought that later emerged as major propaganda themes could first be carefully camouflaged or be made to appear almost accidental. And it is possible that the written word allowed more readily for such subtle indoc-

⁴¹ Listeners in England have attributed some part of their success to their masterly presentation by the chief announcer of the *Grossdeutscher Rundfunk*.

trination and gave Goebbels greater freedom to display his sophisticated dialectics. He may have intended his articles primarily for those 'in the know,' the more educated sections of the population, the professional groups, the intellectuals, and the opinion leaders among party members, for his style makes them understandable only to persons who can follow a somewhat involved type of argument. But by having them broadcast, Goebbels reached the greatest possible audience, and we know from Howard K. Smith ⁴² that one of the early articles was distributed in pamphlet form with every ration card.

The reorganization of the German radio along the lines of Goebbels' articles, which were officially declared models for other programs, offers new evidence that they were designed to reform the 'psychological direction of the war.' When Hans Fritzsche was given the political control of the radio, he said that political and military talks would now follow 'that method of candor toward the problems of the present which distinguishes so conspicuously the articles published by Dr. Goebbels in *Das Reich*.' Fritzsche further indicated the nature of the new policy by stating that these talks 'shall not be a hot-bed of illusions but assist the people in correctly appraising the facts . . . to give the necessary equipment to the minds of those millions at the front and at home who are wrestling daily with the great meaning of the task which every German's work and struggle are meant to serve.' ⁴³

On three days a week military commentators represent the three services. General of the Air Force Quade ⁴⁴ gives a regular series

⁴² Smith, Howard K., *Last Train from Berlin*, New York, 1942, p. 198.

⁴³ 7 November 1942.

⁴⁴ According to German Army Registers, Quade was Captain, trainer and supervisory officer of the Infantry School in Munich, from 1915 to 1926. In 1926 he was listed as a Major of the (Prussian) Infantry Regiment No. 2. He was not listed in the Army Register of 1928. On 1 April 1930, he became Lieutenant-Colonel. Quade helped to build up the secret *Schwarze Reichswehr*. Quade was instructor in aeronautics at the airport of Schleissheim, near Munich, in 1923. When Germany was not allowed an air force, this activity was camouflaged by his appointment at the in-

of talks called 'Our Air Force.' He stresses the tradition of the *Luftwaffe* which goes back to the First World War, and its magnificent development under the Nazis. Quade rarely engages in political or strategical discussions, but gives rather straightforward accounts of air operations. Through his dramatic description of *Stuka* activity in the French campaign, he contributed much to their popularity with German youth.

The most important naval commentator is Rear Admiral Friedrich Luetzow.⁴⁵ His task is to make his listeners navy-minded and to teach them to think in terms of world strategy. In contrast to Quade, he dwells on strategy rather than on tactics, and indulges in world-wide historical perspectives based on geopolitical commonplaces. He is apparently a popular radio personality in Germany; and some of his comments have been published as a book.

Luetzow's political opinions derive from the tradition of German naval imperialism of the Tirpitz school and the German Navy League of pre-World War days. He professes Germany's right to, and need of, a colonial empire. He is less of an orthodox Nazi—anti-Semitism is, for instance, absent from his talks—than a loyal collaborator of the Party, which restored the German

fantry school. In the First World War, he was with Infantry Regiment No. 168. He is a personal friend of Air Marshal Friedrich von Cochenhausen, author of a famous military manual and contributor to *Das Reich*. In 1936 he recommended Quade's promotion to the rank of Air Marshal.

⁴⁵ Rear Admiral Luetzow was born in 1881. He joined the Navy in 1899. During the First World War he was a staff officer at the U-boat command. He was an active naval officer at the time of the Republic and became Corvette Captain in 1921. In 1926, he was made captain (*Kapitän zur See*) and commander of the 'Schiffsstamm-Division der Nordsee' in Wilhelmshafen. In 1936, when Luetzow apparently retired from active service, he was appointed Rear Admiral. He has been a writer on naval affairs since 1921. His publications include: *Der Lusitania-Fall, auf Grund amtlichen Materials*, Sueddeutsche Monatshefte, 1921; *Unterseebootskrieg und Hungerblockade*, Verlag fuer volkstuemliche Literatur und Kunst, Berlin, 1921; *Englands Lazarettsschiffsmissbrauch waehrend des Weltkriegs*, Verlag fuer volkstuemliche Literatur und Kunst, Berlin, 1921; *Skagerrak*, in Die junge Reihe, Albert Langen-Georg Mueller, Muenchen, 1936; *Sieger auf sieben Weltmeeren; Lebensbilder grosser Admirale*, Ullstein, 1936.

Navy to its rightful place. Luetzow is certainly the most dignified liar on the German radio; his talks abound in classical allusions and historical surveys. He is most likely to appeal to conservative members of the German middle and upper classes, who may never have become active Nazis, but who have remained ardent German imperialists.

Colonel Kurt Hesse⁴⁶ spoke frequently on land warfare at the beginning of the war, but during the latter part of 1942, Lieutenant General Kurt Dittmar⁴⁷ emerged as chief spokesman for the army. Dittmar's talks are as important in the military field as Goebbels' articles in the realm of political comment. Dittmar is always the German general. His talks, to which he likes to refer as 'lectures,' usually avoid political discussion, anti-Semitic outbursts, and flattery of the Party. He reviews the developments of the war with the detachment of a student of military history and the competence of a professional strategist. In order to further the confidence that these roles are meant to inspire in the listener, he usually refrains from abusing the enemy and more frequently than any other radio star has warned his listeners not to underrate him.

Dittmar was the first to admit difficulties in the Caucasus in the summer of 1942 and the first to prepare the Germans for the defeat at Stalingrad. Most of his talks were devoted to the war in Russia but he also participated in the propaganda campaign to conceal the defeat of Rommel's Afrika Korps, delivered talks on the military power and tradition of the United States, and

⁴⁶ Hesse had been a close collaborator of Ludendorff. He wrote the first book on psychological warfare in Germany and later became the leading advocate of *Wehrwirtschaft*. He was *Privat-Dozent* before the war, editor of the *Schriften zur Kriegswirtschaftlichen Forschung und Schulung*, author of *Der Kriegswirtschaftliche Gedanke, Kriegsfuehrung und Kriegswirtschaft im Feindland, Lehren des Feldzuges in Rumänien* 1916-1917.

⁴⁷ Dittmar, born in 1889, a captain in the First World War, became Commander of the Military Engineer School in Berlin. He is the author of articles on 'Pioniere' in the *Handbuch der Wehrwissenschaft*. He is not an official of the Propaganda Ministry, but a member of the Public Relations Department of the High Command of the army.

in the early summer of 1943 discussed Allied prospects for a Second Front.

When things go wrong at the front, Dittmar is apt to increase his use of Clausewitz quotations, mentions of Frederick the Great, and references to German destiny, enhanced by geopolitical jargon. But even then he is more moderate than other commentators and prefers talk about the philosophy of war and history or the omission of news to other techniques of evasion. Dittmar, along with Goebbels, Quade, Luetzow, and Fritzsche, belongs to the elite whose products are rebroadcast on short wave to listeners in foreign lands.

In addition to the main transmissions we have mentioned, there are, of course, numerous routine programs of secondary importance from the analyst's point of view. Routine talks for farmers are broadcast daily between 6 a.m. and noon. Most of these talks, broadcast by regional stations and by *Deutschland-sender*, though not over the entire network of the German home service, are technical and factual; sometimes they contain patriotic appeals to women and to boys and girls of school age, urging them to work on the land. Market reports of interest to the housewife were formerly broadcast at regular intervals by some stations.

There are many talks addressed to women, broadcast over the national network and by regional stations. The regional programs confine themselves to subjects of purely feminine interest, such as household advice, care of children, health, the social conditions of women, professions for women and 'fashion talks,' mainly concerned with the remaking of worn clothes. Health food is advocated, vitamins praised, tobacco and alcohol scorned: 'Tobacco, a most popular poison, is particularly dangerous to future mothers. Tobacco may lead to sterility,' said the Leipzig radio on 22 January 1941. When hardship grew and women were drafted for war duty, they heard less about the nursery and even about motherhood. Factory work had to be made palatable to German housewives, and the morale of women became an object

of particular concern. Its special vehicle is a program on the national network called 'Here Starts Another Week' (*Und wieder eine neue Woche*), given by Frau Charlotte Koehn-Behrens. Originally broadcast on Monday mornings, it was found important enough to be shifted to Monday afternoons, at 6:00 p.m., close to the peak listening time.

Programs for children, with the exception of a fairy tale that is read on the national network on Sunday afternoons, are relegated entirely to regional stations.

Political radio plays have become relatively rare. They were written to illustrate the life and achievements of a national hero or the activities of an institution. The *Political Sketch*, broadcast once a week in the afternoon, features well-known actors and movie stars who expose the hypocrisy and cynicism of the enemy. The political background of the North African invasion was presented to the German audience in a sketch called 'Algerian Bonds.' In the first scene Rothschild talks with Donovan, 'head of the secret service':

Rothschild owns a vast number of Algerian bonds which are practically worthless; they would rise enormously if the Allies were to occupy French North Africa. It will be Donovan's job to persuade Roosevelt who so far has been held back 'by England's political doubts.' Rothschild is prepared to give 'Roosevelt junior' a share in the profits.

Second scene: At Vichy, Donovan and a U. S. attaché prepare plans (behind the back of the U. S. Ambassador) for the invasion of French North Africa: certain people have to be bought, others compromised as pro-German. The Press must be 'looked after.'

Third scene: A party at Rothschild's, on the eve of the invasion. The Jews have prepared the ground well. In Casablanca, they have caused a serious food shortage, in Algiers the Hebrew Cultural Association has made all arrangements for Jews to plunder ships 'and cause unrest on the markets' as soon as the Americans appear off the coast. At 2:00 a.m. the landing begins: 'The House of Rothschild wins, in the name of Democracy.'⁴⁸

⁴⁸ 14 November 1942.

Material accessible for this investigation throws little light on the German radio's cultural activities. Book talks are broadcast about once a week and publications reviewed deal chiefly with the German armed forces. Considerable space is also given to Germany's modern 'Blood and Soil' school of literature. The background of many novels has changed from Germany to the newly conquered territories of the East, where the German heroes are shown 'defending this outpost of Germandom in the face of national hatred and political persecution.' Sometimes books on art are mentioned but their subject is never without political tendency. On Sunday morning, in a national network program called 'Unser Schatzkaestlein,' actors read prose and poetry from the German classics, and classical chamber music is also given.

In general, the radio has come to avoid religious and anti-religious remarks with equal care. Before each of the great holidays, the radio broadcast comments on its meaning in Teutonic mythology. And earlier in the war, comparisons between the Teutonic and the Christian interpretation occurred:

Carnival is not derived from the term 'Carne Vale' (goodbye, meat), which owes its origin to the custom of fasting introduced by the Roman Catholic Church, but from 'Carris Navalis' meaning 'shipping cart.' These carts, representing ships, were used in the Shrovetide festivities of the Italian people, in the expression of joy and happiness, and were therefore quite in contrast to the gloomy 'Carne Vale' of the Church. The ship is among seafaring nations the symbol of fertility. Ash is considered by peasants as a most efficient manure. When the Church introduced fasting for 40 days, it was destined to drive all the joy of living out of Shrovetide celebrations.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ 7 February 1940. We are here faced with a clear-cut political directive. The circular order of the Reich's leader of the SS and Chief of the German Police of 9 December 1939, makes the following statement: 'All armed units of the SS and the Police must celebrate the solstice and yuletide in their quarters, so far as the possibilities of the war permit. The significance of these celebrations—the eternal return of the sun and the victory of light—remains always the same. The way in which these celebrations are carried out depends on the possibilities afforded by the position of the troops.' The

Later, when the invasion of Russia was presented as a crusade, such extravagant attacks were no longer tolerated, and in 1942 the Christmas Eve program culminated in a round-up of the whole front, joined together in the singing of 'Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht.'

In studying the German home radio it must never be forgotten that for every hour of news, talks, and features, there are about seven hours of music. Abundant light music substitutes for the striking absence of other entertainment. One wonders whether the German listener ever laughs. Musical programs are not entirely lacking in political interest. The home radio features the music of allies rather than of enemies: Russian music is never played; Italian and Finnish music is popular, and even Japanese music has been broadcast.

This servitude of taste in the interest of politics, however, is less interesting than the use of war songs. These play a considerable part on the German radio. Each campaign has had a tune of its own.

During the Polish campaign the *March of the Germans in Poland* followed practically every news bulletin and, in addition to the national anthem and the *Horst Wessel* song, closed the broadcasting day. During the French campaign another song took its place, borrowing the opening bars from the *Wacht am Rhein*, the traditional anti-French song of German nationalists. During the Battle of Britain, *Bomben auf Engelland* became the tune of the day. The campaigns in the Balkans and in Africa have inspired the *Balkanlied* and the *Afrikalied*. However, none equals the popularity of *Wir fahren gen Engelland* ('We sail against England'), which was given almost official status in March 1940 when the Propaganda Ministry ruled that it could not be sung or played in public except on appropriate occasions.⁵⁰

word Christmas does not appear in the circular order. For similar views, see also *Das Schwarze Korps*, 21 Dec. 1939.

⁵⁰ In addition to the campaign songs, there are scores of 'signature tunes' for every branch of the armed forces: tank units, sappers, wireless operators, parachutists, propaganda companies, etc. There seems little doubt

The manifold transmissions of the German radio are carefully composed. Nazi writers on propaganda assure us that the day of the radio listener is carefully planned, apparently on a basis of compromise between what the listener wishes to hear and what Goebbels wishes him to hear. We have seen that the balance had to be re-established once or twice; the listener was given lighter music, less marches, more entertainment and less propaganda. One may wonder how the balance will shape up in the future.

that most of these songs were officially sponsored. Sington and Weidenfeld, op. cit. mention 'the astounding promptness with which appropriate new martial songs have followed upon events and have fitted into specific propaganda directives' (p. 250). They cite the incident when the propaganda machine established its record for promptness: 'On April 5, 1941, the date of the German invasion of Yugoslavia, at 6 a.m. German Summer Time, Goebbels read the proclamation announcing the invasion, and five minutes later, after a flourish of fanfares, a male-voice choir sang the new *Balkan Song*. Its first stanza conformed exactly to the propaganda theme of all the news-bulletins and talks broadcast later in the day.'

III

The Two German Wars

AFTER six years of Nazi rule, six years of military training and militarist indoctrination, the German people did not want to go to war. Many observers noticed that regiments assembled and departed without a trace of cheering and enthusiasm. War came to the Germans as a surprise. Hitler had succeeded in re-establishing Germany's position as a power in Europe—and regained what he called her honor—without much use of force. He had withdrawn from the League of Nations, won the Saar plebiscite, united with Austria, and occupied territory without resorting to war. It was reasonable to assume that if the fortress of Bohemia was worth only a Munich, the open port of Danzig would not be worth a war. Hitler had established a reputation for 'getting away with it' by a new strategy of 'peaceful conquest.' While furthering Germany's interests, he had also given her moral prestige by posing as the champion of European peace. His last proposition to France pretended to stabilize peace in the West for no less than twenty-five years. And to the German people he promised a thousand years of stable leadership. The outbreak of war was thus Hitler's greatest political defeat.

Memories of the First World War, in which Germany had been badly equipped, hungry, defeated, and finally forced to admit her guilt, came back to the German people when they realized that the military renaissance had led to new war. Man is inclined to visualize the present and future in terms of the past; he is apt to interpret a new situation by analogy with an old one. It was therefore Goebbels' first task to destroy the analogy be-

tween the two wars, while Hitler tried to lead the German nation from peace to war as imperceptibly as possible. Unlike the Kaiser, he never issued an order of mobilization; all necessary measures had been introduced piecemeal during 1939. The Polish campaign was not spoken of as war; it was a punitive expedition into an unruly country. A cartoon of the time¹ showed Chamberlain giving a Polish boy the stick with which to hit a German soldier, who in turn spansks the Polish boy with the same stick. The caption read: 'What did you expect, Mr. Chamberlain?'

By refusing to recognize the Polish campaign as the beginning of war, Hitler tried to shift responsibility for war from himself to the Allies. He constantly pointed out that England had rejected the hand of peace which he had held out to her after Poland had been dealt with. Though the Nazis were always anxious to emphasize their military initiative, they took great care to prove that the Allies bore the moral responsibility for each extension of the war. Propagandists claimed that the German occupation army forestalled the British in Norway by only two hours, and in the Low Countries by only two days. The attack on Belgrade was forced upon Germany by Yugoslav treachery, and Greece, before invasion, was on the point of surrendering to the English. On 22 June 1941, Germany struck first to avoid a treacherous stab in the back prepared by 'the Kremlin.'

Goebbels tried to destroy the grounds for comparison between this war and the last by insisting first that the German armies had never been defeated in the last war, and second, that this war was totally different from the last.² The first argument was

¹ Printed in the collection of Fritzsche's radio speeches. Fritzsche, Hans, *Krieg den Kriegshetzern*, op. cit.

² In Nazi propaganda the Second World War is also frequently presented as a continuation of the First. See p. 177. The German military governor of Belgium, soon after the occupation, promulgated a law announcing that those who had been persecuted for their co-operation with the German authorities in the period between the two occupations should be indemnified by the Belgian government.

not thought up by Goebbels. He merely repeated what German reactionaries had been claiming during the previous twenty years. German military spokesmen began to deny defeat on the very morrow of the war, despite the fact that Hindenburg himself had asked for peace. To prove their point they stated that German troops had been standing on enemy soil at the time of the armistice, and were able to retreat in good order. The Kaiser, on the other hand, had fled in panic, reluctant to march at the head of his troops, either to die a hero's death or to subdue the revolution. There were no leaders in Germany at that time, only the pacifist, internationally-minded Social Democrats, who wanted to believe in Wilson's Fourteen Points. Wilson and Lord Northcliffe had persuaded undefeated Germany to lay down her arms under deceptive promises of a just peace, only to betray her at the end.

Propaganda now claimed that Germany was taking advantage of a new opportunity to regain the victory she had wantonly thrown away in 1918. The spirit of the German front soldier in 1918 had built up the Germany of today. This idea was expressed by the Nationalist writer Schauwecker, in a formulation which proved popular with the Nazi elite: 'We had to lose the war to win Germany,' he said. The comradeship of the front soldier became the nucleus of the new German 'national community.' The nation had taken him as the model of conduct. The 'generation of the front' first destroyed the sway of civilian mentality, next won the battle against appeasers, profiteers, and draft-dodgers at home, and then set out to make good the pledge they had made in the trenches before Verdun. They did not seek revenge, they were just rectifying a wrong entry in the book of history. This time the cards were stacked differently, and the record would not be falsified.

Unlike the Germans of 1914, Hitler's Germany could count on vast supplies from a friendly and later from a conquered Russia. Moreover, all Europe was contributing to the industrial potential and to the agricultural autarchy of the German soldier

nation. The blockade had been a success in 1917, when the Jew Rathenau, at the head of German war economy, organized the turnip winter of awful memory. This time, the far-seeing Nazis had provided Germany with a rationing system before the war and had stored up weapons, materials, and food. The much-ridiculed policy of 'guns for butter' had accomplished its object. Improvident England was badly off in comparison. This time it was not Germany but England that would be blockaded. The U-boats were bigger and better, they were being built on assembly lines; they were harbored on all coasts and had beautiful bomb-proof boxes in which to moor. In addition, there were airplanes to work miracles. The air arm could turn the British fleet into scrap; in the battle of aircraft *versus* battleships the latter would be hopelessly lost.

While the last war had been long drawn out, this war was at first pursued as a sequence of Blitz victories, which would speedily lead to peace. The Luftwaffe blasted enemy fortifications, dissolved troop concentrations, and terrorized the civilian population of open towns into submission. The punitive expedition into Poland was won on the first day, when German fliers destroyed the Polish air fleet on the ground. In France the Stuka dive bombers broke the resistance of elite regiments. Planes, 80-ton tanks, German panzer tactics, and bold leadership were guarantees enough that this would be only a gay war of movement. There would be no bomb craters like those before Verdun, nor would they 'conquer themselves to death' as in the Ukraine. This time there had been no miracle of the Marne. The miracles were all on Germany's side.

America's entry into the last war was a decisive factor. This time Goebbels prepared Germany well in advance by saying that whatever help America could give had already been given, and what more she might give would surely come too late. After Pearl Harbor he told the people that America was not wholeheartedly in the war, that, protesting, she had been dragged in by Roosevelt, the Jews, and Wall Street. Her military efficiency

was nil, her production power, phantasy. The ships that Kaiser pretended to build in three days were clandestinely put back in the stacks after their official launching. If any were used, German U-boats sank them. Furthermore, in 1917 American soldiers were fighting on the continent. Now they would never be able to set foot inside the Fortress of Europe.

Thus Goebbels attempted point by point to show his listeners that this war was different from that of 1914—a task considerably easier at the beginning of the war than later on. In 1914, he insisted, Germany had to fight on two fronts. This time, thanks to the Fuehrer's master diplomacy, England's scheme to encircle Germany had been frustrated. Germany, surrounded by allies, prisoners, or idle spectators would have to fight on only one front at a time. During the Polish campaign all remained quiet on the Western front. Then, Russia was a passive spectator of the victory in the West, and by the time Hitler turned to Russia, the West was unable to offer resistance.

In the last war, Germany's government had failed. This time the Nazis had established unity, discipline, efficiency, and justice. There was to be no war profiteering. Goebbels exploited the greater skepticism of the masses by saying that the enemy fought wars only for profit, while Germany's heroic and unselfish leadership was determined to forego all personal considerations, sacrificing itself for German socialism. Ebert had visited the supply lines as a civilian; Nazi leaders were falling at the front. Nazi leaders were ready to die in combat like the Visigoths. Finally, the last war was half dynastic, half imperialistic; this time the proletarian nations of the Axis were fighting a just war against the international oppressors.

As the war dragged on, however, it became more and more like the First World War. There was attritional warfare, and battles worse than Verdun. On the home front, the turnips have not yet (1943) turned up, but frozen potatoes are no better. In the two Russian winters, Generals Time and Space seemed as inimical to Germany as they had been twenty-five years ago.

So Goebbels reversed the argument. Time was just what he needed to organize the large spaces which were now at Germany's disposal. This was a revolutionary war of continents. The birth of a new Europe was at hand. Until the new order was definitely established, the fighting could not end. Germany's unity with her small allies was becoming ever closer, and England's position outside the European community was becoming ever more desperate. On the military side, all attempts to break the Nazi empire by invasion were bound to fail, because the New Europe had become a fortress. In the First World War the Central Powers had organized only a small space around themselves; the new Axis was surrounded by a huge co-prosperity sphere through which all its military energies would radiate. As a matter of fact, both the retreat from Stalingrad and the American landing in Africa were proof of the profound difference. This time Germany had plenty of forefields to sacrifice.

War extends beyond the battlefield in which it is waged by soldiers; propagandists also fight. Goebbels' varied argumentation is dependent not only on his planning. To each of his arguments the British and later the United Nations opposed their own. And as time passes, repetitious events and the insistence of enemy voices are bound to reinforce the spectres of the past that Goebbels is trying so hard to exorcize.⁸

⁸ For the analogy between 1918 and 1943, see pp. 204 ff. and 210.

IV

Radio Warfare and the Battle for Credibility

HAD the Nazis ruled Germany in 1914, when radio did not exist as a means of mass communication, their monopoly of news could have been complete. They could easily have prevented the opposition from buying neutral newspapers, as was still possible in 1918. There would have been no public discussions of peace aims, as there were throughout the last war, with Allied propaganda and Wilson's Fourteen Points used by opposition groups for promoting peace. In 1943, no such advantages are available to a potential opposition. Yet in a sense Nazi propagandists are worse off than were their imperial precursors, for now the radio has inadvertently returned to the individual a bit of the liberty taken from him by the totalitarian government and has punctured the monopoly of information upon which the Nazis relied.

The Nazis realized the potential danger of the radio shortly after their accession to power.

If you imagine [wrote Hadamovsky in 1933] the suggestive influence which in times of excitement may be exercised on any crowd, you will realize in what terrible danger the millions of German people are living, encircled and oppressed by enemies; the full force and the full impact of a criminal propaganda of lies may suddenly invade us.¹

The specific defensive measures taken against foreign propaganda before the war were to prove insufficient. Even those who had bought the People's Set could remedy its shortcomings by

¹ Hadamovsky, op. cit. p. 83.

adding technical improvements. Knob-fiddling remained an inalienable right of the German, who had to shift from one station to another if only to insure adequate reception of Goebbels' messages. In fact, avoidance of the BBC requires special care, since the wave lengths used for its German-language transmissions fall between those of German regional and national stations.

Listening to foreign stations has long been a tradition in Germany. Not only were there numerous amateur groups of radio fans who prided themselves on being able to receive short-wave broadcasts, but there was also a political tradition that encouraged listening to foreign stations. The Dutch transmitter at Hilversum, owned by trade unions, had always been popular with the workers, since private stations did not exist in pre-Nazi Germany. After 1933, opposition groups formed the habit of listening to the German-language broadcasts of Radio Strasbourg, and to Austrian, Swiss, and Czech stations, all easily audible in southern Germany. Communists all over the Reich did their best to listen to Radio Moscow, and many listeners undoubtedly heard the freedom stations of German minority groups, which broadcast either from within the Reich or from across the borders.²

When war broke out, the BBC became the most dangerous enemy of Nazi propaganda. BBC broadcasts from London reach the German listener on a variety of medium, long, and short wave lengths. At regular hours the *Voice of America*, an OWI transmission, is also broadcast from London and other places within long-wave reception distance, and Germans who know other languages can listen in to programs addressed to the

² Some of the authentic freedom stations forced to escape from the Reich continued to pretend that they were still within its confines, narrowly escaping the Gestapo. During the war, the Nazi regime copied their technique. It operated stations addressed to minority groups in England and the United States which purported to be genuine freedom stations within those countries. There are also a number of stations audible that pretend to broadcast views totally or partly opposed to the Nazis. For an appraisal of such pretense broadcasts, see *German Freedom Stations Broadcasting to Britain*, Research Paper #2, Research Project on Totalitarian Communication. Mimeographed.

whole of conquered Europe. Though short-wave broadcasts from the United States and various broadcasts from Radio Moscow also reach Germany, they are less clearly heard and German propaganda has to react against them less frequently.

In the years of appeasement, international broadcasting was neutral and most careful not to offend German susceptibilities. When war broke out, foreign broadcasts became enemy broadcasts that openly attacked the Nazi regime. The Nazis took various measures in order to prevent them from reaching the Germans. First, a number of German-controlled transmitting stations were kept permanently occupied disturbing essential broadcasts by sounds that make reception difficult. The success of German jamming is said to vary, for while it greatly impedes listening, it does not altogether prevent it.

The second measure of defense is the listening ban, which makes listening to foreign broadcasts a criminal offense, punishable by jail, hard labor, or death. The lone black-listener is less guilty than the one who listens in the presence of his wife—or worse, his maid. The death sentence is for those who meet to listen as a group, or who communicate what they have heard. Sentences imposed upon offenders are announced in the press and occasionally even on the radio when a special campaign of intimidation is going on.³ Threats are constantly mixed with persuasion. Listening to foreign broadcasts is said to be dangerous in that it corrodes the mind. Newspaper articles, cartoons, and many radio talks revive old superstitions and fears; the voices of the enemy, like the whispered temptations of the devil, are magic poison that destroys man through his ear. Listening to foreign broadcasts is also dangerous for other reasons, as the Nazis are not slow to point out: a poor miner was sent to jail and his family was starving; the poison had driven another family to suicide when the father was arrested on the charge of black-listening.

³ Nazi rumor organizations supported intimidation by asserting that the Gestapo was operating a secret 'listening-detector.'

Early in the war the listening ban was described as a protective measure. The Government was looking after the people to save them from filth and tedious corruption, as Goering once put it. Later on, the matter became a question of discipline; black-listeners were evil people with whom no righteous German would be associated, and the danger lay clearly in the waves of rumor that spread reports from England. On 3 December 1942, *Das Schwarze Korps* put it bluntly in these terms:

The ether has no frontiers! On the scale of radio sets Westwalls can be built only by the discipline of the listener who refuses to lend his ear to the babbling of Jews. It is known that a few radio criminals are sufficient to poison entire regions with rumors.

Jamming of enemy broadcasts subsided at no time during the war, nor was persecution for black-listening abated. After the fall of France the restrictions were reinforced, and, in January 1941, when Britain fought alone, weakened by air raids, the German people were reminded that it was punishable to listen even to music from enemy stations, since propaganda might be sandwiched between musical selections. Since it is probable that those who continued listening to the voice of freedom while it was weak would not be stopped when it had grown stronger, the increasing intensity with which German propagandists conducted the counterattack against Allied propaganda was not surprising.

The specific function of answering enemy allegations was entrusted to Hans Fritzsche.⁴ For weeks after the surrender of Singapore to the Japanese, the Nazi radio under Fritzsche's command reconquered it from the BBC. Whenever the enemy spontaneously admitted defeat, Fritzsche or Goebbels claimed that they had forced him to do so; even then the enemy admission was said to come too late and failed to reveal the true extent of the calamity. Characteristically, Fritzsche initiated the slogan: 'When will Britain admit that she is defeated?'

In December 1941, the United Nations began to take the initia-

⁴ See pp. 71 ff.

tive in propaganda. After the Nazi defeat before Moscow, Roosevelt's speech announcing the American production program was hammered into German ears by the Allies. Then for the first time Fritzsche spoke of a war of nerves waged against the Germans. In February he told the enemy that attempts at discussion with him had been 'in vain.' 'Now,' he went on, 'we have introduced the listening ban and no longer discuss with you.'

But counter-propaganda became more, rather than less, important. In a defensive situation every item had to be so planned as to undo whatever harm enemy propaganda might have done. And in November 1942, Fritzsche was given full control of political warfare on the German home radio. With Germany's plight becoming ever more apparent, the task of allied propaganda was facilitated, and the propagandist had to try to anticipate its attacks. When Goebbels announced that ever more sacrifices would be demanded of the people, he introduced his statements by saying, 'The BBC will naturally seize upon this article.' On another occasion, he asked whether the black market should be left unpunished because 'they' might 'make a fuss in London.'

This defensive strategy, however, cannot be understood without a consideration of other and broader aspects of the problem. Propaganda and counter-propaganda cannot be sharply distinguished from each other. They are both concerned with the basic problem of propaganda in wartime: gaining and maintaining the confidence of the public.

When war broke out, the Nazi reputation for truthfulness was low. Too many broken pledges could be remembered by people in and out of Germany. The Germans substituted devices to gain credibility for truth; and initial victories helped them to build up their prestige.⁵

Germany's propagandists expected to be believed because her armies were being victorious. After the Polish campaign, a book

⁵ For this and following points, see *A Study of War Communiques*, Research Paper #2, Research Project on Totalitarian Communication, January 1942, mimeographed; and Speier, Hans, 'The Radio Communication of War News in Germany,' *Social Research*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, November 1941.

was published,⁶ confronting—in a day-by-day account—the ‘lies’ of the defeated enemies with the terse reports of the High Command. This book was translated into various languages and distributed in the as-yet uninvaded countries of Europe.

The High Command Communique—a product of Prussian militarism, reserved, terse, and accurate—would at first glance seem unsuitable to Nazi purposes. Nazi propagandists had long criticized the German communiques of the last war for being ‘characterless’ and ‘colorless.’ Hadamovsky claimed⁷ that while Allied communiques were ‘again and again effective in bulwarking and stimulating the enemies’ morale, our communiques . . . with their persistent schematic formulas . . . were simply boring, and they killed all interest in the conduct of the war.’ It is thus somewhat surprising that when war broke out the Nazis kept the old style and the old form more or less intact, and, furthermore, drew attention to the very qualities they had objected to, never tiring of praising their communiques for their ‘sobriety,’ ‘matter of factness,’ ‘terseness,’ and ‘reserve.’

Notwithstanding the fact that all German communication is official, habits of thought are hard to break, and hence it seems that army communiques are more ‘official’ than other forms of communication. The Nazis thought it advisable to use the communique as a weapon in the battle for credibility, and allow its laconic contents to be supplemented, dramatized, and interpreted in other transmissions, particularly in the *Front Reports*. The previously despised communique, because of its very dullness, became the voice of truth, and the Nazis spared no pains to sell it as such. Statistics of mysterious origin were brought in to prove the point:

During the World War a New York paper published a table on the truthfulness of the war reports from various sources. The

⁶ Picht, W., *Das Oberkommando der Wehrmacht gibt bekannt*, Berlin, 1939, and its English version, *Facts and Fiction about the Campaign in Poland*, Berlin, 1940.

⁷ Hadamovsky, op: cit. pp. 126-7.

German reports were 100% true; Stockholm, 75%; French General Staff, 20%; a special cable from the *Times* contained 10% truth. The French News Agency reports from the English bureau of lies, Reuter, contained no truth at all, and were given zero %. This is taken up by the Czech paper *Poledni List*, which adds that again today the German communique is true to fact while Reuter and other enemy news services have not gained in truthfulness.⁸

To some extent, the 'reliability' of the Nazi communique was merely a question of style. By a process of false association, perfunctory military idiom was easily linked with accuracy. On the other hand, communiqués kept closer to truth than did other transmissions. More daring statements were concentrated in Special Announcements, so as to keep the communique free from the grosser exaggerations of Nazi reporting. During the first summer in Russia, special communiqués were issued from the Fuehrer's Headquarters, different in form and content from the regular releases. They even seemed to bear the stamp of Hitler's personal style, and it may be that he was then trying to make up for what he considered a propagandistic deficiency.

On the basis of a reputation for reliability gained in earlier and happier times, the Nazis demanded confidence in their communications even in adverse situations, such as the Battle of Britain. Later, in his speech of 3 October 1941, when the prospects of victory had not materially increased, Hitler again invoked Germany's news prestige, which, by that time, had already been fatally impaired:

A German High Command Communique is the report of truth, even if some stupid British newspaper lout declares it must first be confirmed. German High Command Communiqués have been thoroughly confirmed. *We have defeated the Poles and not the Poles us*, although the British press has been saying the opposite. There is also no doubt that *we are in Norway, and not the British*.

⁸ 18 September 1941.

Nor is there any doubt that we were successful in the Netherlands and Belgium and not the English. There is also no doubt that Germany has conquered France and that we are in Greece and not the English or the New Zealanders. Nor are they in Crete but we are there. *Thus the German High Command spoke the truth.* It is not different in the East.

It turned out to be different in the East. Cities refused to be captured even after the Nazis claimed them, and, despite repeated annihilations, the Russian armies re-emerged as if by magic, and continued to resist. In the face of this determined resistance, Hitler could not simply continue to mortgage his victory in the West. Other means had to be used to keep up the impression of propaganda reliability in spite of military reverses.

Acquiring prestige for accuracy and destroying trust in the enemy's statements are one and the same process. Already in 1933 the Nazis had streamlined a method frequently used in competitive situations to discredit the statements of opponents. They simply planted lies in hostile newspapers which they could later deny with tangible evidence.⁹

In wartime this technique was applied with supreme skill. In the turbulent days that followed the invasion of Norway, reports of British victories in Trondheim and Oslo were launched via Stockholm and New York. Since these statements seemed to

⁹ The technique is described in the 'General Instructions for German Agents in North and South America':

'Headquarters will endeavor in future more strenuously and more frequently than hitherto to smuggle into the hands of hostile news agents "material" and "announcements" the transmission of which will compromise these hostile news representatives. This material is selected here in such a way that not only, in every case, can its publication be met by a denial, but it can also be effectually and publicly refuted by thoroughly convincing counterevidence.

'The aim of this procedure is to make the general public doubt the trustworthiness of undesirable foreign news agencies and, above all, *to disturb* as much as possible, the relations between important foreign newspapers and their hostile agencies.'

Quoted in Kris, Ernst, 'German Propaganda Instructions of 1933,' *Social Research*, vol. ix, No. 1, February 1942, pp. 62-3. For the use of planted news, see also Gordon, M., *op. cit.*

come from neutrals, they were repeated by the BBC. Despite the fact that the British qualified them, German propaganda termed them 'British lies.' These and similar cases enabled Goebbels to praise the Norwegian campaign as a German triumph not only in the battle for Norway but also in the struggle for world confidence.

A similar procedure was adopted in January 1942, when Allied newspapers and broadcasts carried a series of Nazi plants on bad morale in Germany.¹⁰ Fritzsche then quoted what had probably originated from his own plants in neutral countries:

BBC said that German generals are planning to take over. Schenectady says that they use a secret transmitter for propaganda against Hitler. Reuter says they set up a government. Schenectady says there are machine guns on the Wilhelmsplatz and the party is struggling against the army. *Daily Herald* shows a map with the hotels where these machine guns are placed and names even the generals who plot rebellion. *Daily Telegram* says the German troops are withdrawing to the Oder. BBC says there was a revolution in a cinema. Radio New York has 25,000 German officers executed, but BBC speaks of 62 only.¹¹

On the following day he denied Reuter's allegation that Goebbels had planted the news and asked why Germany should make people believe that she was weak. In his next speech, he took the matter up again, but he no longer had to deny the charge that there were machine guns on the Wilhelmsplatz. He merely quoted Reuter's and Radio London's denial that they had ever meant to say that there was revolution in Germany. But Fritzsche would not let the British get away with it as easily as all that; he took them to the witness stand and asked them under oath whether or not they had made these previous allegations. 'These liars,' he then concluded on 17 January 1942, 'still dare to deny that they spread news about revolution in Germany.' The campaign lasted

¹⁰ See also Herma, Hans, 'Some Principles of German Radio Propaganda,' op. cit.

¹¹ 16 January 1942.

a week and ended with a complete victory of the German newscasters over the British calumniators. It was conclusively proved that there was no revolution in Germany, and that, if there had been one, it was only the machination of British agents. German news policy passed from the defensive to the offensive. German pincers repeatedly surrounded the British broadcasters, whom Fritzsche showed fleeing in confusion after their abortive attempt at a war of nerves.

The scoop, which makes for news prestige in the competitive news system of the democracies, also becomes a device in the hands of the Nazis. The vacillating and over-optimistic news policy of the French and British during the campaign in the West played into the hands of the Germans. The Nazis could calmly announce unobstructed progress, while at each step of the way the Allies were expressing confidence that the German army was being halted. The time lags in Allied admissions of retreat were transformed by the Nazis into proof that Allied spokesmen were liars. As the Germans were first in claiming success, they could also claim that the enemy would never have admitted reversal if the Nazis had not forced his hand. Even in a situation unfavorable to Germany, the scoop could transform a dubious situation into a propaganda success, as was the case when the Germans announced that Hess had left Germany by plane before the British could announce his landing in Scotland.

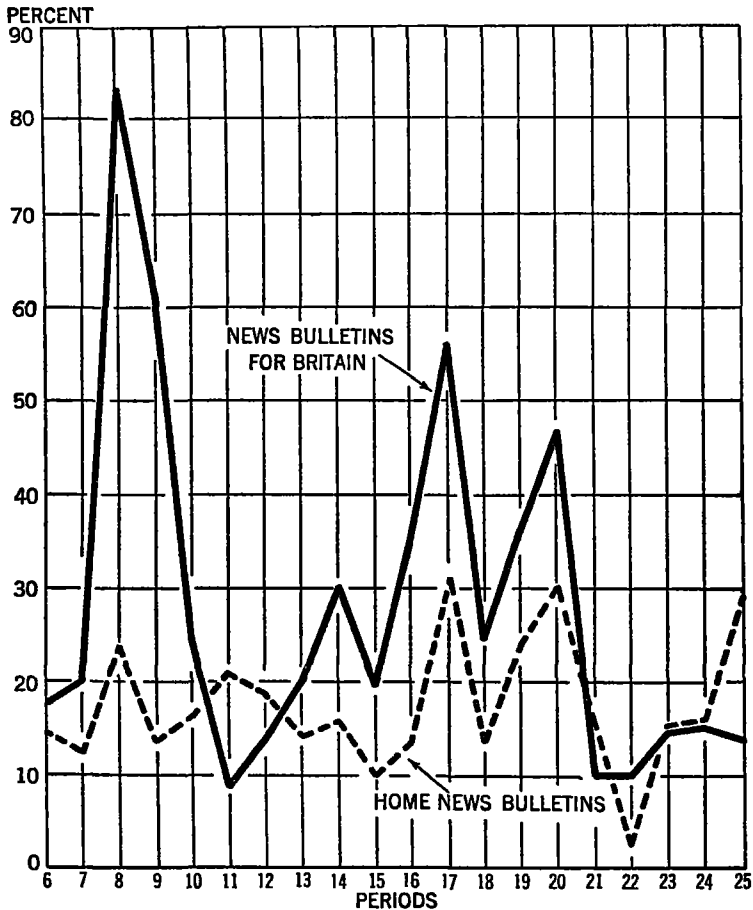
The battle for credibility led the Nazis to adopt a series of stereotypes describing the British as liars. The Germans characterized their own communications as 'sober' and 'reliable,' but in general they emphasized the lying of the enemy more often than their own truthfulness. 'British lies,' the constant subject of attack in the days of the Kaiser, must have sounded familiar to the older generation of Germans.¹² Churchill is consistently called

¹² In the First World War, Britain's control over international cable communication made her then also the most powerful enemy of Germany in the battle for credibility. See Riegel, O. W., *Mobilizing for Chaos*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934.

FIGURE I

Truth-Falsehood Stereotypes

Percentages of stereotype total—Sample home news bulletin and sample news bulletin for Britain



8: 9-30 Apr. 1940

11: 23 June-7 Aug. 1940

15: 7 Feb.-11 Mar. 1941

17: 4-27 Apr. 1941

20: 2-21 June 1941

22: 1-12 July 1941

Truth-falsehood stereotypes include all stereotypes that describe communication as truthful (sober, veracious, etc.) or as false (hypocritical, lying, etc.). The periods extend from 1 March 1940 to 18 September 1941.

a liar in Nazi broadcasts; Duff-Cooper is ridiculed as the former head of the 'Ministry of Misinformation' and his associates have been known as 'Cooper's Snoopers'—after the name was coined in the House of Commons—and Reuter's is called the 'lie agency.' Falsehood stereotypes of this kind, as well as 'hypocrite,' 'prevaricator,' and 'propaganda,' when applied to the British, predominate over other forms of vilification whenever the primary object of the propagandist is to break down credence in what the enemy says.

Figure I shows the use of truth and falsehood stereotypes in home broadcasts and in news broadcasts to Britain in which an even greater effort is made to undermine British news prestige. The first great propaganda campaign to discredit British communication occurred during the fighting in Norway. It was especially violent in broadcasts to Britain, but even in home broadcasts the stereotype most frequently used was 'liar.'

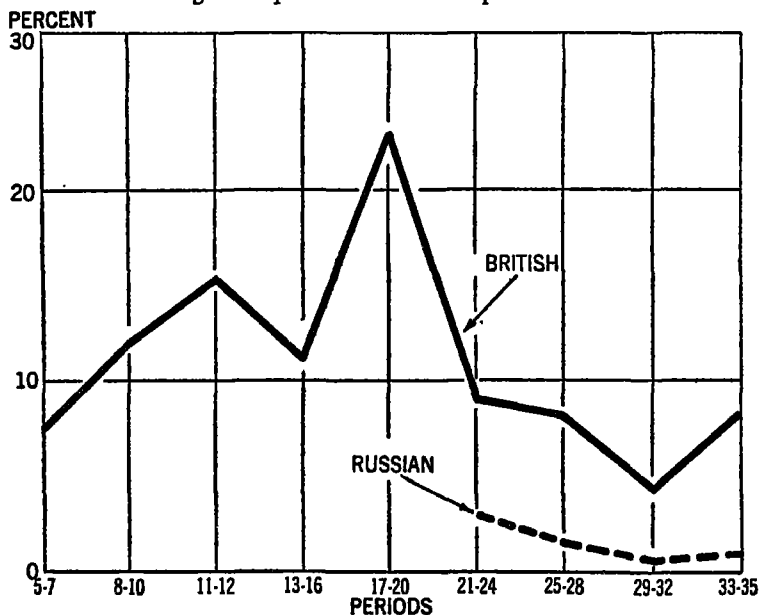
At the time of the French campaign and the Battle of Britain, other issues came to the fore, and we have reasons to believe that British news prestige gained ground on the continent of Europe during the air raids of 1940. It is probable that even in Germany Britain's survival proved the truth of British words. The graph shows that when land fighting on the continent began again, the Germans seized the opportunity to undo the harm that had been done. During the invasions of Greece and Crete renewed attempts were made to discredit enemy news.

The use of quotations from the enemy press that could easily be denied served as another device in the competition for credibility. Instead of simply stating that the enemy is a liar, the propagandist pretends to catch him in the act. Figure II shows the frequency of disapproved quotations from British and Russian sources quoted in the home news. In this graph, the intensity of the campaign for credibility during the invasions of Yugoslavia, Greece, and Crete becomes more apparent. The invasion of Russia on 22 June 1941 caused a change in trend. For the moment, all eyes were turned to the East, and to deny

FIGURE II

British and Russian Disapproved Quotations

Percentages of quotation totals—Sample news bulletin



5-7: 17 Feb.-8 Apr. 1940	17-20: 4 Apr.-21 June 1941
11-12: 23 June-31 Oct. 1940	21-24: 22 June-18 Sept. 1941
13-16: 1 Nov. 1940-3 Apr. 1941	29-32: 7 Dec. 1941-15 Feb. 1942

A disapproved quotation is a quotation from a British or Russian source with which the German broadcaster explicitly or implicitly disagrees but which he does not necessarily 'disprove'; for example,

'The stupid BBC commentator says that our generals are inexperienced.'

'Reuters says that we sank only one ship. Actually we sank seven.'

Only one disapproved quotation is counted for each country in each item. The periods extend from 17 February 1940 to 8 May 1942.

what the British said seemed unimportant. What is significant, however, is not the decline in disapproved British quotations, but the fact that they continued to be more important than the Russian.

England has been and continues to be the vocal enemy that fights the war in the news for all the United Nations,¹³ regardless of whom the German armies were fighting. German victories over Russian soldiers were used to weaken the prestige of British propagandists. For instance, on 18 August 1941 the news broadcaster said:

The British have obviously learned nothing from their propaganda about Smolensk. The British News Service reported yesterday that the capture of Nikolaev was to be expected in the near future. The BBC served up this new lie at a moment when Nikolaev had been in German hands for 24 hours. Obviously, their conscience must have pricked them later, and so they decided at 3 a.m., that is to say, when nobody listens to the wireless, to admit the capture of Nikolaev.

On 22 September 1941, after noting that the German war flag flew over Kiev, *Deutschlandsender* added: 'It is again Churchill who is beaten and does not admit it.' During the following winter, when little was said about the Russian war, British sources tended to drop out of the news. But when the Russian winter offensive of 1941-2 was said to have failed, it was not Moscow but London which was claimed to have suffered disillusionment, for 'the old adventurer Churchill had unscrupulously lied to the British.'¹⁴

The insistence with which German propagandists fought British rather than Russian prestige may be explained by the relative strength of British and Russian transmitters; and by the fact that British news services had acquired great prestige during

¹³ Disapproved American quotations, not shown on our graph, are nearly always less frequent than the British, although more frequent than the Russian.

¹⁴ 9 April 1942.

the winter of 1940-41. But there was a third reason, possibly more essential. The Nazis may well have assumed that ten years of anti-communist propaganda and the persecution of leftist groups had done their work, and that appeals from the Soviet Union were not likely to fall on fruitful soil. On the other hand, they may have been doubtful about the attitude of the German people toward England.

Even in the year when Britain, alone, resisted the Nazis, she spoke not only for herself but also for the Commonwealth and for America.¹⁵ This coalition proved its offensive power, when, in August 1941, the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed; and gradually gained ascendance in radio warfare when America joined Britain as a belligerent. The propaganda attacks of the United Nations became more effective with each of their military successes. And since the core of all war propaganda is the claim of final victory, this claim pronounced by the United States, Britain, and Russia compels the German propagandist to manipulate ever more carefully what he tells his own people about their future.¹⁶

¹⁵ A summary of British propaganda at this time was given by Richard Werner in *The New Statesman and Nation*, 7 June 1941, p. 574. For more recent samples of British broadcasting to Germany, see Rolo, Charles J., *Radio Goes to War*, New York, 1942, pp. 166-71.

¹⁶ See Epilogue (Chapter xiv).

V

Predictions and Confidence

I. THE TREND OF PREDICTIONS

THE wartime increase of interest in the future has its political manifestations. Belligerent governments invariably predict victory. The stakes are high, and the public is naturally anxious.¹ Not to predict is to encourage suspicion and to destroy confidence. To predict ultimate failure is morally to surrender. Thus propagandists predict victory, for it is the only thing they can do. The Nazis also predict to let it be known that they retain the initiative in the future as well as in the present, and when victory crowns prediction and they can say 'We told you so,' prestige for the accuracy of their communications is enhanced. Above all, the Leader is forced to prophesy to demonstrate his charismatic gift. We have discussed the danger to which the prophet is exposed, and the ultimate failure of prophecy. Here we deal not with the voice of intuition but with its reverberations in day-to-day communication, where predictions are an essential part of planned propaganda.

As a whole, German predictions probably never were more accurate than the prognostications of other communication systems. The trick is to make them appear so. In fact, the trick is twofold: to make inaccurate predictions seem accurate and to make other predictions seem full of risk, when in reality they are quite safe and can easily be fulfilled. Since the Nazi fore-

¹ Astrologers are more likely to be consulted during war than in peacetime. In the London press, astrological advertisements have increased since the beginning of the war, despite the fact that the size of newspapers has generally diminished.

caster speaks for the Leader, he cannot afford to take many risks. His audience must have faith in him as a man who has predicted not only correctly, but also daringly in the past. Hence he must pretend to be daring while exercising as much caution as possible.

He can avoid risk by citing outside sources. If the neutral press makes a prediction favorable to Germany, this serves the dual purpose of showing Germany's popularity and of avoiding the responsibility for the fulfilment of the prediction. The broadcaster can also use conditional predictions² when he does not want to commit himself. For example instead of predicting the fall of Singapore in January and early February 1942, the German propagandist remarked: 'If Singapore falls, the British Empire will collapse.' In German home broadcasts conditional and other forms of implied predictions were used especially before and during the Battle of Britain; the Germans were not promised invasion, but were shown England prostrate with the fear of it.

There are predictions over which the propagandist exercises a high degree of control. If he says that Germany will take certain steps, he has such information available, and can usually predict accurately without any real risk. Thus, on 30 January 1941, Hitler said that submarine warfare would increase in the following spring. On the other hand, despite his low control over the fulfilment of the prediction, the propagandist can say that 'Germany will win the war.' For if Germany loses, no one will worry very much about whether a prediction has been fulfilled or not.

² Questions that can be asked and related to the general problems of prediction and risk are manifold, and cannot be considered in detail. Yet some aspects must be mentioned. A more detailed treatment of the problems of prediction and risk is contained in White, Howard B., *Prediction and Political Power*, doctoral dissertation written in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Social Science at the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, New School for Social Research. Unpublished.

If the enemy action spells danger for Germany, the prediction can be made to suggest to the domestic audience that Germany is strong enough to look danger in the face. This method has been favored by Goebbels and Lieutenant General Kurt Dittmar. Goebbels predicted in July 1942 an invasion attempt by the Allies, and both Dittmar and Goebbels again made similar forecasts in May and June 1943. The advantage of such predictions is evident. If they are fulfilled, they anticipate, and thus prepare for, the shock of enemy action, and also serve to prove the foresight of the predictor. If they are not fulfilled, it is easy to point out that the enemy was too weak or too cowardly to undertake what he had planned and what the Germans 'hoped' he would undertake. Finally, it is safe to forecast as enemy action whatever the Germans themselves plan to do. Thus, the Nazis predicted a British invasion of Norway early in 1940 and later declared, 'We got there first.'

The failure to specify time is a convenient omission for the propagandist. It is relatively easy for the Germans to say that England will be invaded, that Russia will be conquered, and that American shipping will be destroyed, if they do not say when these desired events will take place. The home front must simply wait and see. Human memory is fallible and German propagandists rely upon its weakness, not only by allowing a time lapse between prediction and fulfilment, but also by banking heavily upon what might be called the principle of distraction; in other words, that any event more important or more immediate than the one predicted can distract attention from failure in forecasting.³

On the German radio the use of predictions has been subject to drastic changes in policy. The tendency to predict increased as the war was prolonged, but in the spring of 1943, when de-

³ A computation of over 1400 predictions before and during the Norwegian campaign shows that according to these and similar criteria less than 1 per cent of all German news predictions at that time involved any real risk. Even those few could be explained away by one means or another.

feats became ever more frequent and ever more predictions had failed, the trend changed: prediction was almost abandoned. Figure III shows the frequency in predictions in the home news⁴ and Figure IV shows the frequency of references to victory in the 30 January speeches of Hitler.⁵ Early in the war, belligerency might have been regarded as a short skirmish. Reassurance was given by initial victories. As time went on, however, the propagandist acted as if he sensed a need on the part of his audience for more verbal reassurance about the future. Thus, the rising trend in Figure III may be considered as evidence that the propagandist found it convenient to deal with the increased tension of the German people, by an increased use of predictions.

The deviations in the curve are indicative of a similar mode of thinking—of the need to predict in times of distress rather than in times of comfort. For a long time predictions took the place of good news. They extolled people to fight harder and reassured them when reassurance was needed. They were a relief to troubled minds.

There were routine predictions that could occur at any time and specific predictions that were parts of specific events—major victories, diplomatic achievements, specific preparation campaigns, and, especially, the speeches of Hitler. A prediction from a Hitler speech was echoed on nearly all transmissions of the German home radio, and Hitler rarely made a speech without predicting. Routine forecasts that were frequently repeated in the earlier years of the war include the warning that the British blockade would hurt the neutrals rather than Germany, that Germany would break the blockade and would not be encircled, and that Italy would enter the war while the United States would remain neutral. Later in the war they said that American aid would come too late, that the Germans would sink American

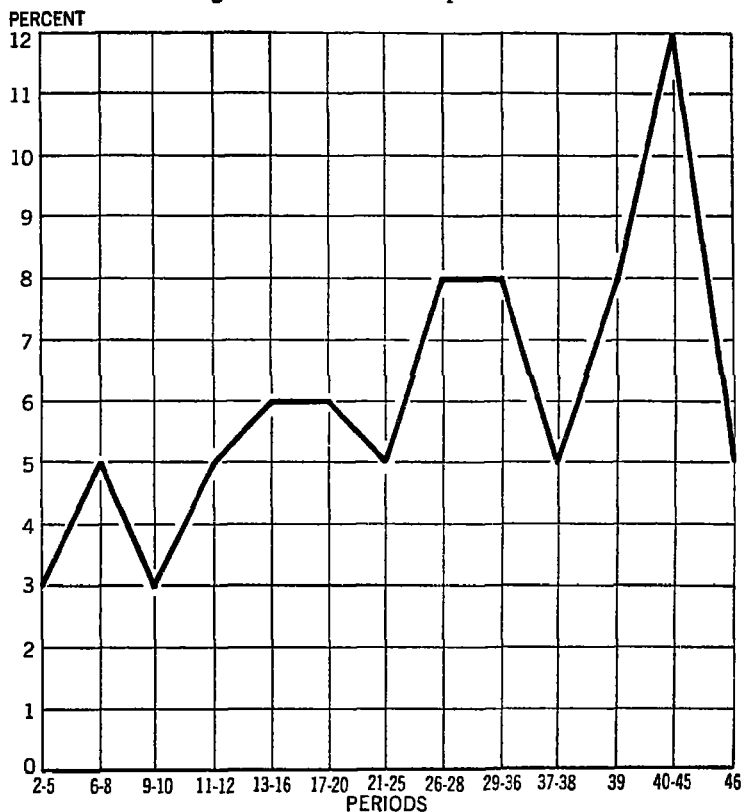
⁴ We have counted only explicit predictions.

⁵ Results for the *Topics of the Day*, not given, show a similar rising trend in predictions up to April 1942, when we discontinued our count of predictions for this program. For threats of retaliation in 1943, see Chapter XIII, section 4, G.

FIGURE III

Predictions

Percentages of item totals—Sample news bulletin

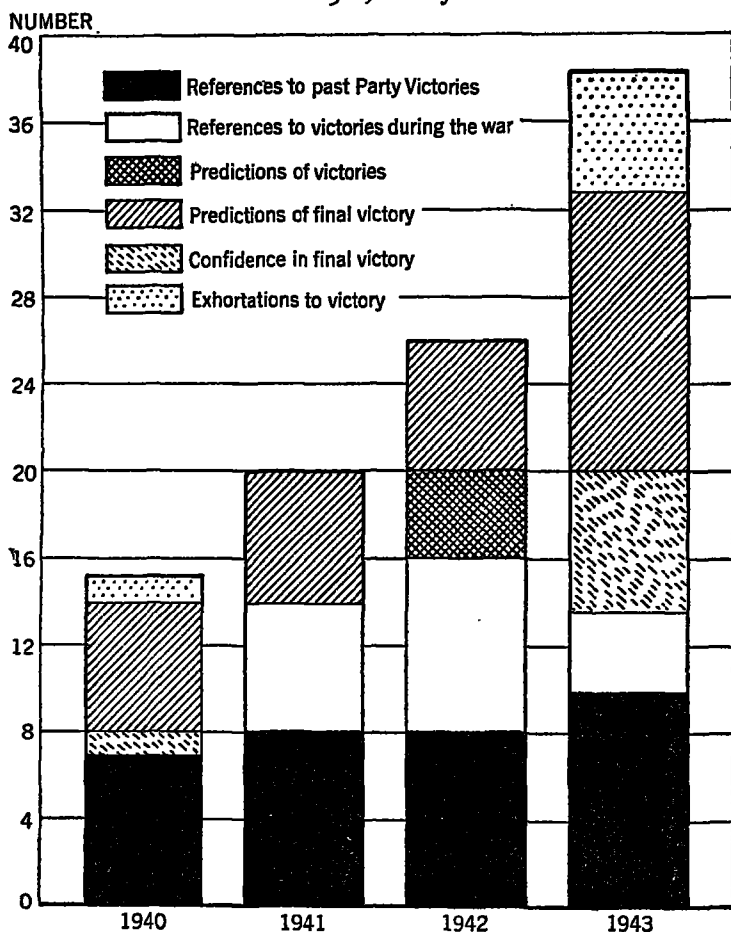


2-5: 30 Sept. 1939-28 Feb. 1940	26-36: 3 Oct. 1941-30 May 1942
6-8: 1 Mar.-30 Apr. 1940	37-38: 31 May-27 July 1942
13-20: 1 Nov. 1940-21 June 1941	40-45: 7 Sept. 1942-13 Mar. 1943

This figure shows the percentage of items in the sample news bulletins containing explicit predictions. An explicit prediction is any statement on future events that is not an announcement and in which the use of the future is not merely grammatical (e.g. 'you will remember'). Implicit predictions (such as conditional predictions—'If Singapore falls, the British Empire will collapse') do not appear in this computation. The periods extend from 30 September 1939 to 4 May 1943.

FIGURE IV

*Number of References to Victory in Hitler's Speeches
on 30 January*



Hitler did not speak in 1943, but his proclamation was read by Goebbels, whose speech of 30 January is included in the count.

ships, that bolshevism would be annihilated, that the British Empire would collapse, and the Allies would desert one another. Specific predictions are predicated upon specific situations and account for minor fluctuations in the trend curve.

On Figure III we see that the newscaster found little need to predict during the 'phoney' war (prior to the *Altmark* incident) and the Norwegian and French campaigns. In the latter cases it was enough to let the facts speak for themselves. The preparation campaign before Norway gave some more reason to predict, but the real trend upward began only with the first rumblings of uncertainty. When the triumphant atmosphere of 1940 and 1941 gave way to the gloom of the third war winter, we have our first evidence of a distress situation. Even before the fall of Kiev, in September 1941, it had become obvious to everyone that the Russian campaign was not a Blitzkrieg. On 3 October Hitler promised the annihilation of the Russian armies. Roughly, from that time on, predictions became more frequent. Their tone was more general. They began to be more like cries of despair. The retreat from Rostov in November brought in its wake a cold Russian winter, colder than the Germans had anticipated. And the propagandists turned from the gray snows of the steppes and the black clouds of the Eastern skies to the rosy picture of the world that was to be. Spring was short-lived, and the victories of the summer brought only a momentary decline in interest in the future.

The second Russian winter, far more distressing for the Germans than the first, was the period of most frequent predictions in the news; almost one item out of every eight contained a prediction. The Russians took Velikie Luki, Rostov, and Kursk. They relieved the siege of Leningrad and captured the German army at Stalingrad. The British and Americans landed in North Africa and the British progressed from Cairo to Tripoli and beyond before the winter was over. The German newscaster turned to the future, for there was no hope in the present. He predicted four times as often as he had done during the French campaign,

more than twice as often as he had during the Battle of Britain. Hitler and Goebbels did the same. In the anniversary celebrations of January 1943, which Hitler was too busy to attend, they told of past victories: the victories of the Party, the victories of the blitz armies of Poland and France. They promised final victory; they exhorted the people to final victory, and Goebbels expressed confidence in final victory under the Fuehrer. Hitler, Goebbels, and the anonymous newscaster were all seen in new roles, the roles of prophets in despair.

At this point the turn in policy occurred. When the Allied armies in April approached Tunisia, and Russia's force remained unbroken, the policy was suddenly changed, and prediction became rare. It was at this time that Goebbels began telling the German people in so many words that this was a world in which one could not predict and that the war was simply 'the riddle of riddles.

2. UNFULFILLED PREDICTIONS OF NAZI LEADERS

We may assume that unfulfilled leader predictions were made at a time when the leaders were prepared to take risks to reassure their audience. Such predictions are interesting because they indicate the propagandist's awareness, or the actual existence, of certain anxieties among the German people, and because they indicate more graphically than anything else in propaganda the progress of the war.

Before the outbreak of hostilities, on 9 August 1939, Goering said:

Above all, I have seen to it that the Ruhr, where the people must be able to work in peace, receives the greatest security. We will not expose it even to a single bomb from any aircraft.

One month later, on 9 September, Goering made his promise more general by saying: 'Above all, I shall see to it that the enemy can drop no bombs.' Extreme statements of this kind may have been useful at the time for reassuring the people who were

not very eager for war. For a while the British obliged by dropping leaflets instead of bombs, and later on victories in Poland, Norway, and France proved useful distractions from Goering's excessive promise.

In later months and years, similar predictions have become more moderate. The Germans promised ten bombs for one in the spring of 1940. On 4 October 1942, when the cities of the Ruhr and the Rhine suffered heavier raids than even London had known, Goering said: 'I make every attempt humanly possible to prevent air raids and ease the situation.' He also promised that German bombers would retaliate against England once Russia had been overthrown. Finally he said: 'Mr. Churchill has not once come with 1000 planes. He never will and these jaunts will in any case cost him so dearly that he has even had to cut down on them.' Since it is very difficult for the average observer to see the number of planes in a raid, it is relatively safe to predict that the British will never come in 1000 planes. It is clearly quite different from saying that not a single bomb will be dropped.

On 4 September 1940, in the middle of the Battle of Britain, Hitler declared that the British were wondering when he would come. He told them not to wonder and said he would come to England. Since the prediction did not specify the time of arrival, and since the Germans denied the existence of the Battle of Britain altogether, it was fairly easy to avoid the risks which Hitler's forecast seemed to imply. And on another occasion, with possible reference to the United States, Hitler asserted: 'No power and no support coming from any part of the world can change the outcome of this battle in any respect. England will fall.'⁶

But when a leader predicts the results of a current action that absorbs everyone's interest, and where the implication is one of immediate and gratifying fulfilment, the dangers of aroused expectancy are great. When Hitler predicted of the Russians on

⁶ Heroes' Memorial Day speech of 15 March 1941.

3 October 1941: 'This enemy is beaten and will never rise again,' and when this statement, repeated by the Reich Press Chief Dietrich and re-echoed by all transmissions of the German radio,⁷ remained unfulfilled, foreign correspondents noted its drastic effect on civilian morale.⁸ Despite his failure in the fall of 1941, Hitler again predicted victory over Russia in his speech of 15 March 1942: 'The Bolshevik masses, which have not been able to defeat the German and Allied troops this winter, will be smashed by us in the coming summer with utter destruction.'

The careful observer will note that this prediction was actually less daring than that of 3 October. The earlier one had the stamp of immediacy upon it; the later one permitted an entire summer for fulfilment. Hitler implied but did not state that there would be no second Russian winter; in fact, in his speech of the following month, on 26 April, he admitted the possibility. Couching the prediction in rather uncertain terms, he said: 'For the individual soldiers, conditions like those we have experienced will not of course arise again—even if such a catastrophe of nature should repeat itself.'

Hitler's speech of 30 September 1942, his first speech after the April address, contained several predictions of interest. One was his statement that 'the Japanese will occupy New Guinea and get it completely into their possession.' Since the prediction suggested no time at which the Japanese victory would take place, and since it involved Japanese rather than German action, it was less risky than some of the other unsuccessful predictions Hitler has made.

The specific prediction that Stalingrad would be taken, made in the same speech, was even more important. 'The capture of Stalingrad will be completed . . . and you may be sure that no

⁷ Ribbentrop even reiterated the prediction two days before the German retreat from Rostov in his address at the anti-Comintern meeting on 26 Nov. 1941: 'The political power of Communism and Bolshevism has been broken, and, as the Fuehrer has said, will never rise again.'

⁸ Cf. Smith, Howard K., *Last Train from Berlin*, New York, 1942, chapter 3.

one will ever drive us out of this place again.' But Stalingrad did not fall, and it eventually became clear that it would not fall. When this occurred, it was necessary to re-define Hitler's prediction. Hitler had made one statement that provided a useful way out for a while. He had said: 'Stalingrad lies on the most important artery of the Soviet Union and covers the rear of all operations in the Caucasus area.' This soon paved the way for the theory that it was the traffic that was most important. A little more than a week after Hitler's speech, the Germans claimed that they had reached the Volga. This gave rise to the interpretation that the traffic was taken and that therefore Stalingrad was taken. Indeed, Hitler himself said on 8 November, 'The fact is that we have got it.' And on 16 November, Lieutenant General Dittmar added:

The real objective of our offensive from its very beginning was to gain this point [Stalingrad]; to have gained it—for it has been gained—crowned the operations of this summer and autumn.

Both Ribbentrop, on 27 September 1942, and Goering, on 4 October 1942, made some far-reaching predictions in connection with the increase in the German food rations. Goering, especially, heralded the increased bread rations as the permanent solution of Germany's food problem, and Ribbentrop declared:

The food problem was for Germany and Italy, and for all Europe, admittedly the sore spot . . . This perhaps most pressing problem of Europe's is now permanently disposed of.

In May 1943 the Nazis had to reduce the weekly meat rations by 100 grams of meat per person to an all-time low. And Goebbels, on 5 June 1943, gave the lie not only to all predictions of the autumn of 1942 but also to the propagandistic boasts of Goering and Ribbentrop that the conquests in the East had solved Germany's food problem:

The unusually hard winter of 1941-1942 brought an enormous loss of grain, the complete loss of the winter oleaginous crop,

and severe damage to the potato and vegetable supply. Since then, 1,700,000 tons of barley have had to be diverted from livestock feed for use as an admixture to bread grains. Then, in the fall of 1942, the meat ration had to be increased in compensation for sharp decreases in other kinds of foods.

In the same speech, Goebbels told his audience cautiously that 'the period until the harvest of 1943 is now assured.'

Goebbels' statements of 5 June regarding the German submarine campaign were similarly cautious. 'It is the nature of the war on the oceans of the world that it is subject to changing fortunes.' The sinkings of Allied merchant ships had declined sharply in April and May, and German propaganda adopted the line that submarine warfare could be compared to a see-saw movement of offensive and defensive weapons. On 27 September 1942, however, Ribbentrop had declared:

Enemy tonnage will . . . be steadily diminished further; consequently the transport situation must necessarily become for our enemies a basic problem that will never be solved.

Some of Hitler's prophecies cannot possibly be fulfilled during the war. Thus on 3 October 1941, Hitler spoke of 'a world historic decision for the next 100 years.' In the speech after Pearl Harbor, in which he declared war on the United States, he extended the time span. He referred to this war as one which 'for the next five hundred or one thousand years will decisively form not only our German history, but that of Europe, and of the whole world.' On 30 September 1942, Hitler stated that 'No bourgeois state will survive this war.' But in a later speech he complained that people did not appreciate his prophetic power, and illustrated the changed quality of his predictions by declaring 'Fate or Providence will give victory to him who most deserves it.'

Were the military war unaccompanied by a propaganda war, unfulfilled predictions would probably be forgotten. They would

be of no trouble to the propagandist. But every erroneous forecast of Nazi propaganda is carefully noted by the Allies, and from the United States, from Russia, and from England, recordings are frequently played to the German people of Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels marking those predictions that have since remained unfulfilled.

PART II
THE ACTORS

VI

Introduction

THE Nazi radio invites the German people to a puppet show. The hero is the self, the villain is the enemy, and the rest is chorus. The archaism is carefully distilled. The propagandist must proceed cautiously when he talks about a subject that the audience knows from daily experience, and must try to give his images plausible and familiar features. He uses information and data collected by the intelligence service of the Propaganda Ministry and keeps a very careful check on the changing moods of the German people through the reports of block wardens, old Party members, and various agencies.¹

When the German propagandists address a foreign audience, they are given instructions on the essential predispositions of their public and told how to differentiate their presentation according to political, social, and economic conditions prevailing in each country. As early as 1933, experts in Germany started to collect data on which propagandists could base their activity. Various research organizations were charged with the compilation of surveys, and as time went on scholars supplied the propagandists with background material; doctoral dissertations at German universities contributed to political warfare.

This information was sifted by politicians and distorted by prejudices and expediency. The misunderstanding goes far indeed, where Anglo-Saxon tradition and the character of English-speaking nations are concerned. And yet, while the views on

¹ Goebbels, anxious to persuade the people that he was fully informed about their worries, described the functioning of this machinery in *Das Reich*, 9 July 1943.

Britain, the Commonwealth, and the United States expressed by German propagandists mirror all the misconceptions of Ribbentrop's appraisal of British or American politics, German broadcasts to Britain or to the United States reveal a good deal of detailed factual knowledge.

On the German home radio this knowledge is hardly recognizable; schematization dominates the presentation.² The world is divided into friend and foe, and neutrals who are rated according to their position between the fighting lines. While this is the traditional tale of a people at war, it must sound to German listeners particularly familiar. National Socialist propaganda never knew peace. There always was an enemy to attack and to debase. The enemy has changed his name, but has retained his function: that of supplying a supplementary device for unifying the German people.

In times of victory, the self is reduced to Hitler, the satraps under his command, the Party, and the German soldier. The German people—the man in the street—appear only as far as they belong to one of those circles concentrically arrayed around their sun. Memories of Germany's past and of German tradition are carefully selected not to upset the uniqueness of the Third Reich, and yet to equip it with some innocuous ancestry.

The enemy is differentiated according to his major vices—the bluffing or corrupt American, the hypocritical Briton, and the bestial Bolshevik. There are other vices, such as brutality, and other shades of immorality that all enemies share. In addition they are conveniently unified by their subservience to the ideal prototype of enemy—the Jew. Patterns of myth here appear in Nazi version: Hitler, the god of light, opposes in Jewry the powers of darkness.

The chorus repeats the tale. Neutrals praise Germany or blame the foe. Their main function in domestic broadcasts is to echo the war cry of the German propagandist. The German listener

² For the following compare Lasswell, Harold D., *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, New York, 1927, pp. 77 ff.

hears of approval and admiration for his leaders, his institutions and victories, or he hears of accusations against those he is made to fight. As the war goes on, the chorus diminishes in number. Many neutrals take sides, or are forced to take sides.

As the war comes of age, changes in the self become apparent; suddenly a bit part is assigned to the common man in Germany. Fewer changes are made in the part of the enemy. But the reaction to his various incarnations is more sharply differentiated. When Britain and the United States appear to be the main enemy, the German people are admonished not to fall into the trap of Allied propagandists. They are reminded of Versailles, and the Atlantic Charter is linked to Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points. When the threat seems to come mainly from Russia, then no such subtle methods seem necessary. The Red menace, well known to all Germans who have been indoctrinated with Nazi propaganda, is used as a convenient bogey. While the glory of the self is enhanced by the symbols of tradition and civilization, the enemy is described as one coming from the steppes of Asia, sub-human and animal-like, to whom one cannot talk, with whom one cannot deal. As the war goes on, the abyss separating both actors on the stage grows steadily, and the contrasts become sharper. On the other hand, the enemies become gradually less differentiated.

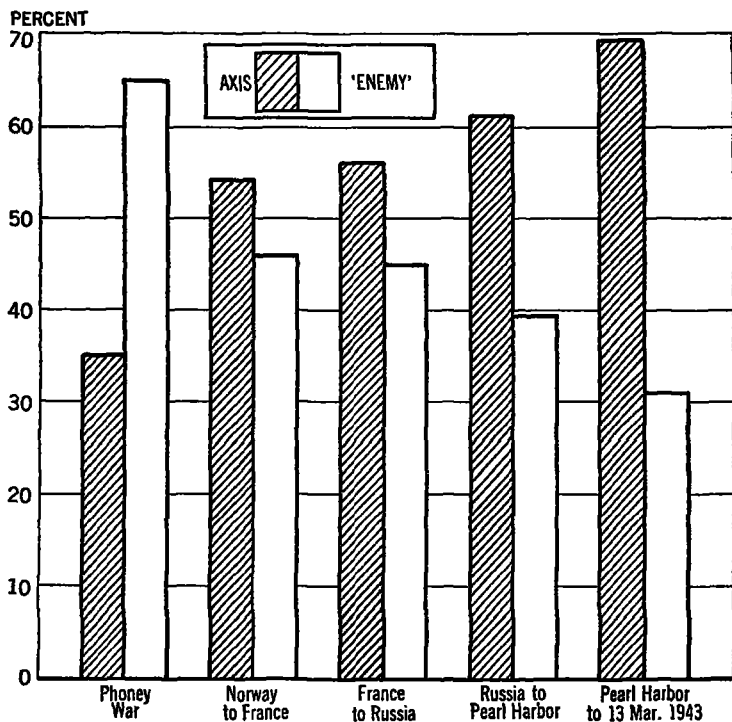
The changes are not qualitative only. In studying the part played by the self and by the enemy in quantitative terms throughout the war, we find that while in the initial stages negative attributes of the enemy are more often stressed than the positive attributes of the self, after three and a half years of fighting, the distribution of attention is reversed. As the war continues, it becomes ever more necessary to stress the strength of one's own forces.

Figures V and VI show that this change occurs both in the daily radio news bulletins and in the ceremonial speeches delivered on the anniversaries of the seizure of power. The trends are parallel. They show no specific relation to any particular defeat Germany had suffered. The change proceeds step by step.

FIGURE V

Attributes of the Axis and the 'Enemy'

Percentages of total number of attributes—Sample news bulletin

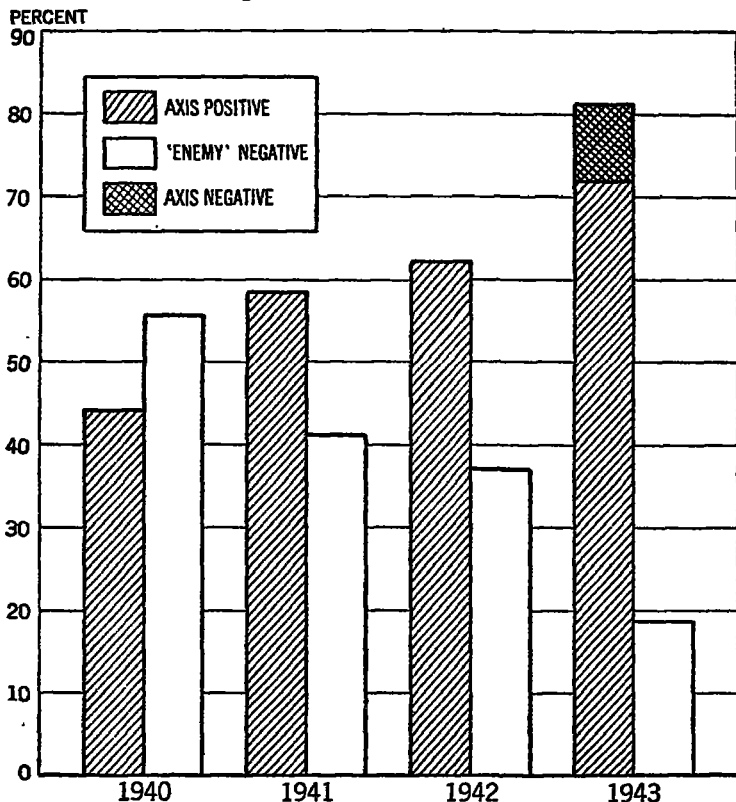


This figure shows the percentage of items in the sample news bulletins which contain positive Axis attributes and negative 'Enemy' attributes. The base is the total number of items with attributes. Since this differs only slightly from the item total, we may safely say that the picture is that of the sample news bulletin as a whole. Compare also Figure x, p. 216.

FIGURE VI

Axis and 'Enemy' Attributes in Hitler's Speeches of 30 January

Percentages of total number of attributes



This figure shows the 'ideas' in the annual Hitler speeches of 30 January 1940-43 which refer to positive Axis and negative United Nations attributes. The category of negative Axis attributes appears in 1943. Prior to 1943, such attributes were negligible. However, negative Axis attributes are never on the same plane as negative 'Enemy' attributes; the former are admonitory, the latter defamatory.

In 1943, the Goebbels speech is included in the count, since Hitler's proclamation was an intrinsic part of the Goebbels speech. This figure shows for Hitler's speeches what is shown for the news bulletins on Figure v.

The duration of the war itself has provoked a change of propaganda policy.

The longer the war lasts, the less it is appropriate to devote predominant attention to the enemy, the more it is essential to stress the positive equipment of the self. In other words, when the war did not come to an end at the time Hitler wanted it to, after the conquest of France, defeat began. The very duration of the war was unplanned, contrary to prophecy, and with every year the memory of the last war was re-awakened.

Only occasionally does the study of propaganda directly reveal that propaganda has failed to elicit the desired response. As far as the hate campaigns of German propagandists are concerned, their failure is well attested. After three years of hard labor, Goebbels had to admit lack of success, in these unmistakable terms:

We Germans have still to learn how to hate. We are ill-suited for chauvinism . . . we occasionally suffer from a sort of super-objectivity, which mostly benefits our worst enemies . . . If anyone wishes to stir our national soul to rage, he must go about it skilfully.³

POSTSCRIPT

Our quantitative studies do not extend beyond the Spring of 1943. It is our impression that our findings on the development of the relative stress on self and enemy do not hold true for the most recent period of defeat. As was also the case with the change in the trend of predictions and of the mention of Hitler's name, the emphasis on the self increased only up to a certain point, reaching a climax. Then it began to be reduced.

³ 4 September 1942. A British nurse who returned from Germany told the following story in a BBC transmission on 6 December 1942. She had served in an American ambulance unit, had been captured in France and released as an exchange prisoner in Germany. On her way to Lisbon, in the fall of 1942, she spent two days of complete freedom in the German capital, where she wore her American uniform with British insignia, and lived in a fashionable hotel. Never once was she molested or even exposed to an unfriendly question.

Dr. Goebbels' admission and this report support each other. They seem to indicate that distrust of propaganda has limited its effect.

VII

The Self

I. THE LEADER

ON the German radio, Hitler is the most important speaker and the greatest performer. He makes the news. When he performs the ceremonial acts of state, or when he declares wars, announces treaties, or makes some startling revelation, he is making history. He acts in the name of the German people, and the German people participate in this action by their presence at his speeches.

The radio has given the statesman the opportunity of addressing directly nationwide and even international audiences. The way he uses this opportunity is dependent on his political position and determined by his views on leadership. The speaker can, for instance, approach the individuals as they sit in their homes in a 'fire-side chat,' and speak as a man of high responsibility to other men who do not share his responsibility but are of his kind. He answers questions, explains and discusses policy. To Hitler, the fire-side chat seems ridiculous; a leader does not chat, he states and commands; a leader does not sit by the fire, he stands on the podium. Hitler therefore drags the people from the fire-side into the packed assembly hall.¹ His speeches are relayed from mass meetings, and the radio listener is meant to respond as if he were part of the excited throng.

¹ Since October 1933, he has 'never spoken from a studio only to unseen listeners, but all his speeches have been relayed from political demonstrations and meetings.' Eckert, *op. cit.* p. 81. See also Kris, E., 'The Danger of Propaganda,' *op. cit.*

As a rule, Hitler's speeches are announced well in advance, and repeatedly. When the day arrives, the listener should be expectant and tense. The speech comes to him over a hook-up of all stations in the Greater Reich, out of loudspeakers in the streets, loudspeakers in the factories, in restaurants—in all places where people might gather, so that escape is almost impossible.² Radio reporters take the listeners to the scene long before the speech begins. They describe the crowds, the flags, the banners, the emblems, all the motley insignia of power. The listener, hearing the military music, the marching step of the SS, the rhythmic cheers of the crowds with their hypnotic 'Sieg Heil,' is supposed to be bewitched by the noise and excitement and swept with them into the meeting. There he is to witness the creation of some new policy, a review of the war, the launching of a new campaign, or the apotheosis of a new victory—always of 'world historic importance,' always 'a milestone in the history of the German people.'

The visible and invisible audiences are not primarily assembled before Hitler to learn of what is happening. The speech is not a talk about events; it is an event itself, in which seen and unseen audiences take part. Those present at the meeting interpolate the speech with intermittent but well-timed applause and frequent exclamations; they conclude it with fervent renditions of the national and Party anthems. For the radio listener, regarded by the Nazis as part of the crowd at the mass meeting, for the crowd itself, in fact for the whole of the Greater Reich tuned in to

² Speeches by the Fuehrer are usually announced in the following way: 'The Fuehrer will speak. The broadcast will be relayed by the German shortwave stations to North, South and Central America, Asia, Africa and Australia, by the radio stations of the Protectorate and the Government General; by the Dutch and Norwegian broadcasting stations, by the radio stations Brussels, Paris, Belgrade, Athens, Salonika, etc., by the broadcasting stations of the Baltic countries and of the occupied Soviet territories; it will also be relayed by transmitters in Italy, Denmark, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria,' etc.

the hook-up, the Fuehrer's speech becomes an action of the collective self.³

Although there is probably no speaker in recent times who uses the first person singular as often as Hitler—'I decided,' he says, or 'I could have cut off the heads of the whole intelligentsia,' or 'Providence placed me at the head of the German people'—it is often difficult to tell whether the 'I' refers to himself, to the Party, or to the whole of Germany. For Hitler, imbued with the idea of the leader-state, there is little difference. Hitler's speeches are elaborately staged not merely out of a love for pageantry, but more purposefully, in order to have the masses participate in a political ritual. The propagandist stage manager creates a situation in which ritual becomes event, and in which individuals and groups are meant to lose their identity and be fused together into one acting whole. The individuals are to be lured into the surrender of their will to that of the Fuehrer, into the belief that his will is their will, and his action, their action. The listeners in front of Hitler are to become the followers 'behind.' Thus the strange jumble of subjects, objects, and positions, in the following quotation from Hitler, seems almost deliberate:

I have the conviction—firm like a rock—that behind the leadership and the Wehrmacht, but in particular the German home front stands and that behind me in particular stands the whole NS Party.⁴

In 1942 Hitler's speeches resounded through the world in thirty-six different languages; and the listener was made to feel

³ How radio contributed to Hitler's personality when his speeches were first broadcast was described for American readers in the following terms by a German propagandist:

'How could the German people have become aware of the personality of their leader, of his intense and sincere devotion to the service of the commonweal, if there had been no radio, to give them this direct communication of his personality?' Dressler-Andress, Horst, 'German Broadcasting,' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1935, p. 62.

⁴ 8 November 1942.

that he and the Fuehrer spoke and acted from the very center of the world. Hitler's speech, so Fritzsche told the German people, swept around the globe through 'Lord knows how many transmitters of all wave lengths.'

. . . millions of stenographers wrote down each word, countless sound recording machines mechanically recorded the increase and decrease of ovations and thousands of politicians and still more petty politicians almost crept into their loudspeakers in order not to miss a single insinuation . . . the very syllable . . . was weighed as is gold on a scale in five continents . . .⁵

As the radio extends the speech in space, so it also extends it in time. Hitler's speeches were quoted and summarized; their slogans were popularized and their prophecies repeated.⁶ The new themes were taken up by commentators and elaborated. Adulation in the quisling press was quoted industriously to assure the listener of world approval. In time, however, the vibrations in the recording machine must cease, the word has finished its creative act. Quotation marks disappeared, essential parts of the speech were used without reference to their origin. The Fuehrer's word had become embodied in the daily flow of communication.

But this process also has changed during the course of the war. In 1940 and 1941, years of victory and preparation for hopeful future action, Hitler's traditional speech of 30 January was widely quoted. Explicit reference and the independent elaboration of themes continued for six days in 1940 and for eight days in 1941. In 1942, however, the speech was made under awkward circumstances. Defeat loomed large in the Russian winter, and Hitler

⁵ 30 January 1942.

⁶ Occasionally, the spoken text of Hitler's speeches seems to have been edited for publication. Lochner quotes the following press instruction issued by the Ministry of Propaganda on 3 October 1941: 'In case the Fuehrer should, as in a previous address of his, again make a remark to the effect that the year 1941 will complete the victories which preceded, such a reference may under no circumstance be made before the official text has been released.' Lochner, *op. cit.* p. 294.

was enigmatic. The speech was quoted for only four days; thematic elaboration was no longer feasible. The propagandist quoted the few inspirational passages he could find but side-stepped Hitler's most important statement that 'the terrible cold forced us to wage a defensive battle.' This was too bold and official an admission of setback. The propagandist wished to prepare the people for bad news in a less direct way. Thus, as if the speech had given both cue and permission, the radio suddenly burst forth with announcements of all kinds concerning the weather. Though they looked like matters of mere routine, the winter had been icy since early December, and it was only after Hitler spoke that the Germans were told to cover their water pipes. In 1943, 30 January should have been an especially gala occasion. It was the tenth anniversary of Hitler's accession to power; but Hitler did not speak. Instead Goebbels read Hitler's proclamation to the German people,⁷ first delivering a long speech of his own during which he was interrupted by a person in the audience shouting, 'Why don't we hear from the Fuehrer?' (*Warum kommt der Fuehrer nicht zu Worte?*) A week later Hitler saw his Gau and Reich leaders separately. There is only one report of this meeting, but it is worth quoting:

I saw the Fuehrer yesterday [said Dr. Ley, speaking before the workers in an armament factory]. I had the incredible joy of being with him for a whole day. I can only tell you that there is concentrated energy and a fanatical will. We do not complain of Fate. Take from us what you will . . . we beg only one thing. Take from us whomever you will. Take me, and you and you. Take whom you will as sacrifice. We shall never complain. But spare us one. Preserve for us the health and strength of our Fuehrer.⁸

Five days earlier, the German armies had surrendered in Stalin-grad.

⁷ Hitler's proclamation and Goebbels' speech were quoted for three days only.

⁸ 8 February 1943.

The Fuehrer's speeches are not his only form of eventful action. As Chief Executive he performs many ceremonies. He assists at funerals, inaugurates exhibitions, and hallows German culture by a stop at Bayreuth. He awards decorations, announces promotions, lunches with a returning U-boat hero, and, in the manner of a true blitz strategist, establishes order with one blow when he issues a decree and proclaims a new law. Hitler is connected with every central event on the German radio, unless a most decisive battle is raging. Then his absence is symbolic; he communicates with his people through victories, through 'Special Announcements from the Fuehrer's Headquarters.' And should there be no victories to announce, the German people are told that the Fuehrer's very silence means action. Day and night, they are told, he works for them at his desk. His name is always kept before them, if not through his speeches or his action, at least through the daily routine of idolatry.

One day of the year is devoted exclusively to his cult: 20 April, the Fuehrer's birthday. It is repeated each year according to a carefully planned schedule; it is a great event on the German radio. Dr. Dietrich, in his instructions for the birthday celebration of 1942, characterized it as another of those milestones in German history, from which, he says, 'we look back and forward on the forces shaping our destiny . . .':

The Fuehrer is the creator and at the same time the symbol of these forces. In his figure our nation sees itself represented. The Fuehrer is the focus in the mirror of our thoughts, in which all light is gathered to be radiated back . . .

Several days, sometimes a week beforehand, the nation is warned that the event will take place. The dummy displays are removed from shop windows and newly trimmed photos of the Fuehrer are put in their place. The program for the celebration is issued. Weeks beforehand, thousands of boys have set out upon a pilgrimage to some place of national pride. In 1942, it was the venerable Marienburg near Danzig, land of the Teu-

tonic knights, where they went in order to take part in the mystery of initiation. The Reich Youth Leader offered them up to the Fuehrer with these words:

My Fuehrer. German parents have given you their children as a birthday present. I now report to you that all ten-year-olds have entered the great community of the Hitler Youth. We want to express our gratitude through our lives . . .

The first congratulations are broadcast two or even three days before the birthday itself. The day before, leading officials, such as Goering and Goebbels, deliver their speeches. If the Fuehrer is in Berlin, the crowd assembles before the Chancellery to cheer him. If he is in the field, soldiers on leave and in transit file through the Chancellery to sign their names in the birthday book. Flags and bunting are flown on all official buildings, on all monuments, and on all houses 'down to the smallest cottage.' Though the Fuehrer had previously announced his wish to celebrate his birthday in hard work at G.H.Q., the radio takes us to his birthday table. Telegrams of congratulation from all countries are read out. The military commentator devotes his speech to Hitler's genius. There is a parade in Oslo, and one on Tempelhofer Feld, the Kaiser's old parade ground. The Protectorate remembers Hitler's birthday with an ambulance train, presented in person by President Hacha. In Braunau, Hitler's birthplace, another ceremony of initiation takes place. In Greece, a modest amnesty is granted to Greek offenders. Bands play hymns all day long; and at the end the God of War—when he can—presents himself with a victory, by Special Announcement. The celebration can continue for a few more days; many more speeches have been recorded than can possibly be broadcast in a single day, and the Fuehrer will have to thank his followers. All this time, the entire nation has been participating through the radio. It is a national festival.

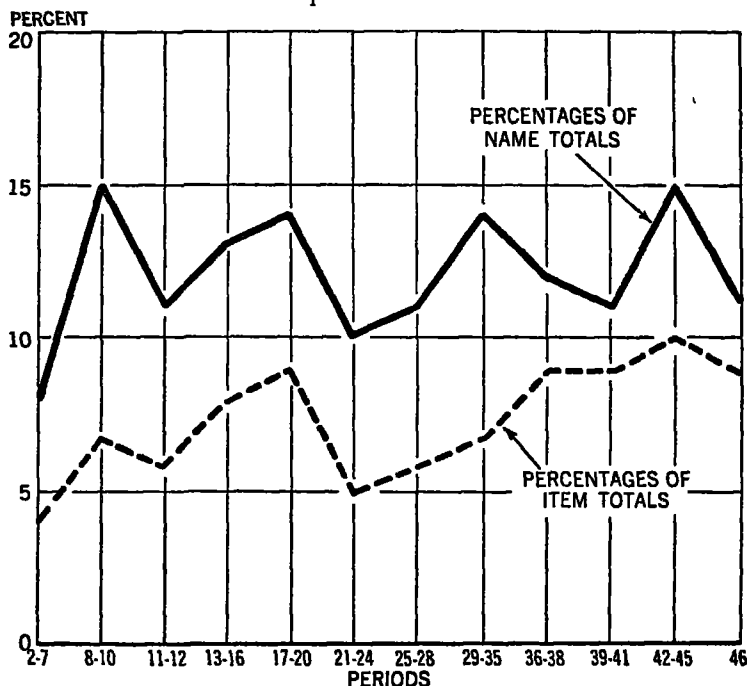
The peak in celebration was reached in 1941. Then Hitler was the conqueror of the West and of the Balkans, victor where

others had failed. In 1940, the birthday had occurred while the Norwegian campaign was still in progress, and in 1942 the hardships of the first Russian winter had not been forgotten. In 1943 the celebration of Hitler's birthday was preceded by the defeat at Stalingrad and lasted four days only, instead of six or seven days as it had in previous years; but the birthday itself was a holiday almost as great as that of 1941. The themes treated in the four birthday campaigns also varied. In 1940 unity and sacrifice had been recommended for facing the conquests ahead. When the conquests were completed in 1941, efficiency, victory, and confidence were presented for delectation. Unity and sacrifice reappeared when they were more sorely needed in 1942, this time mystically guised as oneness of all people with the Fuehrer and the glad acceptance of Fate. In 1943 there was less talk of mystical unity and more was said about personal loyalty and obligation to the Leader.

The amount of attention paid to Hitler by the radio propagandist is always great, but significant fluctuations occur aside from those occasioned by the birthday celebrations. In Figure VII the lower curve shows the percentage of items referring to Hitler in the news bulletins from the fall of Warsaw on 30 September 1939 to the German recapture of Kharkov on 14 March 1943. The upper curve shows the percentage of Hitler's name in the total of all proper names mentioned in the news during the same period. The curves indicate that Hitler was mentioned most often by the newscaster during the spring offensives of 1940 and 1941, during the periods from Pearl Harbor to the opening of the spring offensive in the east in 1942, and again from the invasion of North Africa to the second German capture of Kharkov. The two first occasions were those of Germany's greatest victories: those of Norway, France, and the Balkans; while in the last two peak periods Germany suffered her most serious setbacks. It seems, therefore, that on the radio victories are used to glorify the Fuehrer and enhance his prestige. He accumulates credit, so to speak, which can in turn be

FIGURE VII
Mention of Hitler's Name

Sample news bulletin



8-10: 9 Apr.-22 June 1940
 17-20: 4 Apr.-21 June 1941

29-35: 7 Dec. 1941-7 May 1942
 42-45: 7 Nov. 1942-13 Mar. 1943

We have counted all proper names in a sample news bulletin. The news item has been considered the unit, and each name has been counted once per item only. The periods covered extend from 30 September 1939 to 4 May 1943. The drop in both curves for the last period (46) after the German recapture of Kharkov corresponds to the drop in predictions shown on Fig. III, p. 107. See also p. 124.

put to good account in bolstering confidence, should it be shaken in a critical situation. The steady rise in the lower curve after Pearl Harbor is indicative of the propagandistic intention to stem a possible decline in morale by recalling Hitler to the German people.

As the situation changes, so too does the context in which Hitler's name occurs. In victory the air is filled with gratitude: 'Fuehrer,' says the propagandist in the name of the people, 'we thank you.' In a critical situation the air is filled with awed admiration for him as the hero of that saga in which unshakable resolve overcomes all odds: the story of the Fuehrer's life.

The rise from corporal to conqueror, from lone fighter for a personal creed to world leadership of a great political movement, should certainly inspire confidence. The past is used as an omen for the future when, in endless repetition, Hitler's wartime pronouncements contain reference to 'the fourteen years' from Versailles to his seizure of power in Germany. On 10 December 1940, he said:

The path from the nameless and unknown soldier to the leader of the German nation was harder than that from the leader of the German nation to the moulder of the peace to come.

Hitler thus linked past to future at a time when, with Britain unconquered and Italy defeated in Africa, that peace to come seemed suddenly remote. Strengthening confidence in his prophetic powers, Hitler again refers to a past that had outgrown all possible forecasts: 'If ten years ago, I had ventured to prophesy that today we would have no unemployment and even need more hands, I would have been jeered at like a fool.'⁹

History also helps Hitler uncover a favorite analogy; he too was once despised, he too became the savior of his people. 'What am I,' he says humbly, 'nothing but your spokesman, proclaiming your rights.'¹⁰ In this role Hitler is a brother-figure. But as

⁹ 10 December 1940.

¹⁰ 10 March 1940.

the savior turns gradually into the ruler with supreme authority and responsibility, Hitler's image takes on the traits of a father-figure as well.¹¹ Dr. Ley, the Labor leader, tells the people of Hitler's concern with their daily habits:

He says 'take a shower instead of a bath. Why? Because I am worried that a mother might bathe her children one after the other in the same water. I don't want that . . .'¹²

With war to be taken care of, fatherly foresight is even more necessary. After the triumph in Poland, Hitler assured his people: 'I provided the arms. I forged a powerful weapon.' On 4 September 1940, with the West in his pocket as well, he confessed that he had foreseen and forewarned, 'I was careful and said to the Reichsmarshal: "Goering, we must be prepared."' In the West, the paternal mind had further revealed its stature. According to German propaganda, Hitler proved to be not only a great statesman but also a military genius.

This propagandistic discovery accounts for the first peak in the curves of Figure VII. On 20 May 1940, Goering himself gave the cue: 'For the first time since Frederick the Great, we witness the wisdom of a statesman and a military genius in one man.' Generals and admirals re-echo Goering's wonder at Hitler's knowledge of military matters. He was said to know all the technical literature, and to understand every tool of modern warfare 'in detail.' Predestined heir to no less a personage than Frederick the Great, his strategic genius yet 'contradicts all that has been taught so far.' Hitler confirmed this point when he reviewed the campaign in the West on 19 July 1940. 'In contradiction to the Schlieffen plan,' he said, 'I planned . . . I gave the order . . . the army was informed by me.' And in reply to this speech in which Hitler acclaims himself chief strategist, Goering

¹¹ Kris, E., 'Morale in Germany,' *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XLVII, November 1941, pp. 452-61; also, Homburger-Erikson, E., op. cit.

¹² 14 November 1940.

simply added, 'Today we and the world know the reason for the miracle . . . our Fuehrer has led the army.'

In this mood of glory and assurance, Hitler welcomed the spring of 1941, which was to lead the German army from triumph in the Balkans to the fateful battlefields of the East.

I have taken up the challenge of many democratic adversaries and up to now I have always emerged the victor. I am grateful to Providence that this struggle broke out at a time when I feel young. Just now I am feeling particularly vigorous. Spring is coming . . .¹³

Despite a whole summer of fighting Hitler this time failed to emerge victor. The war went on and the war-weary Germans may have been asking why. The propagandists forestalled the question and provided the answer: the other half of the world did not recognize Hitler's genius. It rejected the hand of peace that he held out repeatedly; it disturbed his magnificent plans for a European future. The less all this can be explained, the greater must Hitler's genius become. And when, on 3 October 1941, he predicted a victory over Russia which did not materialize, he became greater still: what had always been implied as one of Hitler's gifts was now proclaimed as guiding principle. Generals were dismissed, and Hitler's intuition was declared supreme. His charisma had to be substituted for the tradition of the German army; and, as is shown by the third peak of the news bulletin curves, a new wave of eulogy flooded the German radio.

When the first winter crisis had been overcome, Hitler's intuition, polished up for future use, was also dated back as far as possible. He had already been 'his own general' as long ago as 4 February 1938, when he took over command of the Army for the Austrian expedition. He had proved time and again that he knew how to bide his time and how to choose the right hour to strike. And now it was said that Hitler alone had been responsible

¹³ 24 February 1941.

for the endurance of the frost-bound German armies during the Russian winter. On the first anniversary of the campaign, Colonel Scherff, upon whom the Fuehrer had imposed 'the duty of recording history with the greatest truthfulness,' came to the microphone and said:

. . . by irrefutable history documents and bound by my responsibility as a historian, I am in a position to state that the Fuehrer has fully proved what Ludendorff required of the great strategist when he said that the criterion of great and chosen strategists is their one-sidedness, the stubbornness with which they fight doubt and wavering in their own hearts and with which they stick to the great decisions which have crystallized in their minds.¹⁴

Thus, Hitler, in lonely greatness, controlled destiny with his intuition, his will power, and his energy.

The image of Hitler has been built up according to the changing fortunes of the war. Victory was used to make him the paramount military genius of mankind. In setbacks, this very genius became the guarantee that all would turn out well in the end. At the same time, the image of the strategist was implemented by another: that of a man with superhuman energies who cannot yield. The comparison between Hitler and Frederick the Great, fostered in the time of victory, supplied the pattern for times of hardship; the story of the king who once overcame defeat and suicidal tendencies became not only an example of courage, but served to identify the Hitler of 1942 and 1943 with Germany's old hero. On 30 January 1942, Hitler himself referred to the Seven Years War in these terms:

In this our history, very often German heroes have fought in situations which seemed hopeless and in which they seemed to be markedly inferior . . . Frederick the Great had to fight against an enemy of almost crushing strength . . . And in those times one man kept the flag flying with iron will, despite all setbacks and never wavered in his belief in success.

¹⁴ 22 June 1942.

The epic of Frederick the Great was embodied in a film and became for the German radio 'a symbol of our time.'¹⁵

While the world in which Hitler rules was severely shaken, his image at first continued to grow.

Whenever the nation has felt itself united in one idea and one faith, then it is the idea and the will to serve him and to follow his bidding . . . There is no greater happiness than to serve one's people's genius.¹⁶

In 1943, however, the hero-genius grew old. Hitler became 'Atlas, bearing the world on his shoulders . . .'

Days of uninterrupted work and nights of vigil and worry write their unmistakable traits into his features . . . The misery and suffering of the individuals pile up before him, mountain-like; into the misery and suffering of the whole nation.¹⁷

The burden of Hitler's mission placed its mark upon him. On his face were signs 'of the deep suffering for the nation.' Hitler was on his way from leadership to martyrdom, and martyrs in Nazi Germany speak little. For more than ten months after the invasion of North Africa and the speech in Munich of 8 November 1942, Hitler addressed no large meetings. He spoke only twice before small audiences and for not more than ten minutes: at Hero's Memorial Day in March 1943 and at the State Funeral for Victor Lutze in May. His silence is reflected in our curve, which declines in the spring of 1943. His name ceased to be quoted as a source of forecasts and propaganda themes. The newscaster may not have wished to squander the most precious capital of German leadership—the spell of Hitler's name; and minor leaders became relatively more important.

¹⁵ 30 January 1942. In 1943 the parallel between Hitler and Frederick the Great acquired a less-favorable implication. On 20 April an article appeared in which Colonel Scherff pointed out that at the time of Frederick the Great there had been people who failed to recognize the greatness of the Prussian King as a military leader but had considered his brother Henry the greater general.

¹⁶ Goebbels, 20 April 1942.

¹⁷ Goebbels, 19 April 1943.

POSTSCRIPT

Hitler spoke again on 10 September 1943 after Italy's surrender to General Eisenhower. He did not face the crowd, but spoke from his headquarters for only sixteen minutes. His listeners had been warned of the speech only a little more than one hour in advance. He spoke almost exclusively about Italy, transforming his diplomatic failure of having chosen such a weak and unreliable partner into another stab-in-the-back doctrine: Mussolini, the loyal ally, had been betrayed by a reactionary Italian clique.

Hitler used this theme in the opening sentence of his speech in order to re-establish his own prestige and at the same time to explain his long silence. He had been silent because he had 'for a long time' foreseen that Italy would collapse. As long as this capitulation, the result of 'systematic sabotage,' had not taken place, Hitler did not wish to hasten it by talking about it in public; but given his foreknowledge, speaking in public without talking about the forthcoming Italian breakdown would have meant being dishonest.

'Freed from the heavy burden of expectation weighing upon us for a long time, I now consider the moment at hand when I can again speak to the German people without having to resort to lies either to myself or to the public.

The collapse of Italy which has now taken place could have been anticipated for a long time . . .'

Hitler spoke not only two days after the surrender of Italy, but also before the sensational rescue of Mussolini by the Germans. From the detailed accounts given by the German propagandists of Mussolini's liberation, one is tempted to infer that Hitler was convinced on 10 September that the *coup* would succeed. The eulogy of Mussolini, the protestations of friendship for the humiliated Duce, and the insistence on the value of 'loyalty' contained in Hitler's speech, would have been inept had it not been for the subsequent rescue. After 12 September, however, the speech appeared in the dramatic setting which the propagandist was not slow to exploit in rebuilding Hitler's prestige.

Hitler's next speech, held on 8 November 1943, was the first grand review of the war as a whole after a year of defeats on all fronts. Hitler's irritation, concealed by defiance and force-

ful delivery, showed itself in the restlessness with which he jumped back and forth from subject to subject and in his pre-occupation with himself. He spoke about twice as long about his steady nerves, his religion, his good relations with Party and Army leaders, etc., as about military events on all war fronts. Also he talked about twice as much about himself as he had a year ago on 8 November 1942.

In the most striking passage of his speech, Hitler made an attempt to disclaim any personal responsibility for Germany's defeat, shifting this responsibility to the German people.

'If my own people would be broken by such a trial [of Providence] I could not shed any tears about it. It would not have deserved anything else, and it would be its own fate for which it would have itself to blame.'

This then was the third version of the stab-in-the-back doctrine. The first, denying Germany's military defeat in 1918, helped Hitler rise to power in Republican Germany. The second, denying any credit to the Allied conduct of the war in forcing Italy to surrender, served him to salvage his reputation as a statesman of foresight and as an honest, loyal friend. The third may or may not serve a National Socialist underground movement in the defeated Germany of the future; it does in any case reveal Hitler's character as a leader who claims the laurels of German victory for himself but is ready to put the stigma of defeat on his followers.

Hitler's speech was followed up by the German propagandist in usual fashion, but some comments in the German press revealed that it was addressed to an audience less gullible and less confident in German victory than ever before. The most surprising comment was made by Dittmar on 17 November, when he revived the myth of the Fuehrer's intuition. Dittmar spoke of Hitler as 'a unique personality born to leadership, a mind largely fed from irrational sources which elude the orbit of calculating reason.'

2. THE MINOR LEADERS

Hitler's supremacy in the radio world is probably even more truly absolute than it is in real life. On the radio, the minor leaders are represented as extensions of Hitler's power. They speak

of the Fuehrer or in his name, and Goebbels can, on rare occasions, take over the job—which belonged to Hess when he was still available—of speaking for him when he is detained on his mission. The radio does not take pains to build up the minor leaders as symbols of power or endow them with prestige. Their function is to speak in their capacity as leaders of specific organizations. Civilian leaders are mentioned more frequently when, as in the early months of 1942 and in the spring and summer of 1943, the propaganda plan prescribes greater attention to home affairs. They appear before the microphone most often when extra speakers are needed for a special campaign. At all times, however, the part they play on the radio is limited to the requirements of the specific occasion, or of routine. The impression of them conveyed to the listener is largely accidental. Funk, Minister of Economic Affairs, Ley, leader of the Labor Front, and Baldur von Schirach and Axmann, the successive leaders of the Youth Movement, never increased their stature on the radio. They speak and disappear. Goebbels is the exception. His presence remains a constant in the radio world.

As Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment, Goebbels is the stage manager of all extraordinary radio occasions. He acts as *compère* not only for the events at home, where it is his special privilege to introduce the Leader at mass meetings, but also for the drama that unfolds itself in the world at large. Through his speeches and his articles, Goebbels has created for himself a radio personality above and beyond the requirements of his job. His articles especially have a distinct flavor of their own, startlingly apparent when, in the first summer of the Russian campaign, he foresaw a protracted war and embarked alone upon his 'strategy of gloom.' Goebbels' political judgment is acute and he undoubtedly realized that disillusionment would replace the buoyant optimism and ill-timed forecasts of those who followed Hitler's cues.

In mass meetings, such as that of 18 February 1943, Goebbels can display the eloquence of a fanatical Jacobin; in obituary

speeches and in his Christmas orations he can be painfully sentimental. But in general, Goebbels' pose on the radio is that of the great realist: clever, shrewd, complicated, but at the same time, frank. For the average radio listener 'The Doctor' appears not as an enthusiast but as an intellectual. Especially in defeat, the radio listener is given the impression that realism and frankness are the essence of Goebbels' propaganda. At such times he can rely on a certain amount of trust not because people think he bears a particular love for truth, but because they know that it is in his interest not to be caught in a lie. When Goebbels says 'frankness is the best policy,' he is also making a special bid for a political role. Since he only interprets the war which others impose upon the population, he can more easily afford to pose as the 'mouthpiece of the masses' and as the most revolutionary of Nazi leaders; and by his attacks on the upper classes and the bureaucracy, he can appear to lead the people against their oppressors.

On the international front, Goebbels scores his own victories and wages private duels against enemy leaders. His special adversary is Churchill, though singlehanded Goebbels has often taken on the commentators of the BBC, Reuters, and even the whole Allied press. Early in the war he challenged Churchill to admit that he had ordered the *Athenia* torpedoed or struck by a mine. Before the Allied raid on Dieppe in August 1942, he predicted that the Allies would attempt to invade Europe, and that they would fail. It was therefore convenient to call the raid a frustrated invasion; and for days and weeks the 'Battle of Dieppe' became Goebbels' personal victory. Such was the case with the Winter Clothing Campaign in December 1941. Against the assertions of the BBC that the collection clearly betokened German weakness, Goebbels demonstrated that, on the contrary, the collection was a great example of civilian initiative, and a great plebiscite of the German people in a 'feverish endeavor to demonstrate national solidarity.' When Hitler took a leave of absence from oratory after his speech of 8 November 1942, it was Goeb-

bels who increasingly assumed his functions of addressing mass meetings at home and radio audiences abroad. He was the main figure at the Sportpalast celebration on the tenth anniversary of the Party's seizure of power, and scored what was perhaps his greatest triumph on 18 February, when he whipped up public frenzy for the new total-mobilization decrees. He talked at the funerals of Victor Lutze and of Tschammer-Osten, the Reich Sport Leader, and also opened the great German Art Exhibition in Munich. He made a tour of the bombed areas in western Germany, reminded everybody that he, too, was a son of the Rhineland, threatened revenge and promised a happier future. In short, his eloquence grew as Hitler remained silent, and there were rumors that he was to succeed Hitler, supported by Albert Speer and Fritz Sauckel.

Radio popularity is not related to political power. Goering speaks rarely and is mentioned little on the radio in proportion to the importance and number of his jobs and duties. Besides commanding the Air Force, Goering is Deputy General of the Four Year Plan, which gives him supreme authority over all economic matters; he is also Prime Minister of Prussia, Reichs Forest Master, and President of the Reichstag. Goering fills his jobs by appearing at board meetings, knocking his fist on the table, getting things done with energy and, if necessary, with violence. This the people know from hearsay. From newspapers, movies, and illustrated magazines they also know Goering in his hunter's costume, or as a jovial fellow and father of a family. There is little of this on the radio. In his speeches, he can be roughly humorous, but he is more often outspoken and fierce, threatening cowards and defeatists with death.

If a man is a coward, he will be shot. If a general is so cowardly as to abandon his troops, he too, will be shot . . . A coward is a coward, and a cowardly soldier irrespective of his rank has no business at the front. He must not be allowed to contaminate the others.

And, as to the civilian:

He is a miserable coward and scoundrel who would be a defeatist now when his fathers, brothers and sons gain victory after victory.¹⁸

Such threats are usually not elaborated by the German radio, and on one occasion, 20 May 1942, Goebbels seems to have censored Goering's speech. Goering's way of saying things runs counter to Goebbels' caution. On 4 October 1942, Goering announced that Europe would starve while the Germans would be fed. While Goering's crude statement gave birth to an Allied propaganda campaign, Goebbels' remarks on the same subject a month before had been much too subtle to be used by enemy propaganda. He had merely said: 'The fact that today neutral states have more meat and fat than Berlin and Rome is no proof that this will be the case ten years hence,' and a week later, he had put it with even greater finesse: 'We shall increase the rations on account of the extension of the area under control.'

It seems only natural that Goebbels should disapprove of Goering's martial clumsiness. Occasionally, he takes his revenge. In January 1943, the German radio celebrated Goering's and Rosenberg's fiftieth birthdays. While Goering was praised to the skies, the identical performance was repeated for Rosenberg. By thus putting both on equal footing, the man chosen to succeed Hitler was slighted.

Ribbentrop's function has been to deliver the speeches in which the invasion of neutral countries is justified in so-called diplomatic language. Ribbentrop's pronouncements, like Goering's, are to some extent independent of Goebbels' supervision. Foreign correspondents working in Germany have reported on the rivalry between the Foreign Secretary and the Propaganda Minister, and their press conferences. Their divergencies of expression, which may be rooted in personal conflict, become apparent as disorders in the working of the propaganda machine. When Ribbentrop

¹⁸ 4 October 1942.

addressed the Tripartite partners on 26 September 1942, and gave his sweepingly optimistic version of Germany's political and military situation, he deviated grossly from Goebbels, who obviously had not been consulted.

Alfred Rosenberg, the mythologist of Aryanism and Axmann, the Youth Leader, are associated with such stereotypes as blood, soil, and youth. The appearance or disappearance of these men as radio speakers is determined by the appearance or disappearance of such propaganda lines. Von Schirach, for instance, former Youth Leader and Party poet, now Governor of Austria, was given wide publicity when he was called upon to reply to President Roosevelt's speech on youth in September 1942. None of these minor leaders, however, has been allowed to become the leader of a 'wing' within the Party, none of them commands authority that is not borrowed from the Party, none of them has been built up. To whatever post they are shifted, they continue to be paladins of the Fuehrer. Dr. Otto Dietrich, Hitler's Press Chief, was kept in the background for quite a while after 9 October 1941, when he had obediently reiterated Hitler's announcement that Russia was on the verge of collapse. Dietrich may thus be said to have taken the blame for Hitler's most famous prediction failure.

In the spring and summer of 1943 certain of the minor leaders—Funk, the Minister of Economics, Conti, the Reich Health Leader, Sauckel and Speer, the experts on labor and armament production—began to figure prominently on the German radio. Speer's publicity grew in the propaganda campaign to exalt the strength of the Atlantic Wall after the fall of Tunisia. It reached its climax when he appeared with Goebbels in the Berlin Sportpalast on 5 June to tell the crowd that Germany's production had made reassuring progress. For many days, the radio treated the Reich Minister's lecture as if it had been the speech of a major leader. The Fuehrer had given permission that the 'veil' be lifted, and Speer's percentages were said to have overawed both friend and foe. Labor-czar Sauckel's name was also mentioned more fre-

quently in the spring of 1943, when German women were called up to work in munition factories and small shopkeepers had to close down their shops.

On 3 October 1941 Hitler had been able to brush aside the problems of production and declare: 'There is no enemy left for us whom we could not subdue by means of our already existing supply of ammunition.' But as Germany's military prospects grew darker, propagandists may have felt that the talk of experts could be used to breed confidence. While radio popularity can hardly be expected to rest on a recital of statistics or appeals to abandon one's shop and one's economic independence, a growing demand for realism, as opposed to demagoguery, may have been responsible for the temporary aggrandizement of the expert.

Although one minor leader may assume greater importance and another recede into the background, the appearance of the minor leaders is not subject to consistent manipulation. But what is said about the dead is there by deliberate design. The losses suffered by Party functionaries, the SA and SS, are very often mentioned. Fritzsche implies legions of unknown heroes within the Party when he says:

Reich Ministers, Reich Leiters and organizations rarely give out obituary notices of collaborators killed in action because here, as everywhere else, the family has the first right . . .¹⁹

Rivals are a nuisance, but martyrs lend a halo of glory to the Party. It is natural therefore, to find that experts and technicians become heroes after their death. Todt, the designer of the autostradas and of the West Wall, the organizer of the engineers' corps that bears his name, and a convinced Nazi, may have been a very able engineer and organizer. Due credit was given to his achievements during his lifetime, but after his funeral, it was said that Hitler had shown great emotion, and gradually his life and death became an epic of martyrdom. Even the Reich Post Min-

¹⁹ 28 April 1942.

ister was promoted to the role of hero after his death, and the inventors of the submarine, the glider, the torpedo, the radio—Germans all—have frequent anniversaries of birth or death. Yet the highest decoration, the German Order, founded by Hitler himself, has so far been given only twice posthumously, to Heydrich and Todt.

Himmler, more cursed by Germans than any of his colleagues, plays a part in 'Government' that does not recommend him as a radio star. However, on one occasion at least, he tried his hand at propaganda, when eulogizing Heydrich, his closest associate and deputy in violence. Himmler spoke at Heydrich's funeral on 9 June 1942, after the 'Protector' of the Czechs had been assassinated. He praised Heydrich's 'revolutionary and novel methods' of police work based on 'healthy, human reason,' not to speak of 'the most up-to-date scientific equipment.' According to Himmler, Heydrich, 'who had to be so hard and severe, often struggled and suffered in his heart, but whatever it cost him, he acted always according to the law of the SS.'

Representatives of the Army were hard to find among the guests of honor at Heydrich's funeral. This may have been the reason why Himmler linked the career of the streamlined murderer to the armed forces. It seems that early in the Russian war, Heydrich had volunteered for service as an aviator. He had done so secretly; 'the one and only time that he had kept any secret from me,' said Himmler proudly. He had been decorated, shot down between the lines, returned to his unit, and 'flew another plane next morning . . .'

Adolf Huehnlein, who organized the Nazi motor corps, was also a hero against the will of his superiors.²⁰ He was given a state funeral, at which Goebbels delivered the funeral oration and said:

²⁰ This seems to be a stereotyped romance pattern of Nazi history. In the Hitler Youth film *Hitlerjunge Quex*, the nice youngster goes into battle against the advice of his Youth Leader. In *Front Reports*, soldiers do so with astonishing stubbornness.

Fate did not deny him the opportunity of being used for special tasks. Regardless of the disapproval of his superiors and of any possible consequences, he took part with picked shock troops of his company in the protection of the first Fuehrer meetings. He was then an officer of the One-hundred-thousand-men Army.²¹

Military men, whose business is action and not talk, are presented as technicians, who execute the orders of Hitler, though he may flatteringly call them his 'collaborators.' When they are promoted Field Marshals, Hitler's untitled intuition becomes still more supreme. There are few generals who have not been reported with their soldiers under all conditions. But the German people have been so thoroughly indoctrinated with the idea of the soldierly life that mere heroism will not promote a general to a position of competition with a Party leader.

Heroization is reserved for the more subordinate ranks: the lives of air aces and U-boat commanders are rich in interviews, their funerals are great celebrations. Only one general has ever reached a level of publicity comparable to theirs. He is Rommel, hero of an adventure story in the last war, an early Nazi, a stubborn fighter, a good comrade to his soldiers, and a strategist whose superiority was openly recognized, even by the enemy. When defeat came to the Afrika Korps, he was ill but was decorated even as his troops fled westward. He was the adventurer of the African romance, *Rommel Africanus*, the heir to Lettow-Vorbeck, the colonial general of the last war. When he appeared in the Sportpalast on 30 September 1942, the people cheered him longer than they did Hitler. The nature of his mission—to rescue the vanquished Axis partner, the desert, the sweeping victory after long stalemate, the immense prize of possible success—all contributed to his knight-errantry. Even his difficulties happened to be more respectable than those of other generals. Libyan sandstorms are clean, while Russian mud is dirty. When there was need for an encouraging model of National Socialist behavior in hard times, no better man could be found for a build-up. From

²¹ 21 June, 1942.

the point of view of Hitler, Rommel was the most reliable of his military leaders; he had been the commander of Hitler's body-guard at the beginning of the war, and his exploits in Africa seemed remote from the political scene.

In the midst of all that modern warfare, with its complicated planning and unfathomable intuition, here was a man who fought a war everybody could understand; here was a true cavalry general. The modern cavalry rides in tanks, and Rommel still won his victories by dashing at the enemy. His soldiers conquered, as he put it, 'with the most beautiful dash one can imagine!' On 23 June 1942, the following character sketch of Rommel was broadcast:

We Africans [sic] call him the General of the open road. He is . . . continuously on the move . . . He does not direct the battle from his desk or H.Q.; that is the job of his staff. He leads by direct observation, experience, and personal influence on his troops . . . He could, for instance, tell his reconnaissance commanders to cross such and such a strip of territory in a south-easterly direction by using a depression they would find, then to park their vehicles behind the mound to keep them out of Tommy's sight, and they would have an uninterrupted view extending for 20 km . . . There is . . . one man who has never lost his way in the desert . . . There is hardly a reconnaissance commander in the desert who can lead the way with such incredible accuracy . . .

Rommel was honored with a Special Communique when it became apparent that his armies were lost. On 23 May 1943, Alfred Ingemar Berndt, a high official in the Propaganda Ministry,²² broke all precedents by delivering a fifty-minute broadcast on the propaganda history of the fighting in Africa. In his eulogy he described the departure of Rommel as follows:

But now, his health registers its urgent demands. The hour of departure is very difficult for him. With all his power he clings

²² See p. 53. Berndt directed the operations of the radio commentators in the Western campaign and had later been attached to Rommel as publicity expert.

to his army and his men, for he knows that the future will not be easy for them. General Messe, on behalf of the Italian soldiers, presents a farewell gift to him, and stresses how proud the Italian soldiers were to fight under a man like Rommel. The enemy still does not attack . . .

Compared to Rommel, other military leaders receive rather poor treatment on the radio. Karl Doenitz was given a considerable build-up when he succeeded Grand Admiral Erich Raeder in February 1943. But the decline in submarine sinkings later in the year led to a decline in publicity for the 'Doenitz offensive.' The very popular General Dietl, who was in charge of the Alpine troops in Norway and is commander-in-chief of an army corps in the Arctic, was promoted 'on the occasion of the Fuehrer's visit to Mannerheim.' He too is very young and romantic, and his headquarters are in the clean North. But he usually shares credit with his troops. In giving the outline of his career, the radio does not heroize an individual. It rather reports in detail on the career of a brave man and how the Leader appreciates his merits.

In defeat, the glorification of military men has a special purpose—while surrendering, their radio popularity sometimes grows. This was the case with Paulus, who was made Field Marshal for a day at Stalingrad. His promotion was meant to prove to the homeland and even more to the rest of the world that the defeated army in Stalingrad had won an incredible strategic victory. Before the picture of a well-cared-for, healthy, but captured Paulus appeared in the papers, the radio had quoted from *Corriera della Sera*: 'Paulus shared with his soldiers the last crumb of bread, the last ammunition, and, finally, their fate. More than that general and soldiers could hardly do.'²³

3. THE GERMAN SOLDIER

When an American soldier is mentioned in reports from the front, it is usual to include his home address, and we often learn

²³ 2 February 1943.

something about his former life: his job and his family. Although he is in uniform, it is assumed that he is still much the same person who left Brooklyn or the Dakota farm.

The German propagandist uses a large proportion of radio time 'to reproduce and convey scenes from the happenings at the front.'²⁴ *Front Reports*, in particular, are filled with the individual exploits of German soldiers. Although they are interviewed before the microphone and sometimes spoken of by name, it is hard to distinguish one from another. The soldier is usually characterized by his service; he is the member of a U-boat crew, a machine gunner, or a bomber pilot. His civilian past is rarely referred to unless the propagandist, wishing to stress the unity of Greater Germany, capitalizes on his Austrian, Alsatian, or Sudeten origin. The soldier is the model for the homeland and the 'we'-symbol of the nation. He is brave because he belongs to a soldierly race, successful because he is led by the best officers in the world, and superior to all others because he is the bearer of the 'National Socialist idea.' The Nazi soldier is the new type of man who was expected to rule the world.

The soldier whose actions are described in the *Front Reports* presented to the home audience conforms to this basic image as far as possible. But since cross listening is known to exist, since soldiers come home on leave and also write letters to their families, thus making the civilian population partly aware of actual conditions, the image of the soldier cannot be pure invention. While he may exist in a sham context, the soldier is given reality of a sort. He reflects a partial aspect of the real military situation, and becomes for that situation its admissible and most usable symbol.

The Polish campaign had not even been called a war. From counterattack to liquidation of resistance, always according to plan, the mechanized war-machine had pulverized the inert, sprawling mass of the Polish army. A great victory had been won,

²⁴ 11 July 1942.

but the war was not over. The troops came streaming into the homeland, some to go on leave, others to man the West Wall, which was being reinforced, extended, and deepened. Training and drilling in a mood of expectancy occupied the rest.

Hitler offered peace, but the war continued. And the propagandist was faced with a delicate situation. The land war was static, and might have reminded civilians of the last war. The Front Reporters therefore assured the homeland that this time it was safe:

For a whole winter we lay in the bunkers of the West Wall . . . we were forbidden to shoot. Our artillery was silent. If a shock unit succeeded in bringing in a few prisoners after a well-prepared action, these prisoners were a welcome subject for the Leicas and film cameras of the men of the Propaganda Companies.²⁵

Inside the West Wall the men were warm, well-fed, happy. Their every need was cared for, auxiliary services stood ready. The medical corps had little to do, but its instruments were kept shining. Reports during the 'phoney' war spoke only of small-scale artillery actions or raids on French positions. In the air there were no mass raids; the air force was held to the frontiers, while French and English pilots avoided combat. When an occasional enemy plane appeared, the brilliance of German searchlights was said to bring it crashing to the ground by blinding the pilots. This period of essentially static warfare was, however, not permitted to generate the feeling that the rest of the war would have this character. In February 1940, an officer, speaking anonymously for the Army, warned that what was going on had an unreal quality, and that much sacrifice of blood and property lay ahead.

Since the image of an onward-rushing monster machine could be useful in terrorizing future enemies, and was not far from true, there was little reason to alter it during the campaigns in

²⁵ 15 December 1940.

the Lowlands and France. The soldier was the well-oiled cog who embodied all its characteristics: incredible speed, precision, thoroughness, and boldness. Heroic individual exploits, whether real or invented, were given full publicity. Yet one single soldier who captured an entire regiment was less the particular hero of the occasion than the instrument of the machine that could be said to plan such miracles in advance. Panzer units naturally served this picture best, and the tank was especially glamorized:

. . . new German tanks ready for attack, ready for a mighty push forward, these tanks carry with them the new romance of fighting. They are what the knights were in the Middle Ages. They are as mobile as cavalry was in the last war.²⁶

It is not altogether accidental that the imagery in this *Front Report* should be so confused, and that there is no separation between the tank and its driver, but rather a composite image, centaurlike, the tank-man. The impression of fused man and machine is further heightened through the 'running commentary' technique of the *Front Report*, condensed like a newsreel; shots of individual performance cut into the general swift-moving advance of motorized columns.

The 'bloodless' onslaught in France was frequently compared to the sacrificial years of the last war and the difference was stressed. But another impression was also conveyed by these memories. Veterans and young soldiers were said to fight side by side; the cemetery of the 1940 *Front Report* turned out to be the graveyard of 1918. The effect of these references went beyond literary evocation. The old defeat could be more easily denied if today's German soldier was winning the First World War, and the soldier of that war was dying in this one.

The perpetual attempt to disprove the atrocity stories of the last war also entered into the image of the soldier. The moral superiority of the German forces would probably have been played up in any event; but the exaggerated stress laid upon the

²⁶ 19 June 1940.

soldiers' kindness towards civilians who had been duped into fear that the Germans might, for instance, chop off their hands, confirms this supposition. It is the enemy who was described as guilty of ill-treating prisoners, destroying people and property. The French oppressed and duped the Belgians, and the rich, the Jews, the corrupt Government, and 'military rule,' were oppressing the French, while the Germans liberated soldiers and civilians alike from all of these—but most of all from the English.

Our soldiers do not mind bullets. They know it is not every bullet that hits. But when we see these defenseless people machine-gunned [by the English] we feel a pain in our hearts.²⁷

The German soldier as liberator had already appeared in the Norwegian campaign. Austrian mountaineers were starred among land troops. Their simple Alpine songs merged with the songs of their northern brothers. Norway was almost a second fatherland:

We Germans have eyes to see and hearts to feel. It is a great experience to stand as a German soldier on neutral soil to protect a wonderful and unique country . . . One visitor prefers the lonely heights of the Norwegian mountains; another the lovable population with its interesting folk lore; one will be attracted by the great memories of Viking days, but all these features together make up the great fairy-tale land that is Norway. Norway is the mother country of winter sport. The population is like that country. Norwegians are candid, polite, tall, with blue eyes and fair hair.²⁸

Belgians, too, were often surprisingly Nordic, but it was somehow less easy to incorporate them and the French into the blond brotherhood. Their liberation was more explicitly an act of chivalry towards the enemy. When the French Army surrendered to German troops, it met with 'honorable treatment,' and peasants, 'having overcome their initial fear,' received every possible

²⁷ 27 May 1940.

²⁸ 19 April 1940.

assistance from German troops, even 'advice in every-day matters, as for instance, complaints of their farm horses.' ²⁹

The German soldier shot only when he had to in self-defense, and even the war machine hesitated in the interests of culture:

At this point, we had to use our heaviest artillery, which poured shells over the town so that hardly a stone was left in its place. Only the church in the middle of the town, a beautiful Gothic building, is undamaged. Although our observers could not have read the board with the inscription, 'Monument Historique,' they could distinguish the high towers and therefore spared it. ³⁰

The conquest over, the soldier of occupation played football on the sand, sunbathed, sang, wrote letters. When he arrived at his destination, 'Instead of entering delicatessen shops . . . he washed himself thoroughly in the hair dressers' salons.' How different from the French, who were always eating and, when interrupted, wasted food as they escaped from the Germans. During the lulls between victorious campaigns, much stress was also laid on the 'democratic' aspect of the Nazis' new army. Soldiers were shown chatting amicably with their officers and one was even invited to beer at the table of a general. The final image of the campaigns in the West was of the conquerors, unscathed, marching down the Champs Elysées, admired by the Parisian crowds, showing no sign of hardship and fatigue, parading 'with the same discipline as they have done in the Berlin Tiergarten,' ³¹ radiant as on the first day of the campaign.

In a sampling of half the *Front Reports* in the Western campaign, there are only five deaths mentioned—four of SS men and one of a member of the Propaganda Company. It is less likely that these deaths were mentioned because death is part of the soldier's fate, than that the SS was heroized because people at home were asking what sacrifices the Party had made towards victory, while the death of the *Front Reporter* was mentioned

²⁹ 28 June 1940.

³⁰ 10 May 1940.

³¹ 20 June 1940.

as a bit of free publicity. And yet death is a concept too poignant to be kept out of the propagandist's repertoire. The end of the battle cruiser *Bluecher* was told as follows:

Suddenly the stern rose upright out of the water. There I saw a German soldier standing straight, his hand lifted in the German salute. We will never forget this spectacle of how a German soldier faced death. All of us on the island spontaneously broke out into the 'Sieg Heil,' and 'Deutschland ueber Alles.' With this we saluted this one German soldier and all our comrades. We saluted the *Bluecher* which sank before our eyes. We thought of the Fuehrer and the distant Fatherland . . . never in our life will we forget those minutes when our *Bluecher* sank, and when a German soldier, death before his eyes, saluted his Fuehrer and country. It is a strange circumstance that just now we learned that that very man who went down with his ship has been saved after all.⁸²

The airman returning from his flight over England was similarly fortunate: 'When the observer took off the pilot's helmet, streams of blood came down, but the wound turned out to be insignificant.'⁸³ Despite the happy ending, there is this difference which we find increasingly in the Battle of Britain: wounded men are visualized, grim touches reflect the seriousness of the Battle—actually, the first defeat. Although it is true that similar descriptions are found in only 9 per cent of all air items in *Front Reports* during the Battle of Britain, a like impression was conveyed through other images, more typically that of the battered plane which can be brought to safety because of its excellent German mechanism. The plane is hurt instead of the man. The cumulative impression of the German soldier in the Battle of Britain is therefore not unlike the equivocal tank-centaur of the French campaign. He is the aeroplane-man, bloody but unbowed.

The airman was now fighting the real enemy in the enemy's country. He wiped out the center of England's industrial and

⁸² 5 May 1940.

⁸³ 10 January 1940.

economic life, and gloated over the suffering he could imagine 'down there.' He 'flew in low' and shouted for joy when he made a hit. The propagandist permitted a relaxation in the chivalric role—which was apparently imposed to some extent upon the flesh and blood soldiery as well as its image during the first months of the French occupation. The German airman in the Battle of Britain had nothing but contempt for the cowardly English and their mercenaries, the Dominion flyers, 'who drop their bombs from a great height not in order to hit but in order to improve their statistics,'⁸⁴ and who destroy museums, schools, and hospitals instead of military targets. German airmen were said to speak little about their achievements:

Only after a specially eventful day, as for instance when they successfully bombed the Spitfire and Rolls Royce works and got special mention in the High Command Communiqué, are they a little unbalanced by pride, but only a little.⁸⁵

During the winter, the image of invincibility was not allowed to become dim. The defeat suffered in the Battle of Britain and the lack of land action were compensated for by re-fighting the Battle of France. Episodes from the French campaign comprised about a third of the items in the *Front Reports* dealing with fighting, while U-boat action played a major part in the rest.

The picture of the U-boat sailor is relatively stable. The importance given to his actions, the frequency of reporting of U-boat warfare vary, but the picture of the life and exploits of the under-sea sailors is unchanging. This is partly determined by the conditions of the service. Unsuccessful U-boats do not return, and those that return have exclusively heroic crews. Great successes against the more permanent enemies were first scored by the heroes of the submarine. Prien struck against England in Scapa Flow. Hardegen brought the war home to the United States by sinking ships in American coastal waters. It was he

⁸⁴ 8 August 1940.

⁸⁵ 10 October 1940.

who first saw New York and every German was allowed to share the sight with him.

A returning submarine 'shows signs of wear during its weeks at sea; there are rusty patches on the rails and gun parts, and the men have the red eyes and neglected beards typical of a submarine crew.'⁸⁶ The men are young and expert. They are under constant tension and kept in constant danger, but the service has its compensation:

In their free time the men mostly sleep, which is sometimes very difficult, owing to high sea. Others play chess or similar games. They spend much time reading, and have a great variety of books. The Fuehrer's *Mein Kampf* is read just as much as some good novel. The Captain spent his leisure answering his mail, which was very large as many BDM [Bund Deutscher Maedel] girls and Hitler Youth boys as well as a great number of Volksgenossen, have written to him, congratulating him, or asking questions.⁸⁷

The simplest way of reporting the exploits of a submarine is to interview the submarine captain or noteworthy members of the crew. Space on board a submarine is so limited, and technical requirements for the crew so high, that it is almost impossible to carry as passenger a member of the Propaganda Company.

After the winter lull, *Front Reports* described the triumphal entry of German troops into Bulgaria, when the roads were lined with a cheering population strewing flowers. When the column halted, the troops stopped for snowball fights. The machine rolled through Yugoslavia as it had through Poland, and through Greece as it had through France. The brave Greeks, duped by the English, were liberated. In Crete, the German people had been shown how parachutists and air-borne troops could conquer an island, and how the air force could attain overwhelming superiority and rid the skies of English planes. The Stukas had dived and English ships had been sunk. An island had

⁸⁶ 5 May 1941.

⁸⁷ 20 December 1940.

fallen; Britain, too, was an island. The stage was set for new conquests.

The soldier on 22 June 1941 was shown lined up in the garrison towns of East Prussia and in the Polish villages of the new frontier: 'Enormous tension prevails. Then an order runs like a kindling spark through the war machine, and relieves the tension.' The machine moved again, facing East. The soldier of the early Russian campaign is the greatest victor in history. Wherever he went, the population assembled to adore him, because he had rescued them from the Bolsheviks. Striking swiftly, the air force bombed and wiped out the Russian air force, destroyed railroads and lines of communication. The tanks roamed at will. But the infantry had to march incredible distances in 'black dust' and 'burning sun.' It was thirsty and weary. The chivalrous German soldier had to adopt new methods of warfare, against armies which were often composed of Mongolian and other Asiatic elements, forced into action by the kicks and pistol butts of the Commissars. These men did not fight according to the decent rules of war. They did not surrender when encircled but retreated and sowed land mines, to which the SS succumbed. Although the victories were portrayed as more substantial, the captured armies larger, the destruction greater than in France, the campaign had a different flavor.

The soldier advanced, engulfed, encircled. He took great cities, the panzers rolled into the center of Kiev; Bialystok and Minsk, Smolensk and Bryansk were won by the German soldiers, Moscow and Leningrad were bombed. But while Hitler, on 3 October, announced that the enemy had been crushed, never to rise again, the description of the fighting of the German soldiers did not tell the same story. While the reports had previously spoken about the German soldier and his achievements, they increasingly began to be centered about the difficulties he encountered. In the early days of the campaign, there had been little resistance. Now he began to be meeting great opposition. The enemy fought, and the soldier was occupied not so much with winning

as with breaking the resistance of the enemy. And then the weather and all the obstacles of a malign nature turned against him until the difficulties caused by them became more important than the resistance of the enemy soldier. The soldier was shown waging battles of ever increasing intensity as he came within sight of the spires of Moscow. The announced victory failed to come to pass. Rostov was taken, the soldier was shown in occupation; and then Rostov and the hope for victory in Russia dropped from sight. It should not be thought that the soldier was ever seen as retreating or being defeated. The pattern of success shifted. He no longer took cities, he beat off counterattacks. He destroyed rather than took booty; he killed rather than captured. He suffered, as an infantryman, not from the weariness of forced marches, but from the agonies of cold while standing guard.

Various services are featured in different campaigns, in most cases according to their importance, but at other times the comparative importance given to a service can be questioned. It may be suggested that a particular service was chosen as a symbol to which attention could be shifted from the larger image of the army, with a corresponding qualitative change. The infantry is the service least mechanized. As an infantryman the soldier has lost his armored shell. It is he who suffers and not the war machine. This is his picture on 22 December 1941:

When I looked at him I recognized clearly how much he had changed during these months of the Eastern campaign. The long and hard experience of fighting had left its traces upon him, and marked his features. His soldier's eyes were clear and resolute as ever, but they seemed to have become darker and wiser. His uniform showed signs of wear, which always commands respect in anybody who understands. Here was a man who in the furnace of war had been shaped as a true man and fighter, as a true infantryman . . . Comradeship is closest in the infantry; not only good days, but bad days link us closely together, blood and sweat . . . Lieutenant W. turned towards his soldiers, whose figures you could dimly see in the densely falling flakes. They

stood together eating their soup . . . 'They are no better, or no worse than 100,000 other men.' . . . A small infantryman who hardly came up to military height, came up to the lieutenant. His face was wrapped up. 'What is the matter?' 'My teeth.' We could see his swollen face. The lieutenant put his hand on the man's shoulder and laughed. 'The tooth has not yet been drawn, and why?' 'No time, Sir.'

It may be questioned whether the pathos here is merely in the interests of candor or whether it has another function. This portrait was given at a time when Goebbels was conducting his campaign for winter clothing to send to the front, out of already sorely depleted wardrobes.

From January on, the image split and became smaller. If Russia was not a scene of successful fighting, then other, happier climes could be visited. The emphasis for the time being was turned away from the Russian front; North Africa, submarine warfare against the United States came into prominence, at the same time that there was less reporting on fighting as a whole. The chief vehicle of reporting the life of the soldier, the *Front Reports*, were broadcast less frequently. There was less talk of fighting in Russia, and more discussion of soldiers in winter quarters, eating, or looking for food.

The spring and summer brought some relief, but not much. In April and early May 1942, more of the terrible fighting and hitherto unknown suffering in Russia could be revealed to the home front. The people could be told that compared to Russia the other campaigns were insignificant. New successes were reported, but never in the easy, almost effortless vein of the early days. Even though the Caucasus was reached and Stalingrad invested, the victories were dearly won. The scaling of the mountain peaks involved tremendous efforts; it was work of the most dangerous kind, and the enemy was ever present. The fighting everywhere was reduced in scale. The soldier was no longer a part of an invincible machine, he no longer took huge cities and followed rivers to their sources to plant the Swastika there in a

moment of sublime reverence. He reached the Volga, he was within Stalingrad. The conqueror of nations fought with a few of his fellows not for a city, not for a fortress, but for one floor in a battered building.

Pathos had deepened into tragedy. It was admitted that the Blitz had bogged down in trench warfare. It was admitted that soldiers die. It was not only the changed situation at the front that transformed the image of the soldier. In the years of victory the homeland had participated in the exciting adventures of the conqueror, and provided the soldier with idyllic memories. In 1942 participation had changed its meaning. The homeland shared with the front a common experience of heroism, and its sufferings provided the soldier with a stimulus for fighting. The following, from a *Front Report* of 24 October 1942 would have been unthinkable at an earlier time:

. . . Two weeks ago a man came to us from another unit. He was a quiet sort of man, and not the youngest either. But after some time he seems a little too quiet and reticent—there was something wrong with him. Whenever there was an attack, he was among the first. He volunteered for any action that came along. Was there anything he had to atone for? Once the Commander had to warn him because he had gone into the fighting without his steel helmet. It began to look a little uncanny. Then, one day, we learned from somebody that this man, who had so far served in the rear, had volunteered for the front line. He had met with a great misfortune; a treacherous British bomb had killed his child at home and crippled his wife.³⁸

When the Sixth German Army was captured at Stalingrad, death was no longer a subject to be admitted with hesitation. Goebbels exploited the sacrifice of the soldier to mitigate the humiliation of surrender. In propagandistic presentation, the comradeship of death united before Stalingrad the new-made marshal and his men. The German soldier was no longer the glamorized superman of the panzer and stuka. He was the stubborn de-

³⁸ 24 October 1942.

fender of outposts, who holds on to the end. His staying power was rewarded by promotions to officer rank irrespective of his education or social background, and by decorations formerly reserved for the leaders of a daring action.

4. THE GERMAN PEOPLE

A. IMAGE VERSUS PEOPLE

a. The Collective Self. In talking to the German people about the German people, the main problem of the Nazi propagandist is to prevent the German from knowing himself. This he tries to solve in various ways, depending on the changing fortunes of war. In times of victory, and as long as he can possibly help it in times of setbacks, the plain man or woman is non-existent on the German radio. Instead, we find a composite image derived in part from Nazi ideology and varied in accordance with expediency. This the propagandist calls 'the German people,' or quite simply 'Germany.' Into this image of the collective the individual is meant to disappear. At best he is the German whose greatest virtue lies in his ability to merge with the collective self, and who thinks, feels, and acts like every other member of his race. The propagandist hopes that the listener, plain Herr Schmidt, will believe what he is told about 'the German people,' and begin to think, feel, and behave as the propagandist says he does.

It is not too unreasonable of Goebbels to expect the listener to believe what propaganda tells him about the enemy in distant lands, about the absent soldier, or the remote leader. But Schmidt knows for himself how his fellow workers, his boss, his relatives, and his neighbors talk and act, and about the worries that beset them. The German people, whom the propagandist pretends to describe, are part of his everyday life. Nonetheless, radio propaganda is set on convincing him that all this is not what it seems.

On the radio, in times of victory, the Schmidts had no every-

day life. They lived in a world where the extraordinary was a going concern. They were at war, but war was either extraordinarily easy, or extraordinarily total. If they suffered at times, they bore it with iron hearts, for their suffering was always full of historical meaning and pointed to a future measured in centuries. The German people were not governed, but led; not indoctrinated, but enlightened; and every new law imposed upon them, they demanded. The German did not read books and like music; he had culture. He did not have a good time, but had enthusiasm, boundless and national. The German had two habitats: for practical purposes he was at the home front, but as the dear one of the fighting soldier, he lived, idyllically, in the Heimat. The German people had no children; instead, they had a birthrate which was constantly rising. They had no accidents, because of Nazi efficiency. Diseases were disappearing because of the heroic struggles of Nazi scientists, and nobody died in his bed. In short, the life of the German people was presented in Wagnerian transfiguration—a world of extraordinary thought, emotion, and action. If Herr Schmidt believed in it, he could be proud, and nobody would object, for he was then of no further trouble to Dr. Goebbels.

The Nazi propagandist would have been happy if he could have retained this image until the end of the war; and this might have been possible had the German armies succeeded in terminating the war in its Blitzkrieg phase. It is apparent that even when the war outlasted the expectations of Nazi leaders and got out of control, the propagandist still hoped that his image of the collective would help him to steer the masses according to his will. But when hardships continued and increased without prospect of relief, Schmidt became troublesome.

The Nazi propagandist always fears that the people might peer through the glorious image at their daily hard work and sacrifice and begin to remember their real strength. For the Nazis remember that in 1918 the German people had been strong enough to replace the Imperial Government when the war machinery

broke down. The German civilians had then been allowed to remain civilians and retained their own organizations and parties. Their co-operation in the last war had been merely a loan, which the government had to pay for by concessions and patriotic appeal. The structure of the Nazi state, however, does not allow for independent organizations and parties. It does not recognize the existence of a civilian who weighs the cause in the scale of his personal sacrifice, or questions the amount of recognition he receives, or the part he is allowed to play in the formation of a political will.

According to the image of the collective self, the German people are not citizens of their country but are born into their race, and linked to its destiny. Any appeal to sacrifice should therefore be unnecessary, and co-operation is regarded as no special virtue. As the war has progressed, appeals to sacrifice have been made in increasing measure, but the original Nazi attitude was expressed by Goebbels in 1941, when he said: 'The word sacrifice must be reserved for the soldier.'³⁹

During the first years of war, heroism too was not allowed to become an attribute of the civilian. In August 1941, Flannery, the American radio reporter, wanted to interview a heroine of the home front, but could not convince Goebbels' office that the human interest story would make good propaganda. 'Calls on the women's organization, Frauenschaft, were met . . . with the statement that it was the duty of German people to be heroic and that they deserved no publicity for being so.'⁴⁰ The endurance, fortitude, and achievement of the civilian are cast in a form that can be conveniently handled. The authorities tell Schmidt that privations and hardships are his lot, as fighting is the lot of

³⁹ 26 December 1941. As late as 6 February 1943, Kolbenheyer, an intellectual speaking from the center of Nazi ideology, still maintained that 'the German mission does not demand sacrifice . . . but fulfilment . . . That which the voice of pathos sometimes calls sacrifice becomes self-evident.'

⁴⁰ Flannery, Harry W., *Assignment to Berlin*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1942, p. 392.

the soldier. The soldier is more than just the model of the civilian. When something is to be done and no questions asked, the civilian is a soldier, subject to laws as arbitrary and binding as martial law. He is expected, as in the Horst Wessel song, to march behind the flag in closed ranks. Even Frau Scholtz-Klink, the Reich's Women's Leader, addressing 'mothers of very small children or expectant mothers [who] . . . bring the gift of new life under the distant sound of guns,' rallies them on Mother's Day with the cry, 'Fuehrer command, we follow.'⁴¹

'We have been extremely successful,' said Labor Leader Ley, speaking on 28 January 1942, 'in instilling in our workers the finest soldierly spirit.' 'Soldierly' in Nazi parlance does not necessarily mean brave or heroic. It means obedience, conformity, and discipline, the total mobilization of men and minds, in the schools, factories, and kitchens as well as in the trenches. Here Schmidt disappears in the closed ranks of the well-ordered parade. Should he fall out of step, he becomes ridiculous. Should he fall out of line, the Gestapo is waiting to punish him for treason against the German 'national community.'

National community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) is a notion useful to the Nazi propagandist in evading the many troubles that confront democratic governments when dealing with the problem of unity. National community is eternal, and inevitable like an organism in nature, unlike governments or states, which the Nazis repudiate as mere confections of man, too little binding for their purpose. The Nazi propagandist does not need to appeal to unity; he assumes that national community exists and automatically includes every individual born within it. It can further include whomever the Nazis wish to incorporate, or designate as lost children abroad; and exclude whomever they choose to exterminate. To some it is more palatable than race, and can be substituted for it when convenient. National community is invoked by the Nazis in times of victory—for extra credit; and at other times

⁴¹ 17 May 1942.

when its pleasant sound might distract the people from their hardships. It lies behind the cry of the celebrants at mass meetings who shout 'Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuehrer'—Reich meaning realm or kingdom as in 'kingdom of Heaven,' which the subject races like the Slovaks may enter, and where the master race dominates. The Third Reich is like the second coming, and the Nazis claim that they are responsible. All these meanings and more must be understood in the ritualistic call of 'Deutschland' heard over the radio when celebrations are broadcast.

Schmidt is inescapably part and parcel of *Volksgemeinschaft*, Reich, Germany. Their attributes are the only ones allowed to him. His character, his pleasures, his opinions are pre-established. Herr Schmidt has culture and history along with Germany; he is vital with the fertility of the German people, his wishes coincide with the longings of his race. In order to have his personality recognized he must first surrender it to the collective self. In order to get acknowledgment for his achievement, he must interpret it as fulfilment of his racial duty. In order to satisfy the necessities of life, he must explain them as necessities for the survival of the biological unit. In times of victory, the feature programs on the radio do not dwell upon the people. They talk about Germany, but Herr Schmidt will know that he is meant. At least he should know, for he is a 'bearer' of Germany's mission, and his boss, his relatives, and his neighbors, identically mission-bent, are marching by his side.

To make Herr Schmidt imagine himself on the march all of the time by a process of propagandistic suggestion would be difficult indeed, were it not that whether he likes it or not his whole life is actually framed within the militarized organizations of National Socialism. As a worker, he is automatically a member of the Labor Front; as an adolescent, he is a member of the Hitler Youth, and his sister, of the BDM (*Bund Deutscher Maedel*); as a farmer, he is 'tied to the soil' and a member of the Reich Food Estate; and as a businessman, in compulsory cartels or achievement groups, he must 'belong' or his chances of sur-

vival are slim. Thus he is as inescapably enmeshed in the tentacles of the Party as he is meant to be linked to the fate of Germany. But while the concept Germany may inspire him and prove sufficient justification for purges and war, National Socialism is more real. It is omnipresent, and, if Herr Schmidt is willing and able, it pays.

b. The National Socialist Party. When Herr Schmidt joined the Party, he forsook his easy-going ways for the exercise of power, and staked his life on the prospect of being a member of the master race with a good chance of promotion in its hierarchy. Blockwart Schmidt has a future; Herr Schmidt at best remains a subject. While true leadership is confined to Hitler, the charisma filters down into the sections and branches of the organization, and even the humblest block warden has his part in the leadership of the world. At the very least, he is in with the master gang; and a Storm Trooper may even be the superior of his boss or his rich neighbor in the political hierarchy. As a National Socialist he will not feel neglected on the radio. It explains Herr Schmidt to himself as Blockwart Schmidt and prevents him from becoming Herr Schmidt again.

The National Socialist Schmidts are addressed as members of the leader race which is shaping the future of Europe today, and 'tomorrow the world.' 'This eventful time,' says Goebbels, 'appeals to their innermost character and being.' They have realized the meaning and discovered therein 'that greatness which lifts them beyond our historic past and probably also beyond our historic future.'⁴² No one, Goebbels adds, 'has a greater right to possess a world empire.'⁴³

Though Schmidt may not be a proved National Socialist, he is nonetheless forced to agree. The Nazis assume that he thinks 'not only in terms of politics, but in terms of history' and help to see that he does. If he is not a member of the party proper, he will, nonetheless, have to belong to, or suffer the interference of,

⁴² 21 August 1942.

⁴³ 12 December 1942.

that broader community: 'the Party, its Divisions, and its Affiliated Organizations.' This extension—which Hitler rarely fails to include in his most solemn apostrophes, translates each of his private pursuits, from the upbringing of children to his manners with the shopkeeper, into the cavalcade of Time. In all matters of daily life the citizen is inescapably surrounded by Hitler Youth, NSKK, NSFK, Labor Front and Strength through Joy, NSV and Winter Help, Estate Leaders, Labor Service, Block Wardens, League for the Fostering of Germanism Abroad, Elite Guards, offices for the Fostering of the Race, Planning Boards, Price Administration, offices for the Allocation of Raw Material, Manpower Commissions, etc. The radio glorifies them, although it can scarcely do justice to their firm grip and their omnipresence in real life. On the radio they mainly appear in gala dress when there is some anniversary to celebrate, or the birthdays and funerals of their respective leaders, or when launching a special campaign such as a scrap collection, Politeness Week, or the gathering of acorns for fodder.

The radio exalts the efficient leadership of the party-sponsored organizations. They are portrayed to Herr Schmidt striking swiftly and straight at their mark. The listener is shown the Welfare Services functioning with spectacular immediacy. Here is the soldier opening his packet of cookies and knee-warmers. There is the farmer who had put his address in a potato when he gave his hundred weight to Winter Help, receiving the grateful thanks of a recipient. There is the NS Welfare worker comforting a war widow; and here she is again intercepting a letter from a woman to her husband at the front and rewriting it in the proper German manner. On another program she gives advice on how to talk to the returning soldier, on another, on how to live without love. The training, military, pre-military, and post-military, of the Labor Corps, the National Socialist Pilots' Corps, and the National Socialist Motorists' Corps, become familiar procedures to Herr Schmidt. And Mrs. Schmidt is reminded that the 'Law for the Protection of Mothers

. . . is intended to enable them to fulfil their duties of motherhood unimpaired.' ⁴⁴

The strategy of birth is supervised by the *Rasse und Siedlungshauptamt*, the chief office for race and colonization of the SS elite guard. Procreation is a civic duty; it means fighting the battle of births (*Geburtenschlacht*) and winning 'the victory of the cradle.' Worse than the death of the best in battle, says the German radio, is the 'lack of children, which were not begotten in wartime.' SS supervision is most severe where procreation concerns the life stock of the corps itself. The bride of the SS man must show a health certificate 'to make sure,' she is told, 'that her children come from healthy stock.' Her family tree must be traced back as far as possible, although in wartime grandparents will do. The bride is then supposed to win the Reich Sport Badge, but since she is working in a defense factory this condition is waived, provided she promises to win the badge later. Thus, the SS family is formed, and consecrated to colonization.

The most important task of the Reichsfuehrer SS in his capacity as Reichs Commissioner for the Strengthening of German Ethnical Life is the settlement of the best German blood in the conquered territory . . . The Eastern Provinces will not be populated according to antiquated capitalistic ideas. German soldiers have shed their blood for this soil . . . which they left us as a sacred heritage we shall use to bring forth new families—a work of peace in the midst of war.' ⁴⁵

The same radio program ⁴⁶ illustrates further 'responsible work done by the elite guards.' The SS also defends the race—if need be even against sixteen-year-old boys:

The Jew, Guenther Israel Ransenberg, born in 1926, is indicted of having within 8 days assaulted and criminally misused 4 girls of German blood . . . in broad daylight on roads little used. Have you anything more to say?'

⁴⁴ 17 May 1942.

⁴⁵ 7 June 1942.

⁴⁶ Ibid. This part of the program was interspersed with recordings of Himmler's voice.

The prisoner: 'Please, on Tuesday I went . . .'

'All that is known. Let us come to the point. Do you admit the assaults?'

The prisoner murmurs an unintelligible reply.

'Hauptscharfuehrer, take the Jew away. The documents are to be sent to the Reich Head Office for Security.'

Commentator: 'The Reich Fuehrer SS and chief of the German Police announces: "On April 15th the Jewish assailant, Guenther Israel Ransenberg, was shot."'

Thus the SS men are carrying out their service in all spheres of national life, safeguarding the people at the Front and at the Homeland.

In the old days before the war, Schmidt had to march with Strength through Joy instead of spending his holidays at the seaside resort of his own choosing. For six years he could not go where he liked and work where he wanted to. He might have objected then, but the Nazis now make it clear to him that it was their interference in his peacetime life which alone made it possible for him to have the glorious victories of which he is so proud today. Both Schmidt and Germany, they say, were re-born in 1933 when the Party seized power. They were endowed with the faith which had once conquered for the Party and is now to win final victory over the world.

When setbacks occur on the battlefield, the history of the Party supplies a treasure of parallels, which explain them as episodes without consequence, or as opportunities for a brilliant come-back. One of Hitler's favorite subjects is his abortive putsch in November 1923. Every year, he commemorates it by a talk in which he sucks strength for the present from the story of his meteoric rise from early defeat to the apogee of power. No matter who tells the story, or how, the end is always a happy one, with the enemy confounded and the Nazi victorious. Before that happens the listener must catch his breath once more to hear how the final obstacle had been overcome. In 1932, the Party had lost millions of votes, but three months later: 'Those who only a few days before had proved incontrovertibly that

National Socialism would not or could not win and therefore should not win were silent in their bewilderment.' Thus Goebbels warms his listeners on 30 January 1942, during the first cold winter of defeat.

The National Socialists also provide another set of arguments that serve both to exalt their contribution to Germany and comfort her in times of distress. Germany's strength, say the propagandists, came from her position as a have-not nation. Her poverty had filled her with the righteous strength and revolutionary ardor, to overcome the decaying dominions of mammon. Gold and material wealth had proved futile to stem the onslaught of the 'idea'; and this 'idea' was National Socialism.

National Socialist Germany, with faith in her idea, led and awakened the slumbering and cheated nations of the world, as she was once awakened by the Nazis and led into the new millennium of community and socialism. The National Socialist 'revolution' had wiped out class differences in one stroke by giving Germany *Volkgemeinschaft* and turning everyone into a *Volks-genosse*. As proof of this, the radio notes that employer and employee are both members of the Labor Front and live only to serve the community as 'plant leader' and 'retinue' (*Gefolgschaft*). Their amicable relations based upon fealty and loyalty have replaced contracts and sordid class struggle. Class war no longer exists within Germany, and its passions are now conveniently extended to the war between 'proletarian' Germany and the 'plutocracies' of Wall Street and the City.

The socialist spirit of abnegation is manifest in German shareholders who split their profit with the community. Unlike their British counterparts, who make profits of 100 per cent and more, German companies eagerly surrender all dividends exceeding 6 per cent.⁴⁷ Socialist abnegation is equally evident in the workers

⁴⁷ The radio frequently stresses the point, but forgets to mention that German companies were allowed to increase the nominal value of their shares to make up for the difference, and that the Government encouraged them to write off war investments completely.

when they consent to work longer hours and more intensely. The slogan of the Labor Front assures them that work is 'honored' and the worker 'respected' in the German community—which, the radio adds, is not the case in enemy lands. In Germany, the worker need not strive towards abstract social ideals or organize into unions; he receives his full share of honor if his work is perfect and his service sufficiently disinterested.

If Germans should wish to manifest solidarity with their fellow Germans, 'true socialism'—in the form of the Winter Help Campaigns and Winter Clothing Collections—provides the mechanism for canalizing the compassionate impulse, and furthermore enhances the occasion with political significance. A collection can hardly take place unless the Fuehrer opens it or Goebbels closes it with a political speech. And if Schmidt, financially burdened by many contributions, should hesitate before helping the 'old fighters' or the 'young Hitler boys,' he will be made to understand that he still lacks the right spirit of community.

If abnegation is a token of 'socialistic' behavior, 'Joy' is positively a virtue, for 'through' it Schmidt gains 'Strength.' In normal times the spirit of Socialism and National Community were allowed to effervesce three times a year: May Day was for workers, Thanksgiving Day for farmers, and the Party Rally for the political hierarchy. *Parteitag* used to be a turbulent radio festival, during which the existence of ruling classes was momentarily forgotten. But in wartime it was dropped, and Heroes Memorial Day was magnified instead. As for May Day, mass celebrations were called off for the duration, but May First is still the day to promote Reich Ministers, airplane designers, and war-plant managers to 'Pioneers of Labor.' Speeches are also made over the radio and new slogans are issued for the year. In 1940, Hess substituted 'Joy through Work' for 'Strength through Joy.' In 1941 'Social Idealism' was declared the highest virtue and the 'mechanical miner' was praised as the symbol of socialism. May Day 1942 was the most socialistic of all; it was devoted to the fight against Bolshevism. Superior Service Leader,

Dr. Hupfauer, distributing medals to workers whose practical proposals had helped increase efficiency, declared that Germany had done away with plutocratic piece wages by introducing the socialist principle of 'achievement wages.' This, he explained, makes the worker self-controlling and self-reliant and protects him against the unfairness of being paid equal wages for more efficient work.⁴⁸ In 1943 the solidarity of European labor was stressed in broadcasts to foreign audiences; much less was said about it to German workers. At home the long neglected Chamber of Labor (*Reichsarbeitskammer*) was resurrected for the day.

Schmidt, celebrating National Community on May Day, is being Socialistic and bringing about the new millennium, in which gold will no longer rule the world. Schmidt is also helping Germany's war of conquest. But the two aims are not irreconcilable—it is merely a matter of language. In the language of 'true socialism' the Nazis claim to have taken the first brave step towards freedom from gold by establishing a new basis for German currency. Dr. Reinhardt, from the Ministry of Finance, explains what this new basis will be. On 29 October 1941, he tells the German radio audience that

the German sword is winning territories which will be of immeasurable value in the future. The present expenditure of war material will repay itself a thousandfold. The present excess purchasing power is covered a thousandfold by goods which will from year to year increasingly stimulate German economy.

The language of fact uncovers what the language of socialism failed to reveal. The millennium of 'true socialism' is founded on conquest and its currency based on loot.

c. 'Germany.' The Nazi propagandist, when true to his ideological plan, settles the problem of unity by simply stating: 'We are united.' The concept of National Community involves the

⁴⁸ It has been suggested that Goering had hired Bedeaux engineers for German armaments industries.

inclusion of every German in the total structure, and the agreement of every German in Germany's war. The propagandist can identify the National Community closely with National Socialist Leadership or, turning from the leaders to the led, with the 'National Socialists' at large and, if necessary, with Germany.

Ideally, there should be no distinction between the community of Germany and of National Socialism. Germany should be uniformly Nazi and National Socialism should span the world wherever the German tongue is spoken or a German heart is beating. But it is interesting to note that Germany and National Socialism become subtly differentiated in propaganda practice. National Socialism stands at the center of achievement in times of victory but tends to separate itself from the suffering body during times of defeat. The interrelationship of the two ideas is obscured by the shadow of mysticism: the words may not change very much, but the impression is different. The leader of National Socialist Germany tends to become the martyr *for* Germany at large. Thus, natural as may be the evocation of 'Germany' in German propaganda, it seems also to provide a second line of defense for the propagandist whose main task it is to serve the regime.

National Socialism must always seem beautiful. The Nazis hoped they could provide nothing but festivals, victory celebrations, and Sundays. These they gladly attributed to their leadership. But the cold fact of war, the ever-lengthening working day, the increasing hardship: these they would gladly disclaim. When the war broke out they hastened to declare that it was not their war but Germany's—her old war at that, with the same old enemies of 1914 now victimizing German blood-brothers abroad. And on the radio there was much talk of Germany. When, however, victory was assured in Poland and being rolled up in the West, the Nazis took the credit for the strength, efficiency, and daring which made victory possible. The crowds shouted, 'Fuehrer, we thank you,' and victory celebrations were added to the roster of Nazi holidays. Then, as cause for holidays decreased and the war took on a working-day appearance, it

again became German. This war was Germany's destiny, and the efforts demanded for carrying on became efforts imposed by Germany's mission. Thus we hear Goebbels say: 'We conduct this war not as Prussians and Bavarians, as Protestants and Catholics, nor as Nationalists and Socialists, but as a single German community.'⁴⁹

This does not mean that the Nazis drop out of the picture; it is simply that they use their symbols with reserve. They recall their past efficiency and imply that they will come to the rescue again. In the meanwhile they appeal to the German character, and more intensively disguise dictatorship as a response to the will of the people. The people rally round the cry of Germany, and the Schmidts become so many racial entities fulfilling her destiny, drenched in German Dynamism and Vitality, submerged in German Culture, German History, and German Tradition.

Goebbels in the quotation above splits National Socialism into its component names, lest it appear that he makes a distinction between the regime and Germany. In much the same way, he manipulates German tradition so that it can never evoke an alternative allegiance. He selects bits and pieces out of German history which exist only to corroborate Nazi claims, or to demonstrate that the Nazi regime is the first great fulfilment of the promises latent in the German past. Thus the merchant adventurers of the medieval Hansa are invoked to prove Germany's age-old right to commercial expansion at a time when monopolies are being handed out to German and Dutch collaborationist firms to exploit the newly conquered territories of the East. Thus Frederick the Great, for whom 'incredible defeat was followed by incredible victories,' is incorporated into propaganda lines to be used for periods of set-back and even serves to give historical precedence for Hitler's intuition. Frederick, the commentator says, 'holds on alone,' though 'everybody is war weary; the Generals and even the Royal Family want to persuade him to make

⁴⁹ 6 February 1942.

peace.’⁵⁰ And to make the increased use of Frederick’s name seem quite natural to the listener, the commentator, in March 1942, recalls⁵¹ that Hitler had declared three years previously, ‘We live in a Frederician time.’ Goebbels, turning Frederick’s name into a slogan, is merely following a plan laid down by Hitler as early as 1925, when, in *Mein Kampf*, he proposes ‘to lift out of the historical growth of our people a few names and to make them . . . common property . . . so as to throw an equally unifying bond around the entire nation by equal knowledge and equal enthusiasm.’⁵²

The listener hears little good about the political structures of the past. Few heroes, aside from Frederick the Great, are allowed to emerge from the chaos of German political history. Bismarck appears on occasion as an Empire Builder, or, surprisingly enough, as the originator of the Beveridge plan. For the most part, the Germany of the past is presented as a cradle of ‘poets and thinkers,’ lacking the political will to make history before the Nazis had shown her how.

History begins with the last war. Only from then on is the past continuous and coherent with the present. The links are forged by ‘the fourteen years,’ the heroic age of Nazi rise to power. To explain the last war as genesis and to explain it away presents no problem to the Nazi propagandist, who is not bothered by contradictions. According to the requirements of his audience and his purpose, he can speak in one way, dealing superficially with the ‘facts’ of history, or in another way, mystically, with the ‘philosophy’ of history. Superficially speaking, the last war was altogether different from this one; in arms, in leadership, and in the constellation of powers. It is also the same war, in that it is a ‘continuation’ against the same enemies.

As genesis of the present, the last war was said to have created

⁵⁰ 11 March 1942.

⁵¹ 2 March 1942.

⁵² Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Berlin, 1925. American edition used throughout: Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1939, p. 632.

the community of the trenches from which arose the fighters for New Germany. As 'veterans' they bear witness today that Germany has lived through bad hours before. Resurrected, or in spirit, they march behind Hitler's flag. At Langemarck they had learned to spend their blood freely, and with their blood they built the New Germany despite the Kaiser. Thus instructions to the press on the occasion of the Kaiser's death relegated the news to 'a single column head on the lower half of the first page,' out of consideration for 'Young Germany, which regards the Wilhelmian era as something that has long ago been relegated to the dust bin'; but they added the following admonition:

Proper respect, however, is necessary because the Kaiser constitutes a piece of German history that one cannot wishfully think out of existence, and because the Kaiser was the supreme commander over millions of German soldiers during the World War.⁵³

Hitler was one of them, and was sometimes referred to as 'Germany's unknown soldier.' It is obvious, then, that history begins when the Unknown Corporal emerged from the trenches and decided to lead his people in the fight against Versailles.

Hitler, who complained that in the pre-Nazi teaching of German history 'the great line was lacking,'⁵⁴ supplied it by his concept of race. The Aryan race was and is forever the only culture-creating race. This is manifested in German vitality, which from time immemorial has beaten itself against physical boundaries. Unable to develop without expanding and unable to insure the civilization of Europe without developing, Germany has sought to flow out over space and Germanize it. German political history begins when the Nazis made the Germans understand race, and liberated German vitality from the buried files of population statistics. On the radio the defense of this rediscovered vitality is advocated in two directions. On the one hand,

⁵³ Lochner, *op. cit.* p. 285.

⁵⁴ *Mein Kampf*, p. 632.

'the German doctor has his share in making sure lest we ever become a German space without a people';⁶⁵ on the other hand, the Army guarantees that Germany will never become a 'people without space.' Vitality poses terrible dilemmas, which can only be solved by a 'war of survival.' And thus Germany is presented as Youth in bondage, fighting for her right to grow, and leading her allies in a war against Age. (See Figure xviii, p. 307.)

Vitality and Youth are the most useful attributes of Germany, as far as the Nazis are concerned. They justify imperialist conquest and guarantee invincibility. The propagandist urges upon Herr Schmidt the youthfulness and vitality that are his by right of racial inheritance. But even Youth and Vitality must suffer a change in the propagandist's master plan as events encroach upon it. Figure XVIII shows the variations in the youth-age stereotypes. Youth *versus* Age was the battle-cry of the Nazis fighting their way to power within Germany. It remained the cry of Germany when England, the old Lady of Threadneedle Street, was the only enemy. But with Russia in the field, and propaganda deciding to lead a European crusade in defense of civilization, Germany had to be given old traditions. Germany then became young and old at the same time. In the course of 1942, age and tradition must have seemed too little invigorating for protracted war, and the propagandist began again to stress Germany's vitality and youth. Crusading became pioneering. 'Germanic youth' began to plow up Eastern soil with their swords, fertilize it with their blood, and sow therein the seeds of culture. Axmann, on 13 July 1942, speaking to 30,000 Land Service Volunteers, calls them 'the first shock troops of the . . . new century marked by the awakening of the Germanic peoples.' And he adds a word about the German mission: 'Germanic tribes spread their peasant culture . . . Germanic restlessness is always creative.'

Since culture-creating is Germany's mission, Germany must

⁶⁵ 26 May 1942.

be shown as rich in culture—if merely through what Hitler calls ‘its visible expressions’; since ‘the rest of the world is not able to recognize genius in itself.’⁵⁶ The rest of the world is learning—and Mozart Week, 1941, is no longer a German tribute to genius, but a ‘tribute of the European continent to a German genius.’ Culture, like history, Hitler says, is to become ‘a means for the promotion of national pride . . . An inventor must appear great not only as an inventor, but still greater as a fellow citizen.’⁵⁷ And if the propagandist is really on the job, an ‘inventor’ can be made out even greater than he is, to the still greater benefit of ‘national pride.’

Topics of the Day thus goes to work on Martin Behaim, known to students of the Renaissance as the designer of one of the earliest globes. The argumentation of the propagandist is simple: since it is known that Behaim made the first globe, and since Columbus could not have discovered America without a globe, the Nazi commentator suspects that Behaim had been in America before Columbus. At any rate, Behaim discovered the Straits of Magellan before Magellan. The fact that the name of the German geographer is not so much as mentioned in Portuguese documents is sufficient evidence that there is something to it, since the Portuguese always kept such discoveries strictly secret. Thus America and the Straits were conquered, culturally, by the Germans. And the radio concludes that it was only a lack of political will at that time which prevented the conquest of the New World from being a German action.

While Germany is creatively active ‘from the very bottom and forever,’ while culture manifests the continuity of German vitality from the darkest past to the unforeseeable future, and is the eternal justification for Germany’s mission, the enemy has no culture and destroys that of the Axis by bombing whenever he can. It is natural that as the war progresses this proclivity of the enemy is ever more apparent, and Goebbels in opening the

⁵⁶ *Mein Kampf*, p. 403.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 635.

Great German Art Exhibition at Munich on 26 June 1943 reached a paroxysm of vilification in the service of culture:

When British and American terror planes appear over German and Italian centers of art, transforming in less than an hour into rubble and ashes cultural monuments which it took centuries to build and to create, one would have to rape common sense in order to detect cultural reasons for such sacrilegious crimes. There is much more at stake than the terrorization of the civil population. This is the fury of an historical inferiority complex that seeks to destroy on our side what the enemy himself is incapable of producing and has never been able to achieve in the past.

Thus while in Germany Goebbels saw the leaning towards 'intrinsic values of spiritual life' immeasurably strengthened by the war, and the air war in particular,

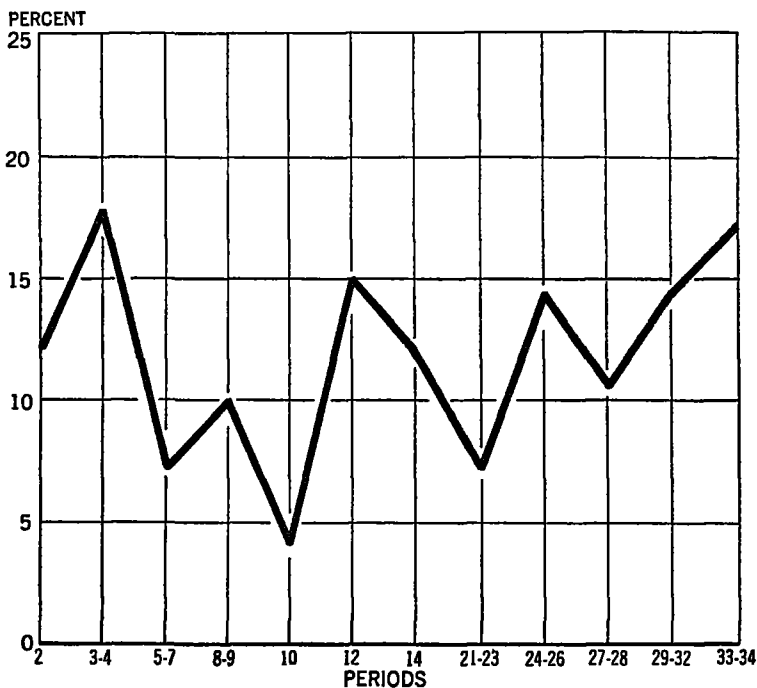
a twenty-year-old American, Canadian, or Australian terror pilot may destroy a work by Albrecht Durer or Titian . . . although neither he nor millions of his countrymen know [these venerable names] even from hearsay.

Culture not only serves the hate campaign, but also justifies conquest and its vicissitudes, and can prove useful to divert attention from disagreeable news. Figure VIII gives some idea of the increase and decrease of culture in the *Topics of the Day*. During the 'phoney war,' culture padded the transmissions that had little military news to tell. It proceeded 'as usual'; Party officials opened exhibitions, books were reviewed, the anniversaries of world-famous German poets and thinkers were amply celebrated. When the Nazis could talk about more exciting events in the West, culture was rather summarily dealt with. But during the Battle of Britain and the Italian failure in Libya and Greece, German culture again increased its 'promotion of national pride.'

During the war with Russia, culture served the two purposes of distracting from the increasingly repetitious news from the East and of embellishing the image of a European crusade. In

FIGURE VIII
German Culture

Number of items in per cent of item totals—*Topics of the Day*



3-4: 30 Nov. 1939-16 Feb. 1940

5-7: 17 Feb.-8 Apr. 1940

8-9: 9 Apr.-9 May 1940

10: 10 May-22 June 1940

12: 8 Aug.-31 Oct. 1940

21-23: 22 June-13 Aug. 1941

24-26: 14 Aug.-25 Oct. 1941

33-34: 16 Feb.-11 Apr. 1942

Each item is counted only once regardless of the number of references to German culture the item contains. The periods covered are not continuous.

Russia, Germany led the fight in defense of religious freedom, Christianity, and the age-old values of European civilization. It is therefore not surprising to find the spirit of Hitler linked to the spirit of Homer and Praxiteles.

The immortal heroes of ancient Greece, the characters of those Greek tragedies and dramas, the great Roman builders of States and Men . . . and also the powerful heroes of German and Teutonic ancient history, would from Olympus and Valhalla, bless the great struggle . . . of Adolf Hitler and Mussolini just the same as would Goethe and Schiller, Dante, Albrecht Durer, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, Rembrandt, Beethoven, Richard Wagner, Verdi, Brahms, or Grieg . . . proclaim that to . . . destroy the evil spirit of Jewry is a precondition of that highest bloom of culture . . .

With these words did Herr Sauckel, Party boss of Thuringia, open German Book Week at Weimar on 26 October 1941. These words were spoken to an audience of 'people of international rank and highest cultural importance.' This was indeed the crusading front of culture, 'opposing' German Book Week to the then coincidental Russian Tank Week—'Book and Sword against poison and venom. National character and superhuman feats against international dirt.'

During Book Week, culture became the fourth arm of the fighting forces. Hanns Johst, the Nazi dramatist, speaking in his role as President of the Reich Culture Chamber, showed that *Mein Kampf* was 'at war' with *Capital*, and added: 'When we Germans can bring down our fists on a book which contains in clear print the essence of our will and our faith, then we are dangerous and invincible . . . Whereupon Goebbels declared that 'The old dictum about "Zarathustra" being in the knapsack of the German musketeer has today become a reality,' and, reviewing the achievements of the year's 'literary program,' added that 'over a hundred German poets of repute have joined up.'

At the beginning of 1942, German culture continued to flourish. The listener heard of German knights engaged in all sorts of

crusades; heard the BBC accused of unjustly annexing culture when, in truth, it had been an invention of the German tribes; heard how the ancient Greeks, more Nordic than ever, should be taken as models for the Spartan art of National Socialism. Great scientists, like the physicist Planck and the surgeon Sauerbruch, enlarged upon trivialities over the radio; and there was a high positive correlation between the medical care dispensed on the air and the mud on the ground of the Eastern front. Nor was the socialist note of culture neglected. German workers and soldiers were sent in droves to hear Wagner at Bayreuth and Mozart at Salzburg, formerly the privilege only of British lords. And it was 'an event of outstanding cultural interest' when 'Professor Furtwaengler conducted the Philharmonic Orchestra for the workers of the AEG [*Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-gesellschaft*]: Only the highest manifestations of German art and German artists are good enough for German workers and soldiers.'⁵⁸ This feverish activity accounts for the rise in our curve in the spring of 1942.

During the summer of 1942 culture changed its meaning; it was increasingly linked to pioneering—the euphemism for conquest—and its promotion was left to the Youth leaders. Goebbels, who in 1941 had been proud that Germany was scorned as a 'nation of thinkers and poets,' himself scorned the old Germany—which went 'to war for thirty years over the question whether the last supper was to be consumed in simple or twofold shape.' Goebbels advocated instead the new Germany, 'which demands her share of the wealth of the globe, which turns her eyes for the first time in her history towards the insufficiently exploited rich wheat and oil fields . . .'⁵⁹ And by the following October, with Germany facing a new winter of hardship, Goebbels gave a new interpretation to the cultural urge of the Germans. While during the Book Week of 1941 he had proudly stated, 'there is an increasing demand for the German classics,' in 1942 he commanded

⁵⁸ 27 February 1942.

⁵⁹ 21 August 1942.

the congress of authors to turn to the writing of 'light and entertaining' books:

which, without making great demands on mind and soul, unobtrusively take the mind off the working day. Content, as well as language, must be easily accessible to the broad masses of our people.

And lest inconvenient sensibilities rebel against writing thrillers to serve the declining morale of the soldiers and munition workers, he cajoled or admonished them thus:

In doing work of this type, the German writer will find himself in the company of the leading names of our literary history . . . Only snobs write for the sake of writing. Genuine writers . . . write to serve a purpose.⁶⁰

B. PEOPLE VERSUS IMAGE: THE COMMON MAN

Figure IX represents the percentage of items in the radio feature program, *Topics of the Day*, which deal with German domestic events during selected periods of the war. It shows that attention paid to the social, economic, and cultural life of the homeland steadily increased during the Russian campaign, when, as Goebbels puts it, 'the war entered a grimmer phase.' But while this trend might be natural to propaganda in any country at war when the time allotted to talks must be filled with something other than unpleasant or monotonous news from the fighting front, we may suppose that in Nazi Germany it was further determined by policy. The Nazi propagandists believe or profess to believe that the last war was lost because the Government had not fought against defeatism among the civilians. 'If Destiny had put me in place of these incapable or criminal scamps . . . of our propaganda services,' says Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, referring to World War I, 'a different kind of battle would have been announced to Destiny.'⁶¹ It was thus hoped that in the absence of victory and with the protraction of war, defeatism and the in-

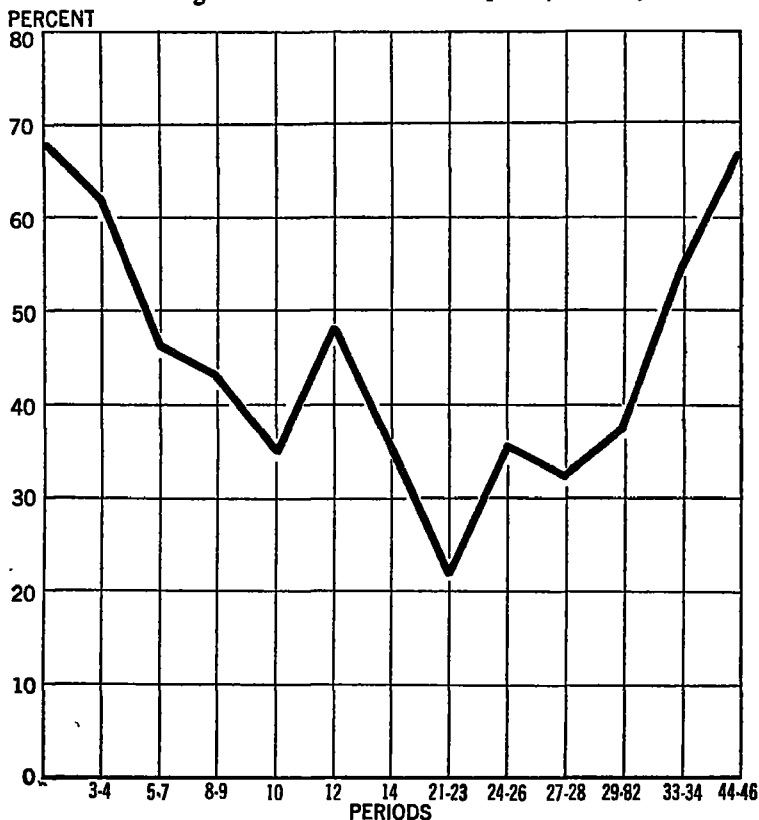
⁶⁰ 11 October 1942.

⁶¹ P. 244.

FIGURE IX

German Domestic Affairs

Percentages of item totals in the *Topics of the Day*



- 2: 30 Sept.-29 Nov. 1939 (Early Phoney War)
 10: 10 May-22 June 1940 (French Campaign)
 12: 8 Aug.-31 Oct. 1940 (Battle of Britain)
 21-23: 22 June-13 Aug. 1941 (Early Russian Campaign)
 44-46: 4 Feb.-4 May 1943 (Stalingrad to Mateur)

This figure shows the percentages of items in the *Topics of the Day* dealing with domestic affairs in Germany and German-occupied countries. Political, economic, social, and cultural affairs are all subsumed under this category. As in Figure VIII the periods are not continuous.

fluence of enemy propaganda could also be fought by stressing home values and the benefits of the regime.

A simple increase of attention to domestic affairs is not necessarily at variance with the intentions of the propagandist. As the war dragged on, however, it became increasingly evident that Goebbels was often forced beyond such simple devices of diversion and morale-building to practices which deviate from the original plan. When a government has to report military failure, its relation to the people is put to a severe test. While crises may have been averted in other countries by a realistic appraisal of the situation, the Nazi propagandist is faced with the particular difficulty of adapting his admissions to the extravagant imagery of former days. Military failure, domestic disorganization, and civilian suffering have to be recognized at least in part, but cannot be allowed to blot out the old image of omnipotent leadership. A disgruntled population has to be addressed without destroying the image of a selfless, united, and devoted people.

In the first phase of the war, German civilians had been spectators to a propagandistic presentation of victory, meant to prove Nazi omnipotence. Since the extent of German failure in the Battle of Britain was concealed from the people, all the events in the first two years of war seemed to corroborate the image in every respect. But by the fall of 1941, civilian radio listeners had perforce become participants in the realities of a war somewhat at variance with its presentation in propaganda. At first, the homeland felt the presence of war in food rations, in the general lack of goods, in disrupted transportation, longer working hours, and above all in the mounting casualties. In 1941 and 1942, great efforts were made by the propagandist to retain the myth of omnipotence despite visible signs of failure. Extraordinarily severe weather was made responsible for the setbacks of the first winter in Russia. However, by 1943, the long-fostered illusions seem to have caused more trouble than they were worth, and the listener heard Goebbels trying to undo the impression

conveyed by the old imagery and return to 'true standards.' Although events had deprived him of his initiative, even in this instance he characteristically tried to place the blame for disillusionment on the folly of the people themselves, thus protecting the leaders from criticism.

Even in wartime [he said on 5 February 1943, after the fall of Stalingrad] things went too well with us for us to be willing to believe in the possibility of a hard decree of Fate. Our men won victory after victory, and that spoiled public opinion so that all true standards seem to have been lost.

On 16 April 1943, he likewise disclaimed, one after the other, the components of omnipotent leadership once so laboriously sustained: foresight, infallibility, and, by implication, initiative. The Government, he says, should not be expected to 'foretell the future reliably . . . It is asking too much of the Government to be right in every case . . . The general war situation suffers constant changes, not only due to us but also due to the enemy . . . This war is the riddle of riddles.'

Propaganda showed a parallel development in dealing with domestic situations. In the winter of 1941 'abnormal weather' was blamed for the potato shortage, the coal shortage, and the civilian sacrifice of woollen garments for the front. Finally, Fritzsche admitted some failure of organization. The rationing system, he said, fell 'short of an ideal at which to strive it must never relent.' But Goebbels added: '. . . it is quite out of place to hold the State or the Government or the Party responsible for all these discomforts which war brings about.'⁶²

Goebbels began to claim that 'the giving rather than the carrying out of orders is the function of leadership'⁶³ and that 'central authorities' were not responsible for administrative 'details.' The Party assumed the role of ideological supervisor, and claimed that it must 'keep a certain distance from everyday life,' and that

⁶² 26 December 1941.

⁶³ 10 April 1942.

'its position is comparable to that of the Fuehrer.' ⁶⁴ Of course, 'details' are the tangible realities of war, and it was probably in 'details' that the people were reminded of the 'turnip winter' of 1917 and began to be seriously worried about their future. The propagandist hoped that the people would be 'satisfied with the knowledge that the Government is aware of this or that matter.' ⁶⁵ And when Herr Schmidt wrote to the editor of *Das Schwarze Korps*, wondering if the Fuehrer knew of certain grievances, he was told not to worry, that the Fuehrer knew everything but that 'he lets things ripen.' ⁶⁶

The Nazis had good reason to disclaim administrative responsibility during the great RAF raids in the spring of 1942. Not only had these made mock of Goering's promise that Germany would never be bombed, but they also proved that civilian defenses did not live up to expectations. Even the radio, by implication, admitted as much, and Dr. Goebbels called upon the people for 'self-help,' 'initiative,' and 'improvisation.' In the winter of 1941, such appeals had been purely negative, often couched in admonition, contempt, and ridicule. 'There are people,' said Goebbels on 26 December 1941, 'who believe that by paying their taxes they have a claim to be looked after by those higher up and without the necessity of the people's doing anything themselves.' At that time, he was more concerned with shifting responsibility away from the Party than in gaining real co-operation. After the great air raids in the fall of 1942, his appeal was more positive and certain 'spheres of individual initiative' were specified:

Where there is a temporary shortage of labor for unloading or for short-distance transport, potato trains must be unloaded by the public in the goods stations of towns suffering from potato shortage.

⁶⁴ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 14 November 1942. Similar arguments also occurred in the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, May 1942.

⁶⁵ 17 April 1942.

⁶⁶ *Das Schwarze Korps*, 7 May 1942.

But what follows is more characteristic of Goebbels' method. He chose a further example which, by exaggerating the obvious, again glossed over the embarrassing fact that the Government had to ask help of the people:

If everybody in Cologne or Duesseldorf or Hamburg were to wait for the Fire Brigade to put out the incendiary bomb on his roof, his house would in most cases be burnt over his very head.⁶⁷

In 1943, Goebbels' appeal for initiative took on a new meaning. The labor and manpower draft, introduced in stages from January through March, affected large sections of the German people. The draft was accompanied by a propaganda campaign of persuasion, excuse, and threat, and was reinforced by coercion. On 18 February, Goebbels issued the slogan: 'Volunteers forward, beyond the compulsion of law.' 'This,' he added, 'is the German way . . . to take the initiative.' But 'initiative' had been canalized by decree, and the appeal for voluntary action, while meant to speed up response, was a mere sugar-coating for 'the compulsion of law.'

The propagandist's first difficulties occurred when he had to save the Party's reputation for infallibility by raising it above the realms of administrative responsibility, and shifting responsibility for 'detail' upon the people. When people are left to their own devices, propaganda must cope with the danger that they may move beyond the sphere of action assigned to them, and deal with details with too much independence—if necessary, getting potatoes where they find them. The ungrateful task of the propagandist is thus to recognize the capacity for action in the individual and yet limit it in such a way that the image of paternal leadership is largely maintained. When it further became apparent that morale and co-operation could no longer be effectively dealt with solely by the manipulation of images, the propagandist, reluctant to speak to the people directly, and embarrassed at having to admit disunity and opposition in the closed

⁶⁷ 11 September 1942.

ranks, multiplied contradictions in an effort to reconcile the new tactics with the old.

In so far as co-operation of the people was needed to counter-act the inadequacy of organization to cope with increased difficulties, the appeal to the individual was genuine; but the freedom of action implied in the words 'initiative' and 'improvisation' was false. Propaganda still hedged its appeal with enough limitations to keep intact the image of total dependence on leadership. Goebbels' appeals for self-help on 26 December 1941 were prefaced by the remark that 'the individual must never make the mistake of over-estimating his own share in the war.' When Goebbels later spoke of self-help in connection with the air raids and potato shortage, it is significant that he chose as an example of initiative the actions of 'a local Gauleiter.' Initiative thus applied mainly to Party leaders and not really to Herr Schmidt. And when, after Stalingrad, Goebbels reaffirmed that 'the Government can only provide the broad outlines; to give content and life to these outlines is the task of the working people,' he quickly added that this was to be done 'under the stimulating leadership of the Party.'⁶⁸

In England, greater power for the people was a result of their increased participation in the war effort. The Labor Party was taken into the government and represented the workers in the larger decisions. In Germany, the people do not gain in power. Goebbels makes it quite clear that 'naturally everything fundamental must be determined by the State.'⁶⁹ What the German people receive for their co-operation is propaganda recognition—within well-defined limits. Goebbels, who in 1941 had banned the word 'sacrifice' in regard to civilians, in 1943 returned it to them a thousandfold: the Winter Help Campaign of that year was launched under the slogan, 'Don't give, sacrifice.' While the early air raids were hushed up, and the victims neglected by the

⁶⁸ 18 February 1943.

⁶⁹ 11 September 1942.

radio, in the autumn of 1942 they began to appear as the nameless protagonists in a sort of home-front report:

Over there is a woman worker; her eyes are still red and full of tears; her voice trembled, but on she went with her work. . . . A boy of 16 was wounded; his arm is bandaged; his head is bleeding under his steel hat. Duesseldorf stood up to it. Every one of its citizens is a hero.⁷⁰

At first, admissions of civilian suffering were reluctantly measured out, but by 1943 they had become a commonplace; the civilians in the bombed areas were presented as models of fortitude for other sections of the Reich and even for the front.

Goebbels, who could no longer ignore the sacrifice and effort of the common people, thus chose to heroize the typified individual, thinking thus to provide a safety-valve for the complaints of the people. While earlier in the war he purposely endowed the front soldier with a higher moral status in the community and set him up as a model for the disfavored home population, he was now forced to choose some of his models from among the civilians themselves. On May Day 1943, a coal miner who had invented a labor-saving hoeing tool became 'the ninth creative worker upon whom the Fuehrer conferred the honorable title of a "Pioneer of Labor."' On the previous May Day the title had been given to people high up in the social scale of the Third Reich: Heinkel, designer of army airplanes; Dr. Funk, Reichsminister and President of the Reichsbank; and Dr. Porsche, inventor of that hypothetical 'People's Car'—which first saw the light of day as an army jeep. While the 'iron miner,' a machine, had been the symbol of May Day 1942, in 1943 the propagandist saw fit to give this distinction to the miner himself. Konrad Grebe, the radio said, grew beyond himself in his underground pit, and has now been 'given a place next to the great inventors, the most powerful men in industrial and economic life.' This episode of the miner, meaningless as it was and was meant to be,

⁷⁰ Ibid.

in reality seems to mark a change in policy.⁷¹ On 6 March 1943, Goebbels devoted a special article to 'Injustice in Wartime,' indicating that the problem of recognition for the individual was in the air:

It belongs to the character of any corporative effort . . . that all have a share in it, but only a few the opportunity to earn distinction and fame for all. It is for all that they receive their decorations.

Scraps of symbolic equality were obviously unable to stem the tide of rumors, complaints, and other manifestations of declining morale reported in full to the Ministry of Propaganda. Recognition and honor are merely one side of the picture—the prettiest but the least important. Goebbels was also forced to polemicize openly against miscreants and grumblers. But since he could not afford to admit the existence of a reasonable or prevalent opposition, he tried to isolate the grumbler from the collective unity of 'The German People.' These devices are such that they can even be used to strengthen unity, for in his polemics, Goebbels also aims at massing the people behind the Government, against those he attacks. None of these devices is new to Goebbels: he used them in propaganda before the war, and increased their use when war began; but they remained isolated instances. Until the winter of 1941, the glorious image of a devoted and united people dominated propaganda. But since the first four or five months of the Russian campaign, open attack against uncooperative sections of the population had been intensified; and Goebbels' devices, no longer the sole prerogatives of his *Reich* articles, are being absorbed increasingly into all channels of propaganda.

On 2 October 1941, in one of the earliest *Das Reich* articles broadcast in full over the radio, Goebbels created two characters,

⁷¹ Superior Service Leader (*Oberdienstleiter*), Dr. Hupfauer, may have revealed one reason for the change in policy, when in his May Day speech, delivered on 30 April 1943, he said that the efficiency of labor had dropped because working hours were too long.

and gave them the rather comic names of Herr Bransig and Frau Knoeterich. He accused them of listening to the BBC and of spreading the story that the attack on Russia had been halted because corpses had caused plague to break out in Kiev.⁷²

Two other characters, Schnick and Schnack, appeared in a special program broadcast with a certain regularity in the early months of 1942. Their offense is not so grave: they are primarily grumblers. Frau Schnack cannot understand the war; she thinks of nothing but herself, despite the mild remonstrances of Herr Schnick. In the end, she is always duped because of her folly and self-indulgence. When bundles of clothing appeared at her door, she ascribed them to her popularity, not realizing that her house was being used as a collection center for the Winter Clothing Campaign. She dealt in the black market and thought she had bought a goose only to find a dead parrot in her shopping bag. Her friends write her in desperation. One of them 'cannot get her drawing room re-papered and has been forced to cover the walls with Gobelin and Turkish carpets. They will not even let her have proper wax for her parquet.' Frau Schnack wonders where cultural life is going to '... when people of her class are restricted in what they can buy, just like any common person.'⁷³

Goebbels extends the technique of caricature to describe others who are not ridiculously named and only vaguely defined. 'There are people,' he will frequently say, 'who place themselves outside the community':

⁷² Press instructions quoted by Lochner, op. cit. (p. 297), show that such devices are carefully thought out and their exploitation controlled. 'Dr. Goebbels is publishing an article in *Das Reich* entitled "Die Sache mit der Leichenpest," which deals with the handling of rumors current among the people. The male rumor mongers are referred to as "Herr Bransig," the female as "Frau Knoeterich." These figures are not to be popularized generally. If, however, this theme is discussed, the use of these designations is permissible.' It may be that Goebbels wished to prevent his characters from becoming too familiar to the people, who might then use them as their own symbols against the Government—or merely that he did not wish his tricks to become hackneyed in the hands of others.

⁷³ 21 February 1942.

who faint if a spot of mud should disfigure their shining shoes . . . if it thaws they will splash into the puddles in order to criticize the government . . . they sit in public conveyances and resent the fact that . . . they were not granted a priority license for their motor car, that the newspapers have shrunk to four pages, that they must give up their seats to women and wounded soldiers . . . that the brakes squeak . . . that a nice young girl happened to tread on their far-outstretched foot—and what not.⁷⁴

By caricaturing the grumbler, Goebbels minimizes his importance and isolates him from the people before launching his attack. In so far as the radio listeners can recognize their own behavior in that of such silly creatures, they may accept the skit as a playful admonition. They are more likely to think that Goebbels' ridicule is aimed at the well-dressed man in the bus the other day, or the irritating woman ahead of them in the queue at the grocer's. The Schmidts themselves are not like that. Despite the fact that Mrs. Schnack and the others suffer from the same things that may irritate the Schmidts—shortages of paper and wax, overcrowded trams, and lack of news—the complaints of the Schnacks are in a context that make them seem wholly unlike the grievances of the Schmidts. Their complaints are those of the spoilt upper classes, and it may comfort Schmidt to hear that they too must suffer from the war.

In Schnick and Schnack and the other ridiculed creatures, Goebbels manipulates class differences without naming them. He uses genuine resentment against the upper classes to canalize political grievances away from the National Socialist Party. The grumbler becomes identified with the 'plutocrats,' and Goebbels appears to be leading the people against their natural enemies. It is not without significance that the ridiculed are all members of the more highly educated groups, people whose business still allows them contact with neutral countries, whose incomes permit them radio sets with a less limited range of reception—people, in other words, more open to doubt and question about the

⁷⁴ 10 April 1942.

regime. Their views, more informed and more critical, must be made to appear especially ridiculous: 'They look at the war,' says Goebbels, 'not with a bird's perspective but with that of a frog.'

The attack upon the intelligentsia is often merged with the attack upon the plutocrat. Intellectuals carry the authority of impressive argument, and might become the first centers of opposition to the regime. They are less often caricatured, and Goebbels sometimes speaks of them as if he had real people in mind:

In all belligerent countries there are certain groups, who, even with all the arts of persuasion and conviction, cannot be made to understand what is at issue today . . . they are taken much too seriously.⁷⁵

Goebbels distinguishes between good and bad intellectuals. The good ones are those whom he proudly represents. They are useful to the regime: scientists, doctors, engineers, Nazi poets, and even Front Reporters. They find 'the way from the solitude of the laboratory and study to the community of the nation.' The bad intellectuals, who 'must be unmasked and exposed to public scorn,' are called the 'semi-educated stratum' or the 'semi-cultured,' with 'too much knowledge to allow of instinctive faith and too little knowledge to allow of faith by conviction.'⁷⁶

Among the upper classes and the educated, one category in particular serves the Nazis as a scapegoat in their flight from administrative responsibility. It is suggested that all the troubles of the homeland come from people who 'instead of displaying initiative . . . throw paper at one another.' Those attacked are obviously bureaucrats, members of the old administrative machine. They are usually not named; red tape and inefficiency are often discussed in a tone of self-criticism, but there is no doubt that Nazi organization is not in question.

How can the Government know how many idiots and irritating questionnaires are still abroad in the Reich . . . They con-

⁷⁵ 18 December 1942.

⁷⁶ 11 October 1942.

tinue to be issued, filled in, stamped, entered, and buried in great filing cabinets . . . Somebody proves with disarming thoroughness that Copernicus should be written with a 'K' and gives the impression of having won a battle in the struggle for continents.⁷⁷

Criticism of the bureaucracy was once linked to a paper-saving campaign, and at other times directed against the waste of manpower. But if we read in *Das Schwarze Korps* that 'no measure has ever been as popular as the combing out of bureaucracy,' or hear Hitler vituperate against judges who imposed sentences according to law instead of 'popular feeling,' we can understand that the attack has a political meaning beyond its usefulness as a diversion. Bureaucracy usually outlives political regimes; and while in Germany it is hardly capable of overthrowing the Government, the existence of its institutions is likely to reassure people who might wonder how order could be maintained and chaos prevented should the Nazis lose control.

In his attacks upon the bureaucrat, the intellectual, and the upper classes—sometimes combined into one enemy—Goebbels pretends to voice the will of the people. He plays at democratic leadership and often embellishes his attacks by what might be called a frankness campaign. He then says that it is pointless to conceal the gravity of the situation from the German people. He claims that the Party has always 'advocated as the best course of government that the problems uppermost in everybody's mind should be explained with utter frankness,' at the same time assuring his listeners that 'to put every case before the people and discuss it openly is a sign not of weakness but of supreme assurance.'⁷⁸ To his definitions of plebiscitarian government, he adds this simple statement:

⁷⁷ 2 April 1943. Ten months before, Goebbels had prided himself on 'culture as usual' when a learned edition of Copernicus' works was published. The allusion above probably refers to a review of that edition.

⁷⁸ 2 January 1942. It is interesting to note that the Elite Guard newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps*, is even more frank about the reasons for the frankness campaign. On 25 March 1943 it said: 'In Luebeck, Rostock, Cologne, Bremen, there are too many *Volksgenossen* whom one could not

We Germans are living in a true democracy, however autocratic the methods of its leadership may sometimes be. The most important characteristic of our democracy is the great confidence uniting Government and people.⁷⁹

Goebbels is here shamming the techniques in the democracies that give the people a voice in decision and stimulate co-operation. In Germany the dialogues of democratic discussion are either supplied by Goebbels' ventriloquism, or are meant to seem as if they were taking place just because Goebbels announces that they are and leaves it at that.

In the guise of frankness Goebbels also admits that people grumble—real people this time, not Herr Bransig, Frau Schnack, or 'the semi-cultured.' 'We all,' says Goebbels, 'have an irresistible urge on occasion to give full vent to our pent-up emotions and say exactly what we mean':

One person grumbles about the cold, another about the shortage of potatoes or coal, a third about the overcrowded trains, the fourth about the Eastern Front, and the fifth about the war in North Africa.

'This,' says Goebbels, 'is not so bad—for we are all overworked and irritable.' But he adds significantly that if you ask a thousand whether they want peace, they will answer 'Yes,' but add with the same unanimity: 'Carry on the war, however long it may last.' Thus while one may grumble, the many have elected to march with the Fuehrer. Propaganda again parallels and supports the actual political structure, which has dissolved all natural groupings of individuals by interest, opinion, and tradition. Individuals are linked together only in the service of the Leader and not in mutual service. The minority is reduced to the lone

lead by their nose even if one were silly enough to try.' And Goebbels wrote: 'The German people is much more difficult to deal with [than the British]. They are intelligent and vigilant. You can't sell them out and in certain small affairs they have a good and lasting memory which sometimes gets on your nerves.'

⁷⁹ 17 April 1942.

individual. Thus, if Goebbels cannot isolate the grumbler from the community by caricature or by identification with the remnants of classes already extinct, if Goebbels must admit that the common man has complaints, he cuts him off from his fellow men by pointing out that he is alone. He implies that the grumbler is a pathological case and that his complaints are merely the result of his psychological make-up.

Throughout the war, Goebbels has had to deal with apprehension on the part of the people that could not be deflected by ridicule or by creating scapegoats. These instances increase as the cause for apprehension is intensified by military setbacks. Where once Goebbels had to deal with shortages, he must—from the spring of 1943 on—deal with the far more serious sufferings of the people in the badly bombed areas. In visiting the affected areas, Goebbels finds that ‘apart from the material problems . . . psychological problems have been raised, which are no less important.’ The grumblers are many now, their grievances are obvious, their worries and apprehensions of defeat well-founded. Goebbels no longer denies that people are afraid of the future; he denies, however, that this fear is political. Those who become frightened are jittery by nature. Frau Koehn-Behrens, who gives weekly advice on personal matters, explained in March 1943 that a person is fearful not because of the RAF, but because he is a neurotic. He has a character ‘that has not learned to retain hold of itself and master its depressions.’ Frederick the Great again comes into the picture as she explains that he ‘combined a feeble body with an unsteady, highly strung temperament, but . . . by the exercise of will became the personification of iron determination.’⁸⁰ Goebbels continued to call the apprehensive unbalanced or simply cowards. Their ‘breath goes quickly’ in nervous fear; they were over-enthusiastic during victory and are now the first to behave as if defeat in Africa meant a real crisis in the war. Here the radio listener, Herr Schmidt, must recognize himself

⁸⁰ 8 March 1943.

quite plainly. He is not exactly a coward, but who has not feared and worried about when and how the end would come? And did not Goebbels himself speak of Stalingrad as a 'stroke of misfortune that almost robbed us of our senses'?

Schmidt is asked to pull himself together. At the time when he wondered where the Luftwaffe might be with the RAF over his head, Goebbels and other Nazi leaders promised him 'retaliation' as a child gets promises for Christmas.⁸¹ When he is hungry, he is told that the English are hungrier. If things go wrong on the home front, it is again no political question, but a problem of the nursery; Schmidt is rude to his neighbor—he does not behave. Politeness campaigns were therefore organized to educate him. People long used to looking over their shoulders in apprehension of being watched are invited to watch each other and have an added reason to behave, as Goebbels' agents prowled about seeking winners of the Courtesy Competition. It all looks innocent enough: medals are awarded to taxi-drivers, milkmen, and shopkeepers who were considerate and polite. The radio broadcasts little sketches to edify the listener, such as the following described by the monitor:

The commentator was heard entering a shop and asking for a pump. The shopkeeper replied very huffily, the customer flared up, and there was a row. The scene was repeated, both protagonists being polite to each other. The conclusion was drawn that politeness saves tempers, annoyance, and trouble.⁸²

Only occasionally do we get a glimpse into the real meaning of such educational drives. As early as 17 April 1942, Goebbels complained that 'discourteous contemporaries . . . mistake the war for a protest meeting.' The places where 'boorish behavior' is noted in particular, and where the calm of 'decent citizens' is a subject of special concern, are 'queues in front of shops, in the shops themselves, in public conveyances, in restaurants, theatres,

⁸¹ Throughout 1943 retaliation was promised, but the promises contained very few definite statements regarding the time of reprisal.

⁸² 24 April 1942.

and public offices.' These are the places where, despite the ban on free assembly, people must meet in the course of daily life, and where talk of shortages and inefficiency might lead to a public disturbance.

Schmidt became ever more impolite as the war demanded greater sacrifices. When in January, February, and March 1943 the decrees for total mobilization fell heavily upon the people, Goebbels again tried to direct resentment against the upper classes. He had probably too often claimed that war 'replaced one class of society by another,' too often pretended to voice the real feelings of the people not to be taken at his word. On 18 February 1943 he had roused a mass meeting to shouts of 'hang them' when he upbraided the 'small passive section' of the population that shirked its war burdens. But it seems that this time he had gone too far. And a few weeks later he was forced to speak of 'mob instincts let loose' and call to order 'hot heads' who 'try to exploit the favorable opportunity by giving reign to their undigested class instincts.'⁸³

Goebbels explained the drastic new measures of the labor draft by saying that they were necessary to improve 'the visual aspect [*Optik*] of the war.' People did not like to see the plutocrats disporting themselves in night clubs and expensive restaurants, and Goebbels tried to pretend that this was the reason why they had to be closed. On 18 February 1943, he announced that horseback riders would be banned from the Berlin Tiergarten because, he said, 'I imagine they sometimes meet a working woman after her ten-hour night shift . . . The picture of a cavalcade galloping by . . . can only rouse bitterness in the soul of this good woman.' But again on several later occasions, he must chide those who took into their own hands to improve 'the visual aspect of war' and abused well-dressed people on the street. At this time

⁸³ 2 March 1943. We do not know how much mob behavior actually occurred and whether some of it like the smashing of windows might not have been instigated by the Nazis themselves as a more tangible expression of 'the people's will.'

there were indications that Goebbels feared that his provocations against the upper class might prove a boomerang against the Party itself. He seemed to be warning the hierarchy when he said, in connection with the ban on riding: 'All those who are active in the service of the people ought to give a shining example . . . even trifles at times fire public indignation.'

Schmidt, the political being with social or class interests, whom Goebbels has so long been trying to deny, appears with dramatic suddenness during the period after Stalingrad. When, in the grim winter of 1941, his complaints seemed to disrupt the harmony of the collective self, or when he seemed about to emerge after the evocation to self-help and initiative, and during the air raids of 1942, Goebbels had always managed to make him quickly disappear. But in 1943 Schmidt and his interests were less easily conjured away. In connection with the labor draft,⁸⁴ the Nazis were forced into something like a public discussion about the problems of the common man—for the first time since they had come to power. What will become of the shopkeeper's son when he returns home from the war and his father's shop has been merged with the big store? Will he be able to finish college, or will he have to become a worker? The radio told him about the facilities provided for taking examinations even while serving with the armed forces. And Goebbels promised: 'After the war the middle classes will at once be reconstituted on the largest possible scale, economically and socially.'⁸⁵

Goebbels continued to insist that the total mobilization decrees were in no way meant to introduce Bolshevism into Germany. He defended the right of women to be beautiful and well dressed, and the right of intelligent men 'not to have to appear stupid for

⁸⁴ See p. 438 ff.

⁸⁵ 18 February 1943. For a discussion of the middle classes in Nazi Germany, see *The Fate of Small Business in Nazi Germany*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943 (prepared by A. R. L. Gurland, Otto Kirchheimer, and Franz Neumann, and printed for the use of The Special Senate Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business).

fear the stupid ones might not like him.' ⁸⁶ Fritzsche approached the problem from another point of view and tried to prevent the dispossessed shopkeeper from allying himself with the rabble. 'There are people,' he said, 'who by the necessities of total war understand *carte blanche* for taking no care of their appearance . . . and for letting loose all sorts of primitive instincts.' ⁸⁷ He exhorted Schmidt not to become proletarianized, to continue to feel like a middle-class Nazi—despite the fact that he had been expropriated by law. For several weeks the entire propaganda machine, press as well as radio, applied itself to shielding the well-dressed upper classes and to encourage shopkeepers not to lose their class morale, in an effort—not in the propagandist's plan—to keep the social order in a semblance of equilibrium.

The Nazi shop-keepers, however, were not the only class with which the propagandist was concerned. On the tenth anniversary of the Nazi revolution, Dr. Ley said to a meeting of workers:

German workers today are standing few and far between the multitude of foreign workers in all industrial plants. It is obvious that debates are going on everywhere in industrial plants about the presumable outcome of the war . . . The risks of resulting arguments are obvious. German workers however are immune . . .'

Nonetheless, the subject of discussion seemed increasingly to be peace. Schmidt seemed constantly to be asking why his son was fighting in lands so far away. Mrs. Schmidt wrote to the editor of *Das Schwarze Korps* that she did not want any more children, 'only to fill the gaps caused by war and to lose them again if people plan another war.' And *Das Schwarze Korps*, usually the most intransigent in praising soldierly life and war for its own sake, answered: 'By anticipation all our thoughts are always with peace,' and added, 'Today it can no longer be called weakness if

⁸⁶ 28 March 1943.

⁸⁷ 16 March 1943.

we talk of peace, because it is for peace that we make war.' ⁸⁸

People apprehensive of the outcome of the war, people taking care of their private interests, people talking overtly of peace, human beings who revolt against the closed ranks—this was exactly the situation of 1918 which Nazi propaganda had struggled so hard and so long to avoid. The failure of the home front in 1918 had left its mark on Hitler's mind. In *Mein Kampf* he described the deep disappointment of the returning soldier who was greeted with defeatism, grumbling, and cursing. In order to forestall the recurrence of such an unfortunate situation, Nazi propaganda had from the first taken care to strengthen the tie between soldier and civilian.

In the first years of war the relation of the homeland to the soldier was handled indirectly through a transmission broadcast on Sundays called the *Voice of the Front*. While other transmissions tried to unify the homeland and front by allowing the civilian listener vicarious participation in the excitement of battle and the joys of triumph, the *Voice of the Front* exhorted the civilian to effort and staunch behavior. It presented the soldier as a model, as the living conscience of Herr Schmidt. At first it sounded something like this:

. . . the nation must draw together in the struggle and form a community of fate, which is tied together for life and for death . . . Look at the soldier, how firmly he grasps his rifle, how sternly he looks across the trench . . . the same attitude should be that of every man and woman at home. ⁸⁹

The tone of the program changed in the course of the Russian campaign. It was here that Goebbels probably first put on trial his 'strategy of gloom.' He must, however, have felt that the

⁸⁸ 30 January 1943. German News Agency Broadcasts in Morse. Political discussion is not as frankly admitted on the home radio. Likewise, when, on 20 May 1942, Goering first discussed sacrifices with a working-class audience and reminded them of whipping in Russian factories, the radio and the press did not transmit the speech full-length to all listeners.

⁸⁹ 4 February 1940.

mystical indirection of the voice of conscience was too weak to insure co-operation. The program was dropped in August 1942, replaced by others less regular and less specialized, and Goebbels in his *Das Reich* articles took up the major burden of discussing soldier and homeland, adding shame and threat to moral exhortation.

While there were still comparatively few air raids, Goebbels complained, 'it is hardly ever necessary to remind the Front that there is a war on . . . Yet the homeland has to be told and shown this fact again and again.'⁹⁰ The civilians were sometimes unworthy of their soldiers, who, when they come home,

listen intently to every word we speak, note every glance and gesture of those at home, sharply and critically note behavior, which sometimes in little things reveals more than emphatic demonstration.⁹¹

On 24 July 1942, Goebbels put the matter still more bluntly: 'The fighting man will always show a certain amount of distrust towards the non-fighter.' Then he asked where the new leaders of Germany would come from, and answered that their testing ground would be the army. He did not lay the sequence bare, but concluded the article as follows:

He who risks his life is usually a sharp observer. We all have to face the front's piercing glance, coming from the eyes of every wounded soldier or man home on leave. We must be able to meet this glance, for in it the Great War is judging us, the war which decides our national fate.

The soldier was intimated as the future judge of those who kept sitting in their armchairs 'at home, so to speak, only like spectators.' Even after the RAF started its mass raids, Goebbels continued to make similar reproaches for a certain time, although they must have sounded singularly inappropriate to victims of bombardment. 'We ought to be ashamed to the depth of our

⁹⁰ 6 March 1942.

⁹¹ 3 April 1942.

souls in face of our soldiers from the front when we carry our little unimportant daily troubles to one another.' ⁹² But with people apparently considering their troubles at home comparable to those at the front, Goebbels began to neglect the image of the threatening soldier in favor of a theme which he had introduced a year earlier. He evoked every real or imaginary horror which might befall the Germans should they suffer defeat. If Versailles was bad, he told them repeatedly, this war would be followed by a super-Versailles.

Too many atrocities had been committed in the name of the German people to allow for an understanding with the democracies after the war. Goebbels in 1941 had already told the people: 'The Jews will never forgive us.' On 4 October 1942, Goering attacked what seems to have been sporadic opposition among the Germans to the treatment of the Jews, by stating quite bluntly that no one should imagine he could later make a private peace with international Jewry by saying, 'I have always been a good plutocrat.' The argument was carried in all channels of communication.⁹³ In March, the *Rheinische Zeitung* declared:

No German is in a position to escape by saying: 'In my heart I always was a democrat and I always hated the Nazis; I only was prevented from demonstrating my true feelings.' In the eye of international Jewry every German will be guilty.

On 30 January 1943, Dr. Ley warned the workers that 'anyone who attacks Jews must also accept all the risks which an attack on Jewry involves.' It is thus made quite clear that the Germans act in their own interest by seeing this war through with the Nazis, whether they like it or not; the Germans were united by guilt in a covenant of gangsters.⁹⁴

⁹² 16 October 1942.

⁹³ *Das Schwarze Korps* wrote in March 1943: 'It is impossible to flee from the community and to make peace with God and the world as a separatist. God does not make deals with separatists.'

⁹⁴ See also Kris, Ernst, 'The Covenant of the Gangsters'; *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, vol. iv, pp. 445-58.

The propagandist welded ever more tightly around Germany the bands of encirclement so proudly smashed in 1940 and 1941: No peace would be possible with the West, and any let-up in the East would unleash a wave of Bolshevism that would destroy all of Europe in its wake. Yet despite Goebbels strategy of hate and fear, the press still reported cases of people who made friends with foreign workers, gave ration cards to prisoners, and even helped them escape. Their answers in court were always the same: 'After all, they are human beings,' and the editorialist of *Das Schwarze Korps* overheard Schmidt in the subway saying, 'Hate is no part of the German character.'⁹⁵

Thus Goebbels' strategy must often be supplemented by the very real threat of the Gestapo. He then drops all pretense about the glorious German people and threatens with dire penalties all those who listen to the BBC, spread rumors, or deal in the black market.

Whoever disturbs, or even threatens, our conduct of the war deserves the hardest punishment, the death sentence if necessary . . . Very soon it will no longer pay to risk perhaps your head for having devoted special attention to your stomach.⁹⁶

At first Goebbels had pretended that only criminals were in question, and qualified his attack with the assertion that the bulk of the German people was innocent. In the spring of 1942 he launched a major campaign of threat directed more generally against the people. In 1943 threats seemed to diminish for a time, but Gestapo activities can be inferred from the complaints of Party leaders, such as Lohse and Kaufmann, who said that they had 'frequently been misunderstood' in their *Gaus*, and that their 'attitudes have been criticized.'

Under these circumstances, it was less easy for the Government

⁹⁵ 18 March 1943.

⁹⁶ 27 March 1942.

to speak of a morale that knows no wavering and the impassioned co-operation of a people united behind their Leader. *Das Schwarze Korps* now denied that the Government had ever asked for blind belief. In civilian as in military life, the demand was merely for 'unconditional obedience in executing orders without discussion, but not belief in the wisdom of the order.'⁹⁷ On the radio the matter was never put so directly. There the problem was handled by a campaign based upon the distinction between mood and bearing (*Stimmung und Haltung*), to which Goebbels devoted an article on 9 April 1943:

. . . it is not important that the population should be in a good mood, but that it should preserve its bearing . . . After the fourth year of war all men think differently of war than they did at the beginning . . . Expressions such as patriotism and enthusiasm are quite out of place. The German people simply does its duty—that is all.⁹⁸

The whole embarrassing problem of Schmidt's feelings was brushed aside. 'It is only natural that we should receive military successes in a better mood than reverses. But what on earth has that got to do with our morale . . . ?' And Goebbels finally solved the problem by asserting: 'We do not believe that the war will be decided on this front at all.'

This meant a complete reversal of Nazi views. During the course of the war, they seemed to have recognized the dangers inherent in their version of how Germany was defeated in the last war. In December 1941, during the days of Moscow, Goebbels suddenly stated that the breakdown of the German home-

⁹⁷ 22 April 1943.

⁹⁸ This line was introduced first by the 'Call of the Volga' on 2 January 1943: 'During the last few minutes of our gathering today we are going to tell you something about the mood at home. If you ask people in Germany today what the mood is like, you invariably get the answer: It is better in this grim war not to use the word mood at all, for it denotes a peacetime mood, when people are worried one day and cheerful the next. The earnest and difficult task of the enormous defensive war forced upon Germany requires people with unshakable and unfaltering bearing.'

land in 1918 had been an invention of the English. And he put forward a new version of the historic myth: 'It was not the people but the leaders who failed.' In 1943 he repeated that the only decisive factor is the will of the leader.

Once the leaders of a State have come to regard certain political or military aims as correct, they must constantly pursue them whatever the obstacle and difficulties in matters of detail they may meet.⁹⁹

The Leader now appears in his essential psychological function. All problems can be solved through belief in his omnipotence. His courage substitutes for that of his people. His determination protects the Germans against their own defection. What have they to fear as long as he whose image they carry in their heart does not lose his determination? 'I shall never capitulate,' said Hitler when war broke out; and on 8 November 1942, the day after the landing in Morocco, he specified his promise: 'This time the Germans are not led by someone who, in difficult times, would go to a foreign country.' It was not Wilson's propaganda, but the weakness of the Kaiser that had caused the defeat of 1918. The fact that Hitler made this promise to old members of the Party at the Bierhalle anniversary, and not to its followers, gives the analogy another meaning. He might well have meant that he would never surrender National Socialist leadership, and that his fight to the last would be with the Party—if necessary against the German people.

POSTSCRIPT

Throughout the spring and early summer of 1943 not only the defeat of the Afrika Korps and the lull at the Russian front, but above all the cut in meat rations and the heavy air raids brought dissatisfaction and misery to the Germans. They also added to the troubles of the Nazi propagandist. The meat rations reached an all time low on 31 May 1943:

⁹⁹ 19 March 1943.

Weekly German Meat Rations

25 September 1939	500 gr.
2 June 1941	400 "
5 April 1942	300 "
19 October 1942	350 "
31 May 1943	250 "

In June and July Nazi food experts still tried to explain why the rations had been lowered by saying that this was a measure taken in the interest of German economy. At the same time, the food experts kept insisting that the analogy between 1918 and 1943 was gratuitous, wrong, misleading. Food shortages, however, invited the comparison of defeat in the First World War with the prevailing uncertainty in the Second. To judge from the ever increasing fervor of the propaganda denials, this historical analogy became more and more troublesome to the Nazi regime. During the month preceding 9 November no leader speech neglected to mention that same fatal date in 1918 in order to insist that history would not repeat itself.

But there was no doubt that morale was deteriorating. The heavy air raids of the summer and autumn made it necessary for the propagandist to discuss the conflicts that inevitably arose between the evacués from the bombed areas and their hosts in the happier districts of the Reich. The ARP service and high party functionaries were also so generally criticized in the form of rumor, gossip, chain-letters, and open complaint that the propagandist began to discuss these symptoms of misery in nation-wide broadcasts instead of, as formerly, in the local press. It appeared that even the leaders were not spared from criticism. For instance, on 21 August Hans Fritzsche, in an attempt to defend Goering's reputation as a selfless man who never thought of saving his own skin, openly referred to ugly rumors about 'Hermann.' The defense of Hitler's omnipotence, questioned by some Germans—his morality was apparently not criticized—was left to the Nazi press and to 'active propaganda' in party meetings; the radio did not try to defend the Fuehrer, in order, presumably, not to spread criticism through a nation-wide campaign against it.

Throughout the summer and autumn Fritzsche made frantic efforts to save the prestige of German propaganda. Wide circles in Germany not only distrusted Nazi propaganda, but resented its reticence about the development of the war in the East and about the plans for winning it. 'Black listening' must have increased, because both Fritzsche and Goebbels referred to it as though it was a widespread practice in Germany. Fritzsche went so far as openly to denounce Radio Moscow and obliquely to denounce 'Gustav Siegfried Eins,' a clandestine anti-Nazi station.

There were other signs of despair, defeatism, and nonpolitical yearnings for peace. People patronized crystal-gazers, astrologers, and palmists in order to buy the reassurances and predictions which the Fuehrer no longer gave them, and in September and October even 'Weimar,' attacked and despised by the Nazis ever since they had begun their struggle for power, became a symbol popular enough to be denounced by the radio. Towards the end of the fourth year of the war, the Nazis regarded it as necessary to remind the Germans that Hitler had accomplished what the government of the Weimar Republic had failed to do: he had abolished unemployment.

After Himmler's appointment to the position of Minister of the Interior at the end of August, and after the surrender of Italy on 8 September, the function of persuasion was reduced in favor of terror and threats. Himmler's hand as an executioner became heavier as gloom spread on the home front. At a conference of high party functionaries in Berlin on 6 October Himmler said: 'Defeatists must die in expiation of their actions' and 'as a warning to all others.' In accordance with this policy, death sentences were executed for minor crimes, and the propagandist advertised them in the press.

But one victory was left for him to celebrate shortly after the Moscow conference. When 9 November had passed, the propagandist followed his old strategy of attributing to the enemy the intention of winning the war of nerves at a certain date. The German home front was to collapse on 9 November; yet no revolution had taken place; thus, the enemy had been defeated. As Scharping said on 14 November:

'The decisive days chosen by the enemy have passed. Our people has repulsed this general attack . . . A flood of paper, entire tons of tar and chalks were used. All enemy transmitters issued this slogan. The symbol 1918 appeared at the walls in all countries of Europe . . . More and more closely did 8 and 9 November approach, but no enemy prophecy was fulfilled. Instead, those November days turned into a grandiose victory for us. The enemy could not overcome it, not overrun it: the German people has repulsed him . . .'

Thus, for the first time in this war, Schmidt was celebrated as a victor for having remained inactive. And Scharping continued reassuringly:

'Here and there we read in our newspapers of death sentences for criminals against the people. The enemy had an opportunity on 8, 9, and 10 November to convince himself that the German people had nothing whatever to do with these matters.'

Unwittingly Scharping did not make it quite clear whether 'the people' was innocent of the crimes or the punishments. On 8 November, Hitler had been less ambiguous when he had spoken of 'the State' rather than of 'the people':

'The State of today is so thoroughly organized that the elements [i.e. the opposition] cannot operate at all. The conditions indispensable for their work do not exist.'

VIII

The Enemy

I. THE POLITICAL ENEMY

THERE are many modes of enmity in wartime, as there are many modes of hostility among men. If those who fight each other have certain things in common, then war appears to them as an interruption of peace, and they assume that after the contest of power, cultural, political and economic contacts will be resumed. In this case the war propagandist, despite all his invective, derision, and indignation, will betray a modicum of recognition of the fact: the enemy remains human. If the existence of all community of values is denied, then war propaganda creates the image of the absolute enemy, an enemy with whom no contact can be established other than war itself. Then values are completely polarized, the enemy becomes bestial and sub-human.¹ In German war propaganda, both types of enemy occur. There are the Jews, the Russians, the Poles, and the Serbs—absolute enemies—and there are the nations of Western civilization, described to the Germans as deadly but human enemies. The position of the foe in one group or the other is dependent on the predisposition of the German people, on the ideological requirements of Party doctrine, and on the political and military situation.

Every nation has images of other nations with whom it has or has had contact of some kind. Even though the lives of nations are subject to rapid changes, popular images frequently withstand time. To many Americans, prior to the Spanish Civil

¹ Speier, Hans, 'The Social Types of War,' op. cit.

War Spain was the country of bull-fighters. To many Europeans, the United States has been distinguished chiefly by skyscrapers, lynchings, cowboys, and tourists. There is the France of cafés, the Germany of mountain climbers, the Italy of Venetian canals. Popular images embody what has recently been called 'the illusion of national character.'² The propagandist tries to use them for his own purpose, and depends on the predispositions of his audience, which are in part formed by these images. He can be seriously limited if he wants to establish enmity and the image is friendly. It would have been next to impossible to convince the Germans that the Norwegians were racially inferior, that the Dutch were Jews or Communists, or that the Greeks had no cultural standing. According to German war propaganda, these peoples never fought Germany; only their leaders did. It was easier to convince the Germans that the Bolsheviks were their arch enemies: for twenty years that had been one of the main slogans of National Socialist propaganda. The National Socialist leaders did not tire in pointing out that Germany was now fighting the same enemy the Party had fought in its struggle for power in Germany. In addition to mobilizing the intense hatred of civil war for its foreign policy, the Nazi elite could fall back on the anti-Slav sentiment, which has always been fairly strong in certain regions of Germany. The elite exploited the fact that the peoples in the East were 'strange,' 'barbaric,' 'Asiatic'—in short, not really human. Racial slogans provided a voluble supplement to generate ruthlessness and cruelty towards the Poles and the Russians. But racial inferiority is naturally limited by decree; Slovak and Czech collaborationists are exempt. For in the end, political convenience always overrules other principles of manipulation.

German propaganda found itself in difficulty where Britain, France, and the United States were concerned. Germany had much in common with each of these nations; and they had been

² Cf. Fyfe, Hamilton, *The Illusion of National Character*, London, 1940.

Germany's conquerors in the last war. In terms of frequency of treatment in the home news, England has been at all times and continues to be the leading enemy of the German propagandists. Items in the radio news bulletins showing negative British attributes—weakness, failure, and all kinds of immorality, explicitly or implicitly stated—are more frequent than those showing the negative attributes of any other enemy. In four of the six periods indicated in Figure X, they constitute 50 per cent or more of the total enemy items.³

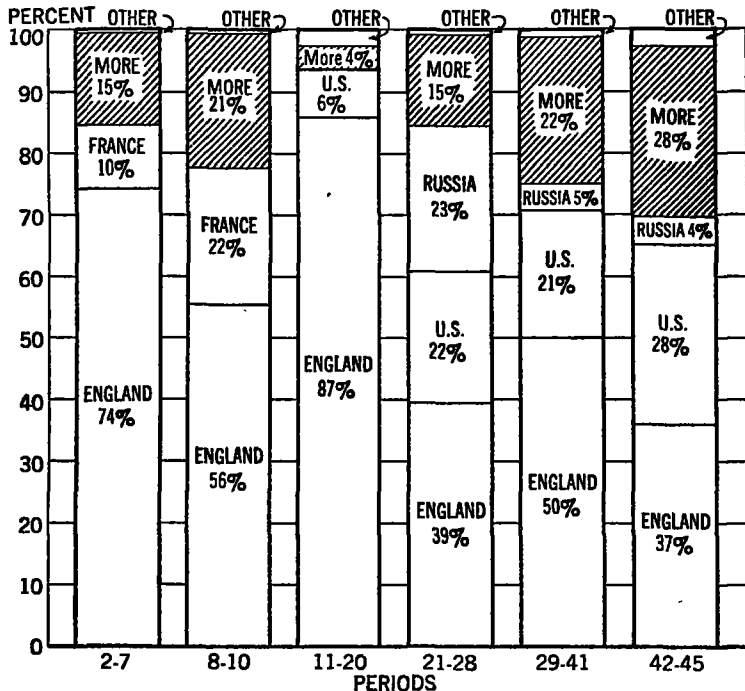
This remarkable stress on England as the principal enemy on the German radio does not necessarily mean that the German people hate England most. It may mean that the men in the Propaganda Ministry fear England more than any other enemy, or think that the people cannot be told often enough that England is weak, cruel, cowardly, and bound to lose the war. Perhaps, the Germans do not hate the British as much as the content of Nazi propaganda suggests. In the autumn of 1942 Goebbels organized a radio and press campaign against German 'objectivity,' criticizing the tendency of the Germans to exercise their judgment in appraising the war situation. They should 'learn' to hate, Goebbels cried. And he added rhetorically, 'We hate the British from the very depth of our soul.' There are probably many Germans who do, and would like to sing Ernst Lissauer's ominous chant from the last war, *May God Punish England*, were it not for the fact that Lissauer was a Jew. But

³ The concentration on England may appear surprising in view of the fierce 'Red Menace' campaign conducted by German propaganda in the spring of 1943. Many items in this campaign, however, were so phrased as to stress the historical merit of Germany in stemming the Russian 'danger to European civilization.' Such items had to be classified as indicating German strength or morality and thus fell outside the total of 'enemy' items. In looking at Figure X it should also be borne in mind that 'negative attributes' of an enemy include military and other weakness as well as immorality. In other words, Figure X does not indicate clearly how much, or how intensively, England has been vilified in comparison with other enemies. It shows rather the distribution of attention to various enemies in items that did not convey a message of German strength or morality in general or in relation to any of Germany's enemies.

FIGURE X

Enemy Weakness or Immorality

Number of items in per cent of item totals of negative Enemy attributes—
Sample news bulletin



2-7: 30 Sept. 1939-8 Apr. 1940
 8-10: 9 Apr.-22 June 1940
 11-20: 23 June 1940-21 June 1941
 21-28: 22 June-6 Dec. 1941
 29-41: 7 Dec.-6 Nov. 1942
 42-45: 7 Nov.-13 Mar. 1942

This figure shows the distribution of items containing negative attributes of the enemy powers according to nationality: England, France, the United States, and Russia. 'More' stands for items containing negative attributes of more than one enemy. Negative attributes may refer to the political, economic, moral, or cultural sphere. References to positive Enemy attributes are not counted as such. A statement that the Russians are strong would usually be presented to show either that the Germans are stronger or that the Russians are strong because they are bestial. In the latter case the item would be considered as showing a negative Russian attribute.

apparently, Goebbels did not think the number of these fanatics large enough. In this context, it may be interesting to note that Goebbels, who renewed his attacks on 'hyper-objectivity' in the spring of 1943, at the time of the heavy air raids, has never found it necessary to proclaim, 'We hate the Bolsheviks from the very depth of our soul.' One does not say what goes without saying, and one may, as a propagandist, sometimes have to make a statement of fact out of what is really an incitement.

The reasons for the official attitude toward England show striking similarities to those of the First World War. Germany's political leaders had twice hoped for British neutrality and twice they had been disappointed. William II had refused to believe that Britain would oppose him. Throughout his life he had admired his mother's country, and on memorable occasions he donned the uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet. Hitler too has repeatedly expressed his admiration for the nation of empire-builders. While he has insisted more than once that he has 'no inferiority complex about England,' diplomatic needs as well as respect for the British Empire and British sea power inclined him towards alliance rather than towards enmity. He wrote in *Mein Kampf* that 'an estimate of the present possibilities of an alliance for Germany' pointed to England as the 'last practicable tie.' The sentiments expressed in *Mein Kampf* became the basis of the foreign policy of the Third Reich. Hitler has repeatedly and publicly offered the British alliances, Empire guarantees, mutual assistance pacts, and other dangerous tokens of his friendship. For years he had been encouraged by British appeasers; and from the naval agreement of 1936 to the days of Munich his expectations continued to rise. They were fostered by Ribbentrop's reports, classical examples of that traditional misunderstanding of British political behavior, existing among certain groups in Germany.⁴

⁴ See Hermann Kantorowicz, *Der Geist der englischen Politik und das Gespenst der Einkreisung Deutschlands*, Berlin, 1929.

After the invasion of Poland, Hitler hoped that Britain would not go to war; after its conquest he hoped that Britain would settle with him; after the victory over France he expected British surrender or collapse. Each of those shifts in his expectations was publicly announced, and after each, new fuel was added to German propaganda. Hitler misjudged England because he underrated the power of political intelligence and of courage. England was his first big mistake, perhaps the biggest mistake he has made. The German leaders hoped for the servility of the British Government, the surrender of the people, and the collapse of democracy. The Chamberlain government was replaced by a stronger administration. The people did not think of surrender, and there was a resurgence of the democratic spirit.

During the first months of the war, especially at the time of the Polish campaign, German propagandists rummaged among the storehouses of the past, of the First World War, and even more remote periods of history. The caricature of the Boer War, re-drawn in the last war, of the Englishman with the Bible in one hand and the check book in the other, again made its appearance. The picture of hypocrisy and imperialism fitted the needs of the new Germany as it had fitted those of the old Germany. When, after the conquest of Poland, Britain refused to discuss peace on Hitler's terms, new venom was added, and the old images of the English were re-drawn according to National Socialist specifications. British plutocracy was waging war against Germany because she had made unparalleled social progress under Nazi rule. Democracy became decadent pluto-democracy; its senility explained its inadaptability to social change.

Figure X shows that the discussion of England reached its apex in the period from the fall of France to the invasion of Russia, the year when England stood, for the most part, alone. When Hitler's peace offer was refused, vilification burst forth. Incessantly, the German people were told that England was no longer powerful:

Those bankrupt people in London may be incapable of accustoming themselves to the idea that the time has gone when they were the string-pullers of all political intrigues on the Continent. Their power complexes, which they can no longer solve by action, are now converted into the opposite, and result in childish and silly parlor tricks . . . The London plutocrats offer to the world a spectacle of senile helplessness by their play with the map of Europe.⁵

The story of successful German raids also brought stories of England as a devastated island, new idylls of weakness and collapse. When the helpless island did not surrender, and when Germany was once more victorious in the spring of 1941, England was said to have lost her last European foothold in the Balkans. The number of last footholds England has lost during the war is legion. To British weakness and hypocrisy was added British cruelty—the cruelty of the powerless. British politicians oppressed the neutrals, British plutocrats starved the workers, British airmen bombed women, children, and cultural monuments. With the invasion of Russia and the increasingly vigorous attacks on the United States, news about enemy countries was more evenly distributed. England never attained the singular importance she had previously had. Yet, in terms simply of news frequency, she continued as the main enemy. While Russia clearly became the chief military enemy, when the fighting on the Eastern front developed into the largest and bloodiest campaign of the war to date, England remained the moral enemy. The changed situation necessitated some changes in the treatment of England, but those changes were really very slight. England, which had been called the nation of plutocrats, now became one of the countries where ‘plutocracy’ and ‘Bolshevism’ were united. The perverted Marxism of the Nazis which had leveled its guns against the British Tories now found more ammunition from the alleged alliance of those same Tories and of the Church of England with communism.

⁵ 25 July 1940.

Paradoxically, at the time when the enemies were said to be united by the twin demons of plutocracy and Bolshevism, they were called disunited more than ever before. There were stories of Britain's letting Russia down; of the Empire being swallowed by the United States and of Britain's becoming the forty-ninth state in the American union; of one ally deserting another in the hope of aggrandizement. Russian soldiers were frozen on the steppes for the sake of the British Empire, and British seamen were sunk on the high seas because Roosevelt made them sail. Each enemy was said to be spreading its own hegemony. The fall of Singapore brought forth the story of a once-proud empire in ruins, and the failure of the Cripps mission to India was the springboard for an increased stress on British dissolution.

France, unlike England, has never been of first importance to German home propaganda in this war. The task was easier than in the case of Britain. For many nationalistic Germans, France had always been the 'hereditary enemy.' In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had repeatedly attacked a strong and powerful France, the France of Clemenceau and Poincaré, the invader of the Ruhr. In 1933 Nazi agents in the Western Hemisphere were still instructed that France was the most powerful and embittered foe of the Third Reich.⁶ Since 1936 the views of the strength of France rapidly changed in Germany. When war came the German radio turned to another France, the France of cafés, of degeneracy and depravity. That was the same France William II had claimed to fight. The stress on the Negro troops and on racial deterioration of the French people, and the fact that two of the strongest anti-Nazi leaders in France, Blum and Mandel, were Jews, fitted the racial requirements of Nazi ideology. Finally, another trait of the portrait of France was derived from the war situation. France, it was said, was a British colony, and the French had been oppressed by the British for centuries.

When one reads what German propaganda said about the

⁶ Kris, Ernst, *German Propaganda Instructions of 1933*, op. cit.

French Republic before and after the Fall of France, one might well be led to believe that the propagandist anticipated France's destiny in the first half of this war; France played a secondary role compared to England.

Figure X does not adequately render the importance of Russia in German propaganda. There is naturally a good deal of news on the Russian campaign broadcast in Germany, but it is usually handled as victorious German action and therefore does not appear in this presentation. Figure XI shows a trend in the *intensity* of the attack on Russia.⁷ Vilification was at its height at the beginning of the invasion, and later during the anti-Bolshevik campaign of 1942-3. The stereotypes used in referring to Russia are not the same as those applied to any of the Western powers. In telling the German people that they fight plutocratic Britain, the German propagandist implies that there are British people who are not plutocrats. In speaking of British hypocrisy, he does not always accuse every Englishman of being hypocritical, but usually individual British statesmen and spokesmen. The attack against Russia, however, is one against the people themselves.

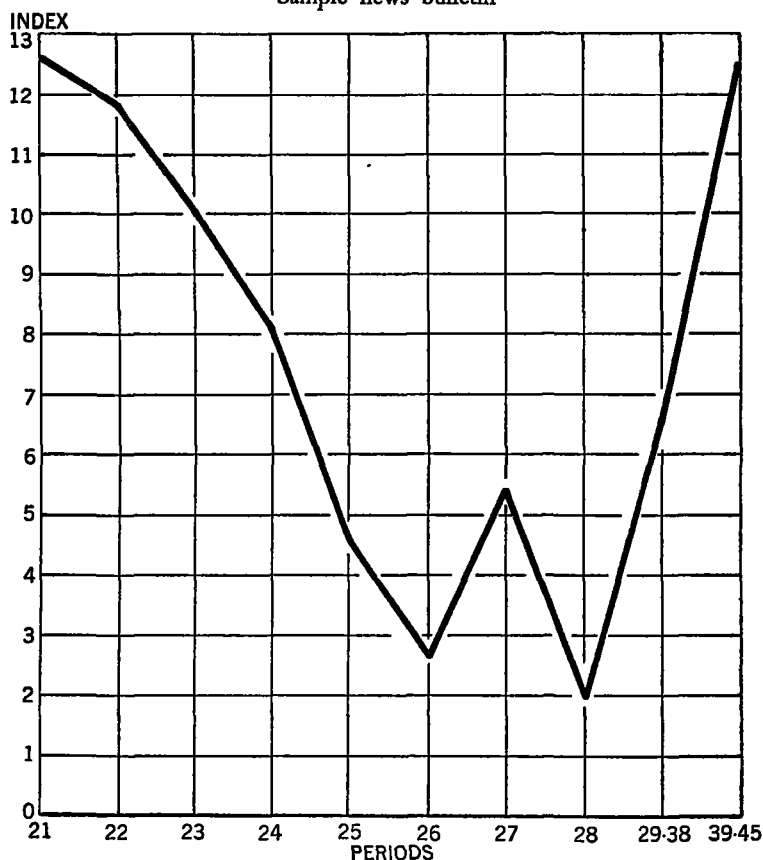
To German propagandists the Russians are absolute enemies, with whom Germany has nothing in common. Nazi descriptions of Russians are similar to those found in situations where race hatred creates the picture of the hostile group. In the American southern states, extreme prejudice has led to descriptions of the Negroes in similar terms. The Negroes are endowed by their enemies with attributes supposedly possessed by animals: brute strength, savage lust, unfamiliarity with the moral law.⁸ Absolute enemies are bestial and subhuman. Russian propaganda has applied similar epithets to their opponents, but these have rarely been designated as the German people, but more specifically limited to 'Hitlerites.'

⁷ 'Intensity' is determined by the ratio of the number of negative stereotypes to that of news items stressing negative Russian attributes.

⁸ Cf. Copeland, Lewis C., 'The Negro as a Contrast Conception,' in Thompson, *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, Durham, N. C., 1939.

FIGURE XI: *Intensity of Vilification of Russia*

Number of negative stereotypes per 10 negative Russian attributes—
Sample news bulletin



The base of the ratio in this figure is the total number of news items which contain negative Russian attributes. A statement such as 'The Russian peasants have no food' contains a negative Russian attribute, but no negative stereotype; whereas a statement that the 'Criminal Bolsheviks fight like beasts' contains three negative stereotypes. In computing the ratio of negative stereotypes to negative attributes we do not measure the frequency with which an enemy is treated, as in Figure x, but try to assess the intensity of vilification. This graph is obviously less dependent on actual news than the preceding. The periods covered extend from 22 June 1941 to 13 March 1943. The periods following Pearl Harbor (29-45) are combined, because the absolute number of items showing Russian attributes was too small for individual periods to show significant changes.

In applying such stereotypes to the Russians, National Socialist propagandists could rely on two elements of tradition in German propaganda of the First World War: the Russians were ruthless and savage Cossacks or were dumb muzhiks, men from backwoods or the steppes, driven to war by the whip.⁹ Then, there was that image of the Bolshevik, current since 1919, which the Nazis had adapted to their own ideological purposes in their fight for power in Germany. The two images now merged into one: the Russians become wild beasts and formless demons. Hitler has called them swamp-men.

The intensity of hatred was at its height immediately after the invasion of Russia, which brought new stereotypes for the daily use of the German propagandist. The most frequent of these was the term 'Bolshevik,' which has been consistently applied not only to Russia, but also to England and the United States.¹⁰ National Socialist antagonism to Bolshevism had lain dormant for almost two years. When it burst forth, it showed immediately the extreme hatred which the Propaganda Ministry hoped to encourage. There had been no overt propagandistic preparation of the invasion of Russia. But the news broadcasts during the first weeks of the campaign were filled with testimonials of the neutral press to Russian villainy, and atrocity stories filled all other transmissions.

Germany has made the world a witness of the Bolshevik atrocities which have changed the natural aversion of all cultural peoples to Bolshevism into open indignation. The whole world knows the leaning towards sadistic tortures of the race which rules in the Soviet Union—the Jews.¹¹

⁹ See Bonaparte, Marie, 'Guerre militaire et guerre sociale,' *Bibliothèque de la Philosophie Scientifique*, Paris, 1920.

¹⁰ Figures not presented here indicate that the level of intensity, i.e. the ratio of negative stereotypes to items showing negative attributes of England and the United States, is also high at the same time. The trend curve is not given for England and the United States, but they are shown in simplified form on Figure XII, p. 226.

¹¹ 11 July 1941.

As the campaign turned into long and bloody warfare, news of the subhuman enemy declined. For a while, the intense hatred in the news settled into a latent emotion of abhorrence. The news of the East was made more a matter of routine. That was the first method of meeting setbacks, but gradually the propagandist seemed convinced that restraint did not pay. Goebbels worried about objectivity, and in the winter of 1942-3 the radio launched an anti-Bolshevik campaign of unprecedented vigor. Although news items showing Russian attributes continued to be rare, the propagandist embellished what few there were with many stereotypes and filled the talks and feature programs with the Red Menace. Goering admitted that the Russian armies were strong.

Be convinced, my comrades, that Russia would long ago have collapsed under the blows she has sustained if the brutal nature of the Bolshevik philosophy had not determined her resistance.¹²

The Russian masses were starving, Goering said. But they were still fighting. 'With their dulled mind,' he added, 'they have got used to being whipped during the last twenty years.' And their leaders, who whipped them, were clever, clever enough to deceive the Finns. This time the hate campaign was used not only to show the righteousness of the German cause, but to demonstrate the threat from Russia to the entire world.¹³

There are only a few people, unable to think clearly, who do not know that along with Europe, the entire world would be threatened by the menace of Bolshevism if Stalin had been able to develop his masses and weapons. Every European people, including Britain and America, knows that as well as Germany.¹⁴

The United States was not treated as often in the home news as England, nor has she usually been regarded, like Russia, as subhuman. Yet America enjoys certain distinctions on the Ger-

¹² 30 January 1943.

¹³ The incidents of Katyn and Vinnitsa that climaxed the atrocity campaign of 1943 are discussed on page 27.

¹⁴ 22 January 1943.

man radio. She has been treated to a more intense vilification than England, has been ridiculed perhaps more than any other power, and her President had been the most vilified enemy leader.

Figure XII shows that there are more stereotypes in news items showing negative attributes about the United States than in those about England. In fact this was true even during the period from the invasion of Russia to Pearl Harbor. After Pearl Harbor, the attack on England became more intense, and the difference between the two countries in this respect grew less marked. Yet the United States remains a country more intensely attacked than England in the home news, and, over a period of time, more steadily and consistently attacked than either England or Russia.

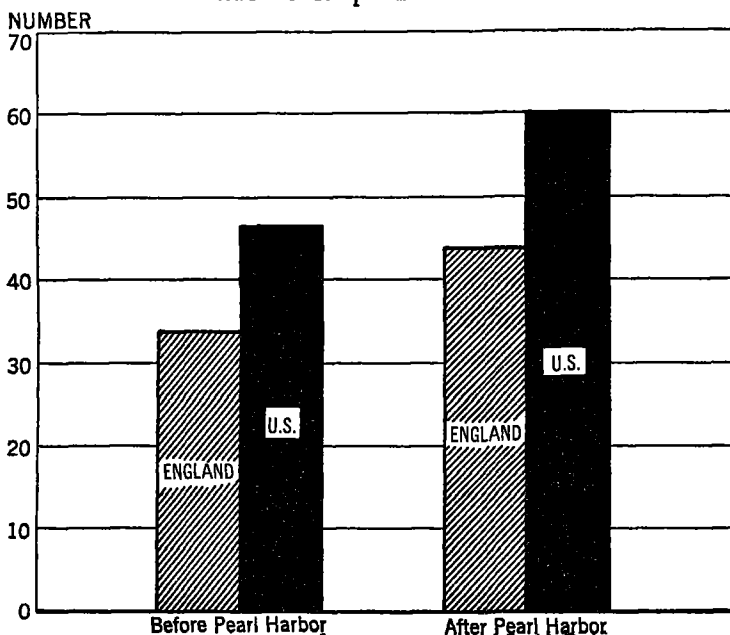
The German radio went to war with the United States quite soon after the fall of France, as can be seen in Figure X. Even before that time there were denunciations of American diplomats. The destroyer deal in September 1940, the re-election of Roosevelt in November, the introduction of the Lease-Lend Bill in January 1941 and its passage in March gradually turned the occasional attacks on individuals into open and avowed hatred of the political structure. The Germans continued to attack Roosevelt and his supporters. They also said that America would let England down, that American aid would come too late, that the United States was a nation dominated by plutocrats, warmongers, Jews and gangsters. Indeed, the attack was so vituperative, and concentrated so strongly on the various measures the Roosevelt administration took to strengthen the bond with European democracy, that Pearl Harbor brought little or no change. The Nazis did not need to vilify a new enemy. Neutral America was supposed to have kept the British navy afloat, to have invaded helpless Iceland, to have persuaded the Serbs to revolt against the leaders who had allied themselves with Hitler. Belligerent America could not be very different.

The treatment of the United States bears a certain similarity to that of England. To many Germans America was the land of freedom, or the land of the machine age. It was difficult to say

FIGURE XII

Intensity of the Vilification of Britain and the United States

Number of negative stereotypes per 100 negative British and American attributes—Sample news bulletin



Before Pearl Harbor
22 June-6 Dec. 1941

After Pearl Harbor
7 Dec. 1941-13 Mar. 1943

This figure indicates for England and the United States what Figure XI indicates for Russia. The trend curve is not shown as it is on Figure XI because its changes are not marked.

the right thing about America. The power of the United States had been underrated by German foreign policy and propaganda in 1917-18. There is little doubt that Dr. Goebbels took this into consideration. In his image of America there is Roosevelt; and behind Roosevelt, Wall Street, Hollywood, and the Jews; and behind these, people who do not care and are misled.

The Americans even more than the British are attacked as imperialists. The British Empire was said to be an empire in decay, but the United States was said to be building an empire on the wreck of the British by violence and intimidation. The 'new imperialism' of the United States is supposed to be extended towards South America; the Far East; more recently, the French Empire; occasionally, Siberia; and England, by the grace of the Chicago Tribune. If Col. McCormick had his own way, say the German propagandists, Churchill would become an American senator.

Actually, the German radio shows a strange ignorance of America. For example, it is surprising that a Propaganda Ministry, with its careful research and its number of specialized traitors, can make the absurd statement that the United States was a British colony in the Middle Ages. American history is primarily the Gilded Age, and the American is a brutalized citizen of Red Gap.

Cant and hypocrisy are said to be British characteristics, bluffing and boasting American. Goebbels found it 'difficult to decide whether such stupidly impudent boasting is more astonishing than despicable.' In any case, he had made up his mind that it is 'truly American.'¹⁵ Dr. Adolf Halfeld called the United States 'the country of poker and bluff'; 'Roosevelt,' he added, is 'the master bluffer.' Then, after discussing a number of instances of the great American vice, he added, 'The Statue of Liberty is another bluff.'¹⁶

America is definitely a land without culture. England had

¹⁵ 7 August 1942.

¹⁶ 15 December 1942.

Shakespeare, although the Germans had to introduce him to the world and the English have never known his value.¹⁷ Various British authors—Burke, Defoe, Shaw and others—are quoted in disparagement of England; Americans are seldom quoted. 'The United States of America,' says Goebbels, 'has produced no poet, painter, architect, or composer of world standing . . . The country possesses no language of its own, no culture of its own, no education of its own.'¹⁸ One reporter was unhappy because he could not find anyone in America who would talk about books. He adds:

What the Americans call culture is not one in reality . . . the daily bath, the automatically-regulated refrigerator, the air-conditioning system, the motor car for father, the motor car for daughter, the higher skyscrapers, the more voluminous Sunday papers, and etiquette.¹⁹

The contempt for American culture, or as the Germans put it, American civilization, is an interesting instance of the assimilation of certain philistine, middle-class attitudes to the ideology of the Nazis. As a German civil servant or high school teacher looks down upon his neighbor because he has no private library containing the German classics or has not acquired a reasonably priced reproduction of a picture by Boecklin for his living room, so the Nazi propagandist has an equally possessive attitude toward culture at large. Germany has it, and if the Germans did not know it, the Nazis would prove it to them by repeating that America does not have it.

Goebbels, in his speech at the opening of the Great German Art Exhibition in Munich on 26 June 1943, said: 'They [the Americans] keep talking about the civilization of mankind. It is we, however, who possess it and who continue today to be its guardians, trustees and protectors.'

America's lack of culture and pursuit of civilized happiness

¹⁷ 13 April 1941.

¹⁸ 7 August 1942.

¹⁹ 18 April 1942.

tarnishes its role in the war, which it wages 'without risk.' Favored by its remote geographical location, war to the Americans offers 'only possibilities of profit, but no dangers.' Lieutenant General Dittmar, who made this observation in June 1943, also spoke of the 'brutalization' which Americans have introduced into this war because no fear of reprisal restrains them. And he concluded that eventually 'the spiritual foundation on which the war of the United States has arisen must become apparent in all its frightening shabbiness even to the American people.'²⁰

In June 1943, when the theme of the inferiority and the 'inferiority complex' of American culture was revived by Goebbels, Rosenberg, and Dittmar, they had stopped talking about American 'bluff.' Apparently, it was felt that too much emphasis on American bragging had become anachronistic after the Allied victory in Tunisia, which the Nazi propagandist had in large part attributed to overwhelming enemy superiority. The enemy had also mastered the U-boat, at least temporarily; finally American bombers roared over German cities in daylight. In this situation the propagandist embarked upon a new venture to prove to the Germans that their own war production matched that of the enemy. When on 5 June 1943 Speer and Goebbels talked to the nation in the Sportpalast about German war production, Goebbels declared: 'We have at all times refused to enter into any competition with the incessant hysterical bragging about numbers by our enemies, especially the Americans.' But he continued: 'Nevertheless, we considered it proper this time to lift a little the veil which covers things at other times.'

With the recognition of America's strength, America ceased to be a Hollywood on the German radio. In Dittmar's words, it had become 'the core and heart of the anti-European coalition.'²¹

As Germany suffered from the relentless attacks from the air, as she had suffered before only in Russia, the difference between Bolsheviks and Anglo-Saxons was blurred, the image of the West-

²⁰ 29 June 1943.

²¹ 29 June 1943.

ern enemy began to show some of the subhuman traits that Nazi propaganda had formerly reserved for the Russians. Hitler had said that the division of responsibility had been a propaganda mistake during the last war. Thus the enemy had to be made into one. He wrote:

It is a part of the genius of a great leader to make even quite different opponents appear as if they belong only to one category, because the recognition of different enemies leads weak and unsure persons only too readily to begin doubting their own cause.

When the vacillating masses see themselves fighting against too many enemies, objectivity at once sets in and raises the question whether really all others are wrong and only one's own people or one's own movement is right.²²

The German radio has tried to prevent this question from being raised. It has done so by bringing the enemies together. A number of news events have been used for that purpose. Treaties between France and England were used to prove that France shared the villainous intentions of England. The Anglo-Russian Mutual Aid Pact of July 1941, the appointment of Cripps to the British Cabinet, the American Lease-Lend agreements with Russia were held up as evidence that plutocracy had sold out to Bolshevism and Bolshevism to plutocracy. The Atlantic Charter and the subsequent meetings of Roosevelt and Churchill were, to the broadcaster, clear evidence that the United Nations planned to annihilate the German people in the event of victory.²³

The enemy is united in war guilt; sometimes the propagandist says, 'this war which was forced upon us by England,' and at other times speaks of 'Churchill's war,' 'Roosevelt's war,' or 'Franklin's Folly.' On other occasions the Germans take pains to prove that the Russians planned to invade first, that England hoped to extend the war to Scandinavia.

²² *Mein Kampf*, pp. 152-3.

²³ Our computation of enemy attributes shows the news items in which more than one enemy is negatively evaluated. Such items are, however, never more than 35 per cent of the total.

Among the attributes of the enemy, immorality, injustice, cruelty, and untruthfulness are the most important. We have seen that the enemy is also weak, yet computations for the *Topics of the Day* show that in nearly all periods the ratio of the immoral attributes to those showing weakness, failure, or inefficiency is three to one.²⁴ Hence, while the German broadcaster evaluates Germany and her allies primarily in terms of success and strength in the war situation, he evaluates the enemy primarily in terms of wickedness. His most frequent comment can be paraphrased not as 'We are strong, they are weak,' but as 'We are strong, they are immoral.' It is clear that items stressing immorality are likely to be less directly related to the news of the war situation than items stressing failure or weakness. Thus the picture of the enemy is frequently not related to the news at all. But at all times the broadcaster takes pains to show that the enemy, politically disunited, is one in villainy.

The most important unifying force of all is the oldest enemy of the Third Reich, the Jew. Wherever possible, the National Socialists concentrate on Jewish leaders among the enemy: on Hore-Belisha in England, on Blum and Mandel in France, on Litvinov in Russia, on Baruch, Morgenthau, Rosenman and Frankfurter in the United States. Where there are no Jews, they are invented. Roosevelt is 'descended from Jews'; Churchill is 'dominated by Jews,' and 'the Jews rule Russia.' On 14 November 1941 Goebbels said:

The historical guilt of World Jewry for the outbreak and the spreading of this war has been so extensively proved that no more words need be wasted. The Jews wanted their war and now they have it . . . In this historical struggle, every Jew is our enemy, irrespective of whether he is vegetating in a Polish ghetto, leading a wretched parasitical life in Berlin or Hamburg, or blowing the war trumpet in New York or Washington.

²⁴ A similar trend may be found in the news bulletins, although in certain periods it is less marked. In strictly military communication, the trend is naturally less clear.

The Jew, in German propaganda, plays little part in military affairs, but he is supposed to be lurking behind every move that challenges the omnipotence of Hitler. Before the advent of Hitler, Jews dominated the world by a secret organization. They planned the future of the world for their own purposes, and their lust for blood is insatiable.

In some of the traits with which Nazi propaganda has endowed the Jews one recognizes the portrait of the Nazis themselves. The Jewish enemy, more than any other, becomes the counter-image of the self. Hitler's victory over the Jews symbolizes implicitly the pattern of the eternal fight between light and darkness. Hitler promised the extermination of the Jews and he visibly fulfilled his promise. The starvation of the Jews in Hitler's Europe is to the German home propagandist evidence of Hitler's victory.

The 80,000,000 people for whom the German home radio is intended are expected to breakfast on vilification. If Goebbels is successful, they go through the day with fists clenched, with lips white and compressed, and with blood at boiling point. They are urged to be a self-righteous people, imbued with horror at every action of the enemy and militantly aware of their mission to rid the world of evil. Total war becomes a struggle between total morality and total immorality. The result is that the German radio is one of the most moralistic systems of communication in the world.

2. THE FIGHTING ENEMY

The front lines dividing friends from foes do not disrupt all bonds between those fighting each other. There is sacrifice and hardship for all soldiers. There is common danger. There are the laws of war protecting those who cease fighting, are wounded or prisoners, or who are swimming for their lives or bailing out of burning planes. With soldiers, the tradition of sportsmanship has never quite lost its power, however reduced it may be in scope—and where traditions of soldierly honor and the solidarity of

common men in distress are undermined by the venom of political agitation, there the wholesome fear of retribution powerfully supplements the ancient code. Soldiers study each other's weakness and strength, each other's methods of defense and attack, and however rampant hate may be, there is frequently a residue of mutual respect humanizing the grimness of warfare on the fringe of the battle area.

The propagandist may try to avoid this remnant of respect. But, while he may never be as frank as the ordinary soldier, his attitude towards the fighting enemy cannot be as clear-cut as his attitude towards the political enemy. The enemy may be barbarous, complacent, or cowardly, but, when he has a gun in his hand, even he must take on some of the characteristics of the soldier. He marches into battle; he has tanks and planes and ships. He comes into contact with the German soldier, and he ceases to be a remote, shadowy villain. He makes possible the German soldier, Hitler, and victorious Germany. Without the fighting enemy the greatest virtues of National Socialism would never be exhibited to an appreciative world. The leading characteristics of the German soldier, like heroism, swiftness, efficiency, vitality, and considerateness, are not often attributed to enemy troops. If Nazi propagandists have to acknowledge enemy superiority, it is usually superiority in numbers which they concede.

England, the leading political enemy, is also the fighting enemy that figures prominently in many campaigns: in Norway, France, Greece, Crete, and North Africa, on the sea and in the air. The German propagandist derives his image of the Englishmen as fighting enemies from his picture of the military policy of England; and England, the German propagandist says, deserts her allies.

A statement made on 15 May 1940, during the invasion of the Low Countries, can stand for many others:

The English have, as on previous occasions, in the past months, promised help and said their troops were on the way; but, as

in previous cases, Holland was also betrayed . . . Winckelmann gave a personal explanation to the Dutch people; he said that in spite of the English promises, the Dutch army had been left alone in the fight. England did not keep her promise, but left the Dutch in the lurch, as she did the Norwegians.

While their allies fight, British soldiers enjoy themselves in the hinterland. This was the tale which, in the first months of the war, the French got from the German radio, but not the French only. The German people, too, heard about an army which does not fight except to the last of her allies. Tommies who dance in night clubs or who evacuate from danger zones—from Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, and Greece; pilots who bomb defenseless women and children, church yards, hospitals, and museums; senile generals, experienced only in atrocious slaughter of helpless natives or Boers; this is the British army as presented to the German people.

Tommies on the whole are as cowardly as their Government. During the French campaign, one Front Reporter asked a lieutenant whether he had seen the enemy further ahead. The lieutenant replied that 'whenever things go wrong, the Tommy always retreats to the next line of defense.'²⁵

When the troops from the Dominions fought in Greece and in North Africa, and British news reports emphasized their always important share in battle, German listeners heard that Australians, Canadians, South Africans, New Zealanders, and Indians were shouldering England's burden; revolt and uprising in the Empire were predicted.

The British seaman does nothing but sink. But the pilot is different. His effects are felt by too many Germans to be ignored. During the Battle of Britain, it was claimed that the RAF avoided combat with German fighter planes, and that the British came stealthily and bombed by night. Once in a while Fritzsche called an individual British fighter pilot chivalrous during the Battle

²⁵ 25 May 1940.

of Britain, but the usual picture of the British airmen is rather one of shameless brutality. The RAF strafes peasants on the roads of occupied countries, it disregards shipwrecked seamen, it wantonly violates the rights of neutrals. It is the RAF which most nearly approaches the subhuman qualities of the Slavic peoples. Especially in the spring of 1943, when the momentum of Allied air raids increased, the 'night pirates' developed more and more into 'barbarians,' 'assassins,' and 'air gangsters.'

British victories in Africa have somewhat dulled the picture. The British soldier disappeared from the German radio when he conquered. Montgomery's desert fighters were not ridiculed, they were simply not mentioned. When the Allied troops conquered Tunisia, the commander of the First Italian Army, Messe, who resisted at a time when other Axis formations collapsed, wished to surrender to a representative of the seasoned victors of El Alamein, and in his last radiogram to his wife he proudly mentioned that the enemy had 'openly and repeatedly' acknowledged the valor of his troops. Two days later, Italian propaganda warned Italian home listeners that such recognition was a propaganda trick. At the same time, the German people may have questioned whether their armies were really valiant in Tunisia. To justify their unexpectedly quick surrender, Goebbels did not forget to mention that even their opponents in the field had recognized their bravery but added that it was unwanted and valueless recognition.

With victory, a new image not only of British fighting men but also of civilians may arise, one which German propagandists can no longer manipulate. During the Battle of Britain, British civilians gained the dignity of a fighting people. The civilians of other countries are usually treated as cheering sections, as the crowds that jam the streets to welcome the German troops. But when the liberators failed to arrive in London in 1940, the German radio did not completely neglect the British public. Those who could were supposed to be evacuating. As for those who remained, they were part of the debris. In November 1940 Hans

Fritzsche implied that the British were masochistic, that they enjoyed being bombed, and that those who could, retreated, while those who could not were clearly insane.²⁶

It was left for Mussolini in the fall of 1942 to acknowledge the strength of the British civilians. He did this not from any generosity in his nature, but because of the altered military situation. He said:

Until the opposite has been proved, I absolutely refuse to believe that the Italian people are of a moral fibre inferior to that of the English people or that of the Russian people, and if this were true, we should definitely have to give up our hope of becoming a great people.²⁷

The belated demonstration of respect for the enemy had repercussions. During Christmas week, the Italian commentator, Mario Apelius, said, 'The English are mistaken if they consider the Italians an inferior race. The Italians will not behave less courageously than the English themselves.' And a few days later, on 5 December 1942, Goebbels took up this line: he too pointed to Londoners as models for Berliners.

The armies of the least important enemies in the war situation are more likely to be treated with kindness by the German radio. Soldiers of nations that Germany claims she is not fighting, by their bravery, make the Germans braver—and, by the fact that they are oppressed, make the Germans more considerate. The Norwegian soldiers were seldom mentioned in *Front Reports*, but when they existed at all they were brave and Aryan, and did not want to fight the Germans. One Front Reporter interviewed a Norwegian corporal, described as blond, blue-eyed, and a truly Nordic type. The report continued:

A German lieutenant . . . says that he regrets every shot fired against Norwegians. The Norwegian corporal continues his story,

²⁶ 28 November 1940.

²⁷ 28 November 1942. Italian Home Radio.

relating that meals from a German field kitchen were immediately issued to German-captured Norwegian soldiers . . . Explaining his knowledge of the German language, the corporal states that he has learnt German in the past four years and has been in Germany twice. He has also read *Mein Kampf* in German.²⁸

Though the French were sometimes praised for their bravery broadcasters usually pointed to the lack of steadiness of French troops. 'Some of the French lost their nerve, whereas the Germans proved the quality of their peacetime training.'²⁹ At other times, decadence was suggested. Frenchmen were too much addicted to good food to be soldierly. They employed too many Negro troops to be civilized. The German racial policy had its outlet in the attack on French colonials. The broadcaster spoke of the brutality and stupidity on the faces of the Negro troops. The *poilus*, on the other hand, were not stupid; they were *viveurs*. It was Paris, Hollywood's Paris, on the Maginot Line.

Everything was found in a state of chaos, said one Front Reporter, when the Germans entered the position . . . The battery leader was apparently disturbed in the midst of a meal.³⁰

Such a presentation, however, would not be sufficient for the French army to be a foil for the Germans. The French troops were not treated as the British were, as at once cruel and cowardly, pompous and servile. Even during the 'phoney war,' the Front Reporter said that 'the daring courage of the resisting French is admired.' When Germany was treated to her greatest victory, the French army had to be even braver, that the grandeur of Nazism might be appreciated.

The Greeks, too, were said to be brave, and even the Serbs, though with some reluctance, were proffered doubtful compliments. During the Balkan campaign, on 8 April 1941, Hans Fritzsche declared:

²⁸ 24 April 1940.

²⁹ 15 May 1940.

³⁰ 22 May 1940.

Once more voluntary and involuntary helpers of England in the shape of Serb and Greek soldiers confront German soldiers . . . We know that they are valiant and tough fighters, the former inspired by fanaticism, the latter misled by the assertion that their Greek country is threatened, while in reality the menace is only to the British position on Greek soil.

Occasional comments on the brave armies of Norway, France, and Greece, however, should not give the impression that the German propagandist is filled with official warmth for these soldiers. The comments are especially likely to occur when the campaign is almost over. When the British soldiers were trapped in northern France, even they were described as brave for a day or two. Perhaps the propagandists believed that the operation at Dunkerque would not be successful. Later the very word 'Dunkerque' was used by the Germans as a stereotype signifying cowardice.

The valor of the French Army grew immediately after its defeat. By recognizing French courage, German propagandists laid the ground for much collaborationist sentiment. The defeated, their honor left unassailed, felt willing to recognize the magnanimity of the conqueror; they were also inclined to let him increase his power. The despair at defeat is more bearable when the enemy is overwhelmingly powerful and defeat is unavoidable.

Thus, the consistent picture of the Russians, an army, Hitler says, 'not of men, but of animals and beasts,' does not have any place for bravery. Unlike the British, the Russians are said to fight not as soldiers, but as slaves driven to battle by Political Commissars. With guns pointed at their backs and confronted by tanks, the Russians fight.

Although Deutschlandsender is far removed from the Kuban, even Goebbels could not deny that the Russians fight. The fact has brought him face to face with a dilemma. While he could not dispel the Eastern front, he did not care to admit that Russian troops were brave, or that their leadership was competent. The

notion that the Russians were subhuman was never handier than in the image of the fighting enemy. That is really all there is to the image. The Russian numbers are tremendous. Sometimes they are even successful, because they are subhuman. A few quotations from the Gocbbels article broadcast on 17 July 1942 may make this clear:

Bolshevik soldiery sometimes fights with a dull and bestial tenacity and occasionally demonstrates an indifference to death which must be regarded as really exceptional.

We are faced by a sort of primitive tenacity which is too greatly honored by being called bravery.

The tenacity with which the Bolsheviks defended their dug-outs at Sevastopol was mere animal instinct.

We cannot believe that such action has anything to do with what we understand by the term 'bravery.' After all, wherever this system is faced by the final test, it will always give way to the superior spirit of virile manhood.

The American troops did not fight German troops until long after the German radio had declared war on Roosevelt. The radio shunned descriptions of American armies. In a conversation with Rauschning, Hitler is supposed to have spoken with contempt of the American troops in the last war. After comparing them unfavorably with the French and the British, he added, 'They ran straight into the line of fire, like young rabbits.'⁸¹ The American soldier is likely to be a 'wise guy,' with no conception of duty and a lack of soldierly virtue. Like his British and French allies he spends most of his time in night clubs. In battle, however, he is less cowardly than victimized and inexperienced. His character depiction is by no means complete, since it is Roosevelt whom the German radio claims to be fighting, not the American soldier.⁸²

⁸¹ Rauschning, *op. cit.* p. 71.

⁸² The characterization emerges much more clearly in the shortwave broadcasts. Many talks broadcast to the United States, for example, discuss the Hollywood soldiers who get into trouble with the Arabs, and who, in battle, are led astray by incompetent generals and a villainous President.

The most significant phase of the attack on America as a fighting enemy, however, is the exploitation of the non-military character of American life. While the German radio does not use the word democracy, the attack on the American army is largely an anti-democratic attack. General Dittmar, on 31 August 1942, prepared his listeners for the battles with American troops. He was unusually frank in admitting certain military qualities among Americans, 'all qualities of a natural fighter,' he said, 'and considerable technical gifts.' Thus, the German people were warned not to expect easy victories. Yet the American soldiers would be no match for the Germans. The country had no military heritage. Americans had always fought the English, one another, and, in the last war, 'an already exhausted enemy.' This time the Americans would fail. More recently, another commentator said:

No young American dreams of taking up a military career, even in spite of the terrible unemployment. They are taught nothing about great soldiers of the past, except perhaps George Washington . . . The natural desire of young people for heroes is satisfied, in the main, by careers of men in economic life . . .⁸³

Dittmar had even gone so far as to explain why this was so. He said, as Hitler had said previously, that the really vital elements in the United States had been defeated during the Civil War.

It is no accident [said Dittmar] that the great generals of American history came almost without exception from the South, from a healthy, farming people rooted in the soil and an upper class which held onto its inherited culture and was strikingly rich in strong and independent personalities.⁸⁴

3. ENEMY LEADERS

Love and admiration, hate and contempt, are more readily attached to human beings than to impersonal symbols. It is an old

⁸³ Radio Oslo to the German troops in Norway. 11 February 1943.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Cf. also Rauschnig, op. cit. p. 68.

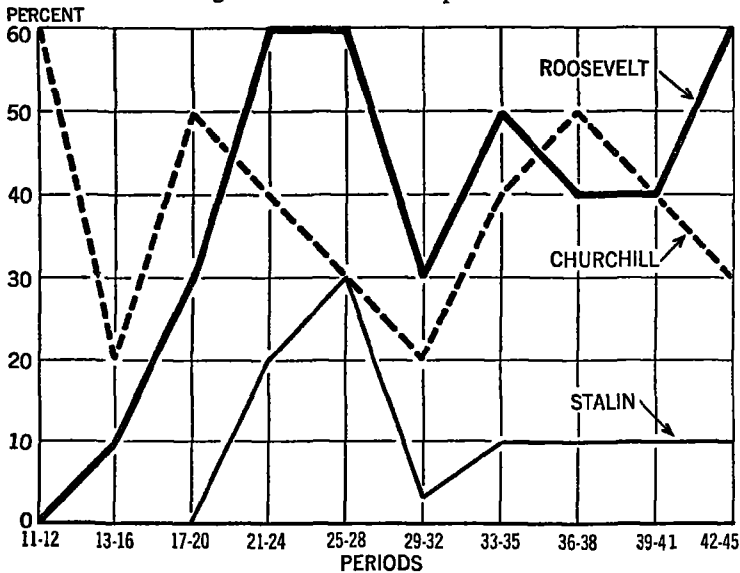
rule of propaganda, already expounded in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, to personalize those you attack. The skilful propagandist substitutes the leader of the enemy for the enemy nation. Hitler has often used this device. During the Czechoslovak crisis of September 1938, he gave an example of concentrating the fire of wrath on one opponent: 'It is not Czechoslovakia,' he said in the proemium to his speech in the Sportpalast on 26 September 1938, 'it is rather Mr. Beneš; and he continued for more than an hour to describe the tense political situation in terms of a duel between him and his opponent.

Since the outbreak of the war, personalized attacks have played a considerable part in German domestic propaganda, but the device is not adopted indiscriminately; it is modified according to political intentions. Also, the images of the enemy leaders grow out of the images of the enemy powers. In the case of the Western powers, the leaders become substitutes for the people and the German radio audience is frequently led to believe that the leaders only, not the people, are at war with Germany. No substitution takes place where Russia or subhuman enemies are concerned. Churchill and Roosevelt are the main villains of the German radio; Stalin plays only a secondary role. Figure XIII shows the trend in the use of the names in the Home News bulletins, of the three men who lead the war of their peoples against Germany. While Roosevelt is now the leading enemy figure, Churchill was first to play that part. The frequency of their names is not merely an index of their relation to the news, for they are dragged into German propaganda by the hair. Whatever happens in England or America, or throughout the enemy world, may be connected with Churchill and Roosevelt. Hence, although neither of them is mentioned quite as often as Hitler in the news broadcasts, both of them are mentioned more frequently than the other Axis leaders. Both are vilified in the overwhelming majority of the items that mention them, yet each of them is a villain of a special type.

FIGURE XIII

Mention of Enemy Leaders

Percentages of item total—Sample news bulletin



11-12: 23 June-31 Oct. 1940

17-20: 4 Apr.-21 June 1941

21-28: 22 June-6 Dec. 1941

33-35: 16 Feb.-7 May 1942

36-38: 8 May-27 July 1942

42-45: 7 Nov.-13 Mar. 1943

This figure shows the frequency with which each of the enemy leaders is mentioned in the news. The periods extend from the fall of France (23 June 1940) to the second German capture of Kharkov (13 March 1943).

On the German radio Churchill has a personality which does not differ greatly from that attributed to Britain as a whole. He is a heavy man with a cigar—a cruel, yet a ridiculous warmonger. He is unjust to the workers, he hobnobs with plutocrats, he has sold out to Bolshevism. He is also called an alcoholic; his grin is contrasted with Hitler's ascetic appearance. *Topics of the Day* mentioned that Shakespeare had Churchill in mind when he wrote *Richard III*.³⁵ It is perhaps most frequently said that the British Prime Minister is a liar, the greatest liar of all time, the 'lie-lord'—a distinction which he seems not to yield even to Roosevelt or Knox.

Even in pre-war days, Churchill embodied the danger of British resistance. 'In England,' Hitler said on 9 October 1938, a few days after the victory of Munich, 'it is merely necessary that instead of Chamberlain, a Duff-Cooper, or an Eden, or a Churchill come into power. We know that the aim of these men would be to start war.' As soon as war broke out, Churchill, in fact, became the leading enemy to German propagandists. At first, in September, they hoped that he would resign and Chamberlain and appeasement be brought back, but, after that, they concentrated their attack on the fact that Churchill was organizing Britain for war.³⁶ While only First Lord of the Admiralty, he had become the symbol of everything National Socialists were said to hate. Ley, after paying a tribute to Germany's leadership, asked:

And what have the others to oppose to us? They have two—er—two men—men is saying a bit much—Churchills, that's what they have. They have two Churchills: Churchill, senior, called W. C., and Churchill, junior, called Reynaud.³⁷

Churchill became the emblem of an allegedly weak and dis-united England. One of the chief complaints against the British

³⁵ 26 July 1940.

³⁶ The frequency of the reference to Churchill before the Norwegian campaign cannot be seen on Fig. XIII.

³⁷ 24 March 1940.

statesmen was that they were old. Hitler used to speak of it. When Churchill was given added responsibility in April 1940, Fritzsche noted the return to power of the old and senile English leaders of the past. Churchill not only symbolized imperialism, he also symbolized superannuated strategy: a man from the last war could not cope with this one. Our curve begins when Churchill, now the Prime Minister, was leading his people at their most tragic moment. After the fall of France and during the Battle of Britain, the unquestioned leader of the enemy played a greater part in the German news than at any other time.

Now Churchill was held up to ridicule as the master of retreat, as the strategist of Dunkerque, which official Germany described as a cowardly defeat. The coastal defenses of the island were given a title by the Germans: 'the Churchill Line.' The Churchill Line existed only on the German radio, but it provided a convenient comparison with the Maginot Line. When the defenses could not be so easily reduced as the Maginot Line, the Germans forgot about them.

The Greek and Crete campaigns brought Churchill to the fore again in the spring of 1941. Those victories were said to threaten the Empire. The Dominions were pictured as in revolt against Churchill's leadership. Moreover, the Prime Minister was said to have been the guiding spirit of the Secret Service, which murdered Metaxas and other Greek leaders.

The invasion of Russia aroused new propaganda interests. Yet Churchill's position was so distinguished that in connection with some of the German victories in the East, he was ridiculed as the personal victim. German victories in Russia were frequently defeats for Churchill, but he figured less in the news during the winter of 1941-2. With the fall of Singapore and the escape of the German battleships through the Channel, there was a slight twist in the representation. The Prime Minister momentarily became a fool rather than a knave. For a short time, when it seemed possible that he might succeed the Prime Minister, Sir Stafford Cripps, whom the Germans had praised when he was not in

office, became the leading British villain. Such a change in the presentation of enemy leaders is seldom complete or long-lived. It was not long before Churchill was again vilified. And Cripps, called the 'Red Knight' and 'Stalin's agent,' was presented as the leading opponent of freedom for India. Churchill was attacked during the spring of 1942, when he was held responsible for the 'terror raids' of 1000-plane strength over Cologne, Bremen, and other German cities. His negligence was supposed to have caused the fall of Tobruk, and he was the villain of Dieppe. In fact, the Germans claimed that Churchill went to Washington at the time of Tobruk to get away from his people. But, they said, 'his escape into the protective custody of Roosevelt, his escape from his own conscience and from his responsibility before his own people, has been of no avail.'⁸⁸

Throughout the 'phoney war' the German propagandists gave their people every reason to believe that the United States would remain neutral. It is true that in March 1940, the German White Book publications attacked a group of American diplomats. But the criticism of Roosevelt himself was studied and cautious. The American measures which showed increasing understanding of the severity of the hour gradually caused the Germans to change their propaganda technique. Roosevelt began to figure in the news at the time of the destroyer deal, during the Battle of Britain. Serious and systematic vilification began with the Lend-Lease Bill.⁸⁹ From that time on, Roosevelt began to compete with Churchill as the man most hated by the German radio, and well before Pearl Harbor he became the villain of the piece.

Not only is the American President mentioned more often than the British Prime Minister, but his characterization also shows a deeper hatred. There are several reasons that may account for this: of all the statesmen in high office, Roosevelt was the first to announce openly that he considered Nazidom a world-danger, as he did at the time of the Quarantine Speech in Chicago.

⁸⁸ 24 June 1942.

⁸⁹ Shown in Fig. XIII, p. 242.

Churchill's earlier warnings to the House, on the other hand, came from a lonely and forgotten man. Roosevelt's foreign policy had not prevented his re-election for a third term, and in his speeches and in his political philosophy the spirit of Woodrow Wilson was kept alive, the spirit of that 'certain Mr. Wilson' who, according to Nazi propaganda, had conquered Germany by his blandishments. The attack on Roosevelt gathers in momentum. He gradually becomes responsible not only for matters of the moment, but also for the war itself. On the third anniversary of the invasion of Poland, 1 September 1942, one commentator said:

Three years ago the intrigues of the man in the White House compelled us to safeguard our German brothers in Poland against the persecutions of a government which thought it need not come to an agreement with us but would venture upon the most dastardly atrocities, because the gentleman in Washington would protect them—or rather, have them protected by the English.

Roosevelt was held responsible for the war and for many phases of it. It was the warmongering of Roosevelt that was said to have incited Yugoslavia in March 1941. On 30 September 1941, Dr. Dietrich called Roosevelt and Churchill 'the greatest deceivers of the people of all time.' Then Roosevelt was said to be responsible for the 'Greer' incident; he was said to have deposed President Arias of Panama by threat of assassination; his statement on freedom of religion in Russia was ridiculed.

On 6 November 1941, the news broadcaster said:

Under the pretext of aiding England, Roosevelt is sending his soldiers to the Irish island to erect United States bases there. These bases are to serve Roosevelt as a jumping-off ground to seize the heritage of Great Britain after the collapse of the British Empire.

The line was an old one by this time. The United States, rather than Britain, had become the new imperialist power.

After Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt was mentioned somewhat less often. He was then too dangerous, and had taken the initiative

in propaganda warfare. In announcing the American production program, he had outlined the future. BBC broadcasts carried the figures to Germany and German counter-propaganda said that this was bluff; the figures were fantastic; Roosevelt, they said, was waging a war of nerves. And yet, except for the period of Cologne, Tobruk, and Dieppe, when Churchill was attacked with particular severity, Roosevelt has continued as the chief enemy leader. With the invasion of French North Africa, he was again as widely mentioned in the news as he had been during the six months before Pearl Harbor.

The techniques of treating Roosevelt are similar to those used in the case of Churchill; but the differences are, to a certain extent, significant. Churchill represents his country, but Roosevelt wages a one-man war. Unable to abolish unemployment in his country, he decided to rule the world from the White House. The position of the German propagandist is strengthened by the fact that there is more opposition to Roosevelt in the United States than there is to Churchill in wartime Britain. The individualized vilification finds its expression in two main lines of attack: Roosevelt is more of a Jew than Churchill, and he is more of a madman.

As early as 24 May 1941, the Propaganda Ministry's press instructions, as quoted by Louis Lochner, stated:

Proper attention is to be given to the finding of the National-Sozialistische Korrespondenz concerning the Jewish origin of Roosevelt. Photographs of Roosevelt that indicate Jewish features can be used to good advantage in that connection.⁴⁰

The radio, of course, cannot present Roosevelt with Jewish features. It is more likely to refer to him as a person dominated by Jewish advisers rather than as Jewish himself, although he has been called 'a man descended from Jews'; and the Italian radio spoke of the President's mother, at the time of her death, as Sara

⁴⁰ Lochner, *op. cit.* pp. 284-5.

Rosenfeld. The Germans usually stick more closely to the line followed by Hitler in his New Year's Proclamation of 1943:

Roosevelt's Jewish brain trust, the Jewish press of America, the Jewish broadcasting system of these countries, the Jewish party organizations and so on—they are nothing but an equally Jewish framework of the leadership of the Soviet Union.⁴¹

The accusation of madness comes from Hitler himself; a few days after Pearl Harbor he said that he 'regarded Roosevelt as insane,' and in January 1942 he referred to the President of the United States as 'a wretched madman'; Ribbentrop added the following descriptions: '... Mr. Roosevelt's policy has the stamp of megalomania . . . [He is] a lunatic obsessed by a mad urge to conquer the world.'⁴² Roosevelt's insanity is supposed to have a physical source; his illness is set to full use. Dr. Halfeld, a German correspondent and commentator, gives the following description of Roosevelt's impaired motility:

The actions of the President are entirely dominated by his disease, and can only be so understood . . . I remember my meeting with the President after his first election. During this interview in the White House, he sat in an easy chair at his desk in the middle of his study. I did not realize why he stretched out his hand towards me without rising from his chair. Then his legs caught my eye; I saw that his feet were in splints. They looked feminine and small, but the splints were recognizable under the trousers. The whole personality of the man was fake and artificial.⁴³

The use German propaganda makes of Roosevelt, the madman, establishes ever more closely the link between him and Woodrow Wilson. 'Wilson, the paralytic,' is an old slogan of German nationalist propaganda—and 'a paralysis victim' is Hitler's epithet for Roosevelt.

⁴¹ 1 January 1943.

⁴² 24 December 1941.

⁴³ 16 December 1942. The President's illness played an even greater part in Italian Home Broadcasts.

The two American presidents merged into one when, on 28 April 1939, Hitler replied to Roosevelt's invitation to observe a ten-year truce. They remained closely identified in Hitler's wartime enunciations.

. . . Wilson has forever rendered the German nation immune against the repetition of any such attempts. From that time onward, the word of an American President counts for no more, at any rate, to the German people, than in the United States; that is to say, precisely nothing.⁴⁴

This attack, however, is defensive. It is directed against Roosevelt, the social reformer, Roosevelt, the author of the Atlantic Charter. Roosevelt's office and his personal prestige fully explain why German propagandists see in him a danger, greater and more difficult to estimate, than in Churchill. They compare the two and insist, since Churchill visits Washington, that the British Prime Minister is under Roosevelt's command and has to humiliate himself before the President of the United States. In one sense, Churchill is more honorable than Roosevelt. The *Topics of the Day* summarizes the difference in these terms:

The fire-maker Churchill is a criminal with a cause, although a base one, but the fire-maker Roosevelt is a criminal without a cause. He is the prototype of the criminal.

There can be no doubt that Hitler hates both Roosevelt and Churchill personally. They were symbols of democratic unity before their nations went to war. Thus, Churchill became the leading villain before he was Prime Minister. Roosevelt superseded Churchill before the United States entered the war. Roosevelt and Churchill must go before the people and the legislature for approval of their policies. They are subject to criticism. Occasionally, Hitler refers almost plaintively to that fact. Roosevelt and Churchill are perhaps the best-known representatives of a social structure which Hitler does not understand, an order which is supposed to be dying but refuses to die.

⁴⁴ 30 January 1943.

Hitler is fond of comparing the democratic leaders with himself. In the speech in which he declared war on the United States, he said:

Roosevelt comes from a rich family and belongs to the class whose path is smoothed in the democracies. I am only the child of a small, poor family, and had to fight my way up by work and industry.⁴⁵

It is one of his favorite themes and has also been applied to Churchill. Hitler prides himself on being a 'self-made man,' yet there is no doubt that he resents the fact. And it is that resentment, with all its fury, which is directed against Churchill and Roosevelt. They have not had to struggle, it seems to him; they have not needed to be ruthless. The rough and tumble of democratic politics, in which both have been schooled, seems an easy life; yet it was a way of life refused to him. He appears to be saying that since they have had everything, they should now let him have the world. This perverted notion of equality preys upon his mind. He hates Churchill and Roosevelt, because the democracies selected them as leaders.

It is doubtful that he feels the same personal hatred for Stalin. A study of his speeches will show that Stalin is scarcely a personalized enemy. Naturally, he is vilified—Hitler called him a 'blood-sucker'—yet references to his past, discussions of his personality and his career, are almost non-existent. The intimate stories which commentators tell of Churchill and Roosevelt are absent. Hitler himself does not seem to feel any resentment against the Russian leader, who does not come from the upper classes.

As Figure XIII shows, Stalin played almost no part in the news before the invasion of Russia, and he was never vilified. At the beginning of the invasion, he began to figure in the news, and the use of his name was most important from Kiev to Pearl Harbor, the period during which Hitler predicted the quick an-

⁴⁵ 11 December 1941.

nihilation of the Russian armies and the Germans suffered their first setbacks in the East. With the defeat before Moscow, Stalin dropped out of the news almost entirely. Since the Russian people are said to be subhuman, it is natural that they are regarded as leaderless. Stalin remains in the background, but he is nonetheless a bugbear of German propaganda. He is occasionally mentioned in connection with others and the use of his name is supposedly enough to condemn them. Hence Churchill is called 'Stalin's Ally,' Cripps is 'Stalin's agent,' and even the Church of England is supposed to have 'sold out to Stalin.' Stalin symbolizes Bolshevism, and to call other men his servants, agents, or friends is supposed to establish their guilt.

Hatred of minor political figures is mere routine and calls for much less elaboration. Ridicule of the British Ministry of Information, conducted by Goebbels with full professional enthusiasm, remained linked to Duff-Cooper's name long after his resignation. Hitler mentioned him three times in his speech of 30 September 1942, although he had not been in office for more than a year. Eden—'the perfumed lad,' as Hitler has called him—Halifax, Beaverbrook, Cripps, all come in for similar ridicule and some vilification. As to the Americans: Willkie is said to have betrayed the voters, *La Guardia* is called a 'half-caste Jew'; as were Frankfurter, Baruch, Morgenthau and Rosenmann—after an article about him appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Mrs. Roosevelt is vilified second only to her husband. Few Russian leaders are mentioned on the German radio. Molotov is occasionally treated as an extension of Stalin. The commando raid on St. Nazaire of 27 March 1942 was called 'the Maisky offensive.' Litvinov is regularly called Finkelstein, in order to assert the all-pervading power of Jews.

French leaders, before the surrender, came in for their share of slander. Blum and Mandel were special victims, because they were Jewish, and the attack on them was never restrained. Reynaud was 'a London favorite,' Mme. Tabouis a 'criminal.' Later the German radio shouted treason at de Gaulle, Giraud, and

Darlan. The Norwegians as a whole were not attacked. The leaders of Norway and Greece—Hambro, Koht and King Haakon, Metaxas and other Greek statesmen—were described as tools of Britain or as 'misguided,' as long as their countries fought. After conquest, governments-in-exile became 'ghosts,' but Beneš remained a target for fierce attacks.

The military leaders of the United Nations are much less frequently mentioned than the political leaders. Russian generals are 'terrorists,' as are the British and American officers who plan the air raids on Europe. British generals are often 'too old.' Montgomery, Alexander, and Eisenhower have not been mentioned frequently since they have won battles; before his victory, Eisenhower was said to be 'inexperienced,' while American, though not German listeners, heard that 'the best American soldiers are those with German names.' At Bataan, MacArthur was a 'Hollywood general'; when he left for Australia he was a coward. When Wavell led the first British advance in Libya, little was said about him. When the Germans besieged Tobruk and took Benghazi in the spring of 1941, he was supposed to have lost the confidence of the British. When Wavell was sent to India, he was Churchill's 'scapegoat,' and at the time he became Viceroy of India, in June 1943, Chandra Bose's simultaneous appearance in Tokyo was better news.

IX

The Rest of the World

I. THE ALLIES

DIPLOMACY is the counterpart of battle. If a substitute for victory must be found, what substitute is better than a new ally, bringing, if not his power and might to the aid of a belligerent nation, at least, a distinguished visitor to bow before Hitler, place a garland of flowers on a German tank, or decorate the grave of a German artist? The propagandist appreciates as well as anyone the comfort and the safety in numbers. When the Germans failed to take England in the fall of 1940, the Tri-Partite Pact gave them something else to turn to, and potential victory took the place of actual victory. During the winter stalemate of 1940-41, while Britain was successful in Africa and Greece resisted in Albania, Germany was consoled by the Balkan powers, which had become new friends of the Axis. When, in the winter of 1941, there was no triumphal entry into Moscow but only a cold retreat from Rostov, the German people turned to Japan. And when another winter brought disaster at Stalingrad, the Germans tried to demonstrate their popularity by an economic treaty.

It is not only at such times that Germany searches for friends, but throughout the war. The National Socialists pride themselves on their diplomatic achievements and their great popularity. It is the enemy who is alone. England is an island, Russia is far away, American help will come too late; but Germany has an Axis. When her friends are far away, as in the case of Japan, diplomatic visits serve to bring them nearer. The vast work of

reconstruction in occupied countries is supposed to make new friends who participate in building a new order. Norwegians, Croats, even Poles, are supposed to be happier than ever before. Germany, in March 1940, reconciled Finland and Russia, establishing the firm foundations of a lasting peace in the North and assuring brave little Finland a place in the shadow of her big neighbors. Germany and Italy rendered the arbitration sentence of Vienna, which ended the ever-lasting quarrel about the Rumanian-Hungarian frontier, wisely providing for Rumania to be indemnified by territory which she had still to conquer. The neutrals, too, contribute to the picture of a widely appreciated Germany. If one is to believe the National Socialist radio, there is almost nothing in the neutral press but testimonials to the might of the German army, to the justice of the German cause, and to the greatness of Hitler.

In the diplomatic development of the war, the distinctions between ally, neutral, and occupied territory have gradually diminished. All sensible men, whether in Japan or in the British colonies, whether in Norway or in Switzerland, are said to be supporters of the new Germany.

While Germany was fighting Poland, German propaganda let it be inferred that France and Britain were not really intending to wage war. While Germany fought in the West, the German propagandists insisted on Russia's friendship. When Germany invaded Russia, she was surrounded by allies, and fought the battle of all decent men in a European crusade. When Germany opposed the United States, she had gained Japan as an ally, and the whole unwieldy world was finally apportioned, with Germany defending Europe and Japan defending Asia.

In the first weeks of the war, the non-aggression pact with Russia was more important to the propagandist, but when the German people settled down to the 'phoney war,' Italy was brought to the fore. In presenting Italy as an ally, German propagandists had to dispel the popular image of Italians as unsoldierly

and generally ill-suited for great efforts.¹ But when it was made clear that Germany's ally was the new, rejuvenated Italy of Mussolini, the alliance was obviously based on firm ground. In his speech to the Reichstag, on 19 July 1940, celebrating the victory in France, Hitler said:

Since there has existed a National Socialist regime, it has had two aims—true understanding and friendship with Italy and an attempt to gain the same footing with England . . . I am . . . all the happier that at least the first aim of my foreign policy has become a reality. For this I am indebted, first of all, to the genius who today stands at the head of the Italian nation.

The alliance symbolized by the personal relation between Hitler and Mussolini had played its part in pre-war days. Hitler went to Italy, Mussolini made his appearance in Germany. After the invasion of Austria, Hitler, in a telegram, praised Mussolini's acquiescence: 'I shall always remember.' Mussolini was the first fascist dictator, and this merit could not be overlooked. He had been the victim of the policy of sanctions. He was the first to challenge British sea power, the first to provide the grounds on which usurpation might be tested and freedom destroyed. He had used the stereotype 'plutocracy' and the idea of the 'have-nots' before the Nazis discovered these devices. Whatever Mussolini may have learned from Hitler, it is fairly clear that Hitler really learned more from Mussolini. When events do not go well, Mussolini, like Frederick the Great, could be pointed to as the man who led his country out of the wilderness. He was an 'old front-line fighter,' he was a 'man of history.' On 18 November the *Political Review*, referring to a speech of the Italian dictator, said:

He spoke with the prestige of his historical personality, as the man who by his iron will wrecked the war of sanctions, waged

¹ They also had to dispel the idea of Italian political unreliability. See pp. 308 ff. for the discussion of German propaganda dealing with Italy's entry into the war.

by the fifty-two League of Nations States under England's direction.

Perhaps the most significant appraisal of all was that made again by Hitler in his speech of 26 April 1942:

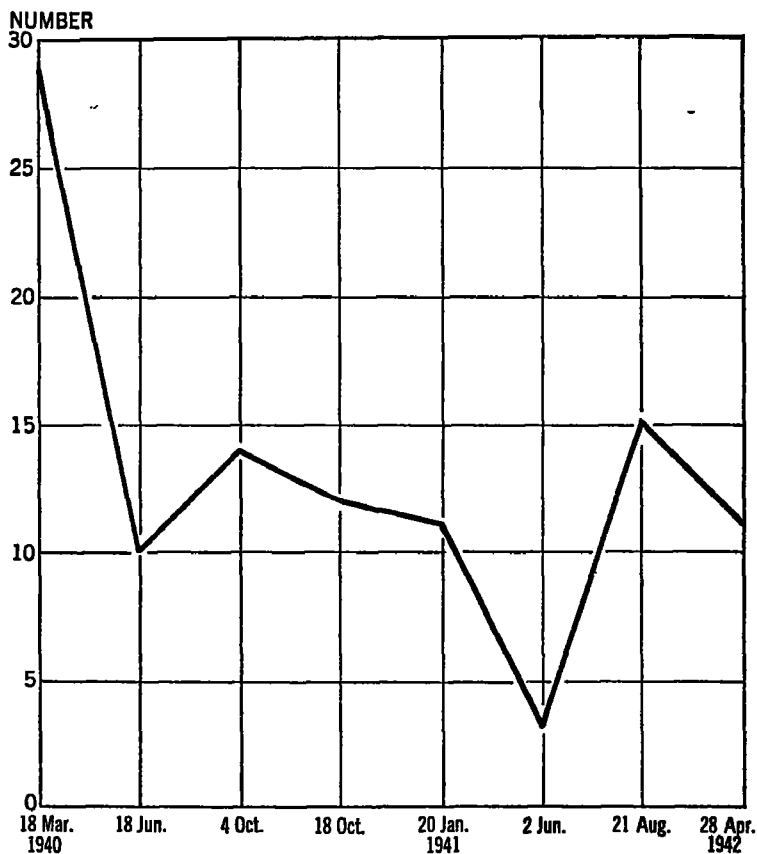
The hardest conflict . . . took place in Italy, where the destruction of nation and State seemed to be imminent. In a heroic and unprecedented uprising, the Italian ex-combattants and Italian youth, led by another man of unique gifts, destroyed the compromise between democratic cowardice and Bolshevik violence in a bloody struggle, and replaced it by a new idea of State and Nation. I advise every German to study the history of the Fascist revolution; none of us will be able to follow without deep emotion the development and acts of a man which are so similar to ours, that we consider their struggle as a fragment of our own fate. It was only after the victory of Fascism that one could speak of the beginning of the salvation of Europe . . .

In those fateful days, after the first winter in Russia, Mussolini was praised because it seemed important to remind the Germans that Hitler was not the only dictator in Europe. When Germany seemed to have passed through a crisis and Hitler demanded the power of life and death over generals and judges, it was well to remind the people that there was another country ruled by one man.

In wartime, propaganda meetings between Hitler and Mussolini were clothed in an atmosphere of mystery. While the British were said to be speculating about the decisions, the Germans, somewhat coyly, refused to tell. There had been eight meetings up to April 1942. Figure XIV shows that the Brenner Pass meeting of March 1940 was by far the most widely publicized. We know quite well what Germany wanted at that meeting, and a few bouquets from the broadcaster could do no harm. Yet the news took the form of pageantry rather than information. Their rendezvous was a diplomatic 'Blitzkrieg.' 'Paris and London,' the broadcaster said, 'seem to have been struck by lightning.'²

² 18 March 1940.

FIGURE XIV
Hitler and Mussolini Meetings
 Number of items—All news bulletins



This figure shows the attention given to each meeting of Hitler and Mussolini from 1940 to 1942. All news items in all home news bulletins have been counted for a period of three days, beginning with the date of the announcement of each meeting.

It seems that Italy could never again do so much for Germany as she did on that disastrous day in June when she declared war. Yet the same pageantry and mystery accompanied subsequent meetings; they became a ritual. Even on 18 June 1940, when the real decision had been reached on the battlefields of France, the newscaster said:

The discussions between these two men will decide our fate . . . Now the historic moment has come. The door of the saloon car is opened and the Duce alights. He approaches the Fuehrer and the two men shake hands. The destiny of Europe lies in this handshake.

The handshake was repeated, but the situation changed. One meeting coincided with the ill-timed Italian attack on Greece. That of 2 June 1941 was swallowed up by the campaign in Crete and was scarcely mentioned in the news. That which followed the Atlantic Charter was meant to incorporate Italy in Germany's war effort in the East. Its propaganda value was, however, properly exploited to counterbalance the Charter. The number of meetings decreased with the shift of initiative from the Axis to the United Nations, and with the decrease in Italy's power; there were four meetings in 1940, two in 1941, only one in 1942.³

In the early days of Italy's co-belligerency, the Italian fleet and Italy's position in the Mediterranean played an important part in German home propaganda. Whenever the Italians advanced, they claimed to have conquered a British sea lane; whenever the British advanced, the propagandist conceded to them only outposts and stretches of barren desert. When the Italians took British Somaliland, a territory of little military or economic use, they were heralded as great conquerors. When the Germans took Greece and Crete, the last British strongholds in Europe had fallen. Every Axis victory brought nearer the doom of the British Empire. Every British advance, however, demonstrated what everyone

³ The last meeting, of 21 July 1943, preceded Mussolini's fall by four days. See p. 274.

was supposed to know, that 'the war would not be won in the Mediterranean.' At the time of the invasion of French Africa in November 1942, this assertion was simply repeated.

Meetings between German and Italian foreign secretaries, press chiefs, youth leaders, and musicians had been given continuous importance; Italian laborers worked in Germany, Italian volunteers fought for Germany. Italian farm workers tilled German soil. While on the surface common destiny between the two nations was stressed, German propaganda sometimes displayed greater frankness in discussing Italy's role. In comparison to Germany, the historical function of Italy was less startling, her destiny less grandiose. Though Italy was not called an imperialistic power, her right to empire was proclaimed more boldly than Germany's. While Germany did not lose the last war, Italy visibly won it, but was robbed of victory and needed the help of Germany to pluck its fruits. Germany, on the other hand, fought for *Lebensraum* rather than for an 'Empire.'

It is clear that Italy's role in the war was a secondary one. The German radio treated Italy with a slight undercurrent of contempt, although it would be misleading to say that any such attitude found outright expression. The impression was frequently given that when Germany conquered Europe, Italy could colonize the desert. On 5 November 1940, after Italy had been at war with Greece for only one week, the Propaganda Ministry instructed the German press that 'The Italian offensive in Greece was to be given less prominence in the papers.'⁴ Yet Italian defeats have probably been more freely admitted by the Nazis than German defeats. When the British occupied Bardia in January 1941, the German radio tried to console the people by reminding them that the 'Italian Mother Country remains intact.' And when the Germans and Italians marched side by side into Benghazi three months later, the front reporter spoke of passing 'the tragic site of the Italian retreat.'⁵

⁴ Lochner, op. cit. p. 264.

⁵ 8 April 1941.

At the time of the Axis advance in North Africa in June 1942, hardly any credit was given to Bastico, the Italian commander, whereas Rommel's glory was sung day and night.

Rumors of German-Italian disunity, which had found their way many times into the press of the United Nations, were consistently denied by the Germans. Hitler had something to say of these ugly rumors in his speech of 30 January 1941:

They speak of Italy's coming defection. Let those gentlemen not invent revolution in Milan, let them rather see that unrest does not break out in their own countries.

Again, on 30 September 1942, Hitler insisted that all hopes to dissolve the German-Italian alliance 'have proved to be idiocy and madness.'

On one occasion, possibly by accident, however, the broadcaster let slip a very broad hint of the German feeling towards Italy. The program of *Schnick und Schnack* contained the following incident:

Frau Schnick says there were only a few inadequate dishes on the menu, and when she asked for any of these she was invariably told 'it's off!' When she asked for Italian salad, the waiter replied 'crossed off.'⁶

The monitor reported that the audience roared with laughter and applauded loudly. It is especially interesting that this feature was part of a broadcast to the armed forces.

As the threat to Italy became more apparent, German propaganda found it necessary to stress good faith. After the retreat from El Alamein when the German soldiers deserted the Italians, after the landings in North Africa and the immediate threats to Italian cities, the German radio became reassuring. On 21 November 1942, not long after Goering's statement that Europe would feed Germany, Radio Rome cited a significant comment from *Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten*:

⁶ 17 January 1942.

In this hour, the German Command had only one decision, to show the Italian people that Germany was at their side, even more firmly.

This protestation of loyalty was followed by others. Mussolini's speech of 2 December 1942 was the immediate cause of a new flood of affection. The Italian dictator had said that 'the comradeship between us and the Germans grows deeper day by day.' The German radio took the cue from the leader of their distraught ally. The speech was 'the Duce's most impressive, his greatest and most informative speech.' Seldom has Mussolini been more popular on the German radio than during those few days in early December when his attack on England and Churchill could be quoted *ad nauseam*. He was 'a man from the people,' said the *Political Review*; in his veins 'there was running the healthy blood of a blacksmith.'⁷ He was a 'front-line soldier,' who said, 'we shall never capitulate.' People were 'surprised at his frankness, calm, and self-assurance.' The 'Man of History,' the propagandist said, 'recognized the unique task of the world to transform confusion into order and to progress from chaos to cosmos.'⁸ Appreciation for Italy continued to be remembered on special occasions, such as the meeting at the Brenner Pass in April 1943. But for German propaganda, Italy had lost her real significance. Perhaps the Third Reich believed that while England was Hitler's first diplomatic failure, Italy was his second.

Italy rode into the war on the crest of the German wave. She provided military assistance for which the Germans had no immediate need. She likewise demanded glory and profits, which the National Socialists may not have been eager to share. Japan was more popular in Nazi Germany. In 1931, she had invaded Manchuria and demoralized the League of Nations. In 1936 she had joined the Anti-Comintern Pact. Early in the war, there had been rumblings of action in the Far East, which proved to

⁷ 2 December 1942.

⁸ 3 December 1942.

be of use to the Propaganda Ministry. When Anglo-American unity was furthered by the passage of the Lend-Lease Bill, its effect could be offset by publicizing Matsuoka's visit to Europe.⁹ When on 27 May 1941 the British sank the *Bismarck*, the Japanese Navy was held up as the greatest in the world. When German armies met increased resistance in Russia, American diplomacy was said to be meeting increased resistance from the Japanese; and less than two weeks after German armies suffered their first real defeat at Rostov, the attack at Pearl Harbor brought welcome copy to the disconcerted propagandist. Repeatedly, when Germany met with adversity in battle, news of real or pretended Japanese advances could be set to good purpose.

Whatever the long-range significance of the Japanese alliance may have been, it was certainly welcome to the Germans in December 1941. The new enemy was supposed to be more than balanced by the new ally. The new theatre of warfare seemed, in some undetermined way, to relieve the pressure elsewhere. Certainly it did so for the Propaganda Ministry. Fritzsche was quite frank about it:

The beginning of winter makes it impossible to carry out large-scale operations in the East . . . On the other hand, we see a war of movement in the Pacific in full swing and therefore occupy ourselves with these events . . .

The thought of the German soldier fighting under the most severe conditions in this war is an obligation for the German homeland, which dominates every-day life. Yet, just because this is so, we follow with the keenest attention the events of a new front against the plutocrat world enemy . . .¹⁰

The radio was soon flooded with news and talks on Japanese military prowess and on the villainy of the United States. Japan occupied a place in the news which Germany has never accorded any other ally. Reporting of events on the Eastern Front be-

⁹ See pp. 318 ff.

¹⁰ 16 December 1941.

came secondary. For the moment, it seemed to be in the Far East that the war was about to be won.

The earliest announcements of Japan's entry into the war were primarily attacks on the United States and England. Thus the news broadcaster at 6 a.m. on 8 December said: 'Warmonger Roosevelt has achieved his ambition to set fire to the Far East.' Though Japan took the initiative and gained the advantage of surprise, she was represented, like Germany, as fighting a defensive war after her long-suffering patience had been exhausted.

Propagandistic use of Japanese victories is most successful if it can be shown that these are also German victories. This was expressed by General Kretschmer, the German Military Attaché in Tokyo, who said, 'Every Germany victory is at the same time a victory for Japan, every Japanese victory is at the same time a victory for Germany.'¹¹

It must certainly have been difficult for the Nazis to convince the German people that the Japanese were Aryan. The idea of the yellow peril had been widespread in Imperial Germany. And a Western nation, however much it may have disclaimed the attributes of Western civilization, may find it hard to understand the value structure of a nation as thoroughly non-western as the Japanese. The National Socialists discovered a way out by substituting the notion of racial purity for that of Aryanism. In this respect, Japan was contrasted with the United States, the melting pot. For example, the *Topics of the Day* of 10 December 1941 contained the following discussion:

In reality, Hawaii is Japanese by virtue of the fact that 40 per cent of the population of 420,000 are Japanese, who, by their unity and success dominate the remainder of the population, which is a mixture of the scum of the earth . . . Because the Japanese kept their race pure and did not permit America to absorb them, they were persecuted, and in the name of a pure American race! This was impudence, as millions of Negroes, Jews, and other races were mixed in the American melting pot.

¹¹ 16 May 1943.

Despite racial and cultural disparity between the Nazis and the Japanese, their ideologies of expansion show that the two nations are not only brothers-in-arms but also brothers-in-spirit. 'Greater East Asia' supplements the 'New Order.'

A few days after the fall of Singapore, the *Political Review* broadcast a talk on '*Lebensraum* or Imperialism.' Here the drive of the Axis Powers was contrasted with that of their enemies—the one directed toward living space, the other toward world domination. Speaking of Japan, the broadcaster said:

On the occasion of the great Japanese victory celebrations for Singapore, Tojo announced yesterday that the conquest of the island fortress marked the birth of a New Asia, and a turning point in the history of the world. In itself, this idea is not new to us, since it is expressed in the Tri-Partite Pact.¹²

The broadcaster continued to show that the drive for living space, intent only on leadership, not on domination, was a common attribute of the vital Tri-Partite Powers:

Japan is the powerful spiritual motor driving the old East Asiatic people to a new fruition . . . Never before in its thousand-year old history has Japan led other nations. Only during the last few years Japan has entered victoriously into competition with other world powers, not only because Japan is technically the most developed nation in East Asia, but mainly because her own spiritual values combined modern technique and old Asiatic cultural tradition.¹³

Japan, like Germany, becomes politically young and culturally old. Before the Nazis, Japan had been known as the 'Prussia of the East.' A far-off non-Aryan country is given close kinship with the German Reich. The listener is urged to understand that there is a spot in the world where battleships dock beside ancient pagodas and the wives of twentieth-century admirals are adorned in twelfth-century kimonos.

¹² 19 February 1942.

¹³ 10 March 1942.

Cultural stories from the Far East have been used, not so much to make the Germans understand Japanese traditions, but rather to enhance their attraction. German propagandists admired paganism, *bushido*, *hari kiri*, and the incarnation of war gods. The day after Pearl Harbor, the *Topics of the Day* repeated a talk on the Spirit of the Samurai, which had been given some months before. Another talk praised the first Japanese who had been killed. On 5 June 1942, the *Mirror of the Times* glorified *bushido*: 'In the war in the Pacific, one hears repeatedly of the incredible self-sacrifice of Japanese airmen, who often act as human bombs and sacrifice their lives to sink ships . . .'

It is not heroism and sacrifice alone that are praised, but blind heroism and irrational, unquestioning sacrifice, the worship of the Emperor, and the kind of discipline that can exist only where authority is religious.

Friedrich Bethge, a German poet of negligible merit, had written a play to show that obedience was superior to any cause. The *Mirror of the Times* presented a description of the play:

Friedrich Bethge comments on his play, *Heinrich von Plauen*, on the occasion of its first performance in Danzig. He was inspired by the military revolt of 1936 in Tokyo, which stopped as soon as the Tenno ordered it, its young leaders marching their troops back to their barracks and committing suicide at the Tenno's suggestion. 'This discipline is the theme of my play. However inspired the young rebels may have been—mainly against Communism—yet, in my eyes, the great discipline of the rebellion over-shadowed even those ideas which now, in the present conflict, have been realized. Such discipline is conceivable only in Japan, Prussia, and perhaps in Sparta . . .'¹⁴

In an anniversary talk on Pearl Harbor, Luetzow praised the fact that in Japan 'the widowed father of a soldier commits suicide in order to leave his son unburdened by any thought of his family.'¹⁵ The speaker added that Americans cannot equal such conduct.

¹⁴ 25 March 1942.

¹⁵ 9 December 1942.

By contrast German broadcasters have not exerted themselves to bring the Japanese social order home to the German people. Nor has there been much individualized news. Hirohito, Togo, and Tojo are mentioned, but they are never given shape and personality, as are even Mannerheim and Antonescu.¹⁶

The principal attribute of Japan in the German home news is, of course, its success in battle. The decline shown on Figure xv is largely a decline in military news. The great majority of news items on the war in the Far East are specifically attributed to Japanese sources. The broadcaster seldom takes the responsibility for these reports. He is much readier to claim, on his own authority, victory for Italians, Finns, or Hungarians. Yet the military commentators discuss the Japanese reports and elaborate them in some detail.

Early in the Eastern war the German people were told that this was different from the war in the West. Seapower had been of less importance when England was undisputed mistress of the seas; it became important when Germany claimed that distinction for Japan. On 8 December 1941, Admiral Luetzow broadcast:

As far as can be humanly foreseen, the war in the Pacific will take a different course from that in the Atlantic. Wide spaces and considerable forces of battleships and aircraft carriers on both sides will be its main characteristics. The battleship will have more opportunities in these vast areas to justify its existence.

There followed a series of lectures by Luetzow on the naval war in the Pacific, and one by Quade on air warfare in the same area.

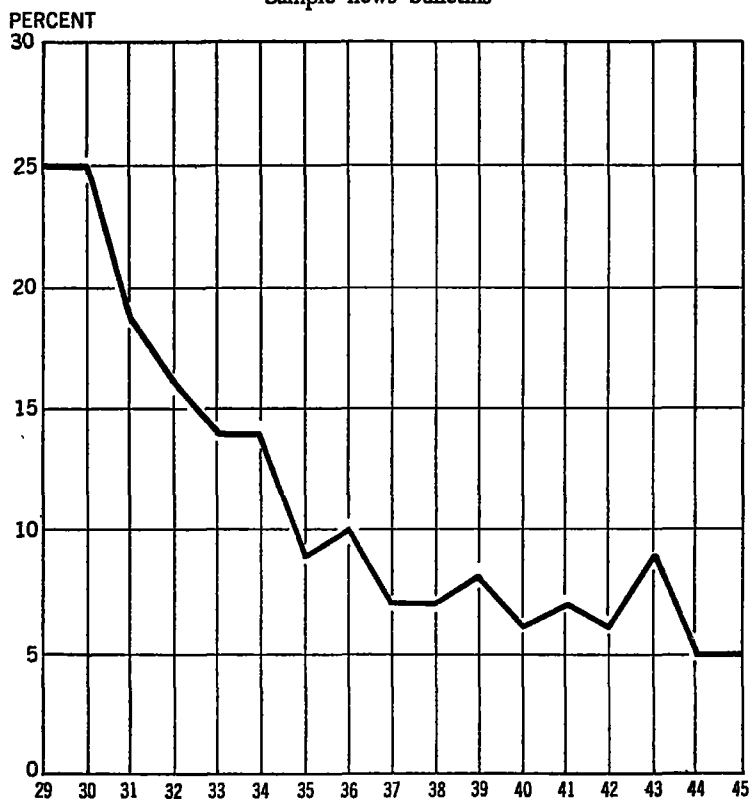
At the time of Pearl Harbor the German radio went all out for Japan. This period is represented in the first peak of Figure XV which shows that the mention of Japanese strength in news items almost equals that of German strength.¹⁷ After Pearl Harbor, the decline in attention to Japan came suddenly, although

¹⁶ An exception was Matsuoka, whose visit in the spring of 1941 was treated very concretely.

¹⁷ Were the news on German home affairs subtracted from the total, Japanese strength would be even higher.

FIGURE XV
Japanese Positive Attributes

Sample news bulletins



This figure shows the percentages of news items mentioning positive attributes of Japan. The base is the total number of items with positive or negative attributes of all actors in the war. Included among positive Japanese attributes are reports and predictions of Japanese victory, references to Japanese culture, etc. The periods extend from Pearl Harbor to 13 March 1943.

she was winning victories as important as those in the first days of the Far-Eastern war. The fall of Singapore was presented as a defeat for England rather than as a victory for Japan. The graph shows that the volume of positive qualifications attributed to the Japanese in the German news was smaller at the time of Singapore than in the days after Pearl Harbor. Before the fall of Singapore the broadcaster was especially eager to point out the dire consequences which would devolve upon the British Empire if that British stronghold fell. The cruelty of the British, the stupidity of their leaders, the immorality of those who danced while Singapore was burning were the subjects of recurring German invective. At the same time, Singapore was also presented as a German victory, for it was said that the advance of the Afrika Korps had prevented the return of Australian divisions. In the German news the battles of Malaya seemed to have been won in Mozhaïsk, in Tobruk, and in the Wilhelmstrasse. After Singapore the decline continued. In the fall and winter of 1942, days went by with little or no news from the Far East.

One notable exception, however, occurred in September. The Japanese were thoughtful enough to provide a special symbolic event for the anniversary celebration of the Tri-Partite Pact. A Japanese submarine landed on the French coast. Speeches, courtesies, and well-phrased expressions of mutual admiration were exchanged between representatives of the two navies, and for days Britain once again ceased to dominate the seas. Pacific and Atlantic flowed together. Two new orders seemed to have merged.

This incident was soon forgotten, however, and German propaganda went back to neglect of Japan. The climax was reached in the leader speeches of 30 January 1943, the tenth anniversary of the Nazi seizure of power. Japan was not mentioned once in Hitler's proclamation or in the speeches of Goering and Goebbels. It is not easy to detect the reason for this omission, since in the weeks preceding the surrender of Stalingrad on 3 February 1943, Japanese 'victories' were headlined in the German press. Probably,

the customary expression of respect and admiration for Japan was this time omitted by the three leading Nazis for diplomatic reasons. In these speeches astonishingly little was said against the United States and Britain. And soon Goebbels launched a propaganda campaign with the ultimate objective of luring the Anglo-American powers away from their Russian ally. In such an atmosphere it was skilful propaganda not to refer to Japan.

German resentment at Japan's neutrality could be sensed early in the war. On the anniversary of the Tri-Partite Pact in 1941, the following was broadcast:

Our fight against Bolshevism is not only for Europe's salvation but simultaneously for the shattering of the encirclement of Japan by England, the United States, and Russia.

This theme, however, has not persisted.

Japan's fight against China was of little advantage to the Nazis. Chiang-Kai-Shek's army had been trained by Germans. From the point of view of the German radio and German officialdom, China has always been a neutral. Her fight with Japan was rationalized by the propagandist in such a way that he presented China's neutrality for the radio listener and was again able to evoke the figure of the common enemy. Chiang-Kai-Shek is referred to as a tool of Roosevelt and the usual propaganda line is as follows:

It is not China which is the adversary of Japan but the forces which stand behind China and which oppose the establishment of a New Order for their own selfish reasons—Great Britain and America.¹⁸

Japanese conquests can also be celebrated on the radio as economic victories for Germany. Germany always participates in Japan's co-prosperity sphere and enhances her own statistics on raw materials by including Far Eastern figures. Yet while German listeners share in some of Japan's profit-making con-

¹⁸ 8 Decémbre 1941.

quests, their interest is kept on a moderate level and the admiration of the ally is blended with an undertone of condescension.

For the Germans, Japan has always owed its latter-day strength to German scientific genius. On 15 September 1942, the radio boasted of the German contribution to Manchukuo:

The Reich was among the first to recognize Manchukuo, and has effectively furthered its development. German technicians have contributed towards the construction of iron, steel, concrete, and water works. Cultural relations between Germany and Manchukuo are even older than their economic ties: for since the middle of the last century, German explorers have substantially contributed to the country's scientific progress.

The radio agrees with a view of Japan widely held in Germany, that every machine in Japan is of German make and that every Japanese scientist once studied in Germany. Even in discussing the Malayan victories, General Kretschmer had to remark that 'Many of the Japanese officers who took part in the fighting had been to Germany.'¹⁹ Such condescension toward an ally is quite natural to the Nazi propagandist, who never forgets that he wants the world of the future to be ruled from Wilhelmstrasse and is perhaps a little wary of the Land of the Rising Sun.

The propaganda picture of Germany leading a united world is based not solely on her alliance with Italy and Japan. There are also the conquered nations and the satellites. Some such as the Serbian Government of Prince Paul, submitted, more or less unwillingly; others, such as Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland, jumped on the band wagon.

The signing of the Tri-Partite Pact on 27 September 1940, was celebrated on the German radio as an outstanding diplomatic victory. Other nations were invited to adhere to the pact, and several did so.²⁰ In November, Hitler and Ribbentrop collected

¹⁹ 16 May 1942.

²⁰ No distinction was made in this respect between, for example, Rumania and Slovakia. Our distinction between minor allies and occupied countries is, as will be shown, a more or less arbitrary one, but it is necessary at some point to draw a line.

Hungary's signature in Vienna, and a few days later, General Antonescu arrived in Berlin to sign up. Slovakia followed suit. The details of each diplomatic incident have a certain sameness, and the method of handling each is not sufficiently interesting to be discussed in detail. When Hungary joined the pact, the *Political Review* on 20 November 1940 expressed the great affection of official Germany for her many allies:

Today, when Germany has cleaned the Continent of attackers and can pit her whole strength against England, the conquered are not marched triumphantly through the Brandenburger Tor. Something quite different happens. The Fuehrer goes on a visit to France and receives Marshal Pétain as a chivalrous adversary. The Fuehrer's far-sightedness looks beyond his opponent to big tasks ahead. He visits the Leader of Spain and has repeated meetings with the Duce; he receives visits from the Russian Head of Government, the Bulgarian King, the Italian and Spanish Foreign Ministers, and Hungarian statesmen. On a basis of complete confidence and mutual respect, the one great question of creating a new and lasting order is discussed with all these statesmen. Never since the day of Bismarck have we felt the effect of such diplomatic master-strokes.

The German master-strokes that create alliances receive more praise than the allies themselves. In the course of the war, this tendency has become habitual. When the world had been divided into two camps, further alliances were more difficult to obtain; but when distraction from the Eastern front was needed, the anniversaries of old pacts were celebrated instead of victories.

At the outbreak of the Russian campaign, German propaganda had frankly stressed the value of allied help. It was Europe, not Germany, which was fighting Russia, and the propagandist could point to the active participation of Rumania, Hungary, and Finland. Talks were broadcast praising the allied forces and the volunteer units on the Eastern Front. Hitler himself took pains to enumerate the allies. But always the German leadership of Europe was asserted:

Europe was threatened, Germany took the initiative. Italian, Rumanian, Hungarian, and Slovak soldiers have taken part, with the German armed forces, in operations in the Ukraine. Troop trains are bringing Spanish, Flemish, Walloon, Dutch, Croatian, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish volunteer legions to the front. And in the north, the Finnish army units are fighting the Soviets successfully. Europe was threatened. Europe defended herself! And Germany is leading the cultural peoples of Europe to a future free of worry.²¹

There is safety in numbers when the numbers do not challenge German leadership. The crusade was reinforced by the neutrals and the quislings of occupied Europe. In the process, the distinction between allied, neutral, and occupied countries was almost broken down. The Spanish Blue Division was a particular object of heroization. Spain had a little Hitler, and 70 per cent of the Spanish legionnaires had previously fought in a civil war which the Nazis considered a war against communism. The Spanish general, Munoz Grande, later decorated by Hitler, was asked to speak a few words to German listeners. He said:

The fraternity between our two nations has already been sealed by blood at the front . . . If Hitler gives the order, it will equally smash those who foolishly allied themselves with the Russian monster—the same who for centuries have been offending my country.²²

Finland was a particularly welcome ally from the point of view of the propagandist. She was a northern country. She had fought Russia before and fought well. She had, in Mannerheim, a military leader with a German name and German military training. On 4 June 1942, Mannerheim received a most unusual birthday present in the form of a visit from the Fuehrer himself. 'The name of Mannerheim,' said the radio, the following day, 'finds an echo in Germany today, which, before the war, no foreign

²¹ 14 August 1941.

²² 24 October 1941.

general ever had.' Antonescu, too, was visited by Hitler, for the Rumanian losses, according to Rumanian estimates, have been very great. From the beginning of the Russian war, the Rumanians have been frequently mentioned in the German communiques.²³ Goering, who may at some time have been asked why the Germans were doing less well against the Russians than the Finns had done, answered by saying that the Russians had tricked the Germans by using inadequate forces against the Finns:

A small, immensely brave and determined nation had warded off Great Russia—what danger could spring from this State, from this East? Yes, indeed, this may have been so from a purely superficial point of view; it was indeed very difficult and it needed the whole severity of last winter to make us realize that the first war against Finland was perhaps the most ingenious and greatest camouflage which world history has so far seen. While the Russians deployed some armies for the fight in Finland, partly even with antiquated weapons, they had long ago, throughout one and a half decades [voice rising to a pitch] built up the most gigantic armament which a nation had ever created.²⁴

In the same speech, Goering spoke in like manner of the other allies: 'For our other allies,' he said, 'the battle over there is doubly hard, for they are so unquestionably further away from their homeland, and they are quite unused to the climate.' It was the kind of praise one gives to an inferior. But Rumanians and Hungarians had already signed away their independence and were leaving their youth in the Russian snows. There was little more that they could do for Germany.

²³ Italy, on the other hand, was not mentioned in the communiques, in connection with the Russian front, until September 1941, and the Spanish Blue Division not until October.

²⁴ 30 January 1943. A few days earlier, on 18 January 1943, on the Italian home radio, Mario Apelius had remarked: 'The dissimulation with which Russia waged her first war against Finland, pretending to have only a few ill-armed troops, whereas she had hundreds of divisions ready and her stores stuffed with guns, indicates the devilish nature of the men in the Kremlin.'

POSTSCRIPT

ITALY: The Communique announcing that the Fuehrer and the Duce had again met at the Brenner Pass on 21 July differed strikingly from the announcements of all earlier meetings. It was terse, and it said that military questions had been 'discussed' rather than 'decided.' On 23 July the Swiss paper *Appenzeller Zeitung* wrote that previous meetings of the two dictators had usually been followed by a surprise; 'This may again be the case, though in a reversed direction.' On 25 July Mussolini ceased to rule. Rome announced his resignation but Berlin was silent for five hours, trying to find words to explain that a dictator could resign. Then it broadcast the news briefly, together with the proclamations by Marshal Badoglio and the Italian king.

Mussolini's downfall was called a 'change in government brought about by the health conditions of the Duce, who has recently been ill.' Hess, too, when he flew to Scotland, had been 'ill.' However, after 26 July, nothing more was said about Mussolini's health. The propagandist then stalled for time, trying to present his reticence as another victory over Britain. Otto Kriegk pointed out on 27 July that the Allies had been 'extremely hasty' in their evaluations of the events in Italy, and that Badoglio's proclamation had destroyed their 'illusions.' Italy would fight on, defending her national interests.

Some radio commentators revealed the extraordinary tension and excitement caused in Germany by the disappearance of the Italian Fuehrer. Fritzsche admitted that in the big cities the nerves of the Germans were 'severely taxed.' On 28 July Fritz Lucke described their state of mind as follows:

'It is only natural that the German people, soldiers on every front at their wireless sets, workers during their rest periods . . . are waiting with conspicuous impatience for every piece of news from and about Italy whose fate particularly affects us Germans. The German leaders are fully aware of this, but the German leaders also know that a German statement is nowhere more feverishly and anxiously awaited than in the enemy camp . . . For this reason the German leaders maintain silence. For this

reason they stand immovable, like a rock in the tempestuous sea of enemy propaganda.'

Goebbels, too, stood immovable and did not publish his weekly article in *Das Reich* on the Friday following 25 July; later, on 17 September, he declared that Mussolini's fall 'created some sensation' and gave the same reason for silence as Hitler had given on 10 September: foreknowledge of the things to come.

Barring the initial reaction to the shock—complete silence and the sudden references to Mussolini's health—German propaganda was clever in handling the difficult situation. It avoided all references to Italian strength and virtue while Badoglio's loyalty was not mentioned—much less questioned. Churchill's, Roosevelt's, and Eisenhower's speeches and appeals were presented as proof that the Allies were not fighting fascism but were threatening the Italian nation with 'extinction.' From the beginning the German propagandist had moreover insisted on German 'confidence in,' and 'knowledge of' Germany's 'own strength'—words that appeared in the German press as early as 26 July, obviously according to instructions. But the term 'Axis' was most sparingly used during the two and a half months from Mussolini's resignation to the surrender of Italy on 8 September.

Finally, German propaganda resumed its eulogies of Mussolini. It did not wish to deprive itself of the possibility of exploiting at a later date whatever was left of the appeal of fascism within Italy. On Mussolini's birthday Hitler's gift—an edition of Nietzsche's Works—was widely publicized. The German propagandist had left the way open for establishing a fascist government in exile.

Italy's unconditional surrender to the enemy was undoubtedly Germany's greatest diplomatic defeat since the Yugoslav revolution in the Spring of 1941; but certain events as well as skilful propaganda mitigated its impact upon German morale. The very fact that Mussolini's downfall preceded the surrender probably cushioned the effect of the Italian defection. More important, however, were the events immediately following the surrender: 9 September—The establishment of the National Fascist Government; 10 September—Hitler's Speech and a Special Communiqué claiming military control of unoccupied Italy, the occupation of

Rome, and the disarmament of the Italian armed forces by the Germans; 12 September—Mussolini's rescue; 14 September—Reports of German victory in the Battle of Salerno, modified in the following days to prepare the public for a slow German retreat; 17 to 21 September—Attempts by Goebbels, Fritzsche, Kriegk, Halfeld, and others to present the political and military events in Italy as a major German victory by means of which 'the greatest danger of this war' (Goebbels) had been averted.

Hitler's speech of 10 September endorsed the new interpretation of Italy and her role in the war, which the German propagandist had apparently prepared for the occasion. Hitler's explanation was that a sinister clique of cowardly and selfish traitors, headed by Badoglio, had been trying to stab fascism and National Socialist Germany in the back ever since the beginning of the war in September 1939. The final act of perfidy had merely cleared the air so that Hitler, having taken all necessary measures in time and loyal as ever to Mussolini, his friend and one of the outstanding men of modern times, could 'continue his battle free of all burdensome encumbrances.'

Hitler protested that his political 'fellow fighters—my Field Marshals, my Admirals and Generals—' did not harbor intentions of betraying him as Badoglio had betrayed Mussolini. Apparently, not only Hitler himself, but other Nazis as well, were worried about a resurrection of monarchist sentiment and dictatorial designs among the military caste in Germany. In his speech of 5 October Goebbels argued that in Germany kings 'occur only in fables and operettas.' On 8 November, Hitler attempted to silence possible rumors about strife between Army and Party leaders by studied amusement. There can be little doubt that such rumors and the facts from which they may have originated were in part inspired by the Italian defection.

In this speech Hitler did not hesitate to sacrifice his reputation as a resourceful statesman in order to claim simple righteousness and unshakable loyalty as a friend. At the same time his story of continued sabotage directed against the German-Italian war effort by 'the reactionary enemies of social justice' in Italy was so detailed as to throw doubt not only on Mussolini's greatness but also on Hitler's political wisdom in choosing Italy as an ally.

According to Hitler, the clique of traitors had delayed Italy's entry into the war; in the Winter of 1940-41 North Africa would have been lost to Italy without German help; in the Spring of 1941 German arms eliminated the danger caused by Italy's invasion of Greece. In short, a careful listener must almost inevitably have been led to believe that Mussolini had been a weak instrument in the hands of 'military rulers of Italy' and that Hitler, informed of this situation, had based his Axis policy upon the folly of his friendship and had been a liar in praising Fascist strength. With the instinct of the demagogue Hitler realized, however, that the complex situation called for a simple inspiring 'moral' orientation for those who were anxious, rather than for an intelligent account satisfactory for those who were critical.

Fortunately for Germany, the advance of the Allies after the surrender of Italy was relatively slow, so that Hitler's boast that 'the loss of Italy means but little in a military sense' was not quickly disproved by events; and the need of the Germans for such military reassurance was apparently so great that Hitler did not care to omit this statement in view of future possibilities.

The celebration of Mussolini's rescue, beginning two days after Hitler's speech, was one of the great performances of German propaganda in this war. It was treated like a major military victory with a Special Announcement from the Fuehrer's Headquarters, eye-witness accounts, commentaries, quotations from the headlines and editorials of the admiring world press, praise for the Fuehrer who had planned this enterprise and awarded 'high decorations' to the romantic fighters who had carried it out, and ever new accounts of the disappointment of the enemy, especially Churchill and Roosevelt, who had given orders through Badoglio, their stooge, to assassinate the Duce in case of an attempt at his liberation and had planned to have Mussolini appear in chains at the White House.

Every day brought new details about the utterly inaccessible 'former mountain hotel' in the Abruzzi mountains, where Mussolini was held a prisoner; about the dare-devil approach of parachutists, members of the Waffen SS and of the Security Police under the command of 'one of the most outstanding SS captains

of the Security Service'; about the utter confusion of the *cara-biniere*, who shouted 'don't shoot! don't shoot' when surprised by the rescue party; about Mussolini's utter gratitude—'unable to speak' he had embraced the SS liberator and had then said, 'I felt it coming, and I have never doubted that the Fuehrer would do everything to get me out of here again'; about the 'masterly performance of flying skill on the part of the pilot' who with the distinguished passenger in his helicopter took off from a plateau of only a few hundred square yards; and about the 'historic' and 'moving' occasion when the exhausted Duce finally telephoned the Fuehrer.

Dittmar declared that Mussolini's rescue was tantamount to a battle won by the Germans, and Goebbels as late as 8 October said that an account of the liberation which he had just seen read 'like a part of a saga.' Goebbels used the word 'saga' only twice in this war; there had been the saga of Stalingrad in February 1943 and there was now the saga of Mussolini's liberation. In the meantime the Italian navy in the Mediterranean was lost and so was Bryansk in Russia.

JAPAN: In November 1943, during the Battle for Bougainville and the Gilbert Islands, Japanese spokesmen presented the American offensive as a disastrous failure. The German propagandist felt so hard pressed for good news at that time that he adopted the Japanese version without caution. On 14 November he interrupted the domestic program for a special announcement of the 'crippling blow' which the Japanese had inflicted on the Americans. Luetzow, on 17 November, told the Germans that American losses had not been heavier since Pearl Harbor, whereas the American successes in the Solomon Islands were called 'unimportant.' Both commentators and newscasters, however, were careful to present their borrowed victory as a sign of American weakness and mendacity rather than of Japanese strength.

2. THE FUNCTION OF THE NEUTRALS

Neutrality in total war is an anomaly. Nation after nation in this war has discovered its futility. German policy does not

recognize neutrality, except when it has been 'violated' by Germany's enemy. In the first months of the war, all neutrals were said to suffer from British oppression; the blockade was damaging their economic interests. Information on neutral countries presented to the German listener was focused on this subject, and by the spring of 1940 there was in Nazi propaganda a Germany defending the neutrals against British supremacy and British aggression.

In reality, or for propaganda purposes, few countries have retained their neutral status. In propaganda, Italy was Germany's ally before she entered the war, Ireland was at all times England's implacable enemy, and the United States was Germany's foe before Pearl Harbor. South American countries were long depicted as friends. Their official hostility to Germany was explained away as a result of pressure by Yankee imperialism.

On the German radio, three European neutrals have survived this division of the world into friends and foes: Turkey, Switzerland, and Sweden. As far as the economic life in these countries is tied to the German war machine, news on their home affairs is presented as conducive to German victory. Any report on trade between Sweden and Finland, Switzerland and Bulgaria, enters the orbit of the favorable. And the introduction of rationing or expanding government supervision is hailed by the German propagandists as an ideological victory of Germany's Europe.

The discussion of their political attitude follows other principles. When, in 1941, the Turco-German non-aggression pact was signed, Turkey was heralded almost as an ally; the treaty was said to be in 'accord with the desire of the heart of both nations'²⁵ and an 'English intrigue' was said to have failed. But even when Turkey's policy openly favors the United Nations, neither the Government nor the nation itself is ever made to appear in a truly unfavorable light. Propaganda implies that only some few people favor pluto-democracy; ridicule and attack is

²⁵ 19 June 1941.

trained against specific newspapers said to be stooges of Germany's enemies. A similar technique is applied to reports on Switzerland and Sweden. Diplomatic or economic questions which arise between them and Germany are made to fit into a pattern of genuine friendship for Germany or into one of hostility fostered by the enemy. The propagandist tells the homeland that while Switzerland and Sweden are friendly as a whole, certain Jewish, British, American, or Russian forces are still at work in these countries and foment attitudes or actions unfavorable to the Reich. When, from time to time, the German propagandist must attack these 'breakers of neutrality,' he concentrates ridicule, vilification, and threat upon the media of communication—in other words, newspapers that are not subsidized by Germany.

The neutrals, we have said, are the chorus; they echo the moods and fortunes of the actors. They are said almost daily to approve of German policy, to marvel at Germany's wonderful victories, and to live in constant fear of the enemy. Their press seems, as far as the German news broadcaster is concerned, to exist for the sole purpose of glorifying Germany. The listener to the news broadcasts gets a strange picture of the outside world. The only clear impression given is that no one outside of Germany is ever concerned with anything but German victory. In a typical item the news broadcaster took his listeners around the globe, stopping at the newspaper offices as he went:

The meeting of the Fuehrer and the Duce at Brenner is still in the center of world interest. Papers of neutral countries fill their columns for many pages with descriptions of the meeting at Brenner, the importance of which they emphasize. Yugoslav papers express this clearly in headlines, and report that this meeting was of greatest and decisive importance. Hungarian papers state: at Brenner not only representatives of two friendly powers have met, but also representatives of two military allied nations. The Madrid paper *Alcazar*, in a leading article, speaks of the most important event since 1933. The Japanese press, which publishes long reports and pictures of the Fuehrer and the Duce,

points to the far-reaching international importance of talks, which show the deepening of the Italo-German relations. The Chinese press stressed that the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini was a new striking proof that National Socialist and Fascist diplomacy is much ahead of that of the Western powers.²⁶

Thus the radio listener is supposed to think that all news reporting in the world pays tribute to the German cause.

As, during the course of war, the number of neutrals decreases, the press of allied and occupied nations takes on increasingly their function of admiration and approval. The voice of Europe and Asia, and even some voices from the opposition press in the United States and in Great Britain, join to reassure the German audience that Germany is not alone, that she has friends, and that she is admired. Four years of such reassurances have passed, and one is justified in wondering about the effects of a technique which, lavishly employed in victory, has now to reassure those who are facing defeat.

3. THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES AND THE FORTRESS OF EUROPE

Countries conquered by the German army fulfil a threefold function in German propaganda: as occupied territories, they are reconstructed; as neutrals, their approval is quoted, as allies, they send troops. Reconstruction starts with the arrival of the German soldier, whom National Socialist propagandists describe as even more civilized and considerate than did propagandists of Imperial Germany.²⁷ Germany builds new schools in the protectorate, it repairs devastation in the Ukraine; the Dutch, Danes, and Slovaks enjoy the blessings of her protection, and the consolidation of France advances rapidly after her submission. The appreciative response of the conquered is regularly stressed, and whenever possible the German character of the conquered territories: Alsace is rescued and returns to the homeland.

²⁶ 19 March 1940.

²⁷ See H. D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques*, op. cit. p. 162.

Colmar, a German town in Alsace, with its Gothic St. Martin's Cathedral, shows little sign of damage. This town has been wearing a strong French 'make-up' for the past twenty years, not at all in keeping with its German character . . . Life in Colmar is returning to normal.²⁸

The phrase 'returning to normal,' like the word 'reconstruction,' occurs frequently. In Norway, in Denmark, in Holland, life returns to normal in a very short time. But there is something more than normality in the German picture of reconstruction. Liège, which had been a very dirty city, was turned by the efficient Germans into an earthly paradise. The railroads which the French had neglected were thriving. And there was remarkable engineering in process to unite the north of Norway with the south. The German listener is regularly informed of every school that is re-opened in conquered Russia. On the German radio, conquered Europe becomes a region of flowers, gladness, and reconstruction.

While some conquered lands are always referred to as conquered, others, in propaganda, regain their neutrality.²⁹ They achieve this status by adopting Germany's enemies as their own. The first enemy they acknowledge is the Jew. The quisling governments, step by step, adopt National Socialist principles of anti-Jewish legislation. When *Gleichschaltung* has progressed sufficiently, the conquered can reasonably be pictured as applauding the conqueror. Conquered youth visits German youth, conquered experts collaborate with German experts, and decisions of quisling governments coincide with those of the German Government. Press support, visits, collaboration, and coincidence of decisions are hailed by the radio as something quite remarkable and gratuitous.

Conquered nations have to be neutrals and independent in order to become Germany's allies at the appropriate moment.

²⁸ 22 July 1940.

²⁹ We do not deal here with the broadcasts to the occupied countries, which tend to make the condescending treatment of the people still clearer.

The legions they raise for the Russian war, the workers they 'voluntarily' send to Germany, play their part in German home broadcasts. Some of the conquered are even admitted to the stage of diplomatic action, and never was the pretense of independence maintained with more bravado than in the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1941, when seven countries were added to the ranks of Japan, Italy, Hungary, Manchukuo, and Spain. The new members included not only the belligerent states of Finland and Rumania but also the conquered territories of Denmark and Croatia. Beneath the diplomatic verbiage there was, in actual fact, little or nothing to the Pact. The signatories simply agreed to combat communism. Yet the Japanese representative, Ambassador Oshima, said nothing about Russia; he said only that Japan was fighting communism in China. And even the Danish representative, Scavenius, maintained his verbal independence by saying:

Although Denmark is outside this military conflict, the Danish Government, realizing the danger of communism to its entire culture, broke off relations with the Soviet Union immediately after the outbreak of war, by recalling the Danish Legation in Moscow.³⁰

The propaganda progress from conquest to alliance is not strictly systematized. The conditions prevailing in each of the countries force modifications on the propagandist. Denmark, where a government continued to function under the King, and the puppet country of Slovakia were differently treated from Holland, Belgium, the Protectorate of Bohemia, and the Balkan countries. France, neutral by the grace of Hitler, was made an ally by compulsion when unoccupied France was invaded.³¹

There is one people, however, that never has been granted friendliness which the propagandist so regularly lavishes on the

³⁰ 25 November 1941.

³¹ The *Political Review* commented (on 12 November 1942): 'Swiftly the Fuehrer's lightning decision to take counter-measures has led the German armies to march through that part of France which was still unoccupied and to take the necessary measures to safeguard Europe.'

allies: the Poles, who remained enemies in their conquered land. It seems that the very existence of a Polish nation was to be forgotten; Germany is not to have subhuman allies. And yet, even the Poles co-operate against Russia. When, in the spring of 1943, Goebbels discovered at Katyn thousands of bodies of Polish officers allegedly killed by Russians, Polish experts were said to identify the victims and Polish newspapers were quoted in violent attacks against the common foe. By the same token, Sikorski was treated with studied sympathy when he died in an airplane accident in July 1943. According to the Nazis, the Polish Prime Minister-in-Exile had been murdered by the British Secret Service, so that this Pole died a martyr for Germany.

Since the war in the East, the differentiation between conquered, neutral, and allied nations dwindles away. They are all part of the Europe which is endangered by Bolshevism and protected by Germany. The *Political Review* of 21 November 1942 even found it necessary to say that Germany was leading their fight against totalitarianism:

The Tri-Partite Powers by no means desire to force their own constructive ideas and social achievements on anybody else. Contrary to the claim for total rule made by Bolshevism and the world plutocracies, they allow everyone to be happy in his own fashion.

The idea of individual happiness for each nation of Europe became the key-note of the Hitler-Mussolini meeting in April 1943. By this time, however, the significance of 'Europe' had long been emphasized and it was safe to talk about self-determination and the rights of small nations, within the framework of the 'Fortress of Europe.'

The notion that Germany was fighting for Europe has always been voiced on the radio, but after 22 June 1941 it became the main propaganda line; all of Europe was said to be united in the struggle for its survival. The phrase 'Fortress of Europe,' destined to play a major part in German radio propaganda, was first dis-

cussed by Fritzsche, as a trial balloon, in November 1941 and was to remain an almost daily shibboleth. 'Europe' was a citadel, in which the inhabitants might feel secure. The British and American landing in French North Africa was said not to threaten it, but rather to increase its security, since 'the one weak spot in the fortress of Europe,' unoccupied France, had now been plugged up. But the fortress was more than just a military fortress. It was a munitions factory, a brotherhood, a living testimonial to Nazi justice, a new ideology, a concatenation of all the victories. It provided the newest of the new orders. When Fritzsche first introduced the idea one month before Pearl Harbor, he gave it a clearly defensive interpretation: 'This conception,' he said, 'also conveys the idea that we do not know what other forces might still be mobilized against us by international world democracy.'³²

In the same speech, Fritzsche added:

. . . the conception of the Fortress of Europe contains an element of modesty; it means foregoing frivolous political combinations, which is really only natural when it is Germany who contemplates the political situation.

The idea of European solidarity became paramount; it implied complete homogeneity under German domination. The breakdown of nationalism, however, applied only to the subordinate states. Germany, the protector of Europe, was not to sacrifice her patriotism or anything else—in fact the propagandists freely hinted at loot. Fritzsche on 21 November 1942 reminded his listeners that 'the front line soldier knows that no disposition will be taken regarding the land in the new areas of the Reich until he returns from the front.' But Goebbels made it clear that in the meantime the New Europe would have to be the realm of the Gestapo:

If some muddle-head or some agent in London's pay raises his pistol against the German soldier in occupied countries, our

³² 6 November 1941.

reaction is in accordance with normal, martial usage . . . The more magnanimous one intends to be later in realizing one's plans, the more resolute will one be in using all military means to bring about that end . . . It is therefore necessary to make a clear distinction in our methods between what is necessitated by the war and what points towards the future state of peace. The New Europe is not a matter of the present but of the future.³³

The whole notion of European solidarity and the fortress of Europe inevitably brought a change in the attitude towards the neutrals. Heretofore, the German propagandists had attacked the neutrals when their press was neutral; now they had to attack them when their armies were neutral. An unarmed man who is able-bodied is an unwelcome inhabitant of a citadel. Thus hints are frequently given to Sweden and Switzerland that they had better come into the fold. Goering said:

Whether they are allies, friends, neutrals, or hostile states—they all must realise, and they do realise, that if this Germany were to collapse, the Russians would not stop out of sheer respect before Swedish or Swiss or any other neutrality.³⁴

Germany is protecting the neutrals. Why do they not appreciate that protection? Goebbels made it quite clear that they could not hope to protect themselves:

Should the strongest military power in the world not be able to break the Bolshevik danger, who else would have the strength to do it?

Neutral countries in Europe have neither the military means nor the mentality to offer even the slightest resistance to Bolshevism.³⁵

The neutrals cease to be merely a press agency; they are part of an occupied continent. Whether they like it or not, they are supposed to be defended. The division of the world is complete. There is Germany, the enemy, and the protected peoples. There is no 'rest of the world.'

³³ 4 December 1942.

³⁴ 30 January 1943.

³⁵ 18 February 1943.

PART III
SITUATIONS

X

Anticipation of Action

I. ANTICIPATION AND INITIATIVE

NATIONAL SOCIALIST wartime propaganda had been tested in the days of pre-war conquest, when the world lived from crisis to crisis. The anticipation of German action by the propagandist then served three main purposes: first, by campaigns of justification to prepare the German people for a new danger of war; second, to instigate hate against the future enemy; and third, to confuse or to intimidate opponents and potential opponents. Since the German people could not be told things too different from what was told the rest of the world, and since the preparation of the German people could be used to intimidate others, the three functions merged into one pattern, that of the war of nerves. Tension was carefully manipulated to the point where few could be expected to resist a sudden attack.

This pattern, though considerably modified, was not discarded in wartime. In anticipation of the invasion of Denmark and Norway, the chief responsibility of German home propaganda was to justify the future attack upon friendly nations. Little was said to mislead Britain and France, who were simply accused of planning to attack Scandinavia themselves; and nothing was said to arouse hatred against the future victims. When the time for invasion of the West approached, the propagandist was mainly concerned with spreading confusion; hate, directed against the Anglo-French coalition, and self-justification were combined with attempts to mislead the wavering governments of the Lowlands. On the other hand, the attack upon Britain did not need

disguise, and required only additional incitement. The invasion of Russia, however, was meant to come as a surprise, and preparation for it had to be carefully concealed; silence was the only suspicious sign. But while the German armies marched towards Minsk and Smolensk, the propagandist made up for his earlier silence, and justification for that so-called defensive invasion was combined with a hate campaign of hitherto unknown intensity. Anticipation of action by propaganda gains a new importance when that action has come to pass. The former anticipation may then be offered as evidence of foresight or—more in keeping with the structure of National Socialist propaganda—of omniscience.¹

The German radio prepares the German people not only for military action but also for diplomatic events. For the latter, the method is similar, but the position of the propagandist differs. When hinting at the next offensive, skill is required to preserve secrecy, and the ingenious propagandist can perform his role with ease and elegance as long as he is backed by his superiors on the General Staff. It is relatively easy to anticipate events when these events depend exclusively upon one's own initiative. In discussing Italy's entry into the war, or in strengthening Germany's ties with Japan, before these powers became belligerents, secrecy played no part. But on the other hand, alliances depend on the partner's consent, and to the extent to which the partner may do something unexpected or fail to do something that the propagandist expects him to do, propagandistic anticipation of diplomatic events is a precarious undertaking. For this reason, the campaigns preparing the Germans for the entrance of Italy and Japan into the war were no pure anticipation campaigns; they also served to reassure the German people that they had allies and to impress the world with Germany's growing power.

¹ The propaganda campaign preceding the march into Austria was crowned by the Anschluss, that preceding Munich by the annexation of the Sudetenland. Before the war, the relation between preparation and action had become so inevitable that campaigns inside Germany were taken by the world as signals for Hitler's intentions, and Hitler, in his turn, used domestic campaigns to blackmail foreign appeasers.

In discussing these two campaigns we have deviated from the practice otherwise followed in this book by including non-German radio and press material. This has been done in order to indicate the partner's attitude toward the diplomatic event which the Nazi spokesmen anticipated, and thus to throw the German propaganda campaigns into relief. In the case of Yugoslavia, which turned to resistance after her government had signed the Tri-Partite Pact, our interest lies in the about-face forced upon the German propagandist. He showed little imagination when the events thwarted his plans. It was a case of anticipation that failed.

In discussing the part played by anticipation of action in German propaganda, we deal with propaganda campaigns of various types: some short, concentrated, and of great intensity, others of low intensity spread over long periods. The techniques vary considerably, and few devices are indiscriminately repeated. Through study of these techniques, one learns to read between the lines of German propaganda. Though its role in military intelligence is naturally minor, propaganda analysis has in the past been helpful in detecting the enemies' intentions. We have, therefore, tried to indicate on the following pages what can be learned about enemy plans by studying propaganda at close quarters.²

In a sense, anticipation campaigns are always under way. Propaganda always has to anticipate events and prepare for them. The campaigns anticipating German military actions here discussed presupposed unchallenged German initiative. When, in December 1941, the President announced the American production program, and when in the spring and summer of 1942 there was growing popular demand for a second front, the United Nations conquered initiative in propaganda. Their methods of deception and their attempts to mislead the enemy were by no

² The value of comparisons between various transmissions and the study of their content for intelligence purposes is also indicated on pp. 358 ff.

means inferior to those of the Nazis, and Hitler complained bitterly about it on 30 September 1942:

I do not wish to say that we are not making preparations against the Second Front, of course . . . If I were opposed by an adversary of true calibre, military calibre, I would be able to calculate, more or less, where he would attack. If, however, one is faced by military idiots, one cannot know when they will attack. It could be the maddest undertaking, and this is the only unpleasant thing that with these insane or eternally drunken people, we never know what they will do next.

A few weeks later the invasion of North Africa changed the strategical situation. Since then, German propaganda has continued to anticipate the future, but it no longer prepares the people for new offensive undertakings; instead it must cushion the shock of attacks directed against German cities, of surrendering armies, and of growing Allied power. By thus serving the defensive, the strategy of anticipation had reversed its purpose.

2. ANTICIPATION OF MILITARY ACTION

a. Norway. The Germans anticipated the attack launched on Norway and Denmark on 9 April 1940 by one of their best-prepared propaganda campaigns. Throughout the winter the radio had discussed the British blockade and the misfortunes of the neutrals. From time to time it was hinted that England's 'war against the neutrals' would be followed by actual invasion. In February, the attention of the Germans had been drawn to Norway when the prison-ship *Altmark* was boarded by the British in Norwegian territorial waters.⁸ During the next month, the Nazi propagandists began to charge the British with planning aggression against Scandinavia specifically. On 2 March, more than a month before the invasion of Norway, the news broadcaster commented that 'London and Paris must start an offensive in Northern Europe and later in Southeastern Europe.' On the

⁸ For further discussion of the *Altmark*, see pp. 330 ff.

same day, *Topics of the Day*, discussing a conference of the Oslo powers, implied that the North was threatened.

A conference of the Oslo States has been held in Copenhagen. Although the Scandinavian Press again and again makes itself the mouthpiece of a strange conception of neutrality, representatives of these states have clearly indicated that they want to keep aloof from the present conflict between the Great Powers. This resolution has been prompted by the fate of Finland, which has received smooth words from the Western Powers, but no help whatever.

The Finnish War continued to direct the attention of the people to the North. While German propaganda was pro-Russian, it was not seriously anti-Finnish. The propagandist prided himself on his strict neutrality. The Allies, on the other hand, were said to be eager to bring the rest of Scandinavia into the war but unwilling to risk their own men for the sake of Finland. Thus, the Russo-Finnish peace of 13 March was hailed as a defeat for the Allies, because it proved that they had offered the Finns nothing but words and also because it showed their failure to turn Scandinavia into a new battlefield. On 16 March Fritzsche referred to 'the failure of the Anglo-French onslaught on Northern Europe.'

Later the German radio propagandist changed his point of view. The mythical invasion of Norway by Britain had not failed. It might still be tried. By late March and early April, the charge that England and France were preparing to invade Norway became pronounced and frequent. The pattern of deception was an extremely simple one. The Germans merely accused the British of planning to do what they intended to do themselves. The Germans used the neutral press to prove that Norway in particular and the world in general were paralyzed with fear for the future of the North. Four days before the invasion,⁴ the home news was flooded with neutral testimonials. At 6:00 A.M. the news broadcaster said:

⁴ 5 April 1940.

'Our state is being threatened by England. We must defend our neutrality.' These are the words of the Norwegian paper *Arbeideren* . . . According to Spanish opinion, Anglo-French violations of neutrality seem to limit themselves for the time being to Scandinavian states.

In the same broadcast, the propagandist claimed to have found a neutral source that exonerated Germany from all questionable designs on the neutrals:

The Stockholm paper *Aftonbladet* writes: 'Germany has no interest in creating a new theatre of war in the North.' . . . On the other hand, danger automatically increases for the neutrals in London after Chamberlain's speech, and the Cabinet re-shuffle proceeds to intensify the war.

Some items referred to Scandinavia generally, others mentioned Norway in particular. In the leading home news broadcast that evening, another neutral testimonial was uncovered:

According to the Copenhagen paper [*Faederlandet*], English warships are already freely navigating Norwegian territorial waters and molesting shipping . . . For a considerable length of time, officers of the French and English General Staff have been examining the possibility of landing an expeditionary force.

Not all items dealing with the coming invasion of Scandinavia by the Allies quoted or pretended to quote neutral sources. Frequently, the Germans assumed full responsibility for their predictions. During the first eight days of April, 21 per cent of all predictions in the German home news were predictions that the Allies would extend the war. Most of these referred specifically to Scandinavia, often to Norway.⁵

News items were selected to prepare the German people for what was to come. The British announcement of mine-laying off the Norwegian coast proved useful copy for the German radio. Reports of British planes flying over Danish territory and even

⁵ Figures taken from White, Howard B., op. cit.

machine-gunning Danish civilians were publicized almost daily. There were references to the extensive agricultural supplies in Germany, which may have been meant to indicate that the coming German attack on Denmark was moral, not economic, in cause. On 5 April the news broadcaster reported the impressive showing of the Polish campaign film, *Baptism of Fire*, in Oslo,

FIGURE XVI

*Frequency of Topics Suggesting Allied Extension of the War,
in German Radio Home News Bulletins (Sample)*

1-8 APRIL 1940

<i>Topics</i>	<i>Number of Items</i>
1. Allied threat against Scandinavia	18
2. White Book	16
3. British Cabinet changes	10
4. Reynaud Map	7
5. Allied threat against Balkans and Mediterranean	5
6. Chamberlain Speech	2
	TOTAL: <u>58</u>
Total number of items in sample	136

and on 6 April the radio announced that this film was a warning to England.

Certain created news events not immediately associated with Norway were nonetheless part of the preparation campaign. The White Book story and the publication of the Reynaud Map were not directly related to the Northern Countries. The former dealt with Polish and American diplomats, and the latter primarily with continental Europe. Yet the manufacture of these events was well timed. It served to enhance the impression of Allied aggressiveness. Equally opportune was the political news from England during the first few days of April. A speech by Chamberlain and a Cabinet re-shuffle resulting in greater power for Churchill were assimilated by the German propagandists in the prevalent hate campaign. The first report of the Cabinet changes simply read:

'First Lie Lord, Churchill, was promoted to the position of 'Supreme Warmonger.'⁶

A computation of themes for 1-8 April shows the extent to which the notion of British warmongering figured during the period. Out of a total of 136 items in the sample, 58, or no less than 40 per cent of the German news during those days, sug-

FIGURE XVII

Approved English Quotations Pertaining to Social Disunity in England

Number and percentages of item totals—Sample news bulletin

PERIOD	HOME NEWS BULLETINS		NEWS BULLETINS FOR BRITAIN	
	No.	%	No.	%
14-30 March 1940	18	1.8	45	6.6
1-8 April 1940	5	.9	37	11.0

An approved quotation is one to which the broadcaster's reaction is explicitly or implicitly favorable; for example: Reuters says, 'The miners are dissatisfied.' For purposes of comparison the figures for broadcasts to Britain are given as well as those for the home broadcasts.

gested the idea of the imminent extension of the war by the Allies. (See Figure xvi, p. 295.)

There is also negative evidence that the German radio prepared its domestic audience for the coming invasion. German radio news usually includes abundant citations from the opposition press of enemy countries in order to show to the Germans that the enemy is internally disunited and weak. The Germans cite such statements with approval.

In April 1940, before the invasion of Norway, approved quotations from English sources dropped out of the news almost completely. This was not because of a scarcity of available material, since in German broadcasts to England, quotations from English

⁶ 3 April 1940.

⁷ Kris, E. and White, H. B., 'The German Radio Home News in Wartime,' *Radio Research*, III, 1942-3, ed. by Lazarsfeld, P. F. and Stanton, F. In press.

sources, indicating English disunity, rose from 7 per cent to 11 per cent. The broadcaster did not mind telling the British that England was weak, but he did not want to tell the Germans so, at that time. The propaganda of the period tended to show a different enemy, a cruel nation stalking its prey. For this one brief moment, it was not wise to tell the Germans that democracy was decadent and England weak. (See Figure xvii, p. 296.)

Thus, the propagandist laid the groundwork for the Nazis' usual explanation of conquests: they keep the initiative by being the first to strike, and at the same time offer a moral justification for their attack in the aggressive intentions of the enemy—scotched only at the eleventh hour. In the case of Denmark and Norway, the hate campaign against England was especially necessary, since it would probably have been difficult for the propagandist to incite the Germans against people they had always considered their natural friends and Nordic brothers.

b. The Low Countries and France. During the battle for Norway, the news of the world radio and the world press was filled with speculations on the future of the war. German preparations on the western frontiers were noticed, and apprehension in Holland and Belgium was rising. German propagandists once more started to prepare their own people for impending action. They had to change their methods, however.

A month and a day after the first attack on Norway, the Germans invaded the Low Countries. The method of direct projection, which attributed one's own aggressive intention to the enemy, was not employed a second time. The new preparation campaign had to be briefer and more intensive than the former had been. Norwegian resistance continued after the British withdrawal from southern Norway, and it is impossible to say when the Norwegian campaign really ended. From 1-9 May the propagandist was less interested in the dwindling Battle of southern Norway than in the coming Battle of Flanders. But instead of British ships rolling into the North Sea to lay mines that were never discovered, the people were told to see the same ships

lumbering down the Mediterranean, pointing their guns at the hapless Balkans. Nazi propagandists at home discussed an Allied extension of the war with even greater intensity than they had done before the expedition to the North. Predictions of such extension constituted 28 per cent of all predictions in the home news, as compared with 21 per cent before the Norwegian campaign.⁸

Instead of talking about Allied action against the regions they expected to invade, they talked about Allied action against regions they did not intend to conquer in the spring of 1940. The propagandist tried to create uncertainty in regard to the area of the approaching campaign. While he constantly mentioned the Balkans, he also warned that the Allies might attack elsewhere. Six days before the invasion of the Lowlands the news broadcaster said:

'Mediterranean' is the new slogan of the English warmongers, now that the German arms have put a rapid and catastrophic end to British plans in Scandinavia . . . The officiousness which was employed at the loud heralding of the plans of the Western Powers raises the question whether this heralding does not mean plans of deceit and disguise, as it is by no means clear that Britain should try to effect her aims of extending the war there. With these reports England purports to carry unrest into the South and Southeast.⁹

Three days later,

Greece, Yugoslavia, and Rumania are being mentioned as objectives of the Western Powers, although the possibility is prominently brought to the fore that these measures may be deceptive and designed to throw a cloak over the real intentions of England and France.

The following day, a Bulgarian paper was quoted as saying that 'it may also be surmised that the Western democracies aim at

⁸ Implicit predictions were more frequent during the period before the French campaign than explicit predictions, thus distinguishing this period from the preceding preparation campaign.

⁹ 4 May 1940.

deceiving Germany in order to attack her at a completely unexpected place.'

The domestic listener was made to feel the general tension prevailing in the world. Foreign observers in Germany, reporting about the atmosphere in the German capital, contributed to increasing world-wide nervousness.

We can often infer the predominant propaganda line from the leading stereotype of a period. On 4 May an entirely new one appeared in the German news. During the last part of the 'phoney war,' the chief stereotype used in the news bulletin in reference to England had been 'plutocrat.' Just before the Norwegian campaign, the most frequent stereotype had been 'warmonger,' and during the campaign it had been 'liar.' These stereotypes have periods of special stress, though they are seldom altogether absent from German propaganda for any length of time. The enemies are liars at the same time that they are plutocrats. On the other hand, the word 'aggressor' does not appear in our sample news bulletin prior to the period beginning on 4 May, and does not reappear until the Russian campaign, over a year later. But during the few days immediately preceding the French campaign, 'aggressor' is the stereotype most frequently used, despite the fact that it openly suggests enemy initiative. In all transmissions of the home radio, it can be found more than 50 times from 4 May to 9 May. At the same time it appeared in headlines of the German press, and added to the ominous atmosphere. This was probably one of those occasions when a single word was emphasized in accordance with specific instructions.

News events were created as they had been prior to the Norwegian campaign. Instead of the Reynaud Map the propagandist this time reported on a telephone conversation between Reynaud and Chamberlain, in which it was alleged that the Allied leaders were preparing to move on or about 15 May. While the place was not specified, the leader was to be General Weygand, then in Syria, and something was said about the French putting pres-

sure on the Turks.¹⁰ The intercepted telephone conversation was corroborated by the following statement of Chamberlain: 'I conjure the members of the House, in these critical days, to concern themselves only with the strengthening of our war efforts.' This plea by a statesman who had lost the confidence of his countrymen and was obviously in a desperate situation, was interpreted by the German news broadcaster as follows: 'Thus, Chamberlain lets the mask drop and shows himself in the form of the brutal aggressor.'

The High Command Communiques also prepared for the future and reported markedly less on happenings at the Western front. From 30 April to 9 May they became excessively formal. The more emotional references, such as 'our army,' were absent. The victory reports of the Norwegian campaign subsided, and the communique of 9 May, the day before the invasion, ended ominously with 'All quiet on the Western front.'

Despite the manoeuvres of German news policy, military experts had naturally noticed the increasing preparations on the Western borders.¹¹ But in order to enable the German Government to achieve its aim in the field of psychological warfare, the German people had to be kept in the dark. Any information given to them might also be accessible to the enemy, who was meant to 'face the difficult choice of either taking precautionary steps in all possible places, or waiting until he sees where the blow will be dealt.'¹² Thus, when on 10 May Holland and Belgium ordered mobilization, the fact was simply denied by the German broadcasters. Italian papers obligingly published the denials on 10 May,

¹⁰ 7 May 1940.

¹¹ Van Kleffens, the Dutch Foreign Minister, reports that 'on Saturday, the 4th of May . . . we quite unexpectedly obtained information to the effect that an invasion of the Netherlands might have to be reckoned with within the next few days.' Eelco Nicolaas van Kleffens, *Juggernaut over Holland*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1941, p. 56. The first information to the effect that the Germans contemplated an attack on the Low Countries was received by the Dutch Intelligence Service early in November 1939. Ibid. p. 72.

¹² 3 July 1940.

and at 6:00 A.M. the German home news quoted from *Il Messaggero*, denying all German intentions of an attack in the West, although the invasion of Holland and Belgium had started three hours before.

c. *England*. The German people needed no special preparation for the Battle of Britain. From the first days of the war, England had been the main enemy and the hate campaign against her had never died down. Britain and the rest of the world expected the attack. Now it was merely up to the home radio to fan that hatred to even greater intensity and dampen any expectations of imminent peace. German propaganda was discussing the impending attack against England while German armies were still preparing their blow against the Weygand Line. Significantly enough, the final broadcast report on armistice negotiations at Compiègne was concluded by playing *We Sail against England*. And two days after the armistice, a Front Reporter noted that the bombardment of England had begun.

After Churchill became Prime Minister, his speeches repeatedly discussed the difficulties of the situation and the possible outcome for Britain of the impending battle. British home propaganda, intent on mobilizing the energies of civilians, discussed possible air raids and probable invasion. All of this was freely distorted by Nazi propaganda to show that England was in a state of helpless panic. The organization of the Home Guards was described as ludicrous preparation for *franc-tireur* warfare. The collection of firearms was ridiculed, and a shot gun from the King was played up for German derision. 'The most fashionable sickness,' the news broadcaster said, 'was parachutist fever.' The King and his ministers were said to be packed and ready to flee to Canada. Young English plutocrats 'soothe their feverish nerves by indulging in wild orgies . . . a lady coming from one of the very best families told a reporter that it was easier to die when drunk than when sober.'¹⁸ The Nazi broadcaster, with his hand thus con-

¹⁸ 27 July 1940.

stantly on the pulse of England, came daily to the conclusion that 'The English fear of an impending German military invasion is weighing like a huge nightmare on the inhabitants of the British Isles.' ¹⁴

The German radio listener could assume that Germany really intended to invade England, and that she was waiting to choose the right moment to strike. If the Germans had been merely engaged in an intensive war of nerves, the campaign at home could be explained as having been meant for English ears. It is more likely, however, that the great air raids of August and September 1940 were indeed undertaken to prepare an invasion, ¹⁵ since talk of invasion diminished noticeably after the raid of 15 September, which proved so disastrous for Germany.

It is therefore not surprising that news of the attack on Crete—another island—far from being 'prepared' was actually delayed for several days until success seemed assured. It was only after victory in Crete that Goering asserted that there were no unconquerable islands; and for several days remarks such as these turned the attention of Germany and of the world again towards Britain. These remarks, of course, were to provide a belated, implicit excuse for not having invaded the British Isles at the time of the Battle of Britain. After Crete, Nazi propaganda wanted to create the impression that Hitler could have invaded England if he had only decided to do so. At the same time, the suggestion that he might still make this decision may have been a feint to distract attention from the coming expedition to Russia.

d. Russia. Totalitarian organization provides for a specific kind of communication between the leader and his followers, one allowing for double talk and opportunism. In his years of pre-war conquest, Hitler could profess friendship for those he later intended to attack, conclude treaties with them, or give them pledges of non-aggression, without seriously confusing the minds of the faithful—they recognized the twinkle in his eye. Some

¹⁴ 18 July 1940.

¹⁵ See pp. 388 ff.

rumor organization of the Party or the Propaganda Ministry seems to have supplemented the information passed on to the Party hierarchy. Thus, while outsiders were irritated by the number of contradictory enunciations, according to reports from German underground groups, those inside the organization were not left without guidance. The Russo-German treaty of August 1939 had been anticipated in a similar way, so that when official German propaganda assured the people at the time that Russia and Germany would never again oppose each other in war, the assurance must have been acceptable to many Nazis. As for the rest, they were reminded by Goering on 9 September 1939 that the Fuehrer had removed the danger of a war on two fronts.

When the Germans invaded Russia, on 22 June 1941, rumors may have enabled many to anticipate the attack. It is also true that movements of big armies cannot be entirely concealed, and long before the campaign in the Balkans the world press carried reports on German troop movements to the East. In April, Churchill, speaking in the House, gave his warning to the Soviet Union, and in May, Hess's arrival in Scotland was widely interpreted as foreshadowing a Russian campaign. If the Russian armies had really been surprised by the German invasion, it would have been another of those peculiar instances in which the obvious had been disbelieved. Observers who were in Germany at the time of the invasion have since reported that it had long been discussed by people who were said to have inside information. Rumors and counter-rumors about it seem to have been officially instigated, although it is impossible at present to establish the facts.

Official German mass communication was faced with a difficult task. While the initiated might not have been taken in by the loud demonstrations of friendship for Russia in 1939 and 1940, the bulk of the people had to be re-oriented. The usual atrocity campaign could not be applied to Russia at a time when German diplomacy hoped to give her the impression that German troop

movements might lead merely to blackmail negotiations of some kind, rather than to outright attack. Political pressure was anxiously limited to the Balkans and did not, before the invasion, include Finland.

In this difficulty, German radio propagandists decided, several months before the invasion, merely to reduce the attention previously devoted to Russia. The psychological adjustment, however, took place after the event,¹⁶ and on 22 June an intense hate campaign was launched for what may be called a preparation *ex post facto*.

Neutral sources, as we have seen, provide testimonials to German success or morality. Russian sources had been used in about 1 per cent of all the news items from 1 March 1940 to 3 April 1941. While this percentage is small, the figure is significant, since it remains constant for over a year. At about the time of the campaign in Yugoslavia, those quotations dropped out altogether; the Nazi propagandist probably acted on concrete instructions.¹⁷ Goebbels, who was not ready to give away the impending cam-

¹⁶ Latent hostility against Russia had not been entirely dissipated during the two years of diplomatic friendship. The German radio offers an example of the conflict between this hostility and the official policy. A German Red Cross nurse was asked by the announcer to discuss a trip she took to Japan in 1940. The report was highly favorable to Japan, but the nurse described Vladivostok, through which she had passed, as 'dirty, disorderly, and pauperized.' She added that in her journey, she had had to go through Vladivostok since the Baltic ports were in the hands of the Red Guard. The announcer interrupted and said that things had probably improved in Vladivostok since then (27 May 1941). It is doubtful that the announcer knew what plans were being made. He knew his instructions about Russia, and that those instructions did not include the unfavorable comments of the Red Cross nurse. The nurse, on the other hand, knew that despite the pact and almost two years of official amity, she had no great love for Russia. Her attitude was doubtless indicative of the feelings of many Germans who still felt that the chief enemy of National Socialism was Bolshevism.

¹⁷ The research on which this section is based was carried out before Louis P. Lochner published an instruction issued to the German press on 19 February 1941, in which the newspapers are advised not to quote Russian sources but to rely entirely on DNB reports regarding Russia. Lochner, *op. cit.* p. 277.

paign by vilifying the future enemy, tried to clear the atmosphere by ignoring him.

The attack on Russia was not overtly justified until 22 June 1941. Then, justification burst out in full fury. During the first few weeks, the Nazis felt called upon not only to justify having broken the pact but also to explain why they had made it in the first place. On the day of the invasion Ribbentrop delivered a long address in which he specified the many crimes which Russia was supposed to have committed against the German people in the course of the war. The pact of 1939 was presented as a serious effort on the part of Germany to live amicably with her eastern neighbors. Then Russia was accused of extending her 'sphere of influence' and promoting anti-German propaganda in the Balkans. The Germans suddenly became sympathetic to the Finns in the war the latter had fought over two years before. Russia became the instigator of the *coup d'état* in Belgrade—previously the result of Anglo-American machinations. On 22 June Ribbentrop said:

The increasingly aggressive policy of the Soviet Union towards the German Reich—and the hitherto still somewhat veiled co-operation between the Soviet Union and England, became apparent to the whole world when the Balkan crisis broke out early in April.

The accusation that Russia was plotting against Germany, made in Hitler's proclamation of the same day, was supposedly based on available documents. Hitler had charged the Russians with favoring the British by agreeing to maintain an army on their border in order to prevent the German army and air force from attacking Britain. The failure of the Luftwaffe in the Battle of Britain still rankled. The invasion gave a new excuse for that failure and led to the thesis that England could be beaten as soon as the armies in the East were relieved. Hitler further charged that the Russians intended to attack Germany from the rear while the latter was occupied with some decisive campaign

in the West. Both charges were repeated frequently and, as always, Hitler's proclamation was taken as proof in itself. On the 24th Fritzsche said:

The Fuehrer's proclamation ended the weeks and months of silence which usually precede a large-scale action. We know that this silence was based on mutual confidence between the people and the Fuehrer.

In order not to confuse their faithful followers, the Nazis had to equate their new Bolshevik enemy with England, their old plutocratic enemy. To do so they produced their habitual catalyst: they simply stated that 'Jewry unites both plutocracy and Bolshevism.' Ideologically it was said that Bolshevism and plutocracy were really identical, since 'both originate in the dark deserts of materialistic philosophy.'¹⁸ On the other hand, the Nazi battle cry had always been that they were fighting the battle of youth against age, and it was difficult to associate Russia with an old and decadent social order. Hitler had said that Churchill was too old to understand the New Order. The radio had discussed the ages of British Cabinet officers. In March 1940, when Ironside made an ill-advised statement regarding the youth and inexperience of German generals, the German radio said that the British generals were senile. And Chamberlain was usually referred to as an old man.

In her war with Russia, Germany suddenly became old. Figure XVIII shows the relation of stereotypes which describe Germany and her Allies as young, to those which describe them as old.¹⁹ Few changes in the propaganda line have been so sudden and so noticeable. Instead of fighting for the New Order or the New Europe, Germany now fought for culture, tradition, and civilization. Religion in England was described as an untrue religion which supported Bolshevism. The Germans were fighting for

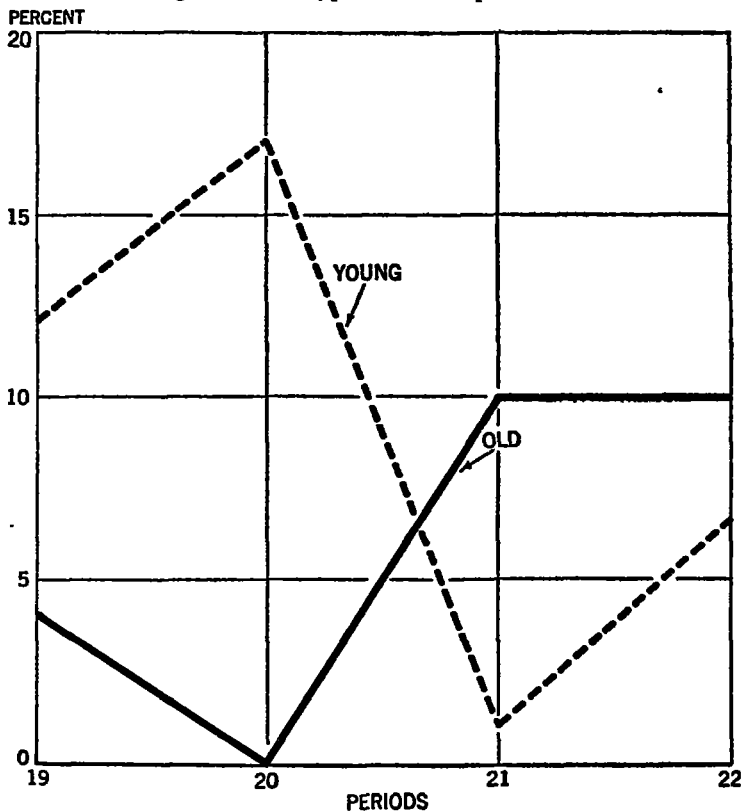
¹⁸ 23 June 1941.

¹⁹ Fig. XVIII based on tables in Goldstein, Jacob, *Typological Analysis of Stereotypes*, op. cit.

FIGURE XVIII

Youth and Age Stereotypes Referring to Germany and Her Allies

Percentages of stereotype totals—Sample news bulletin



20: 2-21 June 1941

21: 22-30 June 1941

Youth stereotypes include 'New Order,' 'young nations,' etc.; age stereotypes include 'tradition,' 'order,' 'chivalry,' etc. The periods covered are from the Crete campaign to the German claim of the collapse of the Stalin Line (20 May-12 July 1941).

true Christianity. British raids were no longer simply indiscriminate raids on the German civilian population: they were raids on the old cultural landmarks of Europe. It was at this time that 'Europe' became an important factor in propaganda. England was an island and did not belong to Europe; Russia was Asiatic and subhuman. Europe had cathedrals and monuments, traditions and culture to defend. Germany was defending them. And Europe was united behind her in the defense. It took very little time for the propagandist to unite Europe. On 27 June the news broadcaster said:

The whole of Europe has recognized that Germany's fight against Moscow is in the nature of a crusade of the European nations against Bolshevism.

An entire continent ceased to be a merely geographical entity. Europe became a magic word. It took its place with the other magic words that were supposed to connote the ancient heritage for which Germany fought. The war was a crusade. Men were supposed to fight not merely for defense against the wicked English, but with the joy of those who were following a religious mission, to defend values long disclaimed by the Nazis—love of Fatherland, religion, and the sanctity of family life.

3. ANTICIPATION OF DIPLOMATIC ACTION

a. Italy's Entry into the War. On 10 June 1940, the Italian war machine, perhaps weary with long waiting, lumbered into the battle-torn fields of France. Some months earlier a curious world had begun to speculate on the time and character of Italy's move. Rumors of Italian entry were frequent, and the action was anticipated well in advance. It was no trick of the German radio to talk of Italy's becoming a belligerent state. Everyone was talking of it. The German home propagandists had only to convince their people that it would happen.

This was the second time Germany had gone to war without the help of Italy, her ally, and the suspicion had not died down

that Italy would repeat the game she had successfully played in the First World War. The German people had therefore to be constantly assured that the new Italy and the new Germany were true allies; reassurances were sometimes condensed into campaigns. In March, prior to Germany's occupation of Norway and three months before Italy found it safe to honor her pledge, three events seemed to indicate the approach of Italy's decision: the British seizure of Italian colliers, Ribbentrop's visit to Rome, and the Hitler-Mussolini meeting on the Brenner Pass. It was in March that the campaign conducted in German domestic propaganda reached its climax; but even while victories were in progress throughout April, May, and during the three triumphant first days of June, the preoccupation with Italy's decision did not die down. German propagandists not only had to reassure the doubts of their own people; Italy too had to be convinced that it was safe to stick to Germany.

Italy's status in German propaganda became clear after the British had announced their intention of stopping overseas shipment of German coal to Italy and began to seize Italian colliers. The German reaction was true to form: England was oppressing the neutrals; Italy would reply in no uncertain terms; Germany was fighting for the rights of young nations. Whereas Germany was aggressive towards Britain, Italy was conciliatory. Germany anticipated the future, Italy advised caution. Germany was ready for Italian action, Italy was biding time. That at least is the impression given by a comparison of the two radio systems.

Radio Rome showed that it was by no means pro-ally in a broadcast to Germany on 2 March:

Italy is just as anti-democratic as she is anti-Bolshevik; it is not sure who is menacing Italy more, Russia or the democracies.

This warning, however, was made to the Germans, and was not rebroadcast to England, France, or the Italian people. On the same day, Radio Rome was unable to find the widespread antagonism in Italy to the British coal policy which the *Deutsch-*

landsender readily found. Indeed, the Italian propagandist said that 'no political importance is being attached to this affair.'²⁰ And in the days that followed, Radio Rome spoke to the Italian people of an amicable solution: 'Britain, it is declared by the British press, is sincerely desirous of bringing about an accord';²¹ and again that 'A certain good will can be noted in the British papers, aiming at bringing about an amicable solution.'²² Italy may even then have planned war, but she was not ready to anticipate it in propaganda.

For some time, the Italian radio showed continued reluctance to stress Italian partisanship. On 9 March Ribbentrop visited Rome. The meeting was probably only a preliminary to the Brenner Pass meeting of Hitler and Mussolini on 18 March. Nevertheless, the contrast in treatment and importance on the two radios is a matter of some moment. Radio Rome did not announce the meeting in advance, Radio Berlin did. The day after Ribbentrop's departure, the Italian interest dwindled, whereas the German interest continued for two days. The differences in treatment are no less interesting. Little need be said of the Italian reports, for they were brief, formal, and routine. Ribbentrop was given 'a cordial reception,' but so were numerous other visitors to Italy at the time, including Sumner Welles and the Hungarian Prime Minister, Teleki. *Deutschlandsender*, on the other hand, could find no reason for restraint. Even before the meeting, the Germans said:

Ribbentrop's meeting with the leaders of Fascism can be received by the world as a new proof of German-Italian solidarity which has never been weakened, much less interrupted . . . The leading statesmen of Germany and Italy are bearers of a fixed will which works far beyond the present into the future.²³

There was little suggestion on either chain of what Ribbentrop and Mussolini talked about, but both Berlin and Rome admitted that they talked about coal. The latter announced a coal agree-

²⁰ News broadcast in English for South Africa.

²¹ 4 March 1940.

²² 5 March 1940.

²³ 8 March 1940.

ment, the former added that Italy had not 'hesitated to accept the Fuehrer's magnanimous offer.' Unhesitating acceptance of a magnanimous offer seems to imply some kind of obligation. It may have seemed so to the German listeners, but not yet to the Italians.

Even after the Hitler-Mussolini meeting²⁴ on the Brenner Pass, which was given great publicity in the German home news, fascist Italy saw 'no reason yet to change her conscious attitude of expectation.'²⁵ A few days before, Radio Rome had made clear at least one strategic reason for her reluctance. On 14 March, a talk on 'Six Months of War on the Seas' was broadcast to the Italian home population. After conceding that British naval superiority was less than it had been in the last war, the speaker let loose a bombshell:

It is premature to forecast the results, but it is certain that once more the fact will be confirmed that a naval power can always and only be beaten at sea.²⁶

The broadcast implied that England, the naval power, could not be beaten by the magnificent armies of the Reich—but perhaps would have to be tackled by the Italian fleet. During the Norwegian campaign, the German radio told a story of air power, which may have reassured the Italians. In April, the Nazis set out to establish the superiority of their air power over the naval power of England.²⁷ In a two-week radio campaign, it was shown that one bomb could destroy a battleship. Thus, if a

²⁴ It was probably to Hitler's advantage that the Russo-Finnish Peace was signed before his meeting with Mussolini. Official Italy had been rather strongly pro-Finnish, while its Axis partner was moderately pro-Russian.

²⁵ 19 March 1940. Italian Home Radio.

²⁶ 14 March 1940. Italian Home Radio.

²⁷ In the fall of 1939 German broadcasts assured the world that the British aircraft carrier, *Ark Royal*, had been sunk. Since Italy does not possess aircraft carriers, the point was of obvious importance. The later career of the *Ark Royal* made the claim a much discussed long-run failure of German propaganda, although the claim may well have served a short-run purpose.

naval power could be defeated from the air, England would not be a serious threat, and Italy need have no fears.

During the same period, the German broadcaster spoke with increasing confidence of Italian participation in the war. Figure XIX shows the percentage of all predictions made at the time in the German news which dealt with Italian entry into the war. Those predictions varied; some were little more than assertions of Italy's ability to resist; others were much stronger, suggesting that Mussolini would soon give the order to march. Even before the invasion of Norway, the Germans predicted Italian action. But it was only when the Norwegian campaign was almost over that this prediction really flooded the German news, constituting 17 per cent of all predictions made at the time.

Meanwhile, the Fascists also changed their tone. Gradually the Italian radio became more and more like the German radio. Talk of an 'amicable solution' and a 'conscious attitude of expectation' died down. It was replaced by the threats and the bravado to which the German listener had been accustomed. While the Germans continued to reassure their listeners, Italy anticipated her own action. The Italians spoke of their 'civilizing mission' and the 'reawakening of the imperial conscience.' Mussolini said that only deeds would break his silence. The German radio followed with a loud chorus of huzzahs. Before the invasion, Italian papers dutifully denied Germany's intention to invade the Lowlands, and after the invasion they accepted all German interpretations of events. On the day of the Lowland invasion, Radio Rome declared:

This is not an invasion by Germany, but rather a move which undoubtedly would have been taken by the enemies of the Reich if it had not been anticipated by the Germans.²⁸

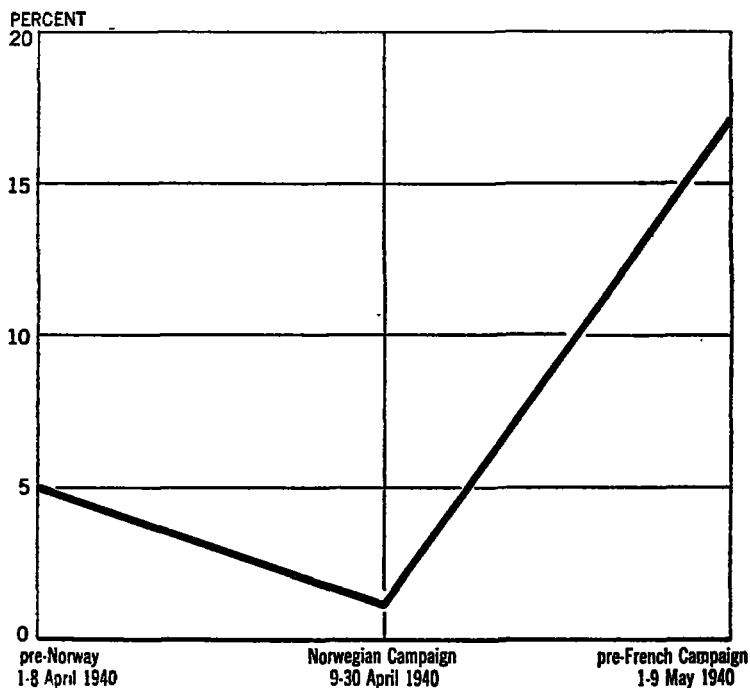
The Italian declaration of war came at a time when France lay helpless. The legions of blackshirts easily carried off their share of plunder, while the Italian radio celebrated victory. But after

²⁸ 5 May 1940. Italian Home Radio.

FIGURE XIX

Predictions of Italy's Entry into the War

Percentages of prediction total—All home news bulletins



This figure shows both explicit and implicit predictions.

18 months of hopeless war, on 2 December 1942, Mussolini felt called upon to give a curiously pathetic explanation of the whole affair:

If we had remained neutral [he said], aside from the dishonor, we would now be in the most frightful poverty. Because it is evident that neither one side nor the other would have bothered to help us . . .

And he tried hard to show that 'the stab in the back' had been no fault of his:

Italy's entry into the war was set for June 5th; that was my date, the one I had chosen, and it was the German High Command which, for reasons of a technical nature . . . upon which it is useless to insist today—begged us to postpone the intervention to June 10th.

b. Yugoslavia: Anticipation that Failed. The subjugation of Yugoslavia was well timed. Roosevelt had signed the Lend-Lease Bill two weeks before, and Germany wanted a new diplomatic triumph to offset it. Italy needed help for her ill-starred invasion of Greece, and Germany had no objections to walking in on the primrose path. A diplomatic defeat for England and the United States would be welcome; they were supposed to be exerting great pressure on the last neutrals in the Balkans. Germany already had her mind on bigger things, and wanted to dispose of the Serbs and the Greeks. Matsuoka was on his way to Berlin for a visit and it would have been nice to impress him with a new ally.

The Germans were eager to promote the alliance with Yugoslavia. News of it was first given out on 24 March 1941 (see Figure XX); the following day the pact was signed in Vienna, and the broadcaster announced that millions would be able to listen to the solemn ceremony. This time it was the Germans and the Yugoslavs who had always been friends; Yugoslavia had a peace policy like the German peace policy; Yugoslavia was also a young nation, inspired by the mythical new order. As

usual, Ribbentrop made a speech, in which he stressed the importance of Axis domination in the Balkans:

. . . practically the entire Balkans, hitherto neutral, now find themselves in the camp of Order . . . a country has joined us some of whose forces Britain persistently believed she could mobilize by internal interference.²⁹

FIGURE XX

The Yugoslav Situation

Number of news items in all home news bulletins 23 March-5 April 1941

DATE	NO. OF ITEMS
23 March	0
24	3
25	20
26	25
27	4
28	11
29	5
30	3
31	10
1 April	16
2	11
3	9
4	12
5	11

On the same day, Fritzsche also devoted his talk to the Yugoslav alliance:

The English News Agency, with its usual cheek and fear of God, spread freely invented reports on manifestations of protests which had allegedly happened in this or that place against Yugoslavia's intended adhesion to the Three Power Pact. The matter came to such a pitch that, yesterday evening, Belgrade had to correct these mendacious reports and state clearly that there was not one word of truth in them.

Seldom has the Ministry of Propaganda been caught so completely off guard. The next day saw the culmination of one great

²⁹ 25 March 1941.

celebration and the prelude to another—the approaching arrival of the Japanese Foreign Minister. Out of 73 news items broadcast to the home front on 26 March, 25—more than one-third of the total—were concerned with news of Yugoslavia. When the Yugoslav Premier arrived in Belgrade he was reported to have said, 'Now, everything is all right.' 'English propaganda boils with rage,' said the *Political Review*, and the itinerant Matsuoka sent his congratulations ahead of him. So great was the din in the Wilhelmstrasse that the Germans could not hear the fighting in the streets of Belgrade.

However, on 27 March, the whole world knew of the heroic resistance of the Serbs. At 4:00 p.m., the German news broadcaster announced that a *coup d'état* had taken place in Belgrade, and that the boy King Peter had assumed royal power. But the news was given without comment, sandwiched between items on elections in Egypt and the death of a German medical inspector. On 28 March, the Germans admitted that anti-German demonstrations were taking place, but they continuously referred to the doubtful nature of all reports. On the 29th, their expression was a little stronger. On that day the news broadcaster said:

When the German Ambassador in Yugoslavia was recognized by the crowd while driving through the streets of Belgrade, demonstrations for and against Germany ensued which developed into violent brawls.

It is notable that the demonstrations were said to be both favorable and unfavorable; and another news broadcast stated that only the Serbs were flying the flags of the rebellion. The Croats were united behind the Axis cause, and Matchek, the Croat leader, had probably been kidnapped. It was only on 30 March that the Germans recovered sufficiently from their shock to work out a new propaganda line out of the confusion:

Washington government circles no longer try to conceal their intervention in Yugoslav politics. It is even admitted in Washing-

ton that revolutionary circles in Yugoslavia were encouraged by Washington.

Yet this item did not show the real change. It was only the next day that the hate campaign acquired momentum. On 31 March and 1 April, the radio gave vivid descriptions of assaults against Germans in the streets of Belgrade, and revelled in atrocity stories—which had figured comparatively little in preparation campaigns since the invasion of Poland. Germans suddenly remembered that the Serbs were a Slavic people and therefore subhuman.

During the short-lived Yugoslav friendship, Germany had claimed her for the New Order; she was, therefore, a young nation. The propagandist could not now say that revolution had made Serbia old. A Spanish paper, *Informaciones*, provided a convenient way out of the difficulty: on 1 April it was quoted to the effect that Yugoslavia was too young, 'too young to demonstrate unity towards the outside world.' Since Yugoslavia had first signed a pact, the chief attack had to be made against the Serb insurgents. The broadcaster concentrated on the anti-German demonstrations and the allegedly anti-German attitude of the new Government. But, as always, the long arm of England and America was supposed to have stretched secretly into Belgrade: 'London, with its influence and promises, has awakened the most unbridled savagery in Serbia, and is, therefore, the real culprit.'³⁰

Anticipation of friendship was thus supplanted by preparation for attack. The number of news items at the peak of the hate campaign failed to reach the previous heights, and propaganda never recovered from the confusion into which the alliance that failed had thrown the normally well-ordered Ministry. The interval of embarrassed silence could not last long. Argumentation for hate had to be taken from the shelf and adapted as best it could be to the new situation to explain why Germany was suddenly to march against a country whose 'history and love of

³⁰ 3 April 1941.

peace so closely paralleled those of Germany.' On 6 April, Belgrade suffered one of the worst air raids of the war and another bloody campaign had begun.

c. Matsuoka's Visit and Japan. No diplomatic event during the war was celebrated on the German radio with greater gusto than the visit of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, in March 1941. A computation of names in the news on the German home radio first led us to perceive the importance with which German propaganda endowed the event. Hitler is the hero of the German home news, Churchill and Roosevelt are the villains. But roughly, from the passage of the Lend-Lease Bill on 11 March to the invasion of Yugoslavia on 6 April, Hitler and the enemy leaders recede into the background, and Matsuoka becomes the leading figure of the news.

Figure XXI gives the number of news items relating to Matsuoka's visit in the home news from 11 March to 6 April. There were ten days when 10 per cent or more of the German home news was about Matsuoka's visit. There were three days when this event rated over 20 per cent. Discussions of the visit were not limited to the news bulletins. Fritzsche discussed it, so did the *Topics of the Day*, the *Political Review*, and other feature programs. Not even Mussolini in his meeting with Hitler before the Italian entry into the war had received such a build-up.³¹ Indeed, so great was the concentration of the many German transmissions on this event that on 28 March, at the peak of interest, a Nazi commentator for South America, Dr. Fernando Torres, was naive enough to say, 'Today's subject would naturally be the visit of Mr. Matsuoka to Berlin and its consequences, but frankly, I think you will have read and heard too much about this.'³²

³¹ Lochner quotes the following instructions in reference to the visit. 'Foreign Minister Matsuoka will proceed to Germany. This item is to be given much display. It is a world sensation. All articles must duly emphasize Matsuoka's importance.' Lochner, *op. cit.* p. 278.

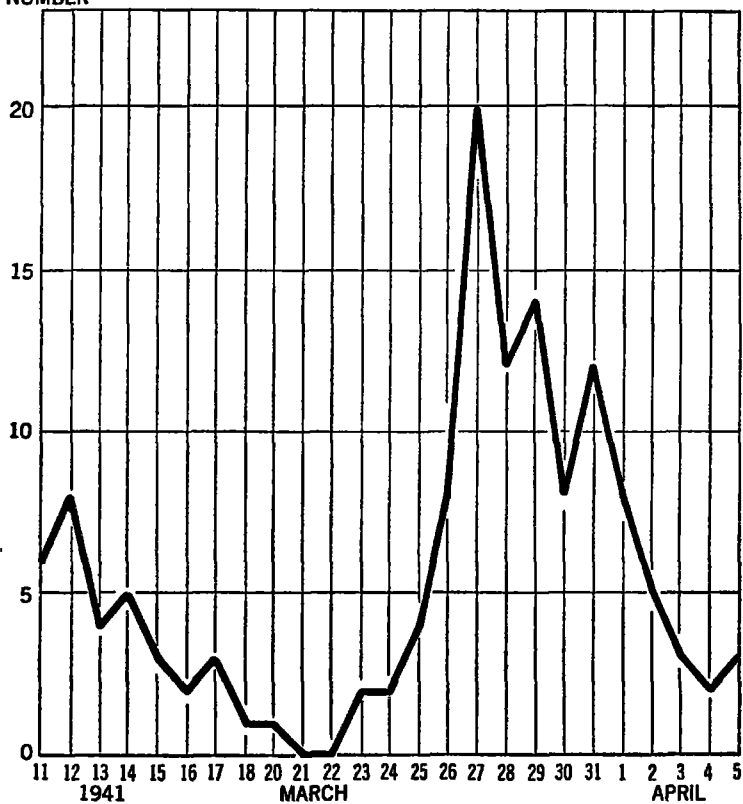
³² 28 March 1941.

FIGURE XXI

Matsuoka's Travelogue

Attention survey: Number of items in all home news bulletins

NUMBER



During these twenty-six days, the German listener was treated to a travelogue. Political conclusions were drawn from the travelogue by the propagandist—some of them relevant, others absurd—but the travelogue itself occupied much of the attention of the broadcaster. The enormous length of the journey was made clear by announcing from time to time the towns through which Matsuoka passed. On 11 March, the newscaster announced that Matsuoka would visit Germany and Italy. Hans Fritzsche treated his listeners to a monologue on Matsuoka, the League of Nations, and the Tri-Partite Pact. On 12 March, *Deutschlandsender* told its listeners that Matsuoka received German and Italian press representatives before departing. On 13 March, the British press was said to be devastated by the visit. The next day, *Deutschlandsender* brought the Foreign Minister's time-table up to date and told of his travel plans:

Matsuoka is due to arrive in Shimonoseki today on his way to Berlin, and, after a short stay there, he will cross by ferry to Fusan in Korea. He originally intended to fly to Korea. This plan had to be abandoned owing to the unfavorable weather.

Matsuoka crossed the Russian border. He was feted in Moscow—particularly by Axis ambassadors, and wherever he went he was the hero of the German radio. Meanwhile, Berlin waited for him with alleged eagerness. On 26 March, *Deutschlandsender* broadcast a talk telling where the guest had refreshment, how well he travelled in the special train of the Reich, and when and where he would arrive. Later in the day, Japanese court music of the eighth century preceded the following:

The faint green now showing in the Tiergarten recalls the Cherry Blossom feast which is just now being celebrated in Japan and which signifies joy in living.

The next day the long-heralded visitor arrived. Huge crowds greeted the Japanese Foreign Minister at the station. School children were given time off. Ribbentrop spoke and Matsuoka

replied. The German radio has never been more anxious to present a festive appearance than it was on 27 March 1941. It tried to forget for the moment that a revolution was taking place in Yugoslavia. The day of the arrival was the climax, but in no sense the finale. Hitler gave Matsuoka a lunch. The latter visited many of the German leaders. He laid a wreath on the tomb of Frederick the Great. He went to Rome and was again treated to a festive reception. He was received by the Pope. He returned to Germany and again saw Hitler. Finally he went to Moscow, where he was greeted, according to the German news broadcast, by ambassadors and ministers of states belonging to the Tri-Partite Pact—less mention was made of Russian officials. Finally on 13 April he signed a Pact of Friendship with Russia.

The news content of the travelogue had been slender, and in no way accounted for its frequency, but the listener was certainly given to believe that the visit was a momentous one. There were many themes concerning the visit:

That the trip was not merely a friendly visit but would lead to important political decisions.

That it would extend the Tri-Partite Pact.

That it was the first time since the Treaty of Portsmouth that a Japanese Foreign Minister had visited Europe.

That army and navy representatives accompanied Matsuoka.

That German diplomacy had scored another triumph.

That the visit proved that the Axis would win the war.

Some themes involved statements of fact, some the haziest of predictions. None of them offered any very definite suggestions as to policy pursued at the meetings of Matsuoka and the Axis leaders. Yet the technique of handling the news suggests that German propagandists had a definite goal in mind. They wanted to counteract the impression created by the Lend-Lease Bill, passed earlier that month by Congress. The bill was mentioned in German comments on Matsuoka's visit as one of the Anglo-American machinations to which the visit was a reply.

In order to stress its international importance, the usual de-

vice of attributing commentary to non-German sources was widely practiced. On 12 March, the news broadcaster said:

According to the [Rumanian] papers *Universul* and *Curentul*, this is not just a courtesy visit, but will lead to important political decisions.

Later in the day, he added:

The Argentine papers expect still closer relations between Germany, Italy, and Japan. This was indicated by the fact that Matsuoka was accompanied by a staff of diplomatic and military collaborators.

On 13 March, the Political Commentary of the German home radio found other sources for similar statements:

A Hungarian newspaper emphasizes that the Japanese Navy is an important factor in world strategy. The Bulgarian and Yugoslav newspapers attach particular importance to the statement that leading representatives of the Navy and Army accompany the Foreign Minister to Berlin.

It seems reasonable to believe that Germany had really high expectations. Had the build-up occurred only on short-wave, there might have been reason for suspicion. To suggest to the home population that a tremendous diplomatic victory was being achieved, however, involved some risk. Taking such a risk meant either that the victory had been achieved or that the stakes were high enough to warrant the risk. Official German sources maintained that Germany and Japan had come together after each had just had a major diplomatic success—Germany in the acquisition of an alliance with Bulgaria, Japan in the cession of Indo-Chinese territories to Thailand. But the visit itself was supposed to overshadow these successes. On 13 March, a political commentator said:

England fears the motorized German diplomacy which only two weeks after having won the battle of penetration in Bulgaria, is again well on its way to new successes.

The Germans used the Matsuoka visit as they used every military triumph, to point to the contrast between their deeds and the mere words of the enemy. At the first announcement of the visit, Fritzsche said:

The deeds and practical successes of the three powers, for instance, Japan's mediation of the peace between Thailand and Indo-China, will have a greater power of attraction than the boastful words of democratic origin.³³

The tone of the fanfare seems not to have changed greatly as the visit continued, and offers us little indication whether or not the triumph which the Germans so often suggested actually took place. Carefully selected quotations from the Japanese press given by the German radio stressed the importance of the visit, emphasizing the same themes as the Nazis. But other sources quoted other Japanese news. On 13 March, Radio Havana said:

In connection with Matsuoka's journey to Rome and Berlin via Moscow, the paper *Hochi* voices certain misgivings, pointing out that Germany and Italy ought to appreciate the unshakable friendship of Japan, who by this step faces the effects the journey may have on British and American public opinion.

On the same day, the London *Times* found other reservations:

Asahi said that Matsuoka when in Europe should exercise 'great prudence and consideration,' and declaring that the Emperor wished for peace, it reminded the Foreign Minister that 'Japanese subjects can have no mission outside the Imperial wish.'

On 26 March, the *Times* continued to quote Japanese sources:

The Japanese press, however, continues to reveal a disbelief in an early German victory. *Chugai Shogyo* today declares that Germany cannot deliver a fatal blow by submarine warfare alone, nor yet by air attacks.

There was, of course, a considerable time lag between the Matsuoka journey and Pearl Harbor. During those months the

³³ 11 March 1941.

German propagandists were not idle. Continued efforts were made to sell Japan to the German people. Most talks on the Far Eastern situation were directed towards relations between Japan and the Western powers. Luetzow broadcast a talk on Singapore and discussed the difficulty of attacking Japan.³⁴ Matsuoka granted an interview, which was quoted several times, in which he said that Tokyo would feel bound to enter the war if the United States did.

On 24 May 1941, the *Bismarck* sank the *Hood* in a naval battle which the Germans heralded as a major victory. A news broadcast on 26 May shows one direction of the German victory propaganda. The broadcast began with four items about the *Hood*. The next item quoted an interview which Admiral von Raeder granted to Domei, Japanese News Agency, warning the United States against further extension of the war. A Japanese comment on the interview followed, and then an anniversary item about the Battle of Tsushima during the Russo-Japanese war.

While the items were not unusual in themselves, the way they were focused showed that the listener was supposed to get an impression of the strength of Germany and the weakness of England at sea, of the fact that Japan was entirely aware of that situation, and of the suggestion that Japan might add her naval strength to that of Germany.

The invasion of Russia came one month later, and in the many new interests of the German propagandists Japan receded for a while in the news. After some weeks of waiting and deliberation, the second Konoye government fell and Konoye was invited immediately to form a new Cabinet. He did so, and the most significant omission from that Cabinet was the hero of the German radio, Foreign Minister Matsuoka. There is some reason to believe that the change in government was made specifically for the purpose of getting rid of the man whom the Germans had

³⁴ 30 April 1941.

given almost unprecedented publicity but who had also signed a treaty with Russia.³⁵ The attitude taken by the Germans was that the old government was giving way to a stronger one. Actually, the 'stronger Cabinet,' more than ever under the control of the militarists, did not take office until the fall of the third Konoye government in October. Both Cabinet changes raised comments to the effect that there would be no change in the foreign policy, even though the government would be 'stronger.' In the case of the Tojo government, however, the Germans quoted the Japanese newspaper *Nichi Nichi* to the effect that the new Cabinet was not responsible for past mistakes and would be able to start on a new road. The statements of the European satellite powers were somewhat stronger than those of the German radio, and Radio Budapest went so far as to express Berlin's alleged opinion in more vigorous terms than Berlin had done:

Berlin is of the opinion that the resignation of the Konoye Cabinet was caused by the impatience of Japanese military circles with the fruitless discussions between America and Japan and the fact that the military preparations of Japan for a possible entry into the war were considered too slow.³⁶

On the whole, *Deutschlandsender's* comments of the summer and fall of 1941 on Japanese political matters contrasted strangely with the build-up of Matsuoka in the spring of that year. Tojo and Togo were not treated to any heroization, but remained virtually unknown figures to the German radio audience. There is some reason to suppose that the Germans were not so sure of Japan as they had seemed to be. On the other hand, testimonials to the strength of the Japanese continued up to Pearl Harbor. Exhortations to greater preparedness did occur and the speeches of Tojo were reported, but until the attack of 7 December there were none of the enthusiastic talks such as were broadcast during Matsuoka's visit.

³⁵ Cf. Moore, Frederick, *With Japan's Leaders*, New York, 1942, pp. 187-8.

³⁶ 17 October 1941.

XI

Stalemate

I. INTRODUCTION

WHEN battles cease and armies rest, it is the duty of the propagandist to keep waiting soldiers and a waiting homeland on the alert; in this task the propagandist is autonomous, and propaganda comes most fully into its own. Propaganda in times of lull is a substitute for warfare and provides action.¹ Under National Socialism this function gains decisive importance, since for Nazis inaction is not admissible. A German broadcaster spoke of the enemy in these terms: 'As it is, history is written by men of action, and these are lacking in the countries of the war criminals on both sides of the ocean.'²

In Nazi propaganda the substitutes for action are manifold. The propagandist can turn from the military to the diplomatic front. If there are no new alliances to be celebrated, he can turn to past victories, to the victories of an ally, or use wider prospects of history to prove that every period of inaction was followed by a German victory. In a sense, the motto of each frustrating winter has been: 'Wait until spring.' The propagandist can also rely upon such events as are his proper domain: birthdays, anniversaries, and cultural undertakings, such as book exhibitions, congresses, and Party rallies. The traditional techniques of Nazi agitation in peacetime come to be honored again during stalemate. The propagandist can also exaggerate minor incidents, like the boarding of the *Altmark*, which suit his purpose because

¹ Speier, Hans, 'Morale and Propaganda,' op. cit. pp. 299-326.

² 3 June 1942.

they are welcome interruptions in the dullness of stalemate and because they can be made to lay the propaganda groundwork for future action.

The two main stalemate periods during this war were the winters of 1939-40 and 1940-41. The Germans claimed that stalemate is seasonal—a useful explanation in the two following winters in which the enemy took the offensive and which were primarily defeat situations for the Germans. Stalemate periods are apt to be characterized by the events that precede them and those that follow. The period of the 'phoney war' followed a victory, and that fact made the task of the propagandist easier than it would otherwise have been. The second winter followed the defeat in the Battle of Britain, but the defeat was concealed, and the propagandist had the greatest of German victories, the conquest of France, to help him remind his listeners of German invincibility. Both periods of inaction ended with new blitzkrieg campaigns in the following April—one in Norway, the other in Yugoslavia and Greece. Both overlapped with preparation campaigns for spring offensives. Both were long, comprising part of autumn and the whole of winter.

Not only the enemy or the will of the High Command can force an interruption in fighting. Christmas also compels a pause which cannot be overlooked, even if it exists only in minds and memories.

2. THE FIRST TWO WINTERS OF WAR

During the 'phoney war,' there was much talk of 'undeclared peace,' and in various parts of the world supposedly serious people began to speak of long wars without bloodshed and fortified lines that could never be cracked. Men began to draw political conclusions from a military situation which seemed quite unusual in the history of modern warfare. Emissaries of Mr. Chamberlain's government were being hoodwinked into negotiations with what they thought were representatives of the Reichs-

wehr. And it was generally suspected that the Germans were not ready to fight. The Germans did not discourage speculation. They let it go on. They said that Germany wanted to be at peace, but that she was ready for a long war. Hitler implicitly lent credence to the notion that the 'phoney war' was the real war. On 6 October 1939, in asking France for appeasement, he said:

Perhaps the day will come when France will begin to bombard and demolish Saarbruecken. German artillery will in turn lay Mulhouse in ruins. France will retaliate by bombarding Karlsruhe, and Germany in her turn will shell Strasbourg.

The Germans did not need to create or exploit suspense. The suspense was there. While a section of world opinion was waiting for Germany to be starved into subjection, her propagandists sowed convictions that were to crop up again and again during the war. The sacrifice of the home front, the new German diplomacy, the failure of the British blockade, the successes of the U-boats, the education in hatred—themes that were to play important parts in the weary war years to come—had their propagandistic roots in the 'phoney war.'

The enemies were said to be divided from the beginning. Economic treaties between England and France were designed to bring France under British control. France was misguided, England was villainous. French troops were in the Maginot Line while English troops were dancing in night clubs. British soldiers were not permitted to marry French girls. And such ill-feeling between the Allies was contrasted with Germany's splendid diplomatic relations.

During the Russo-Finnish War the German radio made a point of broadcasting Russian and Finnish communiques alike, and found a convenient way of treating the conflict. Russia was not fighting Finland, nor Finland Russia, but Germany, Russia, Finland, and the neutrals were all fighting England. On 9 March 1940, Hans Fritzsche said:

The English, who declared war allegedly to protect neutrals and who now want to drag the neutrals into the war, understand the Finnish-Russian War not as a tragic conflict born out of problems of living space in that region. No, they see in this war nothing but a flaming torch which they can make use of by setting the fire of war to neutral countries.

England was endangering the neutrals and Germany became an active and righteous defender of neutrality. The blockade was the leading preoccupation of Nazi propagandists. While they reassured the Germans that Germany would never be affected by it, they bemoaned its tragic effect upon the neutrals. Countless neutral ships were sunk by English mines; neutral sailors on rafts in the open sea were bombed by English planes; neutral trade was destroyed and neutral countries impoverished.

The English blockade again deprives Danish workers of their jobs. The cotton mills in Copenhagen have had to close down, since they no longer have sufficient raw material at their disposal. Thus 700 Danish workers have been thrown out of work at one blow.³

There were mines off the east coast of England, and the German propagandist was not quite clear whose mines they were. Evidently, there were two sets of mines: German mines which sank British ships, and British mines which sank neutral ships. Later Germany said that she was not laying mines, but maintained her legal and vocal right to do so, if she wished. The effects of the British blockade were far-reaching, and one day the newscaster reported:

In company with several English drifting mines, a giant whale has been washed up on Ostend beach. It is believed to have been the victim of a British mine.⁴

While neutral economy was being disrupted by England, the German people were told of German self-sufficiency. Hardly a

³ 27 February 1940.

⁴ 21 November 1939.

day went by without talks on agriculture and industry, and in March the Leipzig Fair was used to point up Germany's economic security in wartime. Germany's overseas trade, it was said, was never more than 30 per cent of her exports; and there would always be plenty to eat. In February, the Labor Minister said, 'Our industry, our raw materials and food supplies are ensured for a long time to come.'⁵ In the same week Goering demonstrated that the foresighted paternalism of Nazi leadership was active even in the midst of plenty, when he asked, 'Is it in the interest of the people to let matters slide, to allow everything to be eaten, and to be bare of supplies within two years?'

Despite occasional discomforts and shortages, the material condition of the homeland was nothing to worry about; the propagandist was more concerned with psychological preparation for action to come. As was shown in Figure V, at no time during the war did the news broadcaster place greater stress on the enemy, in contrast to the self, than during the 'phoney war.' The radio reported progress; the Germans, it said, were learning to hate. And in January a broadcast for German youth was able to assure them that:

German boys and girls know the warmongers in London and Paris and hate them ardently. There will never be an army that hates more fervently. German youth stands by the German Army, whose soldiers learned to hate years ago when the Reich was at stake.

The *Altmark* incident, in February, provided fuel for righteous indignation. The *Altmark* was a prison ship that had accompanied the *Graf Spee*, reached the Norwegian coast, and journeyed into Norwegian territorial waters under Norwegian escort. The British destroyer *Cossack* entered the fjord, boarded the *Altmark*, and rescued the British prisoners. Fritzsche spoke of the *Altmark* as justification for the hate campaign that had been raging dur-

⁵ This and following quotations from the *Weekly Analysis of Foreign Broadcasts*, Monitoring Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

ing previous months. One commentator attended the funeral of the *Altmark* men and broadcast his description. Atrocity stories were added to the facts of the case. The news broadcaster said that the seamen 'confirmed in an entirely unambiguous manner the fact that it was the English who opened fire on the German ship.' As usual, the testimony of the world press was called upon. A Yugoslav correspondent was supposed to have flown over the fjord and discovered that the attack had taken place in Norwegian territory—which the English had never denied. And on 27 February Fritzsche added:

Today, the world knows that Germans of the *Altmark* crew shared their cigarettes with Englishmen, who were borne half round the world in spite of England's alleged domination of the seas, until the English, out of sheer anger at this brilliant feat, were stupid enough to board the *Altmark* in Norwegian waters.

Thus, a British success became a moral victory for Germany. The story died hard and was soon followed by further incidents, magnified or invented for the preparation campaign which preceded the attack on Norway.

While the stalemate of the first winter of war was dominated by anticipation of the future, that of the second winter was dominated by recollections of the past. The Battle of Britain, according to official British calculation, ended on 31 October 1940, and the next day, leaving Britain unconquered, Germany invaded France a second time. A dialogue on the superiority of the German tank corps, a feature on the work of the N.S.K.K., talks by Colonel Hesse on such subjects as the importance of gaining the channel coast, *Front Reports* on Flanders, Dunkerque, and the entry into Paris, and similar programs became almost daily features of the home radio. The use of Front Report recordings made during the campaign gave accounts of fighting an oddly contemporaneous flavor. For instance, on 12 November, the listener could hear the following:

We captured some thirty survivors of a Zouave Regiment, and, in spite of intense barrage fire, we came safely back, having lost only one of our comrades . . . the NCOs, Sergeant-Major and I received the Iron Cross [second class] for it.

And frequently the recordings still contained the use of the present tense.

While the land forces seemed to be occupied with fighting a campaign that had been won over four months before, air and naval forces were fighting the lone enemy on other fronts. Seldom has there been greater exploitation of victory than during the winter of 1940. The Propaganda Ministry turned almost indiscriminately from the Seine to the Atlantic, from Coventry to Flanders, and back to the Atlantic again. On 15 November, the Front Reporter described one of the largest air raids on England:

We could see enormous fires raging, some white and brilliant, others dark red. Then came the high spot of the raid, the dropping of the bombs . . . A tremor went through the machine as the bombs dropped . . . Our bombs had hit their mark; the fires extended . . . It is the nerve center of the British armament industry which had been hit, and I am proud that I witnessed this.

The next day another Front Reporter was saying:

My heart leapt for joy because I saw that heavy French tanks were counter-attacking and in doing so were running straight into the fire from my heavy tank.

Coventry was destroyed. The Maginot Line was broken. Time was in confusion and everywhere there was victory. 'Over the memorial of Langemarck, the German war flag flies again.'⁶ And over London and Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Plymouth, flew the German planes. The Battle of Britain had been lost and hidden away, but the nation that had reconquered the long-disputed territories of the last war need have no fears.

⁶ 10 November 1940.

Just as this war had been different from the last in France, it was to be different in the Atlantic.

In the first winter the blockade had been a British weapon, ineffectually enforced against Germany, cruelly imposed on the neutrals. Now the blockaded became the blockader.

The German U-boats and motor torpedo-boats, our surface forces, and our air force will strive to see to it that the English have to pull their belts tighter yet, for today the blockade has become a German weapon.⁷

England would not be conquered, but starved out. 'Madmen must be isolated, and we shall isolate "the Upper Ten Thousand in England" . . .'⁸

But winter was at hand, and the December moon shone alike on the just and the unjust. The German propagandist had to show, as he had tried to do the previous year, that winter and waiting were worse for England than for Germany. England was desolate and devastated. Quade spoke of 'homeless people, mass feeding, streets littered with splinters and debris, unobtainable telephone communication, postal delays.'⁹ Germany had rationing and cold, but there were roofs in Germany, and food and fuel. Darre, the Minister of Agriculture, told the people that rations in England would be only on paper, 'whereas in Germany the amounts of the rations are really made available for workers and can be bought by every German at the same prices.'¹⁰ Darre claimed that 'we lost the last war very largely because of hunger,' but added that this time it was the British who would be hungry.

In the first winter there were no unfulfilled expectations, no blitzkriegs that did not come off. Moreover, it was the first winter, maybe the only winter, of a short war. The second winter must necessarily have meant increased tension. And the enemy was not inactive. The Greeks advanced into Albania. The

⁷ 16 November 1940.

⁸ 27 November 1940.

⁹ 6 December 1940.

¹⁰ 14 December 1940.

British advanced far across the Libyan desert. The Americans ground out war materials and prepared to lend and lease them to the British. As for the Greek campaign, it was almost forgotten on the German radio, until April, when Hitler marched his armies across the Balkan borders. The Italian defeats were neglected. Instead Italy was strong, just where Germany was strong, in stalemate—on the home front.

The British victories in North Africa could not be so readily neglected. The British offensive began on 9 December 1940. For almost two months the British African armies advanced, driving the Italians from Egyptian soil and moving through Cyrenaica, taking Bardia, Tobruk, and Benghazi. That first advance proved that the British could take the offensive. The Italians admitted their defeats, and the German radio, which regularly quoted the Italian communiques, had to admit them also. The first discussion of any length on the German home radio occurred on 16 December, the day of the fall of Sollum. After admitting that 'the sudden British offensive did not lack a certain amount of striking power,' the *Political Review* added:

The English people will see for themselves how little profit they will be able to derive from the war operations which Churchill started in Africa. The scales cannot be turned.

This was the line that was to be taken for some time to come. It became abundantly clear to the German broadcaster that 'the war would not be won in the Mediterranean.'

The English, who were driven out of Europe, should know how completely unimportant is the regaining of the Egyptian desert . . . What General Wavell has achieved is incomparably less important to Italy than a single air raid on Sheffield or Birmingham is to England.¹¹

When Bardia fell, it was 'the only place where England has achieved a success during this war.'¹² And, said the *Political Re-*

¹¹ 18 December 1940.

¹² 8 January 1941.

view, 'Even if the entire Cyrenaica were lost, the total strategical situation in the Mediterranean would by no means be changed.' ¹³ Fritzsche pretended that to the British the word 'Mediterranean' was magic. To the Germans, it was but another place where ships were being sunk. And Luetzow told the British that the war would still be won on the Western Front.

Yet, minimize the campaign as they might, the German propagandists knew the difference between the first and the second winter. Then they had almost complete control. Now they had lost that. The British also could act, and the blitz-hungry propagandists turned elsewhere. They turned to the U-boat campaign, the memories of France and Flanders, the diplomatic achievements of the Tri-Partite Pact, and, inevitably, they turned also to the home front. There are hardly any other periods in the German news when the names of minor German leaders loom larger than during the first British advance in Libya. Goebbels made pronouncements and promoted culture with much gusto. Ley addressed the workers. Axmann addressed youth, Darre addressed the farmers, Goering was omnipresent. Hitler himself hovered in the background as the donor of many medals and the giver of much hope, and said: 'The highest thing that God has given me is my people.' ¹⁴ In Munich, an exhibition was held to show the greatness of Germany. German science was said to have contributed greatly to German victories; culture was in full swing. German law was being improved even in wartime. And the radio said, 'We can be proud of our achievement of 1940. We are the only belligerent country which was able to hold its fairs.' ¹⁵

While the homeland was kept entertained during stalemate, or proudly shown how little war affected the activities of peace, the German soldiers had to be content with acquiring a new virtue:

Man's finest virtues are to be found on the battlefield: resolution, circumspection, courage, energy, and daring . . . The Ger-

¹³ 24 January 1941.

¹⁴ 8 November 1940.

¹⁵ 10 January 1941.

man soldier, who is the best soldier in the world, has these military virtues in high degree. In this war, however, he had had to learn an additional virtue—waiting . . .¹⁶

3. A NOTE ON CHRISTMAS

The two Christmases that occurred during stalemate were handled by a compromise between Christian tradition, pseudo-religious appeals, and elucidations on its pagan roots. Our information, shown in Figure XXII, does not include the Christmas of 1939. On Christmas Eve of 1940, the radio was flooded with speeches and messages. Yet only one, the speech of the Deputy Fuehrer, Hess, referred to the religious meaning of the occasion. But, like the other speakers, he also stressed the Germanic aspect of the festival rather than the Christian. Something was said about peace, but it was peace through war, and Fritzsche said that a peaceful Christmas was spent 'under the protection of the German armed forces,'¹⁷ united in what Ley called 'the big German family.' Hitler was the head of this family, and a Front Reporter said: 'The thoughts of millions of soldiers are today not only with their families, but with you, my Fuehrer.'¹⁸ And Hitler went to spend Christmas with the troops, as did Brauchitsch, Goering, and others. There could hardly have been a corps that was not honored by a visit of some high Party official.

Figure XXII shows the declining interest in Christmas on the German home radio. In 1941 there were fewer speeches. There were no messages from Hitler, and no indications that he, Goering, Brauchitsch, and the others were spending Christmas with the troops. Everyone knew that it was cold in Russia, and more Germans were away from home than ever. In general, the festival atmosphere was far less pronounced than it had been in 1940. Hitler's assumption of personal command, a few days before Christmas, had been an acknowledgment of difficulty. The Winter Relief Campaign focused the attention of the home front

¹⁶ 15 December 1940.

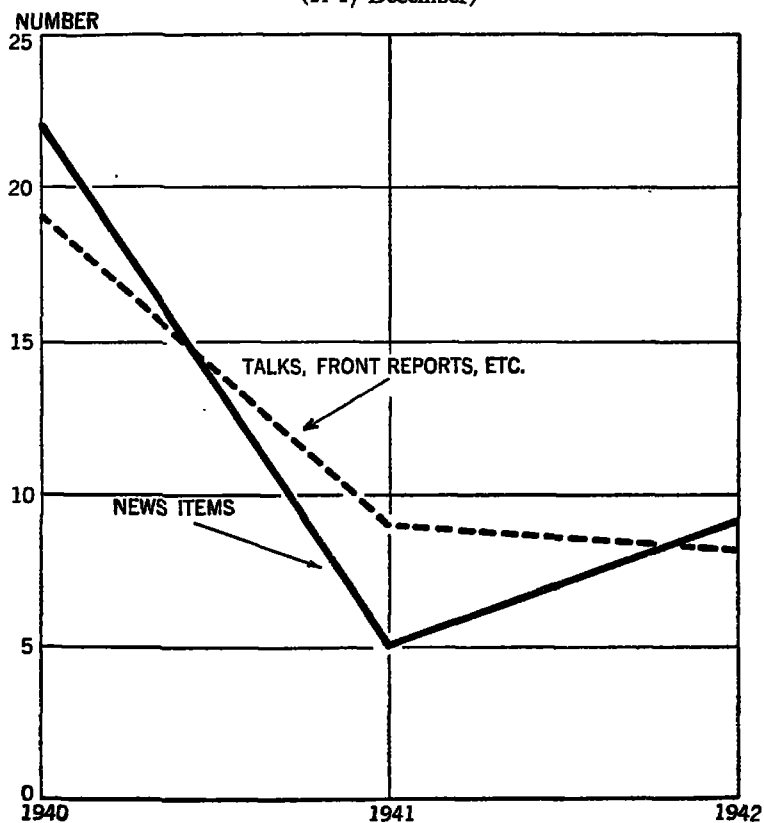
¹⁷ 26 December 1940.

¹⁸ 25 December 1940.

FIGURE XXII

Attention Paid to Christmas

Number of news items, talks, front reports, etc., relating to Christmas
(21-27 December)



on sacrifice, and Christmas too was used for this purpose. The keynote was sounded well in advance of the celebration itself, in a talk by Friedrich Hussong on 9 December. Hussong voiced his regret that 'this German festival' could not be what it used to be.

We must celebrate this Christmas with a clear conscience, remembering the hundreds of thousands of our men who will pass it in the Russian winter . . . Therefore, we must joyfully follow the precept, 'Do not give me a present, I shall not give you one.'

. . . [the children] will understand that we are celebrating the third war Christmas, that 15,000,000 parcels sent to the Front are more important than any passenger traffic, that the energy of German workmen and women is infinitely more necessary in armament factories than in the production of dolls, toys, and other useless articles.

Then to climax the talk, Hussong explained how Christmas might still be celebrated:

. . . let us imagine that we have Christmas sausage and marzipan and Christmas cakes, that the shopping centres are changed into fairyland and that the pleasure of making gifts has been restored to us . . . Only those who neither give nor receive presents during this Christmas will have the right to exclaim: 'War Christmas 1941!' And this Christmas will have been the supreme Christmas Festival of all German generations.¹⁹

In 1941, the only gifts that were supposed to be given were contributions to the Winter Clothing Collection. 'This time,' said the *Voice of the Front*, 'the German soldier is the most welcome guest under every lighted Christmas tree.' Stress was placed on the Germans abroad, as well as the troops, and the people were reminded that they were fortunate to be able to spend Christmas at home. Indeed, Goebbels, speaking on Christmas Eve, reminded them that they were lucky to be alive:

However severe the hardships which the individual has borne, is bearing today, and will still have to bear, the Fatherland makes

¹⁹ 9 December 1941.

his sacrifice worth while. That the Homeland could celebrate a third Christmas in wartime, scantier and more modest than usual, but nevertheless protected and guarded against the threats of our enemies, it must thank those who are defending it.

In 1942, much less was said about the things the home front would have to do without. The people were not told that there would be no gifts. They probably knew it. The Hitler Youth made toys for the soldiers. Every soldier who was able to return on leave was given a toy at the station which he might take home with him. Beyond that, little was said about festivity. Goebbels ended his Christmas Eve talk by saying that the few Christmas candles had almost gone out and that it was time to get back to work.

On the other hand, sentimentality reached even greater heights than during previous Christmas seasons. The propagandist simply exploited the nobility of those who face death.

Under the hail of shells, the longing for the beauty of noble humanity grows. It was once asserted that war coarsened men, but against this I would say that only he who has seen how close life and death are to each other can wholly esteem the value of a man. Under the hail of shells and in the shadow of the crosses, a stillness has grown within us, a stillness of death-daring gravity free from any empty enthusiasm of cheers. The fighting is the least of it. How much worse is the internal struggle than the external! ²⁰

POSTSCRIPT

As early as the middle of November 1943 the head of the office of Reich Propaganda suggested that all members of the Party and its branches celebrate Christmas 1943 with the evacuated and the dependents of Germans who had died.

²⁰ 17 December 1942.

XII

Victory

I. VICTORY IN PROGRESS AND ITS CELEBRATION

DEEDS such as the great military victories in the first year of the war naturally spoke louder than words. In such periods one might have expected the National Socialist propagandist to relax his efforts at complex and fantastic manipulation of news. But an investigation of his methods reveals that not even then did the Nazi propagandist restrict himself to the confines of reporting; he always distorts reality, and one might almost say that he made victory propaganda in spite of victory.

Certain problems confront the propagandist even in periods of success. No German victory of this war was final, and many people in the homeland probably have always doubted the outcome of action. This doubt seemed to vary with different campaigns and seems to have been greater during the early days of each new invasion. As campaigns piled up and war was extended, its wished-for conclusion moved ever farther from view; and the propagandist had, therefore, not only to assure his audience that the success of each campaign was inevitable but also that partial victories would lead to victorious peace. Both aims, he decided, could be achieved if victories were used to build up belief in the irresistible power of the German fighting forces and in the infallibility of German leadership.

The study of German High Command communiques reveals the general trend of this manipulation.¹ From an analysis of com-

¹For the following, see Research Paper #2, 'A Study of War Communiques—Methods and Results,' op. cit. Also, Speier, H., 'The Radio Communication of War News in Germany,' op. cit.

muniques during several campaigns or phases of campaigns, we find that sentences which say that action has been carried out 'according to plan' or 'on schedule,' that 'assigned tasks' or 'prescribed actions' have been completed, or sentences describing 'co-operation' or 'collaboration' of various services occur more frequently earlier than later in the war. The Nazi propagandist uses such phrases to create the impression that German leadership exercises a sort of magic control over events. While success in battle in the nineteenth century was still achieved 'with the help of God,' in modern battle it is achieved 'according to plan.' The plan has become the symbol of prescience and omniscience.

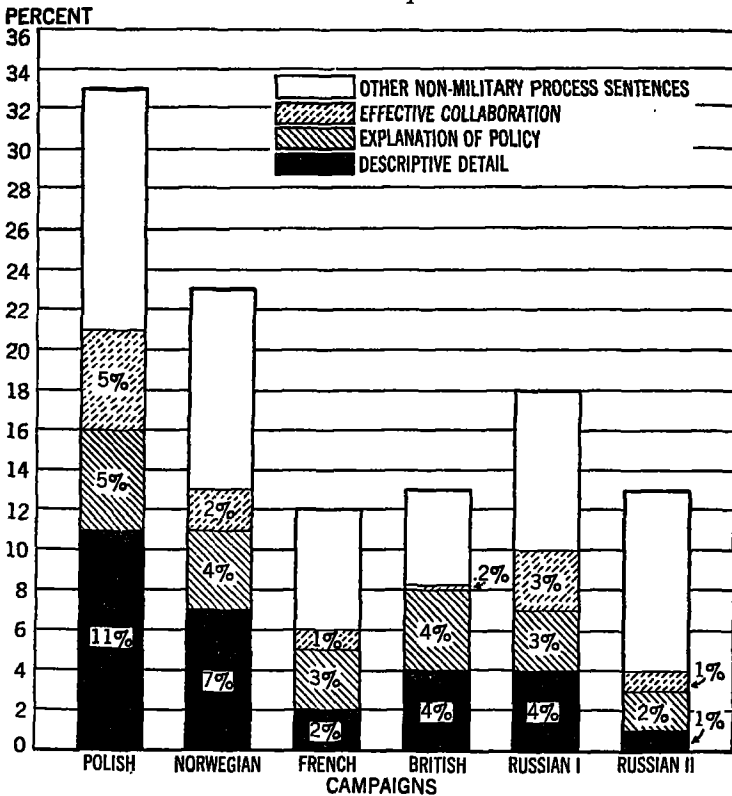
Figure XXIII shows that such sentences decreased from 5 per cent in the Polish campaign to 4 per cent in the Norwegian and to 1 per cent in the French campaign. In the first three months of the Russian campaign, from 22 June to 21 August 1941, their use increased to an average of 3 per cent, but dropped to 1 per cent from 22 November 1941 to 21 January 1942, when the situation in Russia clearly invalidated such statements. Poland was also the first great opportunity to create the image of an irresistible war machine by a relatively greater use of descriptive detail.

The German people had been well assured of their triumph. According to information from underground sources, it seems that the Ministry of Propaganda had organized a whispering campaign that predicted that the war against Poland would proceed as smoothly as a 'Strength through Joy' expedition. And when in January 1940 the film report on the Polish campaign, *Baptism of Fire*, was released, animated maps conveyed dramatically to the German audience the image of planned and inevitable annihilation of the enemy. The stern and heavy lines representing the German armies surrounded and compressed the amoebae-like blobs representing enemy forces, which slowly disintegrated and disappeared.

The army communiques of the Polish campaign mentioned no

FIGURE XXIII

Non-military Process Sentences in German High Command Communiques



This figure shows the percentages of 'non-military process' sentences—sentences which do not tell of progress towards military objectives—in German communiques. 'Descriptive detail' sentences are elaborations on military action that dramatize the engagement (e.g. 'The fighting was visible twenty miles away'). 'Explanation of policy' sentences include all explanations of strategy, tactics, or military policy (e.g. 'We are interested in bombing only military objectives'). 'Effective collaboration' sentences emphasize effective planning or collaboration of services (e.g. 'The air forces assisted in that attack according to plan'). 'Other non-military process' sentences include heroization, criticism of enemy leaders, summaries of losses, predictions, etc. The two periods of the Russian campaign cover three months of advance from 22 June to 21 August 1941, and three months of retreat, 22 November 1941 to 21 January 1942.

names of German soldiers, but only those of army commanders.² Great events were reported as occurring in 'the presence of the Fuehrer and Commander in Chief.' But on 6 October 1939, Hitler the Conqueror again became the champion of peace when he made his peace offer to Britain and France.

The campaign in Scandinavia created the pattern for invasion reporting. A burst of Special Announcements communicated to the Germans the name of each Danish town reached by the motorized army. The speed of the advance and the lack of resistance during these first days made Germany's blitz war seem almost miraculous in its effect. The landing in Norway was described in the High Command Communique as 'an achievement unique and outstanding in the history of the war,' and all transmissions re-echoed its tone of supreme confidence and exaltation.

The Norwegian campaign was of a specific kind; it was, in part, a sea- and air-borne invasion, untried and dangerous, despite the support of Norwegian traitors. In June 1940, General von Metzsch admitted that military experts had looked upon Hitler's daring plan³ with some apprehension:

For some time past in private military circles, the possibility of German action in the North has been frequently canvassed, but there have always been voices ready to object to such action on the ground of England's naval supremacy . . .⁴

In analyzing the communiqués of the Norwegian campaign, we find that 12.5 per cent of all sentences containing military information were assurances to the public that no military engagements had taken place—as compared to 5.2 per cent in the Polish and 2.9 per cent in the French campaign.

Such statements suggesting unopposed advance were also re-

² The heroization of officers of lower rank in the communique began only in the campaign in the West.

³ Rauschnig, *op. cit.* p. 140, reports a conversation with Hitler several years before the war in which he discussed plans for the invasion of Sweden, similar to those carried out in Norway.

⁴ Metzsch, General von, 'Incomprehensible,' in *German Future*, 1940. Quoted in a German broadcast to South America, on 22 April 1940.

lated to the propaganda presentation of the battle for Norway as a fight not against Norwegians, but against the British. Fear concerning the British Navy was allayed not only by stressing the superb efficiency and gallantry of the German Fleet, but also by emphasizing the work of the German air force, which, it was repeatedly shown, could destroy superior naval strength. Statements on the co-operation of the air arm with the army and navy predominated in the communiqués and were dramatized in other transmissions. In one of his first radio talks of the war, General Quade described how aerial attack immediately terrorized and paralyzed troops and civilians unprepared for this type of assault.

The propaganda picture of smooth advance, accompanied by novel and terrifying tactics, was constantly contrasted with that of the inefficiency and treacherousness of Germany's real enemy, the British. In this regard, propaganda during the Norwegian campaign continued the trend of the period preceding the invasion. While German troops were mountaineering in Norway, and *Front Reports* occasionally sounded like advertisements of a tourist agency describing the land of winter sports, the High Command Communiqué assured the people that no disturbance would occur in the West. More than a third of all sentences referring to the Western Front stressed the fact that all was quiet. Thus, by implication, the Germans were led to believe that fighting took place only where Hitler wanted to fight. The enemy in the East had been eliminated, the possibility of a flank attack from the North was excluded, and the prestige of the British Fleet had been shattered in Norwegian waters. On 10 May the situation was ripe for Hitler's onslaught on the West.

It is quite probable that the High Command was itself surprised at the rapidity with which France collapsed and on 12 May, the propagandist cautioned against high expectations in a preface to *Front Reports* describing victorious advances through Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. But the specific apprehen-

sions which the propagandist had to dissipate during the fighting in France and Belgium were related to memories of old battles fought in the same places against the same foes.

'History does not repeat itself,' Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich* of 25 May. 'Its fantasy has no ending and it is therefore unhistorical to compare the present war with the Great War and to draw a parallel between its various stages.' All transmissions co-operated in dramatizing the difference between the two wars. The famous sites of battles which in the last war raged for weeks, months, and years were conquered in days or hours or merely by-passed as the motorized Nazis pursued the fleeing enemy. The High Command Communique reported briefly that what was 'heavily fought for in the World War' was now 'seized by us'; and on 6 June, it asserted full German control over the situation by saying, 'German leadership has taken care that the miracle of the Marne of 1914 could not repeat itself.' Two-thirds of all references to the past in the elucidations of the communiqués during the French campaign referred to the First World War, and of the more elaborated comparisons, nine explained the differences between the two wars, and only one stressed tradition by pointing to similarities.

At the very beginning of the campaign, the Nazi propagandist was able to alleviate whatever anxiety there might have been concerning the much-vaunted defense lines of the French. On 11 May a Special Announcement revealed the fall of Fort Eben Emael, described as 'the last fort of the fortress of Liège.' The victory was fully exploited in propaganda, which now claimed that all fortresses could be conquered and all lines pierced. On the 13th, Liège was called 'the Belgian Maginot Line' and the elucidation of the High Command Communique added, 'The fall of this fortress now throws quite a different light on the alleged unassailability of the Maginot Line.' The following day, to make assurance doubly sure, the broadcaster said that Liège 'is considered by many circles abroad to be the strongest fortress in

the world.' And on the 14th, although this phrasing continued to predominate, one news item simply stated that 'The strongest fortress in the world, that of Liège, fell on the fourth day of Germany's counter-attack.'

During the next weeks there was little need to stress that all was going 'according to plan'; the facts themselves were sufficient evidence. Long elucidations of the High Command Communiques were added to the transmissions from 12 May to 25 June to 'enable every German citizen to follow the campaign with better understanding.' Leadership wanted to be sure of the people's attention while it scored its greatest triumphs. The propagandist not only encouraged the Germans to follow victory on the map but also invited them to participate fully in the race of the soldiers. Never were *Front Reports* more vivid and less controlled than in these days. They created the image of the German soldier whose achievement proceeded smoothly and painlessly, and of the army which emerged as a streamlined and altogether miraculous war machine. Resistance was always futile, and where resistance was offered it resulted in utter destruction. But next to destruction the peaceful life of the conquered continued. Even the defeated were happy:

The blowing up of the gate [of a bridge] had done damage to the neighborhood. Even at the time of construction, people had said it was pointless to put it up as the Germans would come all the same, if they wanted to . . . In the countryside the farmers were peacefully and deliberately going about their business . . . [in a Belgian town] all the houses near are wholly or partly in a state of ruin . . . This is the result of resistance to the German Air Force. Prisoners are marching past. They look happy, probably for the first time in days, for they know nothing more can happen to them. At first, they were terrified and trembled and asked when they would be shot. When they were offered cigarettes and patted on the back . . . they were overwhelmed.⁵

⁵ *Front Report*, 12 May 1940.

The image of the humane, friendly German soldier, admired by his victims, was thus carefully created while victory was still young. The supermen were kind in order to encourage surrender. When Hitler offered peace to Britain on 19 July 1940, he said, 'Under National Socialist leadership the attitude of the German Reich toward Poland has been characterized by self-denial.'

Throughout the French campaign, Britain remained the first and real enemy. News bulletins about England were invariably more frequent than bulletins about the very real war in the West. Damage done to British ships by German planes was reported with almost the same emphasis as the surrender of a French division. When the Belgians sued for peace, and when the French First Army surrendered, German propaganda recognized these events as great victories, but reported on them within the context of progressive fighting. On 4 June, however, when the British completed the evacuation of Dunkerque, the radio began its final victory celebration.

The following five weeks were a period of festival for the German people, climaxed at Compiègne, and brought to a breathless close when Hitler appeared before the world on 19 July. On 4 June the Special Announcement from the Fuehrer's Headquarters reporting the fall of the 'Fortress' of Dunkerque was preceded by about fifteen minutes of fanfare and martial songs and followed by a musical service, semi-religious in character.⁶

The 5th of June was a day of great rejoicing. The Fuehrer's Order of the Day and his Appeal to the People were broadcast at six in the morning.

⁶ The following compositions were played: *Old Netherlandish Prayer of Thanks, Deutschland ueber Alles*—followed by a three minute silence—*The Heavens Praise the Glory of God, The Watch on the Rhine, The Song of the Parachutists, Germany's Honor Upheld, We Sail against England, Solemn Praeludium* by Richard Strauss, a few bars of *The Watch on the Rhine*—whereupon the Special Announcement was repeated. The first air-borne invasion, the victory over Crete, from which Goering concluded that 'There are no unconquerable islands' (6 February 1941) was given a similar celebration.

I order that from today, for eight days, flags be flown throughout the whole of Germany. This shall be in honor of our soldiers. Further, I order bells to be rung for three days. Their sound shall blend with the prayers with which the German people shall accompany their sons again from this morning.

On 5 June Germany had begun its new offensive. The pealing of bells was also the subject of a succeeding Special Announcement, for under National Socialism, to a greater extent than elsewhere, celebration is news. Annihilation was the subject of *Topics of the Day*, annihilation from Cannae to the Nazi's own great 'Battle of the Sura' in Poland, to prove Dunkerque the greatest of all time. The day ended with a Special Announcement stating that the Somme had been crossed and the 'Weygand Line' pierced in several places. And on the fourth day of the new offensive, Hitler founded the insignia of Oak Leaves to the Knight Cross of the Iron Cross, in order to be ready for the heroes to come.

On 10 June there were two victories. The capture of Narvik brought to a close the Norwegian campaign, ' . . . a just reward given to us by a just fate,' and Italy entered the war. This time no bells were rung, but the speech of the Duce was translated into German. Bells were heard again on the 14th, when the troops entered Paris, and much was made of the sentiment of Frenchmen towards Paris: 'Paris is France.' A week later, the French Government agreed to an armistice.

The significance of victory over France as a re-winning of the First World War cannot be overestimated. This was a major purpose for which the Army had become as one with the Party and was waging the war. More real, however, was the fact that victory over France had been complete. 'Never before has a nation been so clearly beaten as France has been.'⁷ She had to accept German terms or face annihilation. The Fuehrer and his nation could indeed act with the expansiveness that comes from such full gratification.

⁷ 24 June 1940.

The propagandist, with the forgivable bluster of one who has done a good job, devoted quite some time to descriptions of the hook-up he created in the forest of Compiègne for world-wide transmission of news, and to the cables and telephone lines 'magnanimously' provided for the French delegation to communicate with their Government in Bordeaux. In the 11:30 news bulletin of 21 June and in the *Topics of the Day*, the audience was allowed to listen in to calls, tour the coaches used for telephonic exchange, hear interviews with operators, and finally listen to the chief of the news service tell how he had ' . . . succeeded in creating the technical conditions, utterly unknown until now, for news transmission of the armistice negotiations.'⁸ Establishing the connection between Compiègne and Bordeaux had indeed made this a 'battle of communication':

At night the column was reinforced, making possible the final connection of the wires on enemy territory. The column was still covered by French fire, but broke through it, and, although its transport vehicle was destroyed, it arrived at its destination on time.⁹

The final armistice proceedings were broadcast to the homeland, a microphone having been placed in the historic railroad carriage.

The historic forest of Compiègne has been chosen for the reception of these conditions . . . to blot out, by this act of just retribution, a page which was considered by the German nation as the deepest disgrace of all time . . . Germany does not intend . . . to impose a character of degradation upon these conditions and negotiations for an armistice with such a valiant foe.¹⁰

Thus spoke General Keitel in his preamble to the first meeting for negotiations. On 12 June, Compiègne had been taken to be made ready for the drama, and the swastika flag was hoisted over the forest. Here, incidentally, it was admissible to mention the cost in lives.

⁸ 21 June 1940.

¹⁰ 22 June 1940.

⁹ 21 June 1940.

On 11 June 1940, an army order was given to a division immediately to occupy with German troops the forest of Compiègne and the memorial placed there to 1918. Losses were heavy, but the order was carried out. The leader of the military force stepped on the granite stone in the center of the memorial and placed his feet on the word 'Vaincu,' which was to perpetuate German shame, and from this spot fired his flares skywards as a sign that the order had been carried out.¹¹

The 'eye-witness account' of the first Compiègne meeting sounded like directions for a stage setting:

The whole area is isolated . . . At the crossroads stands the memorial of the armistice treaty of 11 November 1918. It is covered by the Reich War Flag in order symbolically to blot out the disgrace. Between the railway lines stands the monument with the proud, insolent inscription, 'Here failed, on 11 November 1918, the criminal arrogance of the German Empire, vanquished by the free nations which it presumed to subjugate.' Directly in front of this disgrace in stone flies now the standard of the Fuehrer. In the short tree-lined drive which leads to the real place of negotiations of that time, a company of honor of the Fuehrer's accompanying battalion is lined up, together with two platoons from the army and one platoon from the air force. To the right of this monument stands, at exactly the same spot as in 1918, the coach in which the negotiations took place.

The destruction of monuments at Compiègne played a great symbolic role. Only the statue of Foch was allowed to remain standing, in order that it might look down upon an empty square bereft of former triumph. The 'stone figure of Marshal Foch saw French negotiators . . . hesitate when they faced the Fuehrer of the German nation.'

But there might yet be another significance to the preservation of the statue. Foch was an old soldier and the peace was to be an honorable peace where all were honored 'who died for their country on either side.' The drama enacted at Compiègne was in the nature of a morality play. Compiègne was the triumph

¹¹ 21 June 1940.

of good over evil. '... the course of ten months of war has proved that my view was right,' said Hitler on 19 July, 'and that the views of our opponents were wrong.' France was conquered because she was degenerate. A Swiss paper, quoted by the German radio, described interviews with French soldiers interned in Switzerland: '... they declared that they had to atone for twenty years of error and soft living.' France had imported 'black soldiers from the primeval forest' to fight against blond Germans, and Negroes had played dance music in the establishments of Montmartre. 'The lack of race consciousness, the criminal blending of black and white has had its start here. And by this the whole people has been brought to ruin.'¹²

The Negroes, however, had long since been captured or shot, but Germany was still purging France of its other despoilers. Throughout the period of the Armistice proceedings, radio transmissions presented a vivid picture of flight: French troops fleeing into Switzerland, refugees into Spain, the Riviera-English to Morocco. Plutocrats, capitalists, English, and Jews all fled from the avenging angels, 'driven on by bad consciences and the German sword,' while the misguided civilians, old men and peasant women, all that were innocent in heart, flocked back to the soldier of occupation, who 'moves among the people with discipline and respects their grief.'

The triumphant are represented as very good during the period of Compiègne. Even upon their entry into Paris, declared the newscaster quoting the Greek paper, *Eleftheron*, the German troops 'did not display the gloating and impudent joy of conquerors, but the satisfaction of honest soldiers.'¹³ Magnanimity was the order of the day. On the morning of the last day of the Armistice proceedings, the French delegation had 'cause to be grateful to German magnanimity, which allowed them to use the coach for private consultation.' The armistice terms were 'sober' and 'realistic.' And 'the German people are happy that he

¹² 14 June 1940.

¹³ 22 June 1940.

(Hitler) did not darken the brilliance of the present victory by petty vengeance.'

The actors played their parts well:

. . . a dispatch rider arrives and cries: 'The Fuehrer is coming' . . . With a grave face he approaches the memorial and passes through the six granite pillars up the alley before the guard of honor. The Fuehrer advances to the center, Goering on his left, and looks at the inscription . . . Then all is quiet and thoughts fly back over two decades to November 1918, when the German delegation had to stand in the rain before it was received by the French. But today the bright sun shines. What a long way from November 1918 to this happy June day of 1940 . . .¹⁴

The French had also done their best to make this a great occasion. It could now be said that the French Army had fought heroically, often resisting to the last man, thus making more glorious the German feat of arms and more miraculous the strategy against superior forces. As to the delegates, they might have been type-cast. The civilian, Leon Noel, smoked too many cigarettes, but Huntzinger, with his 'narrow, pale face,' was the very picture of an 'elegant little French officer.' When they came out of their tent after a conference, the eyewitness report continued, '. . . German planes thundered over the space and for one moment the French General Huntzinger looked up and followed the German machines with his eye . . . Neither of them spoke a word . . .'

The English are not actors in this drama, which is left to the victor and the vanquished to fulfil. England, once an island paradise, became a prison; and her eclipse was described in scriptural style:

Great Britain's might was France's strength, and this is defeated. Great Britain's pride was her territorial army and this is destroyed . . . Great Britain's hope was her fleet, and this lies hidden in English ports, seriously damaged. Great Britain's con-

¹⁴ 21 June 1940.

fidence was her Empire and the U.S.A.; her communications with these are broken off, their help an illusion or non-existent.¹⁵

At Compiègne the English were not actors, but perhaps they were meant to take their place with the homeland as the most important spectators.

It is not without significance that the Armistice negotiations ended with the playing of *We Sail against England*. It was for the benefit of England that Hitler spoke in his epilogue to Compiègne, on 19 July. He appeared before the world in a new guise as the unhappy servant of Destiny, whose wish was not to wage war but to create a new social order. 'Because of my peace appeal,' he said, 'I was insulted and personally abused, and Chamberlain, so to speak, spewed at me before the world public.' And, he lamented, 'I see no reason why this fight should continue; I regret the sacrifices which it will call forth.' For the moment, at any rate, the magnanimous conqueror of Compiègne had exchanged the white doves of peace for the ravens of Wotan.

2. RUSSIA AND THE IMAGE OF VICTORY

The campaigns in the West had been tailor-made for the propagandist. Enemies had collapsed after that occasional show of resistance that gave added glory to victory. Fortresses were smashed and hitherto impregnable lines were pierced. The Blitzkrieg moved according to plan and might sometimes even have beaten its own schedule by weeks; and the final celebration at Compiègne seemed to have forever blotted out the defeat of the First World War. Victory, for the homeland, had been more than news. First, there were parades of returning heroes through the Brandenburger Tor. Then, victory could be eaten and worn. Denmark proved that guns and butter were not irreconcilable; the Norwegian expedition had provided fur coats, and the French campaign meant silk stockings and champagne. Except in so far

¹⁵ 22 June 1940.

as the homeland was the beneficiary of these expeditions, it had been little affected by the war.

For the German civilians, this World War began with the invasion of Russia. During the first days of the campaign the propagandist tried to assure them that it would be as easy a performance as the campaign in France; his machine was geared to produce the same image of Blitzkrieg. The campaign in Russia was a disagreeable necessity, but it would soon be over. Russia had simply become a nuisance; egged on by the British, she was about to double-cross her allies and was massing her troops on Germany's eastern borders 'in an increasingly threatening manner. Owing to this, Germany had been hindered in decisively ending the war in the West.'¹⁸ After Russia's collapse Greater Germany, increased by the vast resources and industries of the East, could make quick work of England.

Though Russia might collapse, a glance at the map was enough to show that Russia was big. She must have seemed even bigger on 22 June, when she had been turned into an implacable enemy. The propagandist, therefore, pretended that German troops felt privileged to take part in the new adventure, the magnitude of which was only proper to the greatest army of all times. Awareness of the fact that an undertaking is immense is surely gratifying after it has been accomplished, but can be cold comfort in prospect. Herein lay a factor, damaging to morale, which the propagandist could not counter directly. Had Russia fallen before winter set in, it might have been possible for the German people to sustain eagerness in this mammoth undertaking. During the first month of the campaign, news was often withheld for days; and the tension thus created was sporadically released by Special Announcements of victory. By such magic the time span involved in these months of fierce fighting might have been sufficiently decreased and structured into phases. But the decision seemed ever to elude the grasp of the German armed forces; and,

¹⁸ 22 June 1941.

increasingly, as the war continued—although Leningrad was encircled, Moscow besieged, and much of the Ukraine overrun—each victory became less final, seemed less real. The image of victory became ever more tinged by the shadow of defeat.

The campaign opened with a query; 'Where are we going to? And what for?' asked the soldiers of each other as they marched into the mysterious spaces of Russia on 22 June 1941. 'With the picture of the Fuehrer,' was the enigmatic answer of the young officer, who added: 'Silently a Will has prepared what must and shall happen here.' Blind confidence in the Fuehrer surrounded the first days of movement into the East.

In earlier campaigns, the enemy had occasionally been recognized as a gallant and brave opponent, but he was no serious obstacle to the war machine. His savagery was vented upon civilian compatriots and the women and children of his allies; it had no bearing upon his relation to the German soldier. But *Front Reports* in the very early days of the Russian campaign often mentioned things that might have made people wonder if the soldiery could always remain in the privileged position of spectator to violence.

During the first two days one might well have believed that the *Front Reports* had been made in the studio, so different were they, with their cardboard soldiers and cardboard planes that fell on touch, from those that followed. Already on the third day it was said that although German planes were superior to Russian planes, the latter were more 'flexible'; that even women fought in Russia, and that peasants had a way of burning villages. After the first week was out, the attentive listener might have gathered that the Russians defended themselves savagely; that they pretended to surrender only to fire upon their captors; that they played dead only to come alive again and throw hand grenades upon unsuspecting Germans—official claims of annihilation notwithstanding. If official agencies said that the Russians had no equipment, the *Front Reports* let it leak out that

'armored vehicles seemed to be everywhere.' When the Russian Air Force was supposed to have been wiped out, planes continued to swarm through *Front Reports*. In general, the mention of material in the 'eyewitness' account of Front Reporters had little relation to official pronouncements.¹⁷

The story of the *Front Reports* remained success, great success for the Germans, who, despite the snipers, the burning sun, the terrible dust—not white as in France, but gray, yellow, and black—despite sore feet, moved with 'the precision and calm of the parade ground.' A new element, however, seemed to eat into the impression of success—Time. While the German people had watched victories following upon each other in the West with hardly a breather, in the East an unconscionable time elapsed between the announcement of gains; and these were often intangible figures—figures of enemy loss, numbers of armies and divisions, and strange names of generals, difficult to pronounce, or cities few people had heard of. It was also a long wait between letters from son or husband, and eventually the interval shortened between death notifications received by friends and relatives.

The burden of denying enemy claims and the defense of his own statements lay more heavily upon the propagandist in this period than in any previous one. Again, the propagandist bringing before the people an unwieldy amount of enemy material had too often to admit a stubbornly hostile world. One might wonder if his refutations of what may have been in some German minds might not have put dangerous ideas into the minds of more innocent Germans. For instance, the assault may have been too frontal, when the counter-propagandist said that German victories did not mean overwhelming German losses; that the expression *Wir siegen uns zu Tode* was mere nonsense, and that

¹⁷ For the following see Axelrad, Sidney, *German Front Reports in the Russian Campaign*, February 1943. Doctoral Dissertation written in partial fulfillment of requirements for the Doctor of Social Science degree at the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, The New School for Social Research. Unpublished.

official reticence did not mean failure of the Blitz to come up to schedule.

During the first week of the campaign, communiques had been silent about the Russian adventure and the propagandist promised only that 'the mystery surrounding events on the Eastern Front will be revealed over the week-end.' Tension had obviously been created by this device—if device it was. After the French campaign the people may have been spoilt by too much victory, and the week's suspense may have been meant to prevent German victories—delivered in twelve Special Announcements throughout Sunday, 29 June—from being anti-climactic after Compiègne. This explanation, however, makes it rather hard to account for the propagandist's continual apologies for official silence: '... a sign of the German Army leadership's certainty in victory, which requires no publicity.' It is probable that victories expected by the High Command did not take place and the news to be given may have had to be inflated by more propagandistic bombast than would comfortably fit into the High Command Communique. A new, 'military' reason was then discovered for official secrecy about Russia. This was later to be elaborated in lengthy explanations of how German lives had been saved because the Soviet Command had been kept in ignorance of even its own troop movements. But this new, though obvious, excuse came suspiciously late, and seems to have appeared only after the first batch of victory announcements had been made.

The twelve Special Announcements on 29 June did seem to prove the success of a Blitz campaign. Even if the towns mentioned as captured—Vilna, Kovno, Dvinsk, Brest-Litovsk—were well west of the old Russian frontier, other results of the week's fighting sounded impressive enough. Forty thousand prisoners were taken—'the enemy is streaming back in a state of dissolution'; 2,233 tanks were destroyed and 4,107 enemy planes downed against a loss of only 150 by the German air force. The commentary on the communique explained: 'The Soviet air force

has suffered an annihilating defeat.' Everyone knew that the necessary prerequisite for Blitz and the forerunner of victory was supremacy in the air, and this had been won. Should anyone have been surprised that there was so much Russian equipment to overcome, the explanation was simple: 'It is probable that we were only just in time to save Central Europe from invasion . . .' since the disposition of Russian forces proved that 'these troops were destined . . . exclusively for an attack against Germany.'

After this victory over the frontier forces, Special Announcements were given regularly throughout the next eleven days, while Phase Two, the 'annihilation' of Soviet armies, was progressing according to plan. The 'double battle of Bialystok-Minsk' was 'the greatest battle of materiel and envelopment in World History.' When, on 10 July, the Germans announced that the battle had been won, the total claim of destroyed enemy materiel included, among other items, 7,615 armored vehicles, and 6,233 planes, while 400,000 prisoners were allegedly captured, and many times that number killed.

Phase Three of any successful Blitz was not long in coming. Every Blitz needs its Maginot Line. On 4 July, there was mention of a 'so-called Stalin Line,' built during the past five years. By the 7th, it was no longer 'so-called' but a fact, which 'shows clearly with what intensity the Soviet have prepared themselves for a war with Germany . . . The Stalin Line was always kept very secret. Work had been going on for almost seven years.' And on the 12th, the Special Announcement stated: 'Under a bold attack, the Stalin Line has been broken at all decisive points.' Before the piercing of these Russian defenses, there was little reassurance about the coming effort such as there had been before the attack on the Maginot Line. There seems, instead, to have been a deliberate attempt to make the Russian line seem impregnable and give the listener a little shudder of apprehension. This would be odd except for the possibility that there was no Stalin Line at all.

Front Reports may give the show away. Figure XXIV is based on a count of Russian fortified positions mentioned by Front Reporters. The curve is at its lowest during precisely that period when the fortified line was supposedly being stormed, and reaches its peak only when the German army stood before Moscow. On 14 July, there is a *Front Report* dealing with an 'assault on the Stalin Line'; it is appropriately introduced by the studio commentator, but not a word was said about fortifications.

The propaganda importance of the Stalin Line seems definitely related to the campaign for news prestige against England; and may have also been used to divert attention from or to minimize the significance of the Anglo-Russian agreement which was announced on 12 July, the same day that the Germans claimed their break through the line:

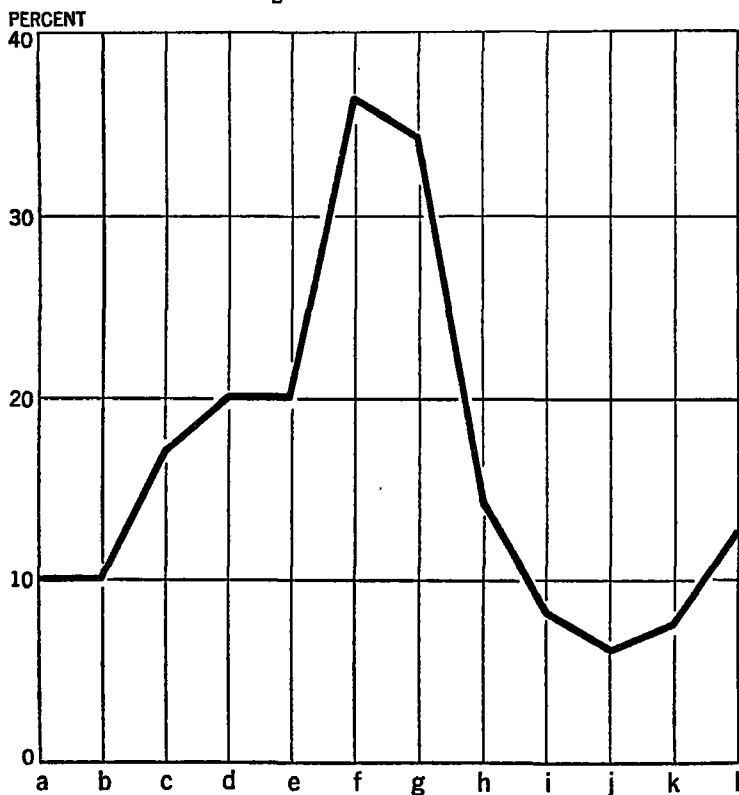
After remaining reserved for a week, the German High Command has spoken briefly, and all the noisy lies from London and Moscow have been swept away. In London, nothing more is said about the Stalin Line, supposed to withstand the Germans for more than a year . . .

Predictions and implied predictions of victory in Russia had been cropping up thick and fast in German propaganda. On 3 July the radio said 'the power of resistance of the Soviet Army now seems to have been broken'; on the 4th, 'the tremendous Soviet front built up near the frontier has been penetrated and crushed.' The commentator added that Russia could never make up her losses in men and materiel, and that with the break through the Stalin Line, 'the interior of the Soviet Union lies open to the triumphant advance of the German troops . . . an immediate threat to . . . Kiev, Moscow, and St. Petersburg . . .' In using the name of 'St. Petersburg' for Leningrad he hinted at a possible political overthrow of the Soviet regime by the White Russians. At the same time he openly stressed Russian military disintegration. The appointment of three sectional commanders was said to show that Russian lines of communication

FIGURE XXIV

Russian Fortified Positions

References in per cent of item totals of *Front Reports*
dealing with the Eastern Front



e-g: 3 Oct.-6 Dec. 1941

Mention of fortified positions is counted only once per item. The periods covered extend from 22 June 1941 to 8 May 1942.

were unalterably disturbed; the collapse of the Red Army was therefore only a matter of time. On 17 July, the propagandist said that the Soviet High Command was 'using its last reserves,' and the rest of the troops were deserting. 'After they had shot their Political Commissars, 20,000 men of those units of the Soviet Army who were encircled near Minsk went over.' On the next day a Special Announcement said that 52,000 more soldiers 'came over.' Although it was said that the Russians resisted, the propagandist explained that they only did so because they would otherwise be shot by their Political Commissars.

If explanations of victory and statements of progress were not enough to convince the home population that the war was as good as won, the sheer magic of the old image could be evoked once more, and victory could be claimed a monopoly of the Germans:

Blitzkriege are a German monopoly, and cannot be imitated in Moscow, London, or Washington. The designer of these Blitzkriege is Adolf Hitler and the spirit with which he has filled the German people and the Armed Forces is the secret weapon which will never be available to the enemy. That is why the issue of this war is already decided.¹⁸

The Stalin Line formula might have been convenient at the time but it proved too inconclusive to uphold the image of an irresistible, onward-rushing war machine. In Russia space proved too vast, success too slow in coming and too incomplete, and the unexpected always happened to contradict the image of lightning war. What was left of the victory image during the Russian campaign was sometimes even interpenetrated with devices appropriate to defeat. For instance, the battle for Smolensk was partly handled like a defeat situation and did indeed overshadow the month following the 'break through the Stalin Line.' At Smolensk the Germans probably encountered for the first time in its full force the type of Russian resistance that was to catch

¹⁸ 12 July 1941.

up with them at Rostov and finally to shatter their armies at Stalingrad—a resistance that included not only guerrilla warfare behind the lines, but also fighting by armed civilians in the streets, the houses, the rooms of a house. Smolensk was only a temporary reversal, but for a propaganda machine geared to Blitz, it might just as well have been defeat: having once announced capture, the propagandist of infallibility could not later admit stalemate, and had to conceal the real situation from the people.

On 18 July the High Command announced that Smolensk had been captured on the 16th. It is an open question when Smolensk actually fell; it probably changed hands several times. At one point—on or around 5 August—it seemed as if the Germans had won a clear victory there. According to the BBC, however, the Russians did not admit evacuating the city until 13 August—28 days after the German claim. And only during that week did the Germans organize a tour for foreign journalists to visit the ruins of the town as an answer to the previous British denials that it had been taken. On 27 July the commentary on the communique had admitted difficult fighting ‘around Smolensk’:

But since the Soviet Command throws fresh units into the fray, the stubborn fighting does not stop. Attempts to provide substitutes, however, have failed; the battle around Smolensk is approaching a successful end.

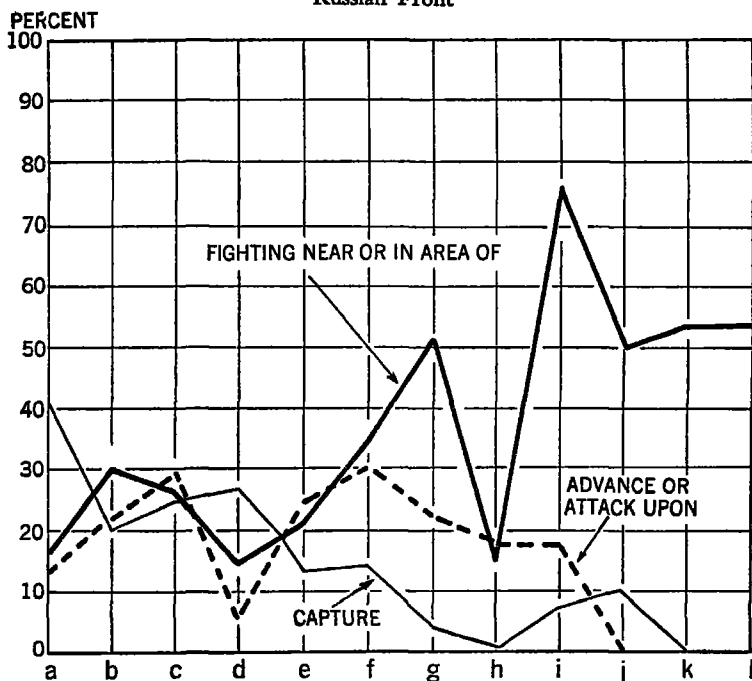
The wording is significant. Expressions like ‘fighting around’ or ‘in the area of’ increase in periods of defeat. Figure xxv shows that they were most frequent when Hitler assumed supreme command, and during the German retreat from Rostov, but before that only the period during the fighting for Smolensk shows a greater frequency in the use of indefinite phraseology.

The *Front Report* of 5 August may have given the German people some information about the course of the fighting around Smolensk. The reporter first spoke of the pocket *west* of Smolensk, which ‘became a battle in which prisoners were no

FIGURE XXV

Three Types of Reference to Russian Towns

Percentages of total mentions—*Front Reports* dealing with the Russian Front



b: 13 July-13 Aug. 1941

g: 23 Nov.-6 Dec. 1941

i: 21 Dec. 1941-29 Jan. 1942

The three curves of this figure show the percentages of mentions of cities and towns in items of *Front Reports* dealing with battle action on the Russian front. The base is the total number of mentions of cities and towns. Other types of references not shown in this figure include: advance beyond, air raid on, railroad lines or roads, reminiscence of previous fighting. The periods extend from 22 June 1941 to 8 May 1942.

longer taken'—a sidelight on those behind-the-line actions and 'mopping-up' operations that, in stereotype, sound so easy—and then continued:

Yesterday we stormed up the big road leading from Rudnia to Smolensk . . . the high towers and domes of the Cathedral . . . were all that were left of the town. The heaviest Soviet artillery had been pounding the town, but our troops inside held out for many days.

Aside from the implication that German troops had been besieged in the enemy town, the *Front Report* also mentioned successful Russian penetration into the city, which was then bombarded by German artillery; it described its fighting in such a way that we can imagine a 'double battle of encirclement' around the town while troops within it continued to fight.

If prediction of military results at Smolensk was still cautious in the commentary of 27 July, caution was thrown to the four winds early in August to consummate the propaganda victory. The end of the battle for Smolensk 'will,' it was said, 'cause the collapse of Anglo-Soviet propaganda which tried to conceal the failure.' 'Incorruptible and absolutely truthful' newsreels showing the fighting at Smolensk were released, and newsreels were preceded, possibly for the first time, by the fanfares of Special Announcements. These were said to 'reveal the lying propaganda of Churchill and his associates who only recently claimed that Smolensk is in Bolshevik hands,' for 'the eye of the camera cannot be deceived.'¹⁹ And finally, ' . . . Churchill had to accept defeat . . . at the hands of the international journalists' who went on the tour, and whose reports abundantly—though somewhat belatedly—bore witness to the truth.

The multiple Special Announcements of 6 August gave the German people a second victory festival comparable in this campaign only to that of 29 June. The announcements presaged new operations and were introduced with an explanation for previous

¹⁹ 7 August 1941.

reticence: 'The Soviet Command no longer has a reliable view of the position of its own front.' *Topics of the Day* covered what might have been embarrassment by the melodramatic idea of 'a truly devilish plan hatched by our enemies and thwarted only by the reticence of German leadership.'

Day by day and hour by hour the most outrageous reports . . . were circulated, to shake the confidence of the German people and induce the German leaders to abandon their silence.

In other words, propagandistic manipulation of news again became a strategic victory over the enemy.²⁰

In the victory announcements of 6 August the German people learned that the most recent advance had taken place from the south towards Kiev, and had developed into a battle of encirclement which was 'at the moment in full swing.' Another operation was establishing 'conditions for starting an attack' on Kiev from the north. On the Central Front the spoils of victory were being counted and found to 'exceed by far . . . our own most sanguine expectations.' The inconclusiveness of the reports according to which battles are not concluded but 'in full swing' gives a certain weight to the supposition that they were propagandistically motivated. At any rate, the Announcements were less 'victorious' than previous ones.

The campaign in the Ukraine was now beginning in earnest. On 14 August, Special Announcements proclaimed the occupation of the Krivoi Rog ore district and the encirclement of Odessa. But we wonder if these fanfares did not blow so noisily on 14 August to drown with victory another announcement made on the same day: that of the Atlantic Charter. There were, how-

²⁰ Repeated attempts to bolster the prestige of official news communication culminate in Hitler's speech of 3 October 1941, see pp. 373 ff.

Possibly another device for re-establishing the modest trustworthiness of the communique was the withholding of news about Kremenchug and Chernigov in the Ukraine after their fall had been admitted by the Russians. When the Germans announced these successes on 15 September, they made much of the previous Russian admission.

ever, real advances in the Ukraine and regular announcements of success. Nikolaiev was claimed on the 19th, and Dniepropetrovsk on the 26th. In the central sector, Gomel was captured in what, according to Max Werner,²¹ was a battle of exhaustion, to be distinguished from the mobile warfare in the south. In September, the German war machine swept further into the Ukraine, and Kiev was claimed on 19 September.

The capture of Kiev was followed by a great battle in the regions to the east of it. The taking of the city was propagandistically merged with this battle of encirclement and annihilation, and the whole was called 'The Battle of Kiev'—for great victories, unlike protracted stalemates, should be named and thus remembered.²² The great, composite victory was celebrated as in the old days with forty minutes of music, with recollections of Cannae, Leuthen, Tannenberg, with descriptions of fighting which, in their abstraction, recall the animated maps in the film about Poland. Phrases such as 'aerial photographs of these pockets show chaotic parts within them' connote the disintegration of an organism coldly observed under the microscope. The final announcement of victory in the Battle of Kiev occurred on 27 September, five days before Hitler spoke in the Sportpalast and foresaw the end of war in Russia.

The Hitler speech of 3 October may have followed the battle east of Kiev, chronologically speaking; but it also followed another development: a trend in propaganda itself, which, it seems, nothing less than final victory—or the overhauling of the propaganda machine—could possibly halt. If there was an over-all mood in propaganda during the fighting of August and September, it was not one conditioned by the joyful news carried in ever-

²¹ Werner, Max, *The Great Offensive; The Strategy of Coalition Warfare*, New York, 1942.

²² On the naming of battles and its propagandistic significance, cf. General Debeney, *La Guerre et les hommes*, Paris, 1937, p. 372, and: *A Study of War Communiques, Methods and Results*, Research Paper No. 2, op. cit. pp. 126-8.

recurring Special Announcements from the Ukraine; it apparently took its cue from the central and northern sectors, from the difficult battle of Smolensk and the incompleting siege of Leningrad. It was a mood that may have reflected that of the homeland grown callous to victory announcements and impatient that an end be made to war. It rose out of the shadowy cautions, the reassurances, the veiled forebodings, lurking in all communications; it rose out of the slow decay of the old image of victory.

Despite official reticence and despite the fact that no place names are mentioned, 'the German offensive has not run itself to a standstill,' explained the commentator on the communique as early as 24 July, before the campaign in the Ukraine had got into full swing. Two days later, having of necessity turned counter-propagandist, the commentator said: 'This apparent standstill in the East—which is in reality no such thing—is naturally pounced upon by enemy propaganda.' Even 5 August, when official victories were about to be released next day, he argued the point as follows:

The German troops are still fighting their way forward, still facing stubborn resistance and great hardships due to difficulties of terrain; but this is a far cry from the alleged arrest of the German offensive trumpeted abroad by Soviet propaganda.

England's hopes, he added, were founded on the absence of German victory reports. But at last, on 6 August, the day of the five Special Announcements, he triumphantly exclaimed: 'Well, the victory reports have appeared.' Besides, interjects a helpful political reviewer, '... one is almost tempted to say that territorial gain, if not accompanied by the destruction of striking power, would only be a disadvantage ...'

Annihilation thus became the best excuse for still being not so far from where one was several weeks ago when defenses had been pierced and the country lay spread out before one. The idea of annihilation suggests a finality that must have seemed increasingly inappropriate as the Nazi performance of annihilation

was repeated over and over again without achieving victory such as the Germans had gained in the West. Annihilation is an idea with a potent emotional resonance; in Russia, it became an urge, ever less gratified. The more often the enemy was annihilated, the less real did *annihilation* become.

The communique claimed that over a million prisoners were captured by the end of the first week in August and that many more were killed. But even annihilation was now qualified or even contradicted in other transmissions. A commentator admitted, for instance, that the Political Commissars—who before had caused Russian resistance but who were usually shot by their troops wishing to surrender—now proved more effective deterrents:

This explains the relatively small number of enemy captured and on the other hand the enormous and material losses incurred by the Soviets, which will be made public when the battle is over. This is the most significant difference between the Eastern and last year's Western campaign. Then, after a certain period of heavy battles, the enemy's resistance suddenly broke down . . .²³

Mass desertion and collapse were therefore no longer appropriate ideas to apply to the war in Russia, even as early as July. Realizing the problem involved in repeated annihilations not followed by collapse, the propagandist could only caution and reassure the homeland that, if Russia was an inexhaustible human reservoir, her soldiers were nevertheless untrained.

If collapse of the enemy is the true end of victorious advance, the destruction of enemy air power is the pre-requisite. The appearance of Russian planes became as embarrassing to the National Socialist propagandist as the resurrection of armies. Of course, Russian aircraft was mentioned as little as possible; in fact, a *Front Report* about the storming of Perekop, re-broadcast on a Sunday in November, was censored where it mentioned the

²³ 22 July 1941.

intervention of Russian fighter planes against Stukas.²⁴ One of the possible approaches to this problem might have been the conscious reduction by the propagandist of previous figures too wildly claimed. Quade, for instance, discussed air warfare on 1 August, and added no new losses to the figures already given out on 11 July. The Russian air raids on Berlin which took place in August complicated the problem further. The propagandist argued that 'the Soviet air force was just in the process of re-modernizing its planes . . . this explains how . . . new machines are ready very soon for the continuation of the fight.' He added that, of course, the Russians still had planes aside from the 10,000 accounted for by the German air force, but so did France at the time of her armistice.

Early in August may seem a strange time to be worrying about winter, but on 6 August the propagandist slipped the idea into *Topics of the Day* by denying the ugly rumor that 'the German armies were facing trench warfare in the Russian winter.' In September it seemed as if the idea was manifestly worrying the German people. In a *Front Report* on 11 September, the listener was told when cold could be expected on different parts of the front and it was argued that cold could even be a good thing if there 'are not absolutely abnormal weather conditions':

'General Winter' cannot be utilized [by the enemy] for a considerable time. On the contrary, it may be hoped that the most important decisions in this campaign against the Soviets will fall before winter comes.

Those generals supposedly invented by the British to harass the Germans—Generals Sand, Mud, Rain, and Winter—became allies

²⁴ In this same Sunday re-broadcast, the 'beautiful' destruction of factories in Kharkov was deleted from another *Front Report* given in full during the previous week. The implication of 'scorched earth' is never completely given to the homeland, since it might reduce the incentive to make war for booty, and reveal a lack of control on the part of the German armies. Instead, the burning of villages, the killing of cattle, and the destruction of machinery are given as proof of Russian barbarity. A military tactic becomes a moral attribute.

of the Germans. Even 'Time,' said Fritzsche, 'is no longer presented as a General allied to England, but as a threatening monster.'²⁵ The *Front Report* quoted above continued as follows:

Winter in an occupied territory, too, is no great problem if the necessary equipment is provided in time; if Napoleon's collapse is always mentioned . . . it must be remembered that he had completely neglected his rear communication . . . no such thing can be expected in the German case . . .

Napoleon is not of a kind with the British 'Generals.' He apparently insisted on his appearance in the mind of the German people as early as September 1941 and had to be exorcized by the propagandist, who told his listeners that Napoleon had not been defeated by winter but by the strategy of a Prussian General, Scharnhorst, 'the spiritual ancestor of the strategy which today is winning victory for Germany.'²⁶ Napoleon's trouble was that 'he never made contact with the enemy' and that his army was destroyed even during its days of victory by lack of discipline. Napoleon's army was a mercenary army, and 'added to this,' said the propagandist, minimizing the scope of Germany's latter-day crusade, 'was the thoughtless use of a great number of foreigners in the French army.' In other words, it was not a people's army, not one with roots in the homeland, like that of Europe's crusaders under Hitler.

In the East, the image of lightning victory could no longer be evoked; there was no real front, and if there was it had to be denied lest it recall the last war. In the East, battles in depth gave intimations of great hardship, and an embattled army was a dangerous symbol. It is significant that in August descriptions of German fighting stressed the human element.²⁷

Success was no longer to be considered merely in the light of military advance; success was to mean a transfiguration of the

²⁵ 30 September 1941.

²⁶ 22 September 1941.

²⁷ See second peak (23) of Figure XXXV, indicating the frequency of bravery words in the sample news bulletins. (See p. 434.)

world, the destiny of which 'is being decided for the next thousand years.' The German Army, this new Order of Teutonic Knights, was spreading an idea over the entire world—in installments. During August and September, Dr. Rosenberg reinforced the slogan 'Germanic Europe,' Fritzsche explained the 'logic of the New Order,' and the homeland itself, with its prenatal care and convalescent homes, became, in Hitler's words, a 'testimony of factual Socialism.' All through the summer, workers were shown attending the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth, and when that closed, proceeding to Mozart in Salzburg. Hitler signed a law for the increase in widows' pensions and sick insurance and gave the merchant seamen an old-age pension and other 'benefits,' including Overseas Broadcasts, on 3 August, so that they might 'be as well informed as possible on social problems of the moment.'

If the civilians would like to see for themselves how 'True Socialism' compared with the 'Soviet Paradise,' they only had to go round the corner to the Anti-Soviet Exhibition, or see the newsreels of 'blazing villages, set alight by the Soviets, the land laid waste by them and the often senseless victims of the fury of war . . .' 'These newsreels,' said the commentator, 'have also become a weapon against despondency and the enemies' lies.'²⁸ The radio also carried the atrocities to the people, but, further, applied them to the German soldier:

The whole country is the infantry's enemy . . . With every step he penetrates deeper into hostile country, a new enemy arises after every battle, as tough as the enemy he has just beaten . . . The situation is hopeless, for the enemy is far superior in numbers, and the men can do nothing but defend themselves to the last drop of blood. The Bolsheviks will not take prisoners. Much more terrifying is the complete silence which occurs here and there, when the Bolsheviks crawl towards us with knives, bayonets, and even razors . . . Hand to hand fighting ensues, more terrible than can be imagined. They fling themselves against

²⁸ 11 August 1941.

us like animals; it is disgusting, it is horrifying. We see how the Russian giant drives his bayonet three, four times into the captain's body.²⁹

Horror in the East had at first been carried only in *Front Reports*, but other transmissions took up the line; one by one; and what before seemed give-away now appeared planned. Already, on 2 August 1941, Goebbels had said about the war in Russia:

You must see it in order to know how we are fighting in these weeks, so that the same fate may not befall us . . . There is no word in our language to describe the almost mythical greatness of this struggle. It is unique in its extent and difficulties.

This elaborate affirmation of the actual situation was to become a key note of Nazi propaganda in defeat. On the following Sunday, 10 August, the *Voice of the Soldier* spoke as follows:

. . . the harvest of the battlefields is still to gather. This fight is Europe's hardest struggle. Always in German history has German blood been sacrificed. And because it is a literal question of the survival of German blood on this earth, the German soldier does not shrink. Harvest time in German history has come again . . . This is the greatest sacrifice of all time. This is harvest time.

Goebbels had embarked upon his strategy of gloom.

During September, Leningrad was gradually being encircled. For days, communiques said that it would fall 'one day,' 'sooner or later,' 'in one way or another.' The armies broke through the 'outer suburbs' and finally stood 'before the gates,' but nothing happened. Victory at Smolensk had only been postponed for a reasonable time; Kiev had been a great victory despite the mud. But it was Moscow that really mattered. Its fall would have meant decision and eventual peace. There must have been impatience in the air at home, and worry. On the front there was undoubted tension as a giant offensive was being prepared, as forces were gathered together to burst against the Moscow defenses and smash them.

²⁹ 27 September 1941.

Hitler touched off sparks in this charged atmosphere when, at the opening of the Winter Relief Campaign on 3 October, he made the famous declaration:

Everything since [June 22nd] has gone according to plan . . . the Command . . . has never lost the operational initiative . . . the enemy already lies defeated and cannot rise again.

For five days after this pronouncement there was silence from Army quarters; but the people, keyed up for the end, must have been listening and waiting. On 8 October came two Special Announcements. One referred to the Ukraine and the other to the central sector, and both promised immediate annihilation. On 9 October the Special Announcements stated that the Russian forces at Bryansk and those at Vyazma were the 'only armies of full fighting strength remaining on the Soviet Front,' and that they were facing destruction.

The same day, Dietrich, the Press Chief, fresh from a conference with Hitler at the front, spoke to foreign press representatives.⁸⁰ His speech on this occasion was never fully broadcast to the German people. A bulletin, however, summed it up by saying, ' . . . the campaign against the strongest military force in the world, against the Bolsheviks, is decided. This military decision is final.' But even more official was Hitler's Order of the Day, delivered to the soldiers on 2 October, at the beginning of the last offensive, but not released to the people until the 9th, when everything seemed to have been proceeding victoriously according to plan. He had told his soldiers:

. . . the stage has been set for the last terrific blow which is to smash this adversary before winter comes . . . Today is the beginning of the last great decisive battle of this year. It will deal devastatingly with this enemy and thus also with the instigator of the whole war, England, herself; for by beating this enemy we shall eliminate England's last ally on the Continent . . .

⁸⁰ For the German reactions to these announcements, see Smith, Howard K., *op. cit.*

you will, with God's help, not only bring victory but take also the most important step towards peace.

The radio re-echoed these words, and added to the predictions: 'Leningrad's fate is sealed,' 'the last effective armies of Timoshenko's group have . . . been put out of battle,' 'there is no more Soviet front.' On 9 October, only Fritzsche was more cautious; he reminded the people that the 'regime of criminals with nothing to lose will continue to drive their people to resist'; similarly, Goebbels, the following day gave this useful analogy:

The battles now going on in the central and southern sectors of the Russian front have decided the outcome of the Russian war. This, however, should not be taken as meaning the end of the campaign. Warfare always drags on for a time after decisive battles. After the issue of the Napoleonic wars had been decided at Leipzig, Napoleon was still able to fight the allies in another winter campaign . . .

At first Goebbels' caution seemed ludicrous. Special Announcements from the central sector kept coming in, reporting unheard-of annihilation. The great battle of Bryansk-Vyazma ended on 18 October. Meanwhile, Odessa had fallen and a week later Kharkov was captured and the Crimea was entered. These Special Announcements, like those of 29 June, told of victory, massive and unqualified. But the advance in the Ukraine had become useless as propaganda, for since Hitler had spoken the people waited for only one thing: 'decision.'

While Hitler's prediction of success was followed up by Ribbentrop when he spoke before the members of the Anti-Comintern,³¹ even as the German armies were preparing to evacuate Rostov, Goebbels and his closer colleagues were preparing the people for a winter stalemate. The spectre of Napoleon was used to good advantage; it was explained that he had been defeated because 'he did not stop in order to reorganize his armies and their supplies, in order to continue the campaign the follow-

³¹ 25 December 1941.

ing year under more favorable conditions . . .'³² In fact, the very lack of 'decision' was glorious:

Grandiosity here lies not in single events such as the conquest of a town, the reaching of a line, or even a victory, but in tackling an enormous quantity of enemy and space . . . The magnificence of the troops' performance is made clear through this ever recurring monotony . . . amid the unchanging landscape and those endlessly progressing feats of battle.³³

Hitler, at the Sportpalast on 3 October, had made an admission. He had miscalculated:

I must admit that we were deceived by one thing. We had no idea how gigantic had been this adversary's preparations against Germany and Europe . . . This I must admit now.

This supposition may have been in the air as early as 20 July, when the program, *Voice of the Soldier*, was introduced as follows:

The man does not exist who does not make mistakes. Few people have admitted this as openly as did the Fuehrer and Supreme Commander . . .

Had the war in Russia to be decided on 3 October, not only because Moscow would provide such good winter quarters for the troops, but also because Pearl Harbor was next on schedule? If Hitler had a schedule for victory on 22 June, when he invaded Russia, we can suggest that it went awry during the very first week of the campaign, when Lwow, the most important town west of the old Russian border, could not even be handed the people on the Sunday of multiple Special Announcements.

Anxiety was reflected in propaganda from the first. Throughout the campaign, disequilibrium in propaganda reflected back upon the military news and tinged success with intimations of defeat. The imperative desire to finish off Russia before winter

³² 30 October 1941.

³³ 1 November 1941.

set in probably made the October victory announcements more rash and more hysterical than they need have been. Again we may wonder if the whole Russian undertaking was not begun despite divergence of opinion between the Party hierarchy and the General Staff, with both groups giving slightly contradictory tones to the propaganda output. Despite great military successes the earlier image of victory gradually deteriorated. The campaign in the West had provided an image of victory so perfect that it could not be improved upon, and the first summer in Russia produced victories, but not the victory which the image had led the people to expect.

3. THE SECOND SUMMER OFFENSIVE IN RUSSIA

In his speech of 6 November 1942, Stalin reviewed the second German summer offensive in Russia. He said that the Germans had no longer been strong enough to conduct an offensive on the whole front, as in the summer of 1941, but that the absence of a second front in Europe had enabled them 'to organize a serious offensive in one direction.' The Germans had tried to reach the Baku oil region, but, according to Stalin,

. . . the purpose of the advance to the South was, apart from everything else, to divert our reserves as far as possible from Moscow and to weaken the Moscow front, so as to make it easier to strike at Moscow. In short, the principal objective of the German summer offensive was to surround Moscow and to end the war this year.

Two days later, Hitler angrily repudiated Stalin's account. There can be no doubt, however, that the second German offensive was weaker than the first, despite its enormous territorial gains. It forced the propagandist to modify still further his image of victory.

The second German offensive in Russia was preceded by two contradictory statements of Hitler. In his Hero Memorial Day speech of 15 March 1942, he declared: 'Whatever fate holds for

us, it will be easier than what is behind us'; and he boldly predicted: 'The Bolshevik masses will be beaten in every direction in the summer.' This sounded reassuring enough; but six weeks later, on 26 April 1942, even before the start of the German offensive, Hitler talked at length about the next winter and the measures he had taken 'to save our country from a repetition' of what had happened during the preceding one.³⁴ Hitler's wavering between the boast of victory and the flat statement that he did not expect to crush Russia in 1942 set the tone for Nazi propaganda during the summer.

Bitter memories of the preceding winter also strongly influenced propaganda throughout the months that followed. The victories at the beginning of the German attack were exploited by the propagandist primarily to restore the prestige of the German army, seriously impaired by the success of Russian counter-attacks. Neither the conquest of the Kerch peninsula at the end of May nor the fighting in the Kharkov region was presented as the beginning of the much-heralded summer offensive. Nor was the siege of Sevastopol, in June, spoken of as part of an offensive. Instead, propaganda slanted the successes at the Russian front to prove how wonderfully the German armies had come through the winter.

In order to increase the value of fresh victory news and heighten relief at the coming of spring, Nazi propagandists indulged in retrospective gloom and released a wave of *ex post facto* pessimism upon the German people. The crisis of the past winter was now admitted and discussed in great detail. According to both Hitler and Goering, it was impossible to describe what the German soldiers had suffered. Figure XXXV shows that in April and early May bravery words in German home news bulletins reached a new peak, only to be surpassed by the

³⁴ According to Louis P. Lochner, op. cit. p. 203, 'All the evidence . . . pointed to the conclusion that this reference to a second winter on the Russian front had a most depressing psychological effect upon the German people.'

heroization of the defenders of Stalingrad. The narrow escape from danger was also used to enhance the glory of the Fuehrer. Fate had been cruel to Hitler, but on 26 April he could boast: 'We have mastered a fate which crushed another man 130 years ago.' Hitler's intuition had been vindicated and confidence in Hitler was more than ever tantamount to confidence in success. The man who had mastered that winter should be able to master what was left of the enemy. For, said Goebbels on 8 May, Hitler had never had an adversary of his own stature.

In June, Rommel beat the British in Africa and Tobruk was taken with thousands of prisoners. German propaganda seized the good news and almost neglected the East, as though it was still advisable not to arouse too much hope in the effective resumption of offensive warfare in Russia. June 1942 was one of the few months in this war in which German propaganda did not follow the lead of the official High Command Communiques. The communiques did not participate in the excessive praise of Rommel, but kept attention on Russia. Two Germans in June, one studying only communiques and the other listening only to the radio, would have had entirely different ideas about the war. The reader of the communiques would have been of the correct opinion that the decisive theatre of war was Russia and that there was also somebody by the name of Rommel who was waging a minor campaign in Africa. Whereas the radio listener might have thought Russia a secondary theatre of war, since he heard a good deal more about the dashing advances of 'Rommel Africanus,' reminiscent of the image of blitz victory as it had existed before the Russian campaign.³⁵

The general reserve of military comment was exemplified by Dittmar. He prefaced his talk on the double victory of Kerch and Kharkov by comparing the spring of 1942 with those of the last war—not to point up the differences but to suggest the similarities:

³⁵ It was also characteristic of the propaganda at this period that while Sevastopol was being besieged no predictions were made of its fall.

The elderly among us will well remember that atmosphere charged with electricity which filled the Front and the Home country in every spring of the First World War before the first blow fell and shed a ray of light on the darkness of uncertainty.⁸⁶

Even a month later, when Dittmar was able to celebrate a three-fold victory—the capture of Mersa Matruh, the sinking of 14 ships in the Atlantic within two days, and the destruction of a Russian army in the Volkhov sector—he spoke as though he were reporting on defensive action:

A situation has been mastered which might have formed the source of grave danger. Moreover this situation has been turned into victory, which is the greater the harder it was won.⁸⁷

From the point of view of Nazi propaganda policy, the second German offensive in Russia lasted only from 1 July to 24 August. 'War in that country can really be waged only for a few months,' Hitler was later to remark in exasperation.⁸⁸ On 1 July, the communique announced soberly: 'German and allied troops started attacks in the southern and central parts of the Eastern front.' On 24 August, Dittmar spoke again of the 'huge resources of manpower' and the 'unheard-of number' of Russian tanks; also during that week the Russians announced their break-through at Rzhev, and on 27 August—two days after the High Command announced that the outer defenses of Stalingrad had been broken—Transocean News Agency reported that German military spokesmen expected the occupation of Stalingrad to be delayed.

The setbacks and defeats with which German propaganda had to cope during the winter of 1942-3 began at this time, fully two and a half months before the Anglo-American forces landed in Africa on 7 November and the Russians broke through the German defenses at Stalingrad on 19 November. Hitler's famous speech of 30 September 1942 and the flood of leader speeches

⁸⁶ 8 June 1942.

⁸⁷ 30 June 1942.

⁸⁸ 30 September 1942.

that followed it were already part of the propaganda campaign to deal with strategical failures in Russia. Defeat began with the delay in taking Stalingrad; and throughout September and October Nazi propaganda was predominantly concerned with trying to explain this delay.

The lack of any decisive military victory in the East in 1942 and the failure to take Stalingrad resulted in a growing tide of pessimism among the German people, aggravated by the raids on German cities. The night of 30 May, Cologne was bombed for the first time by a thousand British planes, and other severe raids followed. In July the ports of Bremen and Hamburg, and in August the industrial centers of the Ruhr were under heavy attack. These factors prevented German propaganda from fully utilizing the victories of the seven weeks' summer in Russia. The resistance of the Russians continued to be admitted; Dittmar kept to his tone of caution. There were many optimistic predictions in July and August, but most of them were quotations from neutral and enemy sources. Nazi propagandists no longer predicted final victory, and anxiously avoided committing themselves. Instead, they emphasized those aspects of the war that might serve to prove that Germany was fully prepared to weather the vicissitudes of a long war.

Ten days after the official announcement that offensive operations had begun, Hans Fritzsche, who was visiting the front, sent in an account from the 'broad, green hill country between the Donetz and the Don.' 'At last,' he said, 'one moves again with the old dash . . . the kettle is boiling.'⁸⁹ But while he was celebrating the German advance, a strange indignation crept into his tale. The Russians were said to vanish before the German assault; they were afraid; but 'next morning, they have courage again and wage war in its ugliest form.' He spoke of the 'exasperation' of the German regiments who had to turn back to fight unexpected Russian resistance in the rear. Few German comments

⁸⁹ 11 July 1942.

on Russia showed more clearly the nature of the war in the East than Fritzsche's remark that the Russians 'want to fight when the fight is really over.'⁴⁰

Goebbels called a propaganda conference for 13 and 14 July, at which he said that the fight was extremely hard and demanded the utmost from everybody—a not very subtle way of instructing the professionals not to arouse hopes of early victory.

However, on 7 July, Voronezh had been claimed by the Germans, and despite all later victory news the listeners at home were never permitted to forget Voronezh altogether. Dittmar, especially, seemed to realize clearly that the outcome of the whole German offensive was dubious as long as the Russians prevented the Germans from advancing beyond Voronezh in the central sector, and threatened to bottle up the German Caucasus armies through incessant counter-attacks. On 13 July, the home audience was told that the goals of the summer offensive were the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus. Voroshilovgrad in the south was claimed on 17 July, but Dittmar, duly praising the achievements of German arms, never lost sight of Voronezh. On 28 July he said that German defense in the Voronezh sector was the 'shield' behind which the German attack in the south had been carried out.

During the first week in August it suddenly seemed as if Germany were again blessed with her old Blitz conquests. The Russian Caucasus army was in full retreat. But despite the fact that one commentator was reminded of 'the most favorable moments of the summer campaign of 1941,'⁴¹ propaganda in general treated the victory in a very different way. The old image of victory, in which space and time crumbled before the German advance, had been decisively modified. Dittmar presented the war in Russia as a struggle with space which 'will have to be fought by us with all our strength in the future also. 'Whoever,' he said,

⁴⁰ Fritzsche in the fall of 1940 described continued British resistance in a similar vein.

⁴¹ 6 August 1942.

'experiences the distances of the eastern front for the first time, feels a sense of depression at first.' He admitted that space favored the Russians: 'The Soviet enemy . . . is not in such an immediate struggle with space as we are. Until now he was able to count upon space as an effective weapon.' And in somewhat veiled language he acknowledged the superiority of the Russian strategy which ceded territory, husbanded reserves for the counter-attack, and evaded decisive military defeat.⁴²

During the summer of 1941 the Germans had still conquered the enemy; in the first Russian winter they had overcome nature in the form of unprecedented cold; now, in the summer of 1942, victory was achieved merely over economic resources. In lieu of the glory of defeating the enemy on the field of battle, the propagandist grasped at the comfort of economic security for a war of attrition to come. Grain and oil became the *leit-motif* even of military comment. From the conquest of the Donetz coal basin to the conquest of the Maikop oil field, German speakers were relatively modest in claiming strategic gains, but all of them emphasized the economic loss for Russia, and termed their military conquests 'investments.' The avalanche of leader speeches at the end of September and the beginning of October used the argument of economic gain to persuade the Germans at home that Europe could now endure a war of indefinite duration.

The stress on loot brought to a head a trend of German propaganda which not only completely renunciated the image of Blitz victory but also any 'idealistic' justification for war. This new interpretation of the war was again introduced by Goebbels. On 29 May, he had explained it as follows:

⁴² An order of the day by Marshal Timoshenko, advising Russian commanders to withdraw rather than to risk their units by a resistance to the last man, may have suggested this interpretation. The order of the day discovered on Russian corpses was quoted by German shortwave broadcasts on 12 July 1943 as evidence of the state of depletion of the Russian army; it was hardly ever mentioned in German home propaganda.

German peasant lads marched as soldiers through the Ukraine and on their way took up handfuls of black fertile soil—and at home there was no butter and not enough bread because too little rain had fallen in April . . . This is no war for throne and altar. This is a war for grain and bread, a plentiful breakfast, lunch, and dinner table . . . a war for raw materials, for rubber and oil, iron and ore.

And to those who might have found this statement too cynical, Goebbels had given an even more cynical reply:

We cannot go on forever fighting for ideals. In the long run it is rather a sign of kindness than of wisdom when a people plays the cultural fertilizer of the world. We are tired of this role. We want to cash in at last.

Germany no longer fought for culture or social ideals, but for a land rich in grain and oil, which happened to be owned by Calibans unable to develop it.⁴³ Fritzsche, on 13 August, had spoken from the East about 'a country whose fields with good care could feed a continent.' On 21 August, in an article entitled 'The Meaning of the War,' Goebbels revived the theory that the war was a struggle between the haves and the have-nots and repeated: 'Grain and oil are ideals, too.'⁴⁴

At the end of September, on the occasion of the opening of the Winter Help Campaign, Hitler devoted a great part of his speech to the loot to be gained in the conquered areas. He insisted on only three issues: the conquest of coal, grain, and oil; the economic organization and exploitation of the conquered country; and the cutting of the last Russian supply line through capture of a foothold on the Volga. 'We are opening these agricultural areas,' said Hitler. 'Let our enemies wage this war as

⁴³ Business papers also insisted on this point. *Oel und Kohle*, a technical and commercial magazine, said the Russians were unworthy of having oil because they wasted it.

⁴⁴ Not very much later, the German news agency DNB deleted the word 'idealistic' from a Goebbels' article in which he had referred to the Germans as 'a brave, idealistic, and generous people.'

long as they are able to do so.' And on 4 October, Goering promised, 'Germany will eat first.'

Railways and roads were being built in a country where 'bog people' had not cared to have any; Bolshevik disorder was being replaced by flourishing agriculture, and industry was being organized according to western standards. Decrees were made to assure German soldiers that they would be the first to receive allotted land and business opportunities—though German and Dutch trusts were actually being given the monopolies of trade and exploitation.

The 'Fortress of Europe' theme, which had seemed a temporary expedient to excuse the winter stalemate, was revived in the summer when victorious defense became the idea implicit in reports from all fronts. On 18 and 19 August, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* discussed it in front-page articles. Early in August, Goebbels had excused the lack of retaliatory raids against Britain by saying that it would be foolish to weaken the Russian front. The High Command Communique of 26 August claimed that the ratio of plane losses at the Russian front in the first 24 days of the month had been 1:18—2,505 Russian planes as compared to 140 German ones. Colonel Gertz amplified this statement two days later in an unmistakably defensive tone:

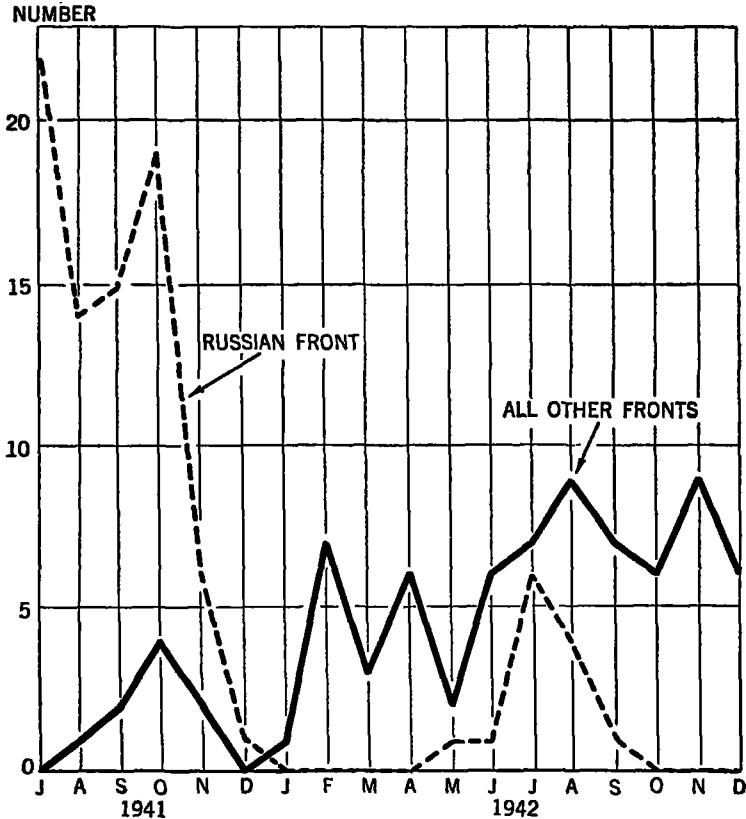
On account of the relatively small losses, the striking power of the German Luftwaffe is largely preserved. The heavy losses on the Russian side, however, always weaken the potential of the Soviet air arm. All hopes of the United Nations that the German Luftwaffe will bleed to death over the battlefields of the East are definitely dispelled.

Figure XXVI compares the frequency of Special Announcements from the Russian front with those from all other fronts. In July 1941, there were so many Russian items that Atlantic victories did not matter. During the winter when there were no victories in Russia, the battle of the Atlantic was given prominence. But the stress on other fronts was not abandoned during the successful summer offensive. Rommel's victories accounted

FIGURE XXVI

Special Announcements

Number of Special Announcements according to front



This figure shows the number of Special Announcements per month broadcast on the home radio. 'All other fronts' includes ship sinkings. The periods begin on the 22nd of the preceding month and end on the 21st of the month indicated in the figure. The periods extend from 22 June 1941 to 21 December 1942.

for many Special Announcements before August, but those in August were mainly concerned with U-boat activities.

It would be misleading to interpret this curve merely as an indication that Goebbels provided substitutes for the lack of Special Announcements from the Eastern front. The curve shows that in November 1941, a year earlier, he had not done so. In 1941, the image of Blitzkrieg was still predominant and the war had not yet assumed the character of a war of attrition. In 1942, attrition had been reconciled to the image of war, and German propaganda was ready to claim defensive action as part of its strategy; within a context of defense, increases in naval victories could be made to compensate for failure on land. All that Goebbels had to do was to show that attrition applied to the enemy and not to the Germans, so the radio dramatized enemy sinkings:

Great things, which you cannot always see or hear, are happening all the time. Do you hear the striking of this gong? It strikes every second. Now imagine that you are on a floating raft in the sea, on a sort of little island. A ton of goods sinks at every stroke of the gong. Wool, cotton, bacon, grain, innumerable tons of oil, other fuel, sugar, ammunition, canned goods, spare parts for aircraft—every second another ton drops to the bottom of the sea. This gong, the striking of which may begin to get on your nerves, goes on and on. Think of it when you wake up tonight. It will go on striking for 33 hours—until the day after tomorrow. It means that during every one of these seconds a ton of goods has been sunk. As has been announced, our U-boats and the Luftwaffe have sunk another 156 ships totalling 866,000 g.r.t.⁴⁵

The Dieppe raid on 19 August gave Goebbels a chance further to vitalize the idea of victorious defense. Goebbels translated the

⁴⁵ 2 July 1942. To popularize further interest in U-boat warfare, the *Mirror of the Times* started a competition:

'Listeners were asked to work out how long it would take the gong to "sink" the 866,000 g.r.t. of enemy shipping lost in June. The correct solution was 13 days 18 hours and only one elderly retired official gave the correct answer, all other listeners falling into the trap presented by the difference between a ton weight and the gross register ton.' (3 July 1942.)

Commando raid into attempted invasion to prove that the French coast—that indeed all the defenses of the ‘Fortress of Europe’ were impregnable. He said that the British were able to maintain their forces on land for only nine hours, and had been annihilated by local troops without the help of reserves. Dittmar pointed out that the English no longer had the choice of landing places; he, Dittmar, would have chosen the Atlantic coast, but, he explained, linking the Fortress theme with the U-boat theme, the British fleet could no longer protect a landing force. There was no doubt that this was the oft-announced invasion, because of the fact that the British had landed tanks. Documents found on prisoners showed that the spearhead was meant to hold the beach until the main force had landed. But the invasion forces had steamed off when they realized that the spearhead was lost. For two weeks, radio, press, and newsreels busily celebrated the failure of invasion.

Thus in the summer of 1942, victory news in German propaganda gradually changed its meaning: it was ever more closely linked to a propaganda of military defense in a war of attrition. For short moments only the traditional victory rituals were revived: in August, when in a feat of mountaineering, rather than of fighting, the swastika was hoisted on Mt. Elbrus; and early in September, when the capture of Novorossisk was celebrated with suspicious frenzy—in order to make people forget that Stalingrad was still holding out.

XIII

Defeat

I. THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

TO THE GERMANS victory seemed near when France fell. Since England appeared unable to defend herself against an army that had just pierced the mightiest fortifications of the world, it seemed common sense to assume that England would agree to a negotiated peace. Although Churchill declared on 14 July, one month after the fall of Paris, that Britain would carry on the fight, Hitler again 'stretched out his hand' to offer peace. 'Even today,' he said on 19 July 1940, 'I am still sorry that in spite of all my efforts I have not succeeded in becoming friends with England . . .'

At the same time that Hitler wooed England, he threatened retaliation for the British raids on German towns, and offered this ambiguous alternative to friendship with Germany: 'Mr. Churchill ought perhaps, for once, to believe me when I prophesy that a great Empire will be destroyed.' The German radio stations talked much about the coming downfall of Britain by means of blockade and invasion; but did so mainly through the use of quotations from the world press, which carried the invasion theme in many variations. These were partly drawn from British home propaganda, where discussion of possible invasion was one of the main topics used to stimulate British determination. However, in the first week of August, German home stations lessened their stress on the invasion theme.

On 4 August, *Deutschlandsender* denied that there was any inconsistency in the simultaneous threat of a war of attrition by

blockade and Goering's declaration that the Luftwaffe was getting ready for a total war on England. 'We see no inconsistency whatever. Everything will be done at the right time.' In the beginning of August the Luftwaffe started its mass attacks against British coastal airdromes, ports, and convoys. The German High Command Communique of 8 August revealed that 'in connection with the German air attacks, large air battles developed,' and the broadcaster stated that the 'great German victories announced today and yesterday' have made it 'quite clear to the English people that this war is essentially to be decided by the Air Force.'

The Battle of Britain was the first defeat Germany suffered in this war. Not only did the Germans lose 2,375 planes in three months, they also failed to achieve their declared aim of knocking England, 'the only remaining enemy,' out of the war. In explaining why he had attacked Russia, Hitler admitted a year later, on 3 October 1942:

In August and September last year, one thing could be realized: a settling of accounts with England now, which in the first place would have tied down the whole of the German Air Force, was no longer possible, because in my rear there was standing a state already getting ready to go against us at such a moment.

The statement implied that the defeat in the Battle of Britain required a reversion of German war strategy. Germany could not afford to sacrifice further airplanes and had to give up 'settling the account' with Britain rather than endanger the realization of future war plans.

The defeat, however, was not admitted by the Nazis; they never reported their losses and denied after the event that a Battle of Britain had ever taken place. Finally, in the spring of 1941, a special denial campaign was conducted by Fritzsche and other commentators in response to claims of the BBC. Counterpropaganda tried to 'relegate the British drivel about the alleged German air battle over England into the realm of fantasies told by

British fire sides,' and declared that the story was invented by the British in an attempt 'to conceal the failure of the RAF from last autumn up till now.'¹

The task of concealing the defeat from the home population and of neutralizing the effects of the information leaking into Germany was greatly facilitated by the character of the fighting: it was an air battle, and the first of its kind in history.

The strategic significance of events in air warfare is more difficult for the listener to understand than that of territorial and manpower losses in land warfare. The result of a battle in the air leaves no trace when it is over. This becomes a propaganda asset in periods of aerial defeat. In addition, neither propagandists nor listeners had much experience in air fighting at the time of the Battle of Britain. No one knew how the victims would take it. While this inexperience may have produced unwarranted hopes and speculation on the part of the German authorities during the initial phases of the battle,² it also permitted them several lines of retreat.

The official British report divided the Battle of Britain into four periods, according to the tactics and principal targets of the Luftwaffe: ³

Period I: 8-23 August (Objects of attack: shipping and ports of the southeast and east coasts of England)

Period II: 24 August-5 September (Objects of attack: inland fighter airdromes, aircraft factories, residential sections)

Period III: 6 September-5 October (Objects of attack: industry and London)

Period IV: 6-31 October (Objects of attack: London, scattered objectives)

¹ 28 June 1941.

² In August 1943, Goebbels admitted that the Germans had mistaken the significance of the British evacuation scheme.

³ *The First Great Air Battle in History, The Battle of Britain: an Air Ministry Record of the Great Days from August 8th to October 31st, 1940.*

The critical day of the battle was 15 September, when the Germans sent over 500 bombers and fighters, and when 185 of their aircraft were shot down against a loss of 25 RAF planes and 11 pilots. Although a few more big daylight raids occurred, invasion plans were probably discarded in the second half of September. At least the propagandists generally reduced the volume of German domestic propaganda on the air war with England and its tone became distinctly more defensive. By the middle of October, the RAF had more front-line squadrons than during the first week in August.⁴ Apart from the skill of the British pilots, two factors were mainly responsible for the German defeat, the secret radio locator at the disposal of the RAF Fighter Command, which directed the work of interception, and the lack of armor of the German day bombers.

Figure XXVII shows that on the German home radio attention to the Battle of Britain reached its peak in the first half of the third phase. The waning of the battle in October is not as pronounced as one might expect in view of the diminished severity of fighting expressed in the smaller number of German losses. But it is worth noting that the trend of the 'news curve' is generally at variance with the 'loss curve,' based on British claims. The average loss per day was highest in the first phase of the campaign, when there was a period during which the Germans lost 487 aircraft within 6 days.

At first the official British claims were not accepted without question, and the British Government had to conduct a special publicity campaign in order to convince American public opinion of the accuracy of its communiques; the support of American observers in Britain proved to be an asset.

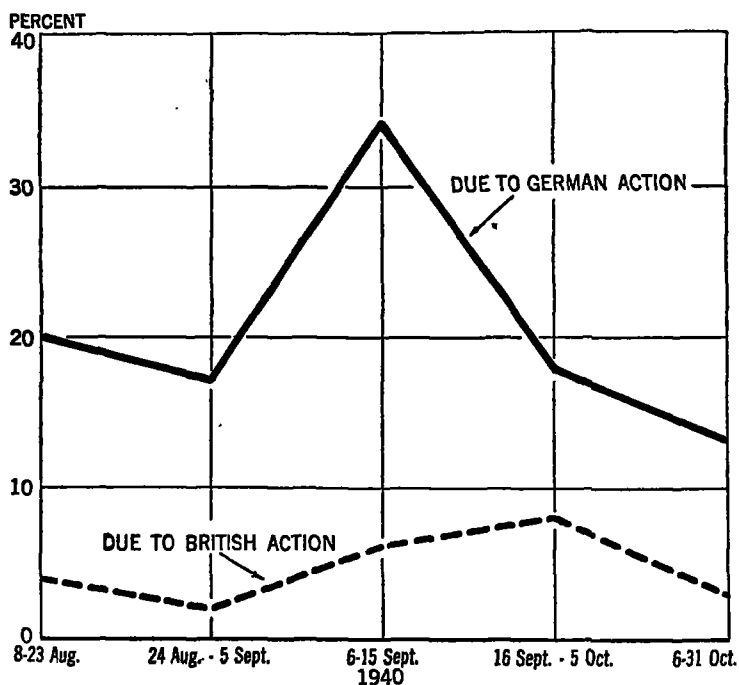
German propaganda, however, used the prestige gained in the previous campaigns in order to shake belief in British contentions. Seven days after the beginning of the German offensive, the

⁴ Garnett, David: *War in the Air*, New York, 1941, p. 195.

FIGURE XXVII

Air Warfare During the Battle of Britain

References in per cent of item totals—Sample news bulletins



In this figure only references are included that occur in items wholly or primarily concerned with air warfare. In an account of a battle between planes, the invading or attacking party is considered the actor. Destruction specified as caused by air warfare is included.

Political Review announced that 'England has not only lost the greatest air battle there has been, but also the greatest propaganda battle'; German Air Communiques were 'now published on the front page even of papers hostile to Germany.' Since confidence in the reliability of the German news 'has so far never been disappointed, naturally the German, not the English, reports of recent air battles are believed in the world.'⁵ The German people were told that the British, i.e. Churchill, systematically reversed the figures given by the German communique. In fact, from the first day, the German radio said that the British press made 'frantic efforts mendaciously to represent as a victory the severe defeat suffered by the British in the aerial battle.' Fritzsche, speaking of the 'German air victories documented by cold figures,' declared that the British had claimed the ridiculous figure of 2,743 German planes shot down in less than a week.⁶

Yet the German High Command must have anticipated heavy losses and could not help giving indications of their depressing effect on German pilots. Quade, on 14 August, spoke of the 'unheard-of strength of nerve of the German High Command in carrying out preconceived plans,' a remark that implied an awareness of their cost. At a later occasion, while speculating on the effect of the alleged British losses on their crews, he remarked that 'such losses are quickly known in an air force, and depress even the most valiant men.'⁷ Front Reporters repeatedly spoke of German pilots who were shot down but not lost; and told their audience that 'While German bombers stream uninterruptedly toward England, our motor-torpedo boats assure a sea-rescue service in the Channel.'⁸ Planes were described as coming back long after all hope had been given up; and on one occasion the broadcaster refuted the 'impudent allegation' that

⁵ 15 August 1940.

⁶ On 6 October, the Germans claimed 2,474 British planes shot down since the beginning of the campaign.

⁷ 24 August 1940.

⁸ 27 August 1940.

'Germany is sacrificing her Messerschmitt fighters without counting them.'⁹

On the German home radio, the second period of the Battle of Britain was no less clearly marked than the first. A Special Announcement introduced the new phase and the *Political Review* of 27 August declared:

Anyone who knows how to read the High Command Communiques will have found a small difference in the careful and unambiguous wording . . . in the last few days. While hitherto they mentioned armed reconnaissance over England, they speak now of the destruction according to plan of enemy objectives vital for the prosecution of the war. After establishing the domination of the German air arm in the air over Britain, these great attacks of destruction have started. The German air arm, which had allegedly been decimated and was in a hopeless process of reorganization, darkened the sky over the most important industrial and economic centers, including London.

At the same time, Quade proclaimed that 'the first absolute air war is now being fought over Europe.'¹⁰

While the first phase of the battle was depicted as a struggle for air superiority, the second is given the character of a 'break-through' of the 'inner defenses' of the 'Churchill line.' According to Radio Berlin the 'conception of the Fortress of England' was invented 'by Churchill personally.' 'People' were said to compare the events with those in 'Poland and France,' particularly with regard to the destruction of British planes on the ground. The first invasion song appeared on 1 September. It was the *Song of the Scouting Tank Squadron*, of which the British monitor remarked that it had an 'uncanny character, as if sung by robots.' The refrain was: 'Do you hear the droning sound? England, we come, we come . . .' The song *Bombs on England* is a regular ending for *Front Reports*.¹¹

⁹ 16 August 1940.

¹⁰ 24 August 1940.

¹¹ According to information from Ernest Gombrich.

The continuously progressing fury of the attack was vividly described. The attacks were carried out 'incessantly.' Whenever one fire was brought under control, another was started by 'a new wave of attacks.' Every day brought a new superlative—it was the 'worst' attack, the 'longest' alarm, the 'heaviest' bombardment, the 'heaviest attack of all times.' 'Increasing' was the word most often heard on the German home radio during this time. 'The air war over England increases day by day and hour by hour. It is like a howling crescendo.'¹² In view of such descriptions it would seem difficult to vindicate the Luftwaffe and Goering's strategy after they had failed, and later try to deny that there had been a Battle of Britain were it not that the propagandist never lost sight of the possibility of defeat while he was conducting his battle propaganda. In fact, the balance between terrorism and caution was its most interesting aspect. While German propaganda used every available means of inspiring the German public with the destructive 'victories' of the German Luftwaffe, it never committed itself to the claim that England would collapse within a certain time or in consequence of specified actions. German propaganda displayed considerable skill in dramatizing the battle¹³ and in suggesting overwhelming German successes, without ever making imprudent prophecies or rash generalizations.

Thus, while 8.4 per cent of news items in German broadcasts to Britain contained explicit predictions, they occurred in only 4.8 per cent in the home service. Hitler, on 4 September, opened the third phase of the Battle of Britain by saying: 'Whatever may come, England will be broken in one way or another.' This sounded awe-inspiring but it was safe. Hitler also hinted darkly about the future: 'Curiosity is very high in England today and they ask: "Well, why doesn't he come?"' 'Calm down!' replied Hitler, 'He will come! . . . We are prepared for anything, we are resolved and ready to act at any time.'

¹² 7 September 1940.

¹³ Fritzsche proclaimed this dramatization as the German radio's greatest achievement (see p. 67).

Although the German home radio aroused definite expectations by such methods as quoting a 'United States opinion' that supposedly set the date of British surrender for 17 September, this was done only in order to familiarize the people with statements the propagandist wanted to refute. As early as 13 August, the German radio accused the British of again trying their 'old trick' of setting the date Hitler intended 'to celebrate victory over England' so that they could triumphantly say 'the Germans again missed the bus.' To this type of statement Fritzsche answered: 'The date when the Fuehrer dealt his blows to ward off attempts at annihilation was always the right date';¹⁴ and an enthusiastic disciple of Goebbels' declared that not the British but 'Dr. Goebbels and the Fuehrer would decide the decisive hour.'¹⁵

The refutation of alleged British time tables for German invasion was accompanied by propaganda polemics against the word 'Blitzkrieg.' Before the second phase, there was a lull in military operations for several days while the German air force was being reorganized for new tactics. When the bombing was resumed the German radio said that the British had made a 'Blitzkrieg' out of what had been merely 'armed reconnaissance' by the Luftwaffe during the first phase of battle, and had interpreted the lull to mean that Germany had lost it. The new German raids proved that the Blitzkrieg interpretation had been an 'invention' of the British, inspired by the 'illusion that the danger had passed.'¹⁶

A month later, when it had become apparent to the Germans that they had really lost the battle, Fritzsche repeated the same argument to counter the suspicion of the homeland, skilfully using ideas that he had made familiar to the people in days of comparative success. His care in August to protect the image of German omnipotence when the Luftwaffe losses were mounting

¹⁴ 1 September 1940.

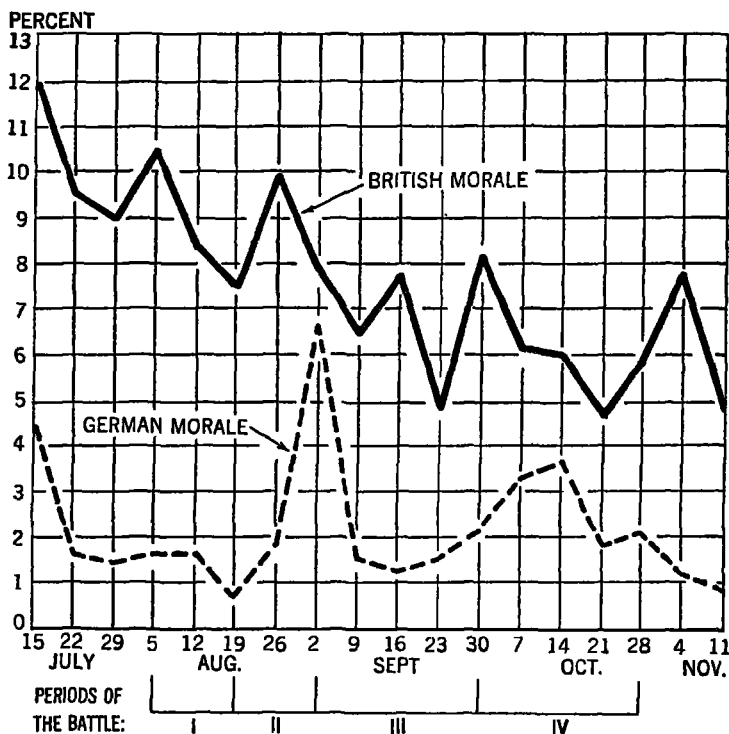
¹⁶ 25 and 26 August 1940.

¹⁵ 3 September 1940.

FIGURE XXVIII

References to British and German Morale During the Battle of Britain

Number of items in per cent of item totals—All home news bulletins



This figure is partly based on data compiled by the BBC Monitoring Service. The dates stand for the end of weekly periods.

helped him in September to cushion the shock of manifest failure with greater self-assurance.

The German treatment of morale in England provides further evidence of propaganda caution during the Battle of Britain. Although one might have expected an increasing emphasis on the deterioration of British morale during the progress of battle, Figure XXVIII shows that such morale items gradually decreased.¹⁷ The type of comment also became less fantastic in the later phases of the battle, the propagandist thus trying to lower

FIGURE XXIX

Frequency of Stereotypes During the Battle of Britain

23 JUNE—7 AUGUST	BATTLE OF BRITAIN	1 NOV.—8 DEC.
Plutocrat 34	Retaliation and	Retaliation and
Liar 18	reprisal 40	reprisal 13
Jew 13	Liar 30	Jew 10
Warmonger 11	Jew 24	Liar 4
New Order 6	Plutocrat 23	Pirate 3
Criminal 6	Criminal 17	
Pirate 4	Murderer 14	
	New Order 11	

general expectation of England's collapse under the strain of bombardment.

Finally, German propagandists took great care to present the most violent attacks on London, in the third phase of the battle, as expeditions to punish the British for the villainy of their 'night pirates.' By thus giving a 'moral' interpretation to their assault on England, they paved the way for a propaganda retreat, should retreat become necessary, since a punitive expedition need not end with the culprit's surrender. The most important stereotypes in the sample news bulletin during the Battle of Britain, listed in Figure XXIX, reflect this characteristic of the campaign.

¹⁷ The frequency of German morale items is also indicated on Figure XXVIII. The fact that these do not decrease may show that the falling trend of British morale items was not a consequence of growing propaganda interest in other material at the expense of morale discussions in general.

On 48 of the 53 days of the Battle of Britain, after 10 September, the High Command Communique also presented the raids on London and other non-military objectives as retaliations,¹⁸ and sometimes introduced the account of the battle over Britain by a report on the destruction of German towns by the RAF.

The campaign of moral justification for the German raids had been prepared ever since May 1940. According to German propagandists, the RAF had never hit anything but churchyards, hospitals, and playgrounds; and the only casualty figures ever made public were those of German children. Thus on 4 September, Hitler could say:

For three months, I did not answer [but now] if they say that they will carry out large-scale attacks on our cities, we will blot out theirs. We will stop the handiwork of night pirates, so help us God. The hour will come when one of us will crack—and it will not be National Socialist Germany.

The radio then proclaimed: 'The Fuehrer has given the signal'—but failed to mention that London had been bombed six times before 5 September.¹⁹

On 7 September, the radio described how 3,000 planes 'set their course for London.' A Special Announcement asserted that 'for the first time the town and port of London' have been attacked as a 'reprisal.' Blow after blow would now rain on the island 'until the enemy was forced to his knees.' While German planes 'chase through the night sky like comets' and pound 'with relentless violence,' German 'pictures straight from the air will go down through the ages as indisputable documents of a fair and chivalrous warfare.' The radio explained that the Germans restricted themselves only to 'military objectives,' but that the British Government had

¹⁸ On 35 days, an entire sentence was devoted to this statement.

¹⁹ While the first attack on the port of London, on 17 August, had been heralded as a great victory on all foreign transmissions, the German home radio had been silent on this subject. The homeland had only been told of British attacks on Germany, which will 'increase the desire for retribution.'

methodically distributed works of military importance in tremendous numbers all over the London area. Churchill created conditions for endangering the population, very likely with the intention of being able to spread atrocity stories all over the world at the decisive moment.²⁰

The exploits of the Luftwaffe in the third phase of the Battle of Britain were thus elaborately presented as acts of retribution. Only after the thoroughly moral nature of German violence had been firmly established was the public permitted to enjoy the thrills of untrammelled destruction.

The radio announced that at this time Reichsmarshal Goering was 'personally conducting operations from northern France'; and a Front Reporter described him peeping through the 'stereoscopic telescope of an observation tower' on the Channel coast. He spoke into the microphone: 'The Fuehrer has decided to deliver a formidable retaliatory stroke against the British capital.' *Front Reports* concluded with the song:

*We fly against England
How red the roses bloom
We fly against England
and with us flyeth doom.*

Reich Press Chief Dr. Dietrich moved his headquarters to the French coast and Reichssendeleiter Hadamovsky was on the spot at the 'historic moment' to describe the 'uninterrupted succession' of German planes 'streaming' towards England. On 11 September Hadamovsky in person gave an account of his experience in a bomber over London:

Last night we dropped giant bombs over London, which were much heavier than those used during the Polish campaign. Beneath us, we saw the red blazing metropolis of England, the center of plutocrats and slaveholders, the capital of World-Enemy No. 1. We saw the fires of destruction. Clouds of smoke and pillars of fire looked like the flow of lava from a titanic volcano. As you know, the chain of our bombing raids on London

²⁰ 11 September 1940.

has not been interrupted since Saturday. Last night we again flew over London . . . Our formation came as the tenth . . . over that town which can no longer find any rest and in which work has stopped . . . London is wrapped in flames . . . Unheard by us, without respite, the most dreadful scenes must be occurring down here, beneath our machines . . . A.A. shells explode around us. Suddenly a searchlight appears in our vicinity. Heavens! it has caught us, it keeps us. We are blinded and cannot see. A sudden move of the pilot, the machine rushes downwards, into the depths. Saved, and he has refound the darkness . . .

The columnist of the New York paper *PM* who signs his articles 'The General' was described by the German newscaster as 'An American General, whose name is not mentioned,' and quoted as follows:

. . . the English are about to lose the battle of London . . . The general declares that Hitler will succeed in eliminating London as a military center. As the workers' dwellings are situated too near to strategic objectives, losses among the London civil population are a matter of course. The American general thinks that this circumstance has aroused ill-feeling toward the Government.²¹

Another paper was quoted to the effect that the German air attacks have compelled the British 'to concentrate on London all available fighter planes' and it is now considered a fact that the 'RAF is exposed to destruction.'²²

The loss of 185 planes on 15 September brought German exaltation to a halt. Defeat propaganda began the next day, greatly facilitated by the caution observed in the earlier days of the battle. On 16 September, the communique admitted an unusually great number of German losses—43 planes. Although the broadcaster remarked that 'all English reports about yesterday's

²¹ 13 September 1940.

²² 18 September 1940. Radio Rome is more explicit about the provocation of the RAF through the bombardment of London. It speaks of but 'two alternatives,' the sacrifice of the RAF's reserves or the destruction of London.

air fighting are characterized by astronomical figures of alleged German losses,' he this time quoted the actual English claims: 'Churchill ordered the spreading of the assertion that the British shot down yesterday no fewer than 185 German aeroplanes.'

On 18 September, Fritzsche still asserted that London had to choose 'between the fate of Warsaw and Paris'; but two days later he began his apologia by characterizing the British as 'that type of criminal . . . who does not collapse but . . . boasts of his crimes.' On 26 September, Fritzsche, again accusing the British of inventing Hitler's schedule of invasion and the idea of the 'Blitz,' laid the groundwork for a re-interpretation of German strategy to fit the new situation:

We Germans have never prophesied immediate victories as the English did . . . we have only declared that victory—the date of which nobody can tell—will be ours. This wise restraint in prophecies shows we know a colossus like the British Empire cannot be overthrown in a day . . .

On 17 October, Fritzsche asserted that the Empire was crumbling through the repercussions of the European war: 'British soil is trembling elsewhere than in London.'

While on the one hand the argument of final German victory was dissociated from the British Isles and linked to an enlarged strategic goal that included the downfall of the British Commonwealth, on the other hand Nazi propaganda was at great pains to show that the air war against England was continuing with unabated intensity. Both devices serve to blur the impression of German defeat in the fourth and last phase of the Battle of Britain.

The *Political Review* of 4 October, refuting a British analogy that might have reached German black listeners ('now that September is over, the British people are told by their papers that Germany has lost a battle of the Marne') asserted boldly that the changing season did not worry Germany and that the bombing would continue during the winter. As late as 9 November 1940

Hitler spoke before the German people as if he were only then about to begin his campaign:

I looked on with patience, thinking the man [Churchill] was mad, for it can only lead to Britain's destruction. I then offered my hand once more—in the summer. I found it difficult to go on waiting all that time, for I was often asked, 'Why do you wait, Fuehrer?' but now I am resolved to fight it out to the last. I am going to show them who it is that will be destroyed. The British people, for whom I feel sorry, will have Churchill to thank for what they will suffer.

And yet the stress at that time was on two diversions: U-boat warfare and Axis diplomacy. The Nazi Government published a map showing the effect of counter-blockade, and propaganda repeatedly asserted that the Atlantic was even broader than the Channel. A survey of themes in the news and commentaries reveals that in October Germany's successes on the sea figured larger than those in the air. The connection between air warfare and sea warfare was established in frequent reports about ships sunk by bomber planes. Very often the themes 'the battle continues' and 'the Atlantic is too large for convoys' were combined in the same news item. On 9 November 1940, Hitler told his followers that he controlled all Europe and predicted that U-boat production would rise and further endanger England.

The Tri-Partite Pact on 27 September²³ provided a welcome diplomatic diversion; and a Brenner Pass meeting of Hitler and Mussolini on 4 October, 'held under the ensign of Blitz politics,' was spoken of as 'a means for the attainment of victory as decisive as the Blitzkrieg.' The New Order in Europe was making speedy progress now that the interference of Britain had been eliminated from continental affairs.

The policy of German propaganda during the Battle of Britain is clearly revealed in Fritzsche's talks where he gave the reasons for England's doom. Figure XXX shows that Fritzsche was most

²³ See p. 270.

eloquent on this subject in the phases of the Battle after 15 September, when he helped to conceal the German defeat. Even after 30 October Fritzsche did not discard the theme, although he only made half as many references to England's doom as in the preceding period.

Fritzsche's change in emphasis in the middle of the battle, from inefficiency and unsoldierly conduct to immorality and age, may

FIGURE XXX

Reasons for British Doom in Talks by Hans Fritzsche

	1 AUG.- 15 SEPT.	16 SEPT.- 30 OCT.	31 OCT.- 7 DEC.
THE BRITISH ARE DOOMED BECAUSE:			
They are inefficient and unsoldierly	11	7	2
They are immoral and over-age	8	22	9
They are isolated	0	3	3
Total British doom	19	32	14
Number of talks	13	18	17
Average no. of references to doom per talk	1.5	1.9	0.8
Ratio of geopolitical to military arguments	0.7:1	3.6:1	6:1

have been noticed by his listeners. But the bulk of them probably failed to notice the more subtle shift in his talks from the immediate expectation of England's collapse by military means to the long-range consideration according to which it was a matter of geopolitical necessity. While at the beginning of the battle, military reasons outweighed the geopolitical ones, in November and early in December Fritzsche made about six more or less vague references to geopolitics for every reference to tangible military facts when he talked about England's doom.

In October, official German broadcasts to England no longer mentioned the invasion of the British Isles. The threat was only made to the British through the clandestine 'Freedom Stations' operated in Germany. Responsibility for statements that the British were already defeated and that 'unspeakable terror will

follow' was thus shifted to the 'illegal opposition.' On the German home radio the people were now told that it was not the German but the 'British offensive against the Continent, announced with so much pomp,' that had 'admittedly still not begun.'

2. THE FIRST WINTER IN RUSSIA

Instead of crushing the Russian armies and conquering Moscow before Christmas, the Germans in the winter of 1941 had to cope with the first major counter-offensive in what had hitherto been their war. The Russians began to attack early in December and continued to harass the Germans for about five months, until the beginning of May. According to General MacArthur the transition of Russian armies from defensive warfare to counter-offensive was 'the greatest military achievement of all history.'

The Russians occupied Kalinin on 16 December and Mozhaisk on 19 January. By the end of February, they had forced the Germans back to their lines of July and August 1941, on the northern and central fronts. Only in the area of Rzhev and Vyazma did the Germans succeed in maintaining an important pocket, particularly dangerous as a jumping-off place for another German assault on Moscow.²⁴

In the south, German arms suffered their first serious defeat through a Russian counter-attack that reconquered Rostov at the end of November while the Germans were still trying to storm Moscow. Later, the landing of Russian troops in the eastern Crimea, at Kerch and Feodosia, eventually contributed to the considerable delay of the German summer offensive of 1942.

Max Werner has estimated the total German losses in manpower between December 1941 and April 1942 at 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 men, a figure exceeding the total losses of the German armies on the Eastern Front in three and a half years of the First World War. The lower figure was quoted by Berlin from the

²⁴ For an account of the strategical gains of the Russians in their first winter offensive, cf. Werner, Max, *op. cit.* chapter vii.

Swedish paper *Goteborg Posten* on 4 January 1942, in a broadcast to England. Nazi propaganda ridiculed this claim, but did not dare to carry the item in its broadcasts to the German public.

We do not know whether the Nazis succeeded in concealing from the German public the heavy casualties exacted by bullets and frost during the winter. The propagandist kept talking about enormous Russian losses but observed silence about German casualties. We do know, however, that Nazi propaganda was excessively concerned with finding arguments against the inescapable conclusion that the Russians had wrested the initiative from the Germans after several months of retreat. Hitler's personal prestige was at stake and Hitler himself took a leading part in trying to eradicate the impression that his war strategy had failed.

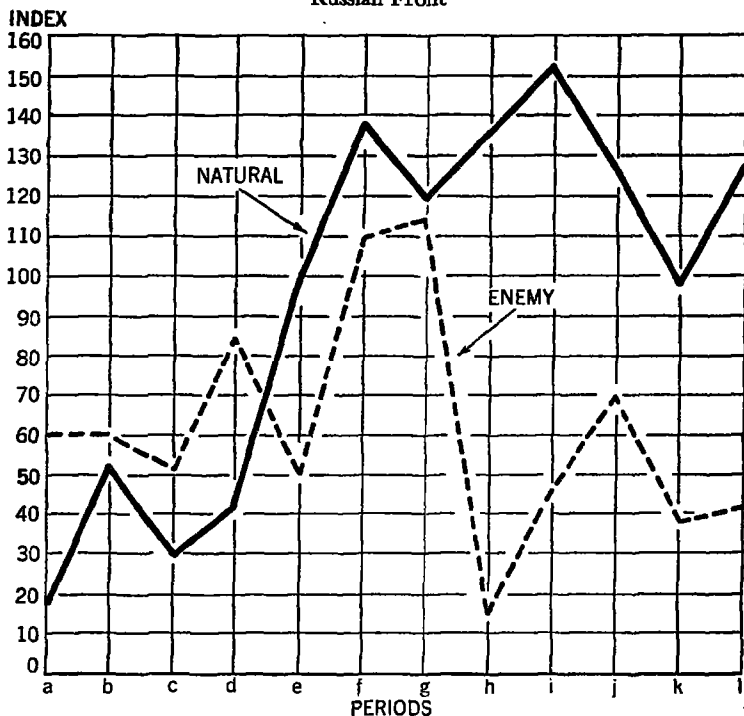
The severity of the climate in Russia was the keynote of all news and commentary. Figure XXXI shows that references in *Front Reports* to the difficulties encountered by German troops increased from October on. Even at that time the difficulties caused by nature were more frequently mentioned than those caused by the enemy. Not the Red Army but 'severe cold,' 'violent blizzards,' 'ice,' 'frost,' and 'snow' were fighting the brave German soldiers. In their first defeat on land the Germans were overwhelmed by nature rather than men. The communique of 8 December 1941 set the tone. 'From now on,' it declared in its well-known authoritative language, 'operations in the East will be dictated by the winter.' Contrary to the traditional pattern of heroic conduct, the Germans loathed to recognize the audacious attack of the enemy, preferring to perish by a stroke of nature. And listeners to *Front Reports*, as is shown in Figure XXXI, heard less than ever about enemy action. German propaganda in the winter of 1941-2 was a travesty of epic poetry: the retreating heroes decried the climate:

Never was the Bolshevik Army the main adversary of the German soldier, although from the beginning of the campaign they were over-powerful in numbers. The main adversary was

FIGURE XXXI

Types of Difficulties on the Russian Front

Number of references per 100 Front Reports items dealing with the Russian Front



d: 19 Sept.-2 Oct. 1941
e: 3-25 Oct. 1941

f: 26 Oct.-22 Nov. 1941
i: 21 Dec.-29 Jan. 1942

This figure shows the ratio of the number of two types of difficulties encountered by the Germans, to the number of items dealing with the Russian front. The unit of measurement is the reference to the difficulty and not the item, which may contain more than one reference. Reference to a specific difficulty is counted more than once only if mentioned in different contexts. Natural difficulties are, for example, 'bad weather,' 'cold,' 'swamps.' The periods extend from 22 June 1941 to 8 May 1942.

always the tremendous expanse, the lack of roads and the climate: we struggled with dust, thirst, water, mud; today we are fighting against the ice, snow, the Siberian cold, and the storms from the East. These are hard enemies, we do not deny it.²⁵

On 31 January 1942, a *Front Report* had explained why ice, cold, and blizzards discriminated between different nationalities, sparing Russians and bringing misery only to Germans:

The Asiatic tribesmen, the Kirgians, Tartars, Uzbeks, and so on, can practically camp in the open in that grim cold. They cluster together in a huge human pile, and though the outer ones may freeze to death, the others survive.

Hitler provided the scientific description of this 'hard enemy':

It was not Russia that forced us to defense, but only 38, 40, 42 and sometimes 45 degrees below zero that did it.

This winter, unprecedented for more than 100 years . . .

Harder than it has been in central and eastern Europe for the past 140 years . . .

[A winter in the East] as it has even in those regions not been experienced for more than 140 years . . . In a few days the thermometer fell from zero centigrade and above that to minus 47 centigrade and below that.²⁶

But Rostov was lost on 29 November, before the weather was officially declared to be Germany's enemy. The Nazis never admitted this defeat. They reported merely the loss of 'the central district.' In the communiques of the following days, however, the geographical designation changed from 'Rostov' to 'near Rostov' and 'the region of Rostov'—convenient euphemisms for 'retreat from Rostov.' In addition to this device, which was to be used frequently in reporting later retreats and withdrawals, it was explained that 'the central district' was being evacuated by German 'occupation troops' in order 'to make the most thorough preparations for necessary measures against the population, that,

²⁵ 2 February 1942.

²⁶ The quotations above are taken from Hitler's speeches of 30 January, 25 February, 15 March, and 26 April 1942, respectively.

contrary to international law, participated in fighting at the rear of the German troops.' Thus, toward the end of November and in the first days of December when Hitler was still trying to storm Moscow, the success of the Red Army was not attributed to the severe climate but to the lawlessness of the Bolshevik civilians. When it became clear, however, that Moscow could not be taken by the Germans and when the Red Army launched its successful counter-offensive before Moscow, the weather became Germany's supreme enemy.

While Hitler tried to create a mystical enemy out of nature and its hardships so as to avoid the admission that subhuman Russians were capable of beating the Germans, he also resorted to another trick, in order to emerge as a strategist greater than his Russian opponents and, possibly, his German military critics. As the political and military leader, he could not tolerate facts that challenged his claim to omnipotence. Thus he re-interpreted the time schedule of the war in Russia and redefined the phases of German offensive and defensive warfare in the East. According to the original statement in the High Command Communique, repeated by Hitler three days later in his speech of 11 December, the German offensive in Russia had ended on 8 December. It had thus lasted for about five and a half months. A commentary to the communique also subscribed to this interpretation: 'For more than five and a half months the soldiers there have been marching over difficult terrain and fighting uninterruptedly a stubborn enemy.'²⁷

This contention was fairly correct, since the Russian counter-offensive before Moscow began on 6 December, when the High Command Communique had acknowledged 'local counter-attacks' by the Russians in the Moscow area. It was also in line with von Ribbentrop's speech of 27 November 1941, when he said: 'We have succeeded in *five months* in completely smashing this well equipped and, in point of numbers, greatest army in the world.'

²⁷ 13 December 1941.

And: '... within *five months*, Britain's last hope of military success in Europe has been thwarted.'

Contrary to all these clear statements, Hitler made a most startling declaration in his next speech:

It is 30 January today. Winter was the great hope of our Eastern enemy, but winter will not fulfil his hopes. In *four months* we advanced almost to Moscow and Leningrad. *Four months of winter in the North* are now over. The enemy has advanced a few kilometres at a few points where he has sacrificed hecatombs of men and lives. He may be indifferent to that, but in a few weeks in the South the winter will break.

According to this new account German offensive operations had not ceased early in December but late in October. About six weeks of the German effort to take Moscow were thus made to vanish in rhetoric. The battle for Moscow had actually begun around 2 October, and was propagandistically initiated on the same day by Hitler's Order to his troops, and by his famous boast of 3 October that Russia was defeated. The offensive came to a temporary halt around 20 October, when the Russians had achieved 'a relative stabilization of the Russian front lines for some weeks.'²⁸

It is more than likely that when Hitler's and Dietrich's grandiose predictions had not been fulfilled after 20 October, some of Hitler's military advisers warned against the resumption of the offensive. Differences of opinion almost inevitably arise in such a situation of extreme tension, which here contained the possibility of conquering the enemy capital and the possibility of disastrous winter warfare, for which the Germans had evidently been neither trained nor equipped. Hitler's critics may have reminded him of Napoleon's fate in 1812. In any case, he tried to vindicate his generalship when he spoke before the Reichstag on 30 January 1942 and falsified the dates of the war in Russia.

²⁸ Werner, *op. cit.* p. 89. Werner also says that 'by October 14 there was not one Russian army left in danger of encirclement, and a front before Moscow without a single gap had been established' (p. 86).

Hitler's message to the anniversary celebration of the 'Old Guard,' held in Munich on 25 February 1942, said even more explicitly: 'From June to October 1941, the German armies pushed forward more than 1,000 kilometres into the realm of the enemy . . .' In his next speech, on 15 March, to confuse matters further, Hitler repeated that Russia had been waging four months of offensive war:

Sooner than any experience or scientific knowledge had anticipated, a winter broke upon our army which now gave the adversary *four months time* to bring about on his part the turning point in this fateful struggle.

According to this new account, the Russian offensive should have started on 15 November, at a time when the decision for the final German offensive against Moscow was being taken, and three weeks before the beginning of the Russian counter-offensive.

Finally, on 26 April, Hitler produced still another excuse for his failure in December 1941. He declared that the unprecedented Russian winter had set in 'four weeks earlier than could be foreseen,' putting 'an end to all operations.' There can be no doubt, however, that the German commentators who in November defied the Russian winter and presented the cold as an ally of the Germans, expressed opinions entertained by certain though not by all military authorities at the time. The prevailing propaganda attitude towards the winter had been one of confidence, as long as Hitler still hoped to storm Moscow. 'The winter,' said Wulf Bley on 29 November 1941, 'is an ally not of the Soviets but of the Germans.'²⁹

There can be little doubt that Hitler hoped to take Moscow in November and in the first days of December; that later, after his manifest failure, he tried to obliterate this impression by his con-

²⁹ Cf. also similar statements in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* by Captain Weiss and Captain Stephan, quoted by Max Werner, *op. cit.* p. 90 and p. 108. See also the quotations on p. 369 f.

tradictory time schedules; and that, in doing so, he addressed the German public at large in order to defend himself against the reproach of certain German generals, who did not dare to speak up in public. Those generals may have warned him against the offensive or may have advised him that it would be a sounder military policy to withdraw to safer winter quarters rather than risk a Napoleonic disaster by attacking Moscow. Rumors of a rift between Hitler and some of his military expert advisers had been current at the time of the Moscow offensive. It is also possible that Hitler's assumption of the post of commander-in-chief on 19 December 1941 was connected with this major disaster of the German war plan.

On 30 January 1942, Hitler may have unwillingly revealed the crisis of military leadership that had developed in the East in a strikingly defiant passage of his speech:

But I think that if Providence has already disposed that I can do what must be done according to the unscrutable will of Providence, then I can at least just ask Providence to entrust to me the burden of this war, to load it on me. I will bear it! I will shrink from no responsibility . . . I will bear every responsibility, just as I have always borne them. [Applause.]

Hitler's false division of the Russian war was one of his important statements that, contrary to all the rules of Nazi propaganda, was not incorporated into the daily output of the Nazi radio.⁸⁰ While Hitler tried to prolong the duration of the Russian offensive by pre-dating its beginning, Nazi propaganda in general tried to shorten it by declaring that it had stopped before it had really come to an end. Early in February, a map of the Eastern theatre of war was published in the German press and heralded in the *Political Review* of that month as a signal that 'a phase of this war has, on the whole, ended and that a new one is beginning or is at least in preparation.' The commentary continued:

⁸⁰ This was also true of Hitler's famous statement of 30 September 1942, that one can wage war in Russia 'only for a few months.'

The rest of the world also has the impression that this phase of the battle of defense in the East, which began in early December, has now more or less come to an end. If one looks at the map one fully realizes the severe defeat which the Soviet power has suffered in this battle of defense. We have maintained the vast area during this difficult winter, except for some necessary practical corrections, such as the withdrawing of advanced sections and the necessary straightening out and shortening of the battle zones. This we see from the map.⁸¹

Even Hitler, in his New Year message to the German people, talked euphemistically about the slow 'stabilization' of the front. January, however, seemed to get on his nerves. In January, Hitler made his most pessimistic statements, when he merely promised that 'the front will hold,' when he said that 'the enemy may have . . . an immense numerical superiority,' and referred to 'similar situations [in the past] which also seemed hopeless.'⁸² The difficulty of supplying the front was apparently most serious in January. The few *Front Reports* abounded with allusions to it. On 12 January, one report contained the following statement:

We have openly admitted that for some days we were cut off from the world altogether . . . Often we had to look back, for frequently the supply of materials was none too good. The weather turned out to be adverse to our plans, and our Lieutenant-Colonel was quite upset. Today we are going to interview the Quartermaster and show you the difficulties he has in getting through everything the soldier needs for battle.

And on the same day, another report simply said:

We are experiencing tremendous difficulties in supplying our troops. Supplies have to be brought in vans over impossible roads, while the enemy still has a good small-gauge railway at his disposal.

When the dangers of winter had passed, and both Hitler and Goering admitted extraordinary transportation difficulties, they

⁸¹ 9 February 1942.

⁸² 30 January 1942.

were probably referring chiefly to January and the first half of February, the period in which the Russians made their largest territorial gains. On 26 April 1942, Hitler said:

The problem which pressed most heavily upon us in that time, was that of supply, because neither the German man, the German panzer, nor our German locomotives were prepared for such temperatures.

And Goering said on 20 May:

One had to wait and wait and see whether the materials were now supplied, wait until through the ice of winter, over cracked rails, broken switches, by means of damaged, destroyed locomotives, transports would finally and slowly again come to the front.

At the end of February, Hitler seemed less apprehensive and referred for the first time to the winter as a thing of the past. The winter was 'drawing to a close'—'a winter from which our enemies expected everything.'

Throughout the winter German propagandists tried to produce the impression that German defense was a merely temporary interruption of the German offensive. Their device consisted of constant reminders that the German offensive would be resumed when the weather improved. On 11 December, Hitler introduced the theme into German propaganda; he repeated it in his New Year's Proclamations to the armed forces, to the German people, and in all other speeches and messages broadcast by the German radio in the winter and spring. Goering, Goebbels, and many minor German propagandists capitalized on Hitler's prediction, to persuade the Germans that snow and frost had only 'temporarily stopped the course of victory of the German armed forces.'²⁸

Goebbels, however, had apparently issued directives instructing radio speakers not to use the word 'spring offensive' in references to the coming German attack. In this way he may have

²⁸ Hitler, 25 February 1942.

hoped to avoid any propaganda commitments by specifying the date of offensive. Hitler, however, in his speech of 30 January 1942, did mention spring as the season of hope. 'We are faced,' he said, 'by an enemy who may be numerically superior to us, but in the spring we will, numerically, be at least his equal.' Similarly, under a New York date line, Helsinki declared that 'next spring' the German soldiers would deal decisive blows to the common enemy. And the *Topics of the Day*, on 31 January, rejoiced: 'When spring comes, think of the Special Announcements we shall hear again.' In his speech of 15 March, Hitler promised utter destruction of the Red armies in the 'coming summer,' and from this time on, the repeated references to the 'coming offensive' were even less definite with regard to date than before—a caution that proved profitable when the German offensive was officially announced on 1 July.

The German armies had not been prepared for winter warfare; they lacked training and equipment. All their previous victories had been won in summer campaigns. The soldiers were freezing. They had not enough woolen clothes to protect them from the severe cold in Russia, and their skin stuck to the metal when they touched the barrels of their guns. In a report from the Leningrad front the German public was told that the soldiers were yearning for fire wood, as all the wood they had was frozen hard. They were longing for newspapers, not to read but to produce some warmth. The report continued: 'The main attraction of Christmas Eve was the arrival of a barrel of beer, frozen hard. Every man tried to melt his piece of beer in his mug.'⁸⁴

By this time Goebbels had organized a campaign at home to collect every available piece of winter clothing to send to the suffering front. Toward the end of December and at the beginning of January the German public heard more about this winter-clothing campaign than about the fighting in the East. Hitler's order, broadcast on 23 December, sounded ominous:

⁸⁴ 2 January 1942.

Whoever converts to his own use articles collected or destined for collection by a person entitled to do so, or whoever in any other way diverts such articles from their proper purpose will be punished by death.

But on the whole, Goebbels was careful to avoid the suggestion that his campaign was reinforced by threats. Instead, he fostered the impression that the sacrifice of winter clothes was a popular act of voluntary help to the front. The home front was spontaneously participating in the war, to produce an impressive victory of its own. Hitler, in his speech of 30 January, called the campaign 'a plebiscite.' 'While the others talk of democracy,' he said, 'this is true democracy.' The results of the campaign were announced in the news. On 4 January, 'preliminary results' were divulged: 'The people have responded to the Fuehrer's appeal to help our soldiers in the cold lands of the East by donations of winter garments with an enthusiasm which could hardly be surpassed.' Since the people were so enthusiastic, Goebbels was forced to extend the campaign. The announcement said:

On Sunday there was such a rush at the collection centers, that many thousands of people could not be attended to . . . Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels has therefore ordered that the collection should be extended by one week.

When the final results were made known to the public, Goebbels and Fritzsche presented them as a glorious victory over the British. While the German armies were being beaten by the Russians, the British had been vanquished in Germany itself. On 12 January, the *Political Review* presented the wool collection as a reply to the illusions of Jews and emigrés and to British propaganda 'concerning an imminent internal collapse' in Germany:

Last night the reply of the German nation was announced. The provisional result of over 56,000,000 collected articles is so overwhelming that nothing need be added to it. The final result will probably surpass this gigantic figure when the counting is completed.

In order not to leave any doubt as to the method of counting, the reviewer pointed out that 'socks, boots, and the like had naturally been counted by the pair.'

In an article in *Das Reich* on the Winter Clothing Collection, which he called 'Reek from London,' Goebbels said:

With brazen impudence Churchill's press falsified the results, saying that only 4,000,000 articles had been collected, while there were actually more than 67,000,000. And how these four million were collected! The police literally tore them off the backs of pedestrians in the street, leaving them exposed to the winter cold, naked and bare, swearing and trembling. Is it surprising that the women of Berlin assembled for protest demonstrations . . . lay down on the railway tracks and stopped the departure of the trains? ³⁵

With heavy irony Goebbels ridiculed the idea that Germans 'had harbored suspicion that the hardships of the Russian winter were nothing but an invention of the Nazis.'

In all defeat situations, propagandists try to produce victory news from those theatres of war where no setbacks occur. Such diversions compensate for bad news and this device was also used by the Germans during the winter of 1941. German propaganda even managed to produce victory news from the Russian front by abundant reports of aerial success. The percentage of sentences in the High Command Communiques claiming an advantage for the Germans in the two-month period from 22 November 1941 to 21 January 1942 was not lower than the corresponding percentage for the first two months of the Russian campaign. If these percentages are broken down, however, according to advantage in land, sea, or air action, a significant difference appears between the victory and defeat period. In the victory period, from 22 June 1941 to 21 August 1941, only 22 per cent of all sentences containing a claim of German advantage dealt with aerial success. In the defeat period this percentage rose to 56 per cent. Thus even the 'sober' communique plugged the

³⁵ 16 January 1942.

success of the Luftwaffe in order to compensate for the setbacks on the ground.⁸⁶

Apart from the Russian front, the development of the war after Pearl Harbor certainly provided the German propagandists with ample opportunities to divert the attention of the German public from the Russian front. On 10 December, news of Japanese victories appeared for the first time as the first item of the news bulletin, and throughout the winter the domestic program was spiced with victory news from the Pacific. Interestingly enough, however, German propaganda availed itself of Japanese victories to a lesser extent than one might expect. The bombings of Malta, Rommel's achievement in Libya, and German U-boat successes were at least as important as the greater victories of the Far Eastern ally. For instance, on 25 January the broadcaster neglected the more spectacular achievements of the Japanese to remark:

Comments on the military situations on both sides of the ocean are governed by two events: the brilliant success of German U-boats off the United States coast and the complete failure of the Churchill offensive in North Africa.

Many times the lead item in the news was concerned not with Far Eastern victories but with the German submarines that were said to operate at Roosevelt's doorstep. On 24 January, a special communique announced a German U-boat victory off the Atlantic coast, in the shadows of New York City. Commander Petzold explained it in a special commentary:

Now we know that in the whole vast area from the Arctic—where successes were recently achieved against enemy warships and merchantmen—and from the Mediterranean, to the closest proximity of the U. S. coast and capital, our U-boats are in steadily increasing numbers, seeking out the enemy whom they

⁸⁶ A study of *Front Reports* reveals that bombers rather than fighter planes are praised, and that the stress on bomber activity increases in December, after the German retreat from Rostov. Axelrad Sidney, op. cit. Unpublished.

incessantly attack and destroy. The great successes in U. S. waters have a special importance at this moment, when the South American statesmen are facing at Rio the alternative of independence or surrender to Roosevelt. Roosevelt is the more violently trying to secure the whole of South America for his finance capitalists, as the conquest of the Far Eastern markets is now removed beyond his reach.

Rommel was also given an extraordinary build-up during the winter, to be exceeded only in the following June when he captured Tobruk. Even Hitler, who in all his speeches during this defeat period did not refer to a single German general on the Eastern front, spoke of the commander of the Afrika Korps as 'our Rommel.' The build-up began before the recapture of Benghazi, and Rommel was glorified even when retreating. On 13 January, the broadcaster contrasted the British in Malaya with Rommel in Africa:

The British have sacrificed in Malaya one of their greatest and most important sources of raw material while conquering 300 miles of desert [in Africa], whereas Rommel broke contact with the enemy and retired to new lines of defense in good order. On the other hand, the British in Malaya are retreating in disorder, abandoning their equipment.

On 25 January, a special announcement proclaimed Rommel's success over the British northeast of Jedabia, and on 29 January Rommel recaptured Benghazi. Now he was celebrated as the general who turned around and went over to a successful attack at the very moment when he appeared beaten. Thus, Rommel came to resemble Frederick the Great, who had done the same thing in the Seven Years War, and who had stepped out of history during this winter to remind the German people over the radio, in the press, and in a much advertised film, that once before in the great Prussian past defeat had been a harbinger of victory. Frederick the Great had accomplished in the past what Hitler was sooner or later to accomplish in the future, and by

the logic of German propaganda this was proved by Rommel, who was accomplishing it in the present.

In general, however, attention to warfare decreased steadily during the Russian campaign. This is evidenced in Figure XXXII, which shows the number of *Front Report* items broadcast to the German people from 22 June 1941 to 21 March 1942.⁸⁷ The corresponding decrease in attention to Russia was also reflected in the feature program, *Topics of the Day*, which had frequently carried atrocity stories about the Eastern enemy. Figure XXXIII shows that items dealing with Russian subject matter were reduced, and interest was more constantly focused on German affairs. It is therefore not surprising that a Mozart festival was given more prominence on the radio than the loss of Mozhaïsk. 'In grave times,' said the radio, 'the German in his striving for beauty and culture feels an increased desire for art.'⁸⁸

When in the winter of 1941-2 the German armies suffered their first serious defeat on land, the propaganda system was severely shaken. The shock, however, was only a temporary one. But in 1942-3 German propaganda did not recover from the success of the second Russian winter offensive. A comparison of the treatment of the two defeats throws into relief the character of German propaganda in the first Russian winter.

In the winter of 1941, Russia was not one of the main enemies in German propaganda. Nature, the British, and the Americans shared that distinction. While there were occasional statements that Europe was threatened by the Red Menace, neither German propaganda on the Bolshevik danger nor the vilification of Russia were as intense and voluminous as in January and February 1943. Most of the news and commentaries dealing with Russia in the first winter were so slanted as to stress German defensive strength. Since the principal enemy of the Germans in the East was the

⁸⁷ While 87 *Front Reports* were broadcast during each of the first two months of the Russian campaign, their number declined to 31 in the period of 22 February to 21 March 1942. The average number of *Front Reports* broadcast daily dropped from 2.9 to 1.1.

⁸⁸ 10 January 1942.

FIGURE XXXII

Number of Items in Front Reports Dealing with Russian Front and Other Fronts

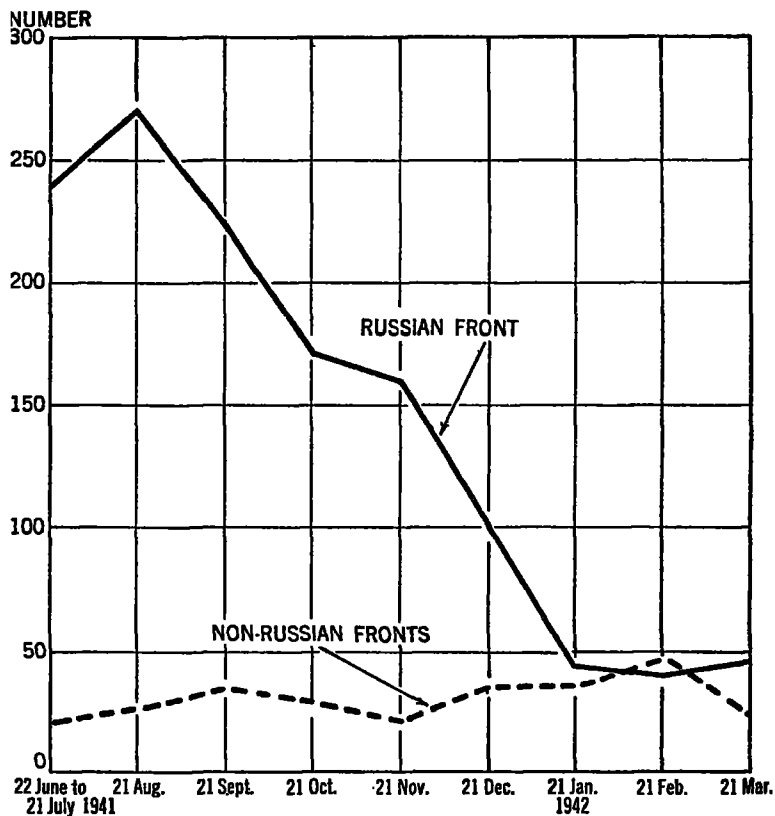
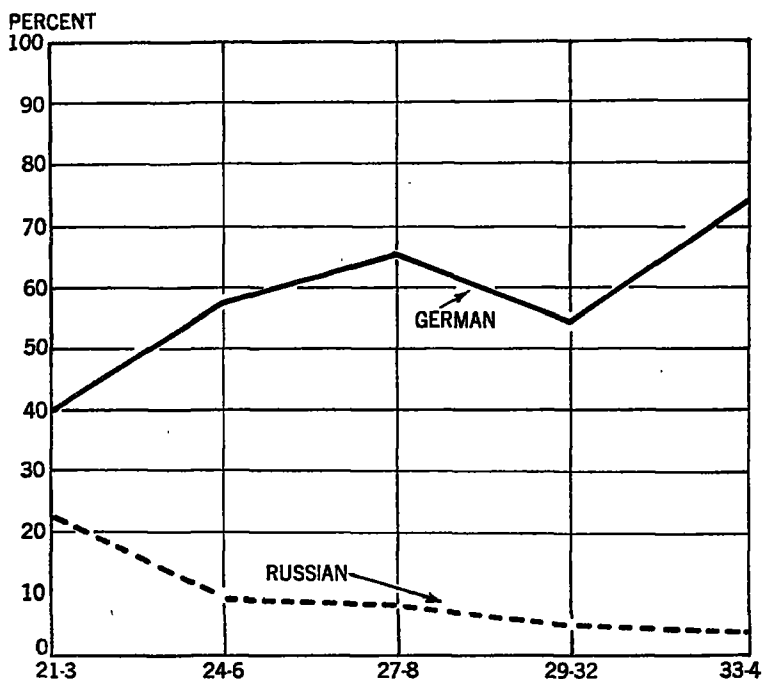


FIGURE XXXIII
German and Russian Topics

Number of items in per cent of item total—*Topics of the Day*



This figure shows the percentages of items in the feature program, *Topics of the Day*, that deal with Germany and German Occupied Countries compared to those that deal with Russia. The periods covered extend from 22 June 1941 to 11 April 1942.

climate it almost appeared as though Russia had vanished. Russia's primary function in German propaganda was to increase the stature of German defensive might.

Predictions of final victory, and more specifically promises of a new offensive in the spring watered the bitter medicine of defeat propaganda in 1941. Few such promises were made a year later, and as for making general predictions, the propagandists' diffidence grew.

Another striking difference between the two winters concerned the treatment of German losses and German bravery. In 1942-3 Goebbels predicated his defeat propaganda on a frantic effort to magnify the heroic sacrifices of the German armies in the East. Nothing similar to that happened in 1941. In news bulletins, the sentence, 'Now follow reports of the fighting of our brave soldiers,' sometimes preceded reports of operations in Russia. And Figure XXXV shows that the frequency of bravery words in the news bulletins increased in the period between the German retreat from Rostov and Pearl Harbor—though not as much as in the following spring, when a wave of belated pessimism flooded the radio transmissions. But in both cases the emphasis on bravery during 1941-2 was far weaker than in the winter of 1942-3.

Perhaps the most striking difference in German propaganda between the winter of 1941 and that of 1942 was the role played by Hitler. In the first winter he took an active part in the attempts to bolster German morale, speaking to the Germans regularly about once a month from December 1941 to April 1942. Similarly, in the German home news, his name was hardly less frequently mentioned than during the periods of victory in 1940. (See Figure VII.) In 1942, he spoke on 8 November, but thereafter remained silent.

3. STALINGRAD AND THE SECOND WINTER IN RUSSIA

When the German fronts crumbled in the winter the image of the war that Nazi propaganda had offered the Germans in the

fall of 1942 crumbled as well. In September and October 1942, the Nazi leaders had tried to brace faltering German morale by unfolding a grandiose panorama of the war in which Time, Space, raw materials, and inexhaustible manpower reserves insured the invincibility of Germany and her allies. Instead of talking about their strategic failure to defeat the Russian armies during the summer, the leaders had spoken about Germany's economic gains and their consolidation. There are indications that this propaganda campaign was temporarily successful, perhaps not so much because of the large German territorial gains but because of the October increase in German food rations. Few Germans knew at the time that Germany was forced to these measures (as Backe, Goebbels, and others admitted several months later when they had to explain the reduction of the meat rations in May 1943). In October 1942, however, many Germans probably believed in Goering's explanation that the higher food rations in Germany were a consequence of the success of their armies in Russia.

On 27 September 1942 Ribbentrop had said of Russia: 'A country with such losses must necessarily sooner or later expire.' Three days later, Hitler had discussed somewhat more apologetically the economic consolidation of the military gains in Russia:

Even at a time when apparently nothing is being done, nevertheless tremendous things are being accomplished . . . We are here fulfilling one of the greatest prerequisites for the organization of Europe for war . . .

Throughout October, Goering, Goebbels, Ley, Sauckel, Backe, Rosenberg, and other leaders had hammered away on the same theme: Germany has conquered a secure position for a war of attrition. As late as 31 December 1942, Goebbels repeated once more the earlier boasts of the Nazi leaders in one of the most imprudent speeches of his career:

A territory twice as large as England came into our possession this summer. We took from the enemy his most important centers of

raw material, munitions, and grain. That was for him a blow from which he can never again recover in his conduct of the war.

By this time, however, the Russian offensives were already well underway, and Goebbels knew that his New Year's assurances flatly contradicted the opinions of Dittmar, Berlin's chief military commentator. On 20 October, and again on 16 November, he had warned that the Russians were not merely trying to block the German advance to the Trans-Caucasian territory: 'Their aspiration goes further . . . towards positive goals.' He had spoken of their 'constant attempt to win back the initiative by going over to the offensive.' Finally, calling the Russian offensive shortly before Christmas a 'desperate attempt . . . once more to turn the fate of this war' he had ominously declared that the enemy attacks were being undertaken 'with far superior forces.'

According to Dittmar, the winter battle of 1942-3 was 'the greatest of all battles in the history of the world.'⁸⁹ The offensives were waged along the entire front. The Russians began their break-through at Stalingrad on 19 November 1942, penetrated the German front on the middle Don in December, and began to reconquer the Caucasus around Christmas. The break-through at the upper Don was started in the second part of January. In the North, the reconquest of Schluesselburg lifted the siege of Leningrad.

At Stalingrad the Germans suffered their most serious military defeat. 'For weeks and weeks,' Dittmar admitted on 8 March, the Germans 'had to fight with no other purpose than that of limiting, as far as possible, the severe consequences of the collapse of our front on the Volga and the Don.'

'A new crisis' developed toward the end of the winter campaign, when the Russian armies advanced over the middle Don and the Donetz region to Kharkov and soon thereafter from Voronezh to the west and the northwest of Kursk. This second crisis was averted by the German counter-thrust in March, which

⁸⁹ 8 March 1943.

led to the reconquest of Kharkov. Even so, the Red Army succeeded in nullifying most of the gains the Germans had made during the previous summer offensive.

To the German propagandist, the second Russian winter offensive presented a much more serious problem than the first. In the winter of 1941-2, German defeat propaganda had obviously been inspired by Hitler's idea that an unpredictable force of nature had thwarted his plans to conquer Russia. With the turn of the season, he would resume the initiative, which the severe climate had temporarily wrested from him, and the German armies would continue their advance. These arguments were flimsy enough, but they served to integrate German defeat propaganda in the first Russian winter. Great as the Russian victories were, they were not alarming enough to force the German propagandist to abandon his role as a political weather man.

In the second Russian winter, the German propagandist was unable to develop a consistent theory allowing him to assimilate the German defeats to an interpretation of the war which protected Hitler's prestige and sustained German hopes in victory over Russia. This time, defeat loomed so large that in his attempt to ward off its depressing effect the propagandist had to resort to many different excuses, explanations, and subterfuges. In fact, his major arguments changed so often that the propagandist probably jeopardized his credibility by his restlessness and contributed to the doubts of the Germans in the strength of their armies. No longer was he able to assimilate the changing events to an established image of the war; the events overpowered him.

In the course of the second winter the German propagandist produced three different and unrelated major themes on the war in the East. At first, he tried to derive comfort from a comparison of the new Russian offensive with that of the preceding winter. Perhaps this comparison was inspired by Hitler's assurance, made in his Munich speech of 8 November 1942, that this time the German armies were well prepared for the winter campaign. This argument would indeed have served well if the Russians had not

succeeded with their offensives. One can easily imagine the blasts of expedient honesty with which German propaganda would have revived the dangerous memories of the first winter in order to magnify the defensive success of the second, had they been able to boast of a Russian failure. This line was well prepared in November, when the propagandists pointed out that the soldiers in the East had gained experience a year ago and had been molded into a community whose comradeship would stand up to all new trials. Hitler himself, in his New Year's message, declared: 'This winter may be hard; it cannot hit us harder, however, than last year.' As late as 13 January 1943, the *Political Review* enlarged upon the theme of the two winters as follows:

The former surprised our impetuously advancing armies with its exceptional cold, whereas the present winter, apart from being late, found us prepared in every way.

At the time, however, when some German propagandists were still pointing out that the second winter was not as bad as the first, Fritzsche and others explained, 'for us it goes without saying that this winter is exactly like last winter.' And still others, like Dittmar in his talks of 11 and 25 January, said bluntly that the Russian attacks were 'more concentrated' and the danger greater than last winter. Undoubtedly, Dittmar was right. The success of the Russian offensive had led to a quick deterioration of the first argument of German defeat propaganda. By the middle of January, it was no longer possible to speak of the previous winter as an asset of German fighting.

By the same token, the German propagandist found it impossible to repeat the predictions of a coming German spring offensive, which had been made throughout the previous winter, with anything like the old self-assurance. During the second Russian winter, the Nazi leaders made fewer predictions than in the preceding year, and their voice carried less conviction. With the exception of Goering, who, disdainful of subtlety, promised on 30 January 1943 another attack 'just as last year,' the propagandists

followed Hitler's lead of speaking about the future with caution and their predictions were not made in the context of a propaganda campaign. In his New Year's message, Hitler had merely mentioned 'the hour when, marshaling all our strength, we will rally again.' Goebbels, too, suggested several times in the following months that the people 'ardently desired' the Fuehrer to give the order to attack again,⁴⁰ but no tangible specific commitments were made to the people at home. In spring even the vague protestations that final victory was a certainty petered out.⁴¹

The second major theme of German propaganda was dramatic, weird, and complicated. It consisted in an unprecedented celebration of German heroism and sacrifice in the face of superior enemy forces. Goebbels called it 'the saga' of Stalingrad. This saga was more than the usual attempt of propagandists to transform military defeat into moral victory. It was also meant to distract attention from other sectors of the Russian front by concentrating all awe, mourning, and admiration on one place. The war seemed to contract as all attention was focused on the battle, or rather, the heroes of Stalingrad. Furthermore, the hero worship inspired by the saga was meant to whip the Germans at home into accepting the new 'Spartan way' of life. This connection between the publicly prescribed mourning of the annihilation of an army in Russia and the simultaneous announcement of 'total mobilization' at home was so close that the harassed civilians doubted the honesty of Goebbels' strategy of gloom. As early as 10 and 17 December 1942 Goebbels had spoken of the 'Spartan way of life' at home. In January and early in February 1943 the heroes of Stalingrad were compared with the Spartans who perished at Thermopylae.

Finally, a further incentive to producing the saga of Stalingrad probably consisted in Hitler's prediction of 30 September 1942 that Stalingrad would fall to the Germans and his flat statement

⁴⁰ Goebbels mentioned the offensive in his speech of 30 January and 18 February and in his *Das Reich* articles of 20 February and 12 March 1943.

⁴² See Figure III, p. 107.

of 8 November that the city had been taken. Early in February 1943, Hitler's embarrassing claims were drowned out by the somber celebration of a German victory over fate: Stalingrad was the first major defeat proclaimed by the Germans in a Special Announcement.

The Germans were not informed about the double ring the Russians were drawing around the German crack armies until the middle of January. Only Dittmar, in carefully measured language, hinted at the impending disaster. On 16 November he had pointed out that the fighting at Stalingrad, for which he found 'no counter-part thus far even in this war . . . has not yet been concluded.' About a month later he gave a talk so full of contradictions that the careful listener must have observed signs of conflict between the sobriety of Dittmar, the military observer, and the opportunism of Dittmar, the Nazi propagandist. While he said that the Russians were attacking 'with large forces' and 'an unusual number of panzers,' he also claimed that only in exceptional cases was the Russian infantry capable of accomplishing break-throughs. While he reported that there had been a 'noticeable slackening of the assaults' after merely two weeks of offensive, he explained that it would nevertheless correspond to 'the habits of the Soviets to remain on the offensive.' He also suggested that the Russian offensive at Stalingrad was only of secondary importance, since it preceded the attack further north. And yet he issued the first dark warning: 'The German people must have no illusions about the hardness of the fighting which everywhere and especially at Stalingrad is still ahead of us.' A week later he explained that 'our leadership will still have to face many serious decisions and our brave soldiers heavy battles,' because 'the Soviets cannot discontinue the battle at the Eastern front at this stage.'

The Germans at home received more tangible evidence of what was in store for them when they were allowed to hear about the capture of Velikie Luki, claimed by the Russians on 1 January. For about two weeks the German public had been left in the

dark about what had happened there. But on 13 January a *Front Report* revealed that the garrison, fighting against an enemy ten times superior in number, was receiving supplies and food by air; and the communique of that day spoke of its 'heroic bravery' in defending itself. On 17 January, the communique informed the Germans that Velikie Luki had fallen—or, to give the German official explanation, the garrison had fought its way through to the German relief force according to order. On the next day Dittmar said: 'One name in particular has become known to the German public: Velikie Luki. This name already resounds like a song of heroes.' And he added ominously, 'The same applies to Stalingrad.'

The tone of German propaganda grew increasingly somber. On 14 January, Goebbels had observed that war 'was becoming constantly more total'; and from then on the High Command Communique spoke of the 'heroism' of the defenders of Stalingrad on no less than ten days until 3 February. On 25 January, Dittmar had said about 'the great Soviet total offensive':

We would not be doing the German people any favor if we were to dispute the fact that the situation has grown very serious for the time being, and even today when we are giving you this interim statement it shows many troubling aspects.

While Dittmar denied that the situation in the East resembled 'a catastrophe' or a 'collapse,' his very words were most unusual for German propaganda up to that time.

In the same talk, Dittmar compared 'the fighting men of Stalingrad' with the Nibelungen in the burning banquet hall of King Etzel, and with Leonidas at Thermopylae. Goering repeated the historic parallels in his speech of 30 January, and added for rhetorical effect that the Nibelungen 'quenched their thirst by their own blood.' Goering also made references to the annihilation of the Ostrogoths under Teja in the battle of Mons Lactarius in A.D. 553; and the *Voelkischer Beobachter* was quoted by the German radio as comparing the titanic struggles at Stalingrad

with those of the 'prehistoric era of our nation.' Thus, most of the historic precedents conjured up by the propagandists were annihilations.

The references to Frederick the Great were frequent but different from those in the winter of 1941-2. Frederick the Great was then explicitly compared with Hitler; this time, most parallels were drawn impersonally between the lost battles of Frederick and 'the crisis' through which Germany was passing. Hitler's resemblance to the Prussian King was suggested rather than stated in an apparent effort to spare him the ignominy of losing a tremendous battle of encirclement. The man who suffered 'the reverse' of Stalingrad was General Paulus, who, for this purpose, had been promoted Field Marshal just before the Russians took him prisoner.

On 1 February, the communique announced that the southern group of the Sixth Army under Paulus 'has been overwhelmed in battle by the superiority of the enemy, after more than two months of heroic defense.' On 2 February the radio described how 'during the heroic fighting every man, up to the General, fought in the most advanced line with fixed bayonets.' And that day it was announced that General Strecker's defense at the Stalingrad tractor works had also been overcome by the Russians. On 3 February, a Special Announcement celebrated, one might say, the end of the Sixth German Army:

One thing can be said already today: The sacrifice of the Sixth Army was not in vain. As the bulwark of the historic European mission it has broken the assault of six Soviet armies for several weeks . . .

The reading of the Special Announcement over the radio was preceded by slow marches and followed by muffled drum rolls and three stanzas of *I Once Had a Comrade*. Then the German, Rumanian, and Croat national anthems were played, and as in the case of the great victory announcements, a radio silence of three minutes was instituted. Then an announcement, preceded

and followed by somber martial music and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, ordered that all theatres, cinemas, and variety halls in the Reich were to close for three days. The radio described how in Berlin 'people in the street stopped awhile and listened, and their expressions became serious and determined. In public restaurants they stood up and, their hands raised in the German salute, sang the National Anthem.'

A series of talks from 3 to 6 February, by Fritzsche, Otto Kriegk, Dittmar, Goebbels, and a special one for women, were devoted to Stalingrad. A report on 'the last days' of the fighting was announced, delayed, and finally produced on the evening of 4 February. Three wounded Stalingrad soldiers were interviewed and, on 5 February, a long series of *Front Reports*, lasting for fifty minutes, described the 'Road of the Sixth Army' from the days in Poland and France, when the army was known as 'Reichenau's Army,' to its extraordinary successes in Russia and its final end. But, the broadcast concluded, 'The Sixth Army is not dead; long live the Sixth Army.'

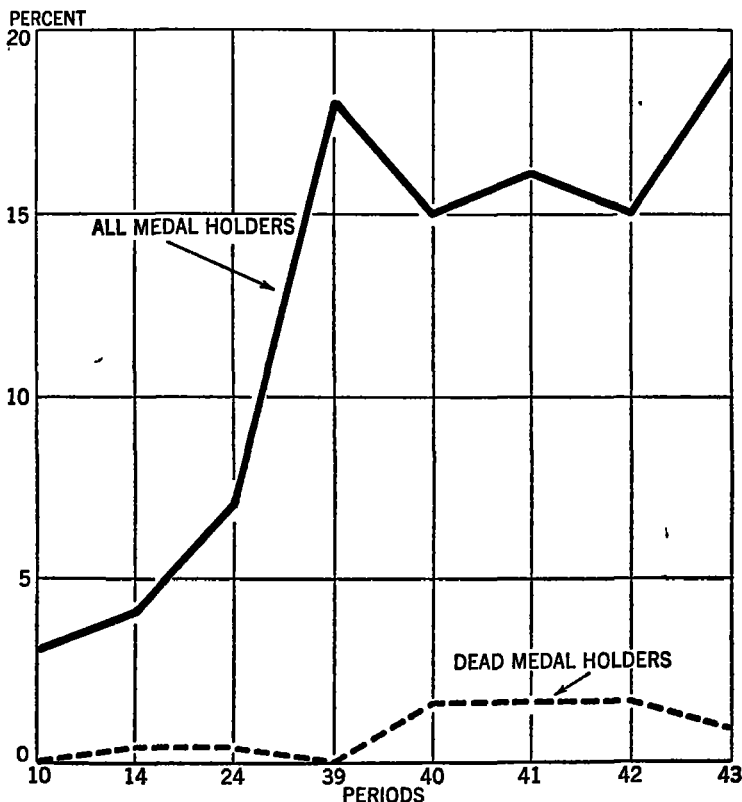
On news programs German and neutral press comments echoed the Nazi story, now reduced to stereotypes usually associated with victory: 'triumph of fortitude over bestiality . . . a condition imposed by fate . . . town of destiny . . . fighters in fact for western civilization and culture.' Goebbels thus managed to organize Germany's mourning of the defeat at Stalingrad into a Wagnerian celebration, comparable only to the victory celebration of June 1940, hoping in this way to evade a realistic appraisal of the defeat.

The Stalingrad saga can be translated into the language of figures by counting references to medal awards and words connoting bravery in the news bulletins. Figure XXXIV shows that the percentage of references to medal awards was higher during the period of the defeats at Velikie Luki and Stalingrad than in any preceding period of the war. In January 1943, this percentage was more than twice as high as in August and early September

FIGURE XXXIV

Medal Awards

References in per cent of item totals—Sample news bulletin



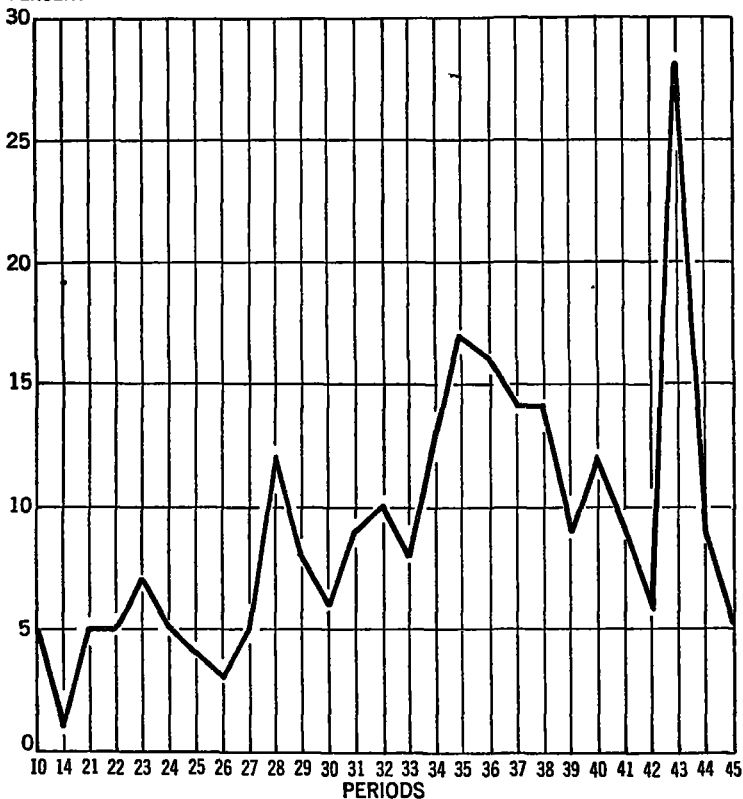
This figure does not include references in communiques. More than one medal holder may be mentioned in an item. Most items merely announce the medal award, but items stressing the bravery of medal holders or announcing their death are also included. The lower curve shows the percentage of medal holders reported as dead or missing, including posthumous awards. The periods covered are the French campaign (10), the first British advance in Libya (14), the period from the Atlantic Charter to the capture of Kiev (24), and consecutive periods from the beginning of the Battle of Stalingrad (39) to the Russian claim to Stalingrad (43).

FIGURE XXXV

Words Connoting Bravery

Number of words per 100 items--Sample news bulletin

PERCENT



23: 13 July-13 Aug. 1941

26: 3 Oct.-25 Oct. 1941

28: 23 Nov.-6 Dec. 1941

35: 12 April-7 May 1942

40: 7 Sept.-29 Sept. 1942

43: 1 Jan.-18 Feb. 1943

Stalingrad

If there are several different bravery words in one item each word is counted only once. The periods covered are the French Campaign (10) and the first British advance in Libya (14); from the beginning of the Russian Campaign (21) to the second German capture of Kharkov on 13 March 1943 (43), the curve is continuous.

1942 (period 24), and about six times higher than during the battle of France (period 10).⁴²

Bravery words (see Figure XXXV) became prominent when the Germans suffered their first defeat at Rostov in November 1941 (period 28) and during the period of retrospective glorification of hardship in the spring of 1942 (period 35). But at no time were they used more frequently than in January 1943 (period 43). If the relative stress on bravery can be taken as an indicator of the severity of defeat, Stalingrad was about twice as severe a defeat as the setbacks suffered by the Germans in the preceding winter. And the defenders of Stalingrad were six times as heroic as the conquerors of France.

If bravery is the cardinal virtue of soldiers the frequency of medal awards and of allusions to German heroism in various periods of the war suggests that the Nazi image of victory is far less 'moral' in character than the Nazi image of defeat. The Nazis believe that insistence on bravery is rather superfluous when the enemy lies prostrate. German victory is presented less as a matter of courage than of planning, organization, irresistible weapons, consummate military skill, and ruthlessness. When the Germans suffer defeat, however, they win moral victories by displaying great courage.

This affinity between heroism and suffering is not altogether a discovery of the Nazis. Throughout the ages great fortitude has been understood to presuppose great peril. In order to understand fully the meaning of the saga of Stalingrad one must realize, however, that until Stalingrad the Nazis had made no distinctions between heroism and ruthlessness. 'Living dangerously' had meant to them endangering others and the Nazi hero had been a law unto himself. Never had it occurred to the Nazis that 'heroism without justice is a lever of evil.'⁴³ The defeat at Stalingrad

⁴² Figure xxxiv further shows that awards assumed importance also during the second German summer offensive in Russia—a sign of hard fighting. The lower curve indicates that medal holders who died are mentioned by the newscaster more frequently after September 1942.

⁴³ Ambrosius, *De Officiis*, I. 35.

forced them to search for a cause worth the suffering that this time had been inflicted on them. Thus, the Sixth German Army was said to have perished in a sacrificial act of protecting Germany, Europe, and the world at large from the menace of Bolshevism. The search for a just cause produced nothing but frantic repetitions of the formula that had first been used in justifying the attack on Russia. The extraordinary fervor of the Red Menace campaign upon which Nazi propaganda embarked at the time of Stalingrad was inspired by defeat, a disaster of Nazi philosophy as well as of German military strategy.

Hitler's proclamation of 30 January 1943 stated the case as a clear alternative:

Either Germany, the German armed forces, and along with us the allied countries, that is Europe, will win, or the Central Asiatic Bolshevik tide will break in from the East over the oldest civilized continent, just as destructively and annihilatingly as it did in Russia itself . . .

A human work of several thousand years would then have been in vain. In place of the most flourishing continent on earth would come chaos.

For weeks, speaker after speaker on the German radio amplified Hitler's statements in the greatest anti-Bolshevik campaign of the war. They said that Russia had been preparing this war for twenty, twenty-five, thirty years, and that Europe would lie in ruins were it not for the German soldiers. No other country on earth was able to avert the disaster, least of all Britain or the United States. Goebbels himself translated the threat from crude political language into the cruder vernacular of immediate threats to personal safety:

Recently, in the capital of a former Baltic state, lists of the G.P.U. were found with the names of the persons who are at once to be liquidated in an occupation of Germany and other European countries. They contain first about everyone of rank and importance in our continent in any sphere of administration, military life, art, science, of the communal administration, and

in any other department of public life. If one imagines the bearers of these names removed from Germany and Europe, there remains nothing but a leaderless mass.⁴⁴

Four days previously, on 30 January, the speeches of Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering had created the impression abroad that Germany was making a bid for peace, so vivid was their talk of Red Menace. Goebbels now went even further by saying:

Perhaps there are some clear-thinking people even in London who have an idea of what it would mean if Europe lay at the feet of Bolshevism . . . Ideas, you see, do not need any convoys to cross the Channel. They fly through the air.⁴⁵

The Nazi leaders were trying to strengthen appeasers in the enemy camp in the hope that fear of communism might prove stronger than the resolve to defeat Germany. At home, these suggestions of a possible understanding with the democracies were altogether overshadowed by gloom and Red Menace, so as to drive the masses from their homes into the factories; but there may have been more sophisticated Germans who derived hope for a negotiated peace from Goebbels' suggestions and denials.⁴⁶

The Stalingrad propaganda and the anti-Bolshevist campaign involved great risks, suggesting, as they did, that despite the many previous leader statements Russia was stronger than ever. The spectre of possible defeat was used by Goebbels to render more acceptable the manpower decrees which according to Sauckel's statement of 6 January were designed to 'mobilize all available reserves of the production capacity to an extent never before equalled in world history.' Thus, total hero worship and almost total fear of Bolshevism were made the springboard for the total war effort.

Dittmar had related the reverses in Russia to the manpower

⁴⁴ 4 February 1943.

⁴⁵ Two weeks later, on 20 February, Goebbels denied that he had put out any peace feelers and made another of his oblique references to a coming German summer offensive.

⁴⁶ For fuller treatment see Epilogue, Chapter xiv.

laws when he justified the new 'Spartan' way of life as early as 11 January. He had attributed 'the enormous numerical superiority' of the Russians to the large number of women working in Russian factories; and, stressing the difference between Germany and Russia in this respect, he had said bluntly that the German fighting front was 'deprived of valuable forces.' He had then spoken of 'the coming restrictions in the daily life of the homeland,' which 'the German people will welcome.' By the end of January, Goering said that 'heroism,' and 'sacrifice,' are 'obligatory' for everyone. During the three days of public mourning, from 3 to 6 February, small shopkeepers who were to close their shops were constantly reminded that Stalingrad was a mammoth version of the sacrifice allotted to them. German women were given no opportunity to forget that all their mourning for the dead heroes of Stalingrad meant nothing if they did not leave their homes and children to work in a factory. On 4 February, Dr. Otto Kriegk said in the *Political Review*: 'No German, man or woman, in the course of mobilization of labor and of the restrictions of these days, can achieve even part of what was achieved by every soldier at Stalingrad.' On the same day, the 10 p.m. news bulletin was so arranged as to stress the connection between Stalingrad and total mobilization:

Item 1: Announcement of three orders by the Reich Minister of Economic Affairs 'for the comprehensive withdrawal of labor from commerce, skilled trades, and the catering trade, and its employment on war tasks.' In this item the listener heard the phrase: '. . . will be closed down' no less than four times; and in addition: 'it is unwarrantable that for example shops for . . . should remain open'; 'other branches of . . . need not be maintained'; all skilled work establishments 'will also be examined'; '. . . will be suspended.'

Item 2: Day raid on Germany (repeated from earlier bulletin).

Item 3: Luftwaffe activity in Tunisia.

Item 4: Stalingrad: more European press comment (repeated).

Item 5: Kaiser ships break in two when launched.

Item 6: The London *Times* wants the figures of shipping losses published (repeated).

Item 7: Winter Relief Appeal (repeated).

Item 8: German Communique (repeated).

Item 9: Detailed description of the last days' fighting at Stalingrad, included this radio message from the Sixth Army: 'Have hoisted Swastika flag on highest house of inner town; are waging final battle under this symbol.'

The propaganda effort surrounding the total mobilization of manpower was, on a larger scale, a repetition of the wool collection of the preceding winter, though the sacrifice was much heavier, as was the defeat inflicted on the German armies. Especially characteristic of both campaigns was the propagandists' insistence on the plebiscitarian character of the measures. Fritzsche, Goebbels, Walter Funk, and others repeatedly pointed out that the German people 'passionately' demanded what was actually imposed upon them. On 6 February, Fritzsche said: 'The pronouncement of our people was not something like: "for God's sake, so much?" but the pronouncement of the people was: "What? You ask no more than that?"'

And Goebbels in his speech of 18 February—perhaps the greatest performance in his career as a demagogue—enacted a plebiscitarian drama in the Berlin Sportpalast by addressing 'ten questions' to the crowd, to be answered by the crowd with frenzied enthusiasm. Questions 3 and 9, for instance, ran as follows:

The English say that the German people no longer want to undertake the future work demanded of them by the government. I ask you, soldiers, men and women workers, are you, and are the German people resolved, if the Fuehrer should one day demand it, in time of need, to work ten, twelve, if necessary fourteen and sixteen hours daily, and give up everything for him? [The crowd shouts: 'Ja.']

Do you sanction, if necessary, the most radical measures against a small circle of shirkers and profiteers [The crowd interrupts, applauding.] who want to play peace in the midst of war and use the people's need for selfish aims? [The crowd shouts: 'Ja.']

Do you agree that whoever sins against victory should lose his head? [The crowd shouts: 'Ja.']

Outside the Sportpalast, in their everyday life, the people were less unanimous in their assent to the new measures. Goebbels knew it. He wavered between Jacobin threats and patriarchal commendations; between assurances that this was not an imitation of Bolshevism, and unscrupulous appeals to resentment against the well-to-do; between talk about 'the supreme national misfortune,' 'the crisis,' 'the unconceivable strain,' and renewed suggestions of an 'ardently desired offensive.'

There are indications that Goebbels' propaganda strategy in January and February 1943 was not altogether successful. After the German recapture of Kharkov in the middle of March, Goebbels had to protest that he had not intentionally painted too gloomy a picture of the German crisis and therefore later had to deprive himself of celebrating German victory when the Russians again ceded some of the territory they had reconquered.

Goebbels did not dramatize the recapture of Kharkov, and Dittmar, on 8 March, merely said that the recent German successes 'may be a turning point in the winter battle.' Fritzsche, to be sure, could not refrain from one of his dialectical *tours de force*. On 9 March, he said:

When today the Bolsheviks publish special communiques about having reached some point especially far west, this is not a reason for joy on the part of the Bolsheviks and their allies, and reason for concern on our part. On the contrary, when such Bolshevik special communiques are released the Axis powers hope they are true and the Bolsheviks and their allies fear the same thing. Why? Because after the experience of recent weeks the prospect exists that this Bolshevik shock unit which has moved up so far will be cut off and destroyed.

But apart from this isolated instance, German propaganda in March warned the people against entertaining 'frivolous illusions,' and Goebbels even felt urged to point out that the total war

effort had nothing to do with the recent German successes at the Eastern front. On 17 March, Fritzsche also fell in line and said: 'After the end of one crisis, one must immediately prepare for the next.'

The Red Army scored further successes after 6 February, the day when the period of public mourning of Stalingrad ended. The German propagandist faced a new predicament, when from 7 to 16 February the Red Army reconquered seven major cities: Kramatorsk, Kursk, Belgorod, Krasnodar, Rostov, Voroshilovgrad, and Kharkov.⁴⁷ These Russian conquests must have been particularly embarrassing to the German propagandist, as he had attempted to vindicate German strategy by attributing the security of the German positions at other sectors of the front to the defense of the Sixth Army. The Special Announcement of 3 February had declared that it 'gave the German Command time and the possibility to take counter-measures on the execution of which the fate of the whole Eastern front depended.' And Goering, on 30 January, had spoken of 'the new lines' which 'could be rendered solid' because of the heroic resistance at Stalingrad.⁴⁸

The hasty retreats of the German soldiers in February deprived the German propagandist not only of this argument which gave a strategical justification of the defeat at Stalingrad but also compelled him to cease talking about German heroism.⁴⁹ Heroes die, but do not retreat.

Thus, German propaganda was left with its third major theme of defeat propaganda during this trying winter. The propagandist tried to falsify the retreat by a liberal use of stereotypes: 'withdrawal according to plan,' 'elastic defense,' 'shortening of lines,'

⁴⁷ Max Werner points out that the Wehrmacht had never advanced in Russia with such speed. (See his *Attack Can Win in '43*, Boston 1943, p. 89.)

⁴⁸ Dittmar also used the argument on 18 February and frequently thereafter. It is possible that it contained a grain of truth, since a speedier collapse of the Sixth Army might have meant that the German armies in the Caucasus area would have been bottled up.

⁴⁹ Figure xxxv shows that the excessive heroization of German soldiers was confined to the Stalingrad period. After 6 February, there is a sharp drop in the curve, a return to normality.

'systematic evacuation,' and 'evacuation without enemy pressure.'⁵⁰ As time passed, the formulae grew rather monotonous—though Dittmar once departed from stereotypes to describe a retreat as 'elegant'—and the careful listener may have noticed that the announcement of another evacuation 'according to plan' was often preceded by weeks of silence or utterly vague designations of fighting areas. When the losses of Rostov and Voroshilovgrad were announced on 15 February with the phrases 'disengagement movements . . . evacuated according to plan and without hindrance by the enemy,' the Germans had not heard about Rostov since 5 February, when the communique had euphemistically called it 'the area of the mouth of the Don.'

The arguments used to explain the retreats, apart from their dubious logic, involved the propagandist in compromising suggestions regarding Russian strength. He had to insist on the numerical superiority of the enemy to conceal Hitler's failure, and persuade the German people that what Dittmar called 'lost equilibrium' was not merely the result of amateur strategy. Thus, when after Stalingrad the war had allegedly reached its 'climax' and 'culmination,' the Nazis presented Russia as more powerful than ever. This was true enough in a military sense, but the Nazis, in admitting it, defeated their own ends. Preoccupied with the short-run objectives of enforcing the total mobilization of manpower and vindicating Hitler's strategy, the propagandist failed to consider the long-range possibility of creating feelings of weakness and attitudes of defeatism.

Even Goebbels found himself caught between the conflicting demands of the hour. But while he failed to curb his eloquence concerning Russian superiority in men and arms,⁵¹ he nevertheless tried to avoid the pitfalls of such argument by resorting increasingly to magic words instead of spelling out Russian strength

⁵⁰ In the communiqués these stereotypes were often used in combination. For example, on 25 January, it was announced that Voronezh was 'systematically evacuated without pressure.'

⁵¹ On 5 March, Quade even admitted Russian superiority in the air.

in tangible terms. In his address of 18 February, he spoke of the 'assault of the steppes,' the 'onrush of the East,' the 'motorized robot divisions,' the 'tumult of the steppes,' the 'alarm of fate,' and used the word 'Kremlin' as a kind of magic castle—in preference to 'Stalin.' In the same speech Goebbels also attempted to obliterate the identity of the Russian enemy by presenting him as a mere incarnation of the Jew. These and similar attempts were supposed to cushion the shocks and to detract attention from the fact that the German armies fighting under the supreme command of Adolf Hitler, the strategist, had been defeated.

4. 1943: 'THE HARDEST YEAR'

A. THE HUNDRED DAYS' LULL IN THE EAST

The second Russian winter offensive was followed by a period in which little fighting occurred on the Eastern front. This 'lull,' lasting for a hundred days until 5 July, offered but little respite to the hard-pressed German propagandist. Although he was temporarily relieved from the strain of distilling confidence and hope from defeat in Russia, the very lack of action in the East presented a serious dilemma.

The fourth year of the war approached its end, but the war itself did not. How did Hitler intend to win it? The Fuehrer was still silent, and none of the other leaders volunteered to promise that the German armies would march for a third time against the enemy in the East. On 12 March 1943 Goebbels had glibly declared:

Of course, it is no accident that in the East we are always on the offensive during the summer, but resort, in winter time, every time to the defensive with all its painful consequences.

But when Dittmar after a three weeks' intermission resumed his broadcasts on 12 April, he intimated that it might be the Russians who would launch the summer offensive. As the lull dragged on strengthening popular doubts of Germany's ability to regain the initiative, Goebbels, too, grew cautious. On 5 June he merely

informed the crowd at the Berlin *Sportpalast* that 'the crisis of the winter has come to an end,' and 'in the East, the front stands firm.' A few days later, Dittmar went a little further when he reviewed the situation noting that the German front was not only a firm protection for the occupied territories but also a base 'for operations with an offensive tendency.' Apparently, the commentator did not want to speak more plainly of offensive operations to come. He added, however, that the German soldier in the East again felt more confident: in consequence of total mobilization in Germany, of volunteers from 'non-Bolshevist elements in the East,' and of increased production of armaments. 'The Eastern front has again put on some fat.'⁵²

As long as nothing stirred, the propagandist tried to pretend that in Russia everything was as it ought to be. A newsreel in June showed German soldiers growing vegetables immediately behind the main position on the central front, and Dittmar quoted Clausewitz to the effect that action had always been the exception in war.

In the meantime, however, there was more action elsewhere than the German propagandist was able to cope with. Even before the battles in Russia were resumed he had to talk about military defeats on three other fronts: in the Mediterranean theater, in the air over Germany, and on the sea lanes of the Allies. On all these fronts as well as in Russia, from July on, battles and defeats continued until the end of the year. The year 1943 became the hardest of the war for the Germans and for the German propagandist. As he looked back on New Year's Eve of 1943, Dr. Goebbels said that it had been 'the hardest year thus far.'

B. THE MEDITERRANEAN THEATER OF WAR

In the Mediterranean theater the Germans lost an army and a continent in May, Sicily and Mussolini in midsummer, an ally and a fleet in September.

⁵² 10 June 1943.

Early in May, Swedish correspondents reported from Berlin that the ominous word 'Tunisgrad' had appeared on walls in the capital of the Reich. When the news of the defeat in Tunisia had to be broken to the Germans, the propagandist discovered to his dismay that, despite his effort to prepare the home front for the shock in advance, German morale was badly shaken.

The plan for the propaganda preparation of the defeat had been simple—perhaps too simple. For five months preceding the final disaster it consisted in soft-pedalling the news of Allied conquest in Africa without sacrificing the prestige of Rommel, and in bracing German confidence by talk about the defensive strength of Europe.

Until defeat was certain, events in Africa were given little attention. The Germans did not learn much about the battles at El Alamein, the Mareth Line, and Mateur. Since the Russian winter offensive, total mobilization in Germany and the air raids over the western part of the Reich were of more immediate concern to the home audience, and the propagandist could afford this reticence without instantaneous repercussions. When Hitler gave his brief address on Heroes' Memorial Day in March, he disregarded the battles in Africa altogether. From November 1942 to May 1943 the commentators gave a bare minimum of attention to Montgomery's advance, and the newscasters took their cue from the reticent communique.

This policy was most remarkable in February, when the American Fifth Army suffered defeat. At that time the German propagandist avoided giving the impression to the people at home that the Germans had launched an offensive. The very word 'offensive' was not used, so as not to arouse any false hopes. In order to appreciate this policy of restraint one must remember that the propagandist was in dire need of good news after the defeat of Stalingrad. The communique of 26 February listed Allied losses in material, but not in territory. However, the commentators recalled the setbacks of the Americans, three months later, when the Germans had surrendered and when

every bit of good news, however dated, was needed to sweeten the bitter truth of final defeat.

Except for the German 'leap to Tunisia' in November 1942, Hitler's reputation as a strategist had not been involved in the African campaigns, which had always been presented as the exploits of 'our Rommel.' In this regard 'Tunisgrad' was different from Stalingrad, where Hitler's prestige had been at stake. On the other hand, Rommel's popularity in Germany was so great that he could not be sacrificed like Paulus. Thus the propagandist presented Rommel's spectacular march from El Alamein to Tunisia as a series of masterful disengagement movements executed according to plan.

When Tripoli, the last bastion of the Italian Empire, fell toward the end of January, Rommel was shown in a German news-reel 'smiling,' 'looking well.' And Hans Fritzsche explained:

Although the Eighth Army may have gained some more territory, it again failed to achieve its real aim,⁵³ the annihilation of the German-Italian *Afrika Korps*.

In the last third of April, Rommel's name was dropped by the propagandist, and at the time when final defeat had to be announced a special communique absolved the 'desert fox' from all responsibility. He was said to have left Africa on 10 March and to have been recuperating from his illness in a military hospital ever since.⁵⁴

As for the German soldiers, they were said to have fought as

⁵³ In retrospect this reads like a rehearsal for the comments about the retreats on the Russian front during the fall of 1943.

⁵⁴ This announcement was at the same time an answer to the public report of the Italian Army, published on 14 April, in which the German African Corps and its commander had been obliquely slighted. In this document the British Eighth Army had been called 'the most modern and well-equipped force that can be found in any of the several theaters of this World War.' The British infantry soldier had been pictured as unsurpassable (and thus as superior to the German Africa fighter). Finally, the lack of air support and certain (German) orders which the Italian commander obeyed had been held responsible for the decisive breakthrough of the Mareth Line in March.

valiantly against an enormously superior enemy as had the Sixth Army at Stalingrad. They did not surrender. As late as 12 May, the communique announced that 'the enemy requests for surrender have thus far been rejected by all units still possessing ammunition and arms.' And Captain Berndt, a high official in the Propaganda Ministry who had been attached to Rommel's staff, translated the military account of German heroism into the following propaganda version:

Mere battalions are holding up a whole army . . . Whenever the ammunition is used up, they roll rocks off the cliffs . . . The Americans are not badly equipped, but they lack fighting spirit . . . The other side is not led by a strategist, but by a calculating machine . . .⁵⁵

In saving German military prestige and in belittling the strategic significance of Montgomery's advance, the German propagandist was merely the handmaid of the military. He was free to use his ingenuity in an attempt to cushion the blow of the impending defeat in Africa by talking about western Europe. On 30 March, the British captured Gabes. A few days later, a shot in the newsreel showed 'Field Marshal von Rundstedt's hard cut features merged with the photographs of the Atlantic Wall.' While the Germans heard little about the events in Africa, they were treated to lengthy and dramatic descriptions of the impregnable fortifications that had been built around the Fortress of Europe. A well-organized propaganda campaign⁵⁶ lasting several months persuaded people in Germany and in the occupied countries that nobody would ever be able to penetrate the fortress. Goebbels declared:⁵⁷

Compared with our victories on all fronts they (i.e. the Allies) have been able to achieve only minor victories on our periphery.

⁵⁵ 23 May 1943, in a 50-minute history of the *Afrika Korps*.

⁵⁶ Except for an unhappy comparison of the Atlantic Wall with the Chinese Wall, which was soon dropped.

⁵⁷ 9 April 1943.

'Periphery' and its synonyms—'forefield,' 'subsidiary theater of war,' 'side-show,' 'marginal operation,' 'partial front'—had become favorite terms of the commentators, who steered clear of the ugly operational news and offered instead grandiose panoramas of the war situation. The term 'forefield' had gained wide currency shortly after the invasion of North Africa, when the Allies were said to have landed in Africa, an unimportant theater of war, because of their inability to establish a second front in Europe, the impregnable fortress. At that time Fritzsche had suggested that the Allies would not get far from Algiers after having failed to get to Berlin through Zeesen, the Westwall, Belgrade, Moscow, and Tobruk.

'Forefield' remained a favorite when the Italian islands fell in June, when Sicily was evacuated in August, and when Italy—or, as the German propagandist preferred to call it, Calabria—was invaded.⁵⁸

When the commentators had to cope with the final task of explaining the end of the *Afrika Korps* and the loss of the continent, there was little need for improvisation. Combining all the arguments that had been introduced several months and weeks before, the propagandist declared that the 'setback' was painful but by no means surprising. It was surprising merely that it had taken the enemy 'six months' to get where he was, and this despite his 'crushing' predominance in men and arms. He had surely not achieved victory, because for six months German leadership had time and again 'frustrated' his attempts to surround portions of the Axis forces. Had not Clausewitz said that 'a late decision in case of setbacks represents a substitute for a loss'? The enemy himself was gradually realizing the wisdom of Clausewitz.

⁵⁸ In fact, even the retreats in Russia throughout 1943 were treated in the same spirit, although the word 'periphery' was never used with specific reference to the Russian front. In his speech of 31 December 1943 Goebbels still maintained that no vital function of 'Germany's conduct of the war' had been hit: only the West he declared to be 'vital.'

The propagandist grew eloquent also about another aspect of the matter. He asked his listeners to consider what would have happened *if* the enemy had stood victorious before Bizerte and Tunis in February, 'when the crisis on the Eastern front had reached its climax.' This period of 'undeniable weakness' had 'passed.' An opportunity had 'escaped' the enemy because of the 'heroic resistance' of the Africa fighters. 'Our Africa fighters' held up 'the protective shield' behind which other fronts had been fortified 'to an extent never expected by friend or foe.'⁵⁹

Thus, the Germans were invited to forget about their present setback by considering the much greater crisis which had happily been averted in the past.

It all sounded acceptable enough, but it was not accepted by the people. The propagandist had made one mistake. He had prepared himself but not his audience for the final defeat. The lack of news and of realistic comment before the surrender and the continuous stress on both Rommel's superior generalship and the superiority of the enemy in men and arms produced what Goebbels called 'a certain strain, above all of a psychological nature.'⁶⁰ On 21 May he found it necessary to deny several times within the space of one article that the African theater of war had been of central rather than of merely peripheral importance; that the chances of Allied victory had increased; that supplies had been lacking in Africa; that he, Goebbels, was only trying to sugarcoat the news from Tunisia for reasons of war morale, etc., etc.

German apprehension about an Allied landing in Europe grew after the loss of Africa, and German propaganda unleashed a flood of reassurances regarding the Second Front. Toward the end of April, when the Atlantic Wall propaganda had been given a chance to strike root and before the Axis armies surrendered in Tunisia, Nazi commentators had suddenly drawn an unex-

⁵⁹ All quotations from Dittmar's talk of 10 May 1943, which is a veritable compendium of Nazi propaganda on the defeat in Tunisia.

⁶⁰ 28 May 1943.

pected conclusion from their boasts of preparedness. Instead of claiming the unlikelihood of a successful landing, to which all their evidence seemed to point, Scharping had denied the possibility of 'a *permanent* invasion' and Goebbels had ridiculed the idea that the enemy would be able 'to *overrun*' the European 'continent.'⁶¹

After the Allied victory in Africa, Goebbels announced triumphantly that Germany's defensive position had greatly improved, inasmuch as the Germans commanded the interior lines on the continent and would now be using 'not ships but railroads.' Thus the fatal supply difficulties that had allegedly hampered Axis operations in Africa had disappeared. Many commentators now discussed the Second Front in this new vein.

Max Clauss declared that Pantelleria and Lampedusa were only 'a partial front.'⁶² The island forces had surrendered because they had run out of water. (After Italy's surrender the fall of the islands was attributed to 'treachery.') For a model of conquest from the air one ought to turn to Crete rather than Pantelleria, and for an instance of joint air, land, and naval action Norway was still the classical case. At any rate, the superiority enjoyed by the Allies in Tunisia and in the air over the Italian islands would not exist in Europe.

In June, Luetzow gave a lecture on the history of futile attempts at invasion across the Channel, while Dittmar discussed 'amphibian strategy' and another commentator spoke of 'the pathological invasion delirium in London.' Finally, on 25 June, Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich*:

We consider it possible, yes, under certain circumstances even probable that the Anglo-American powers will try an invasion of the continent.

Almost exactly a year earlier, he had said, 'The entry to Europe is blocked.'⁶³

⁶¹ 29 and 30 April 1943.

⁶² 12 June 1943.

⁶³ 14 July 1942.

It appears plausible that propaganda on the Atlantic Wall was not prompted by any concern about an invasion across the Channel, but was rather a preparation for the invasion of Italy. At the time when the Atlantic Wall propaganda was at its height Tunisia was still in German hands, and the Nazi propagandist could not talk about the safety of Southern Europe without conceding the imminent loss of Africa. In May, however, when Tunisia had fallen, the propagandist was able to re-orient his comments on the Second Front in the hope that his previous reassurances on the safety of Western Europe had strengthened the confidence of the Germans in their defenses.

The military conquest of Sicily and the invasion of Italy were overshadowed by political events: the Duce's resignation, Italy's surrender, and Mussolini's rescue. The commentators pointed out the slow progress and the heavy losses of the Allies in Sicily and Calabria and showed how every evacuation took place according to order and without losses.

In September, the Germans learned less about the violent battle on the beaches of Salerno than one might have expected from the talk about another 'Dieppe' and 'Dunkirk' which American newspapers attributed to German home propaganda. The more extravagant claims were made to the people of occupied countries and to the news-hungry Americans; at home the propagandist took fewer risks in order not to jeopardize what little respect he was still able to command.

As in Tunisia, the propagandist again tried to derive comfort from a crisis that had been averted: in defeat the crises of the past become the substitutes for victory in the present. Indulging in an orgy of retrospective gloom, a whole crew of commentators depicted what a German military disaster brought about by Badoglio's treachery would have been like, had not the High Command recognized the danger in time. On 17 September, Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich*:

. . . the Reich would have faced the greatest danger of this war . . . A danger which at first appeared to be mortal has been

averted and a national misfortune has again become a good fortune. How should we entertain any doubts of decisive victory in view of this marvelous and almost improbable development.

Toward the end of September, the propagandist overcame his fit of excitement and settled down to a standard treatment of the Mediterranean front. Hitler gave the cue by calling the Allied offensive in Italy a 'snail's pace offensive,'⁶⁴ a term which became a stereotype. Dittmar gave grades to the strategical ability of the various belligerents. The Germans received the best mark, the Russians were not as good as the Germans but much better than the Western Allies, whose strategy lacked boldness. Despite their different ways of waging war, however, they were capable of causing 'some measure of anxiety among the German people.'⁶⁵

The capture of Leros was unique among all German military victories. For the first time a victory rather than a defeat was called 'a moral victory,' an unmistakable sign of the propagandist's despondency about the war situation. Until the day of the victory communique, 17 November, the news and comment on Leros were extremely cautious. Then the Germans were permitted to hear vivid descriptions of the German attack. German parachutists 'dropped from the sky like rain,' as in the old days of Crete.

C. THE OFFENSIVE FROM THE AIR

The Germans do not know the figures indicating the increasing power of the Allied aerial attacks, but they feel it. Nor do they know the extent to which the aggressive power of the Luftwaffe has declined, but they cannot have too much hope of speedy relief or revenge since the propagandist has promised retaliation for more than a year without fulfilling his promise.

A comparison of the attack of the Luftwaffe on Britain with the RAF offensive against Germany shows that in the second half of 1940, 25,900 long tons were dropped on Britain and

⁶⁴ 8 November 1943.

⁶⁵ 17 November 1943.

5,250 tons on Germany. In other words, the Luftwaffe was able to drop about five tons to every ton dropped on Germany. Towards the middle of 1941 British and German attacks began to be more nearly equal in strength. With the invasion of Russia, Germany lost her predominance in the European war of bombs and has not regained it since.

In the second half of 1941 the war in Russia made it necessary for Goering to employ the Luftwaffe in the East rather than over England. In the second half of 1941 the Luftwaffe unloaded only one tenth of the weight of bombs dropped over England during the six preceding months (2,200 tons as against 19,600 tons). As late as 30 January 1943 Goering explained the failure of the Luftwaffe to strike back at Britain in terms of the necessary concentration of German air power over the battlefields in Russia.

The ratio of British to German bombs for the year 1942 rose to 13 : 1 in favor of the RAF. In the first half of 1943 it was 36 : 1. In the heaviest raid on London, on 16 April 1941, the Luftwaffe had dropped 440 tons of bombs, whereas the RAF dropped 2,311, or five and a half times as many tons, in one of its attacks on Hamburg during the night of 24-5 July.⁶⁸

These figures reflect the German defeat in the air war, a defeat which assumed even greater proportions in the second half of 1943, when in addition to the increasing striking power of the RAF the U. S. Eighth Air Force increased its share. For the three months of August to October 1943, the tonnage of bombs dropped by the Americans had risen to almost one third of the tonnage dropped by the RAF. The total for the

⁶⁸ *The Weight of Bombs Dropped on the Reich by the RAF*
(in long tons; 1 ton = 2,240 pounds)

	1940	1941	1942	1943
Jan.-March		2,700	3,500	17,400
Apr.-June		7,200	12,300	36,700
July-Sept.	2,750	8,800	15,600	44,200
Oct.-Dec.	2,500	4,300	5,600	36,000
Total		23,000	37,000	134,600

whole year was 55,000 tons, i.e. about 40 per cent of the British performance.

The Allied air offensive from the West compelled the German aircraft industry to shift from bomber to fighter production, and the Eastern front had to be stripped of fighter planes. According to the official account of the Army Air Forces, only 22 per cent of the German fighter strength was employed on the Russian front in August 1943, 18 per cent on the Mediterranean front, but 60 per cent on the Western front.⁶⁷

The first crisis in German propaganda on the air war came to a head during the period of the lull on the Eastern front, after the heavy raids on the industrial Ruhr area in May and June 1943. Until that time the propagandist had followed the lead of the communique, in which the size of the attacking force was never mentioned, no destruction was ever specified except for that of churches, hospitals, and cultural monuments, and enemy losses were listed with monotonous exaggeration. On 21 March 1943 Hitler had made his first concession to the popular demand for official recognition of the fact that millions of Germans at home were suffering as much as the soldiers at the front. Although he had called the raided areas of the Reich parts of the fighting front, this had evidently not been enough. On 18 June Goebbels spoke at the public funeral of the bomb victims at Wuppertal-Barmen, and assured his 'Rhine-Westphalian countrymen' that they had not been forgotten:

. . . the people of these provinces are carrying on their hard struggle neither alone nor in vain. The whole German nation stands by their side and embraces them with love and loyalty.

The extraordinary tension behind these words was revealed the next day by Hans Fritzsche, from whose talk it appeared that the propagandist had created so much hostility by his reticence and had allowed so much indifference to grow in the non-

⁶⁷ *Target: Germany*. The Army Air Forces Official Story of the VIII Bomber Command's First Year over Europe. New York, 1943, p. 118.

raided areas that he was eventually forced to change his policy. Fritzsche explained:

This public honoring of the fallen of Wuppertal, which took place before the ears of the nation, nay, the ears of the world, *has lifted a ban* which heretofore has applied to the suffering of the men, women, and children who are exposed to the constant enemy attacks from the air on the civilian population.

Fritzsche added that it had been customary to implement the 'necessarily curt, official news' with stories about the acts of heroism of some woman 'here,' and some boy 'there.' 'But this reportage,' he admitted, 'has been somehow restrained.' He concluded:

Thus it happened that one part of the German people had only a very limited notion of what the other part, in the areas most heavily threatened from the air, had to endure. Thus it also happened that Germans in the most heavily bombed cities felt that they had been deserted or that they had been forgotten and had, in any case, not been understood. They had seen too few proofs of understanding and active help in the areas not yet affected.

After this confession, reporters were sent to the raided cities to broadcast to the nation gruesome stories of suffering and destruction. For a while, the principle of vicarious mass participation in war, renounced by the propagandist with regard to air raids, was honored once more. The resentment of the air-raided victims and the indifference and hostility of hosts who were unwilling to accommodate evacuees demanded a fuller coverage of misery in the homeland. However, the propagandist carefully avoided any reportage of industrial damage.

The argument that the air attacks did no damage, or no severe damage, to German industry was more prominent in the first half of 1943 than in the second. After the heavy attacks on the industrial areas in western Germany the Germans seemed to need special reassurances that their industry was not being para-

lyzed by the assault from the air. Instead of bluntly denying that the industrial war effort was being affected by the raids, Speer, Funk, and, later, many other commentators pointed out that German industry suffered little, because it had been *dispersed*. Later in the year, fewer assurances of this kind were made, although Hitler repeated them on 8 November 1943 and in his Proclamation to the German People on 1 January 1944. After the devastation of Hamburg, of many cities in western Germany, and after the heavy attacks on Berlin, it was probably no longer possible for the common run of commentators to claim as a matter of course what too many Germans believed to be untrue.

In September and October 1943 another argument gained much prominence. The raids were said to exact a prohibitive toll from enemy planes and crews. Like many other themes of German propaganda this was an old stand-by. It had been exploited on a large scale after the first 1,000-plane raid on Cologne at the end of May 1942, when the Germans reduced the number of raiders in order to boost the rate of enemy plane losses.⁶⁸ On 4 September 1943 Fritzsche seemed to remember the German concern over the morale of their own bomber crews during the Battle of Britain and explained that 'according to the basic law of numbers' enemy losses in the furious air battles had grown to such proportions that every enemy flyer 'must be shot down after three, four, or five terror missions.' Goebbels found the slogan by calling the Flying Fortresses 'Flying Coffins'!⁶⁹

The communique of 11 October claimed that no less than 208 bombers had been shot down within the last three days, and after the American raid on Schweinfurt a few days later, it was reported that the enemy had lost 121 out of a total of 200 to 300 attacking planes. No other air attack in this war

⁶⁸ One of the most important aspects of that raid propagandistically was the fact that the official British admission of bomber losses was higher than the German claim. This frankness took the wind out of German sails and added substantially to the prestige of the BBC on the continent.

⁶⁹ 3 October 1943.

inspired the German propagandist to more elation. On 16 October Fritz Lucke rejoiced in the *Political Review*:

Today we have the proof that the promise of our leaders of the increasing strength of the German defences is being fulfilled.

And on the same day Fritzsche explained that the real losses of the Americans were 'not only twice but three times the number officially admitted in the United States.'⁷⁰

In dealing with the air war the propagandist was confronted with a host of insoluble problems. He was forced to talk about defeats that could not possibly be concealed. He had to persuade the Germans that their misery was not the revenge for Hitler's blitz over England but that the British had planned it all, even before the outbreak of the war, and that despite Hitler's humane offer to refrain from bombing innocent civilians the British were guilty of 'the Children's Murder at Freiburg' on 10 May 1940. Finally, he had to say something about the future!

Threats of revenge were a common feature in German leader speeches during the Battle of Britain no less than afterwards. They are an inevitable by-product of Nazi philosophy. The Nazis would regard the absence of such threats as a concession of military inferiority. For this reason the threats of retaliation, contained in almost every Nazi leader speech in 1943,⁷¹ are not quite as sensational as they appear at first glance. Most of the threats were, moreover, not specific as to the time of their reali-

⁷⁰ The Germans heard much less about their own fighter losses. According to official American announcements, the Eighth Air Force shot down 1,727 German planes in the three months' period August to October 1943. To these must be added 566 German planes claimed for the same period by the RAF. The Americans announced loss of 375 bombers. The Eighth Air Force dropped 46.1 tons of bombs for every bomber lost. The RAF dropped 59.1 tons for every *plane* (bomber or fighter) lost.

⁷¹ For example, Goebbels promised to break terror by counter-terror or hinted at the completion of new aggressive weapons to be employed in the air war on 10 March, 5 and 18 June, 20 August, 3 October, 28 November, 31 December 1943. Hitler promised retaliation in all his speeches of 1943, on 21 March, 10 September, 8 November.

zation, but usually included hints that they would be executed by means of a mysterious new weapon.

It is likely that German engineers were working on a new weapon during the year 1943, because in war time it is the business of engineers to work on new weapons. More interesting than all speculation on this point is the fact that retaliation did not take place in the year 1943. Perhaps the new weapon was not entirely ready for use on a mass scale. Perhaps the Nazis wanted to save the weapon for the hour of invasion. Perhaps they did not want to employ it because certain influential Germans did not wish to do anything that would almost certainly render the terms of peace more severe than they might otherwise be.

It should be noted, however, that the Germans heard less about retaliation than their enemies and the people in the occupied countries. This does not permit any inferences regarding the existence or non-existence of the new weapon, but it does invite the conclusion that the Germans had grown skeptical on the subject. Toward the end of the year, the propagandist spoke less about retaliation, because he had talked too much about it for too long a time. He had maneuvered himself into a situation which resembled that prevailing at the beginning of the year. Then people were asking, what had become of the Luftwaffe and when would the war in Russia be over so that the Luftwaffe could be employed against England. Toward the end of the year, the propagandist had to deny that his retaliation threats were mere propaganda. Apparently, people were no longer asking what had become of the Luftwaffe, but what had become of retaliation.

On 1 January 1944, Hitler did not speak of retaliation but promised instead that the submarines would go out again, with better equipment, to harass the Allied life lines. No matter how justified Hitler's hopes might have been, the U-boat is an offensive weapon in a war of attrition, and it is therefore unlikely

that Hitler had any great hopes of ending the war with a sudden, decisive blow by means of a new super-weapon.

While Hitler did not speak of retaliation in the air war, he grew eloquent when he promised to rebuild the German cities after the war. This theme had been introduced into German propaganda by Goebbels in June 1943, who contrasted the 'new life' of the future with the 'ruins' of the present.

D. DEFEAT OF THE U-BOAT

Defeat in the war at sea began in April 1943, when the German claims of Allied ships sunk dropped from 926,600 GRT for March to 423,000 GRT. The drop continued in the following months with an all-time low of 149,000 GRT for June. This drop was accompanied until September by a steady decrease of the share claimed by U-boats in the total sinkings (see Figure xxxvi, p. 460).

The German claims in Figure xxxvi can not be taken at their face value and are probably much too high. But when in the summer and autumn of 1943 the destruction of German submarines mounted and the danger to Allied shipping was greatly reduced, the German High Command did not choose to conceal its defeat propagandistically by maintaining its previous high claims. It admitted the setback, although it did not allow clear insight into the reasons and the extent of the failure. The German public was not treated to any Special Announcement of Allied ship sinkings between 8 May and 15 August, and the August announcement related the success to German torpedo planes off Gibraltar rather than to German submarines. The day before, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had announced that an average of one German submarine a day had been sunk for the last three months. When the German High Command announced the low total claims of ship sinkings for August it omitted mentioning the contribution of the U-boats for the first time since December 1941.

On 21 September, in his long victory speech, Churchill men-

tioned that during the four months ending 18 September no Allied merchant ships had been sunk in the North Atlantic.

The successes of the German submarines up to April 1943 had provided the German propagandist with a number of im-

FIGURE XXXVI

*German High Command Monthly Claims of Allied Shipping
(in 1000 GRT)*

PERIOD	1943: TOTAL	1943: U-BOATS ALONE	1943: % U-BOATS OF TOTAL	1942: % U-BOATS OF TOTAL
January	522	408	78	91
February	577	545	95	85
March	927	852	92	90
April	423	415	98	92
May	430	380	88	83
June	149	107	72	85
July	550	351	64	75
August	377	(143) *	(38) *	82
September	316	(88) *	(28) *	76
October	302	(256) *	(84) *	98
November	307	(66) *	(22) *	92
December	225	(118) *	(52) *	96
1943	5,104	3,627	(71) *	
1942	9,005	7,419		85
1941 †				
Feb.-Dec.	6,799	‡		

* Beginning in August 1943 the monthly claims of sinkings by U-boats were not announced by the High Command, but only in DNB dispatches.

† The High Command began to announce monthly totals only in February, 1941.

‡ For February, April, July, August and November 1941 monthly claims of sinkings by U-boats were not announced.

portant arguments in his talk about the prospects of the war. Although, after the Allied landing in Africa, it was no longer possible to point to the submarines as a decisive weapon against enemy invasion, continuing German U-boat successes could still be used as 'proof' that this time England, not Germany, was blockaded; that Germany had a powerful weapon with which to force Britain to her knees by attritional warfare, if not by

invasion; and that American participation in the European war was decisively hampered because it was impossible for the United States to rebuild ships as fast as they were sunk. Finally, the effect of the U-boat campaign could be compared with that of the air attacks on Germany in order to assure the Germans at home that the material damage inflicted upon the enemy by the U-boats was greater than the effect of the 'terror raids' on German civilians.

Some of these arguments were feeble, but they were repeated by the Nazi leaders and by the naval commentators until May. During the month of May, when it appeared that the Allies had been able to check the submarine peril, all specific arguments were abandoned one by one; apologies were put forth and the public was assured that the future rather than the present was the time for victories against Allied shipping. As late as 7 May, Rear Admiral Luetzow told his audience that enemy planes employed in the anti-U-boat war could not keep under observation 'a large stretch of the Atlantic.' But soon afterwards, this famous 'gap in the Atlantic' disappeared from German propaganda.

On 19 March and all through April ⁷² Goebbels compared the RAF attacks on Germany with the attacks by German submarines on Allied shipping.

If they have the means of the aerial warfare at their disposal, then we have the means of submarine warfare which is considerably more dangerous for Britain. England has no device to counteract it.

In May Goebbels stopped talking in this vein, and Heinrich Schwich, one of the ranking Nazi commentators on U-boat warfare, opened the new campaign of apologies and reassurances with a talk entitled, 'Where Do We Stand in the U-Boat War?' ⁷³ German listeners must have been surprised to learn from their own radio that a 'tremendous concentration of de-

⁷² 9, 23, and 30 April 1943.

⁷³ 25 May 1943.

fensive weapons' helped England to maintain 'mastery of the seas.' Although the submarines had produced 'valuable results,' Schwich continued, 'the Germans never forgot that they were fighting enemies who could not be forced to their knees by occasional successes or lightning victories . . .' It was the same kind of apology that Hans Fritzsche had used when he realized that the Luftwaffe would not win the Battle of Britain.

Finally Schwich introduced a new argument, which was repeated by Fritzsche on 29 May and by all Nazi speakers, including Grand Admiral Doenitz, until the end of August. The war at sea is 'a race between the development of offensive weapons on our side and defensive ones by the enemy.' The implication was clear: the present lull was merely temporary. In this war, which was not only 'fluctuating' in general and specifically in Russia but also on the high seas, the U-boats would stage a come-back.

Toward the end of May, Doenitz had given an interview to the Berlin correspondent of the Japanese newspaper, *Asahi Shimbun*, which was quoted by the German radio and press. In it, Doenitz had repeated Schwich's explanations of British strength and the see-saw character of the war at sea, but had added new reassurances to the effect that the enemy would again be attacked and finally exhausted by the submarines. Goebbels, on 3 October, other Nazi leaders and Doenitz himself at the Nazi Party meeting in Berlin on 6 October, repeated this promise and revived the prediction that U-boats would be of 'decisive importance' in the war. More specifically, Doenitz declared, 'this battle of our U-boats will in the future far surpass the battle of today.'

In September, Berlin surprised the world with a confirmation of Churchill's statement that for the last four months no Allied merchant ship had been sunk in the North Atlantic, although the German High Command communique had twice claimed sinkings in the North Atlantic during the four-month period, namely, on 24 May and on 30 May. This unusual frankness was

probably inspired by confidence in the success of the second Doenitz offensive. Churchill himself had said, 'A new herd of U-boats has been coming out in the last week or so into the Atlantic . . . They no doubt have been fitted with what is thought to be the best and latest apparatus.'

By the end of October, however, it seemed that the second Doenitz offensive had failed. The German claims for October added up to the second lowest monthly total within twenty-two months. And while the relative share of the U-boats in that total had again increased, the absolute number of tons sunk by submarines in October 1943 was about one-third of what had been sent to the bottom in October 1942.

In terms of propaganda, only two Special Announcements on successes in the war at sea were issued during the six months from 1 June to 30 November 1943,⁷⁴ neither of them dealing with submarine successes. During the year 1942 there had been more than one Special Announcement on submarine successes a week.

E. RETREAT TO THE DNIEPER AND ACROSS

In Russia heavy fighting was resumed on 5 July. At that time the geographical position of the Eastern front offered two or three strategic possibilities to the German High Command. After the reconquest of Kharkov in March and through the 'jutting-out Bastion of Orel' ⁷⁵ two German salients flanked and threatened the Red Army in the Kursk salient with encirclement from the north and the south. Had the Germans been successful in taking Kursk they could have pushed east in the direction of Voronezh or perhaps northeast toward Tula and Moscow.

At the Mius River in the South the Germans held a strong position with the triangle Lisichansk, Stalino, and Taganrog as bases. From Taganrog they could have launched another attack on Rostov. Finally, they had retained control of the Kuban bridgehead, thus commanding a base for another drive to the

⁷⁴ On 15 August and 7 November.

⁷⁵ Dittmar, 18 August 1943.

Caucasus. The German offensive was made in the directions of Orel-Kursk and Belgorod-Kursk. It was conducted with a strong concentration of heavy arms.

German home propaganda used the few days of favorable news from the East to restore confidence in German striking power and to minimize the importance of the simultaneous invasion of Sicily by the Allies. It was said that the Allies had to advance the date set for their landing because of the powerful German attack in Russia. On 8 July Otto Kriegk declared that the Eastern front 'has never caused us any anxiety,' but even this unintelligent optimism did not go very far. Newscasters and commentators were careful not to arouse any expectations of victory or of major gains. They did not present the furious battle as an offensive in its own right but rather as an attempt to disorganize the offensive preparations of the Red Army, an interpretation to which Hitler adhered in his Order of the Day of 1 January 1944. On 13 July 1943, Dittmar said that it was all a 'prelude.'

Within seven days the prelude had ended in failure. On 12 July the Russians launched their large scale counter-offensive from the Kursk salient. The next day Dittmar described the Red Army as an enemy 'ready to attack and therefore numerically probably much superior,' adding the somewhat fatuous boast:

It will not be easy to find an example in the history of the war which like the double battle of Belgorod and Orel demonstrates such a lightning like change in the roles of attacker and defender.

On 6 November 1943 Stalin declared, 'Stalingrad was a defeat for the German army, Kursk was a catastrophe.' In view of the advance of the Russians after the battle of Kursk and particularly after the reconquest of the railway line Moscow-Orel-Kursk-Kharkov-Taganrog in August,⁷⁶ Stalin's appraisal of the battle for Kursk is quite plausible.

⁷⁶ The Germans admitted the loss of Orel, Kharkov, and Taganrog on 5, 23, and 30 August respectively.

The German listener, however, learned nothing whatever of the importance of this defeat. Whereas Stalingrad had been treated like a saga, the defeat at Kursk was treated like the Battle of the Marne in 1914, the Battle of Britain in 1940, the Battle of Moscow in December 1941, and the lifting of the siege of Leningrad in January 1943: it was concealed.

This was accomplished by presenting the retreats during the summer and autumn months as 'offensive defense' and as 'disengagement' movements 'according to plan,' so that it appeared as though the German High Command kept complete control over the course of military events. From the figures of prisoners claimed by the Russians it is indeed evident that the Germans evaded sweeping Russian encirclement movements,⁷⁷ but the Germans would not have had to retreat if they had won the battle for Kursk in July and that for Orel, Belgorod, and Kharkov in August, when German propagandists were very anxious not to give the impression that the battle in the East had deteriorated into immobile warfare.

In August, front reporters let the home audience have glimpses of the severity of the fighting. For example, one of them was heard to say:

Less than an hour ago the men dismounted from the four Tigers with sunken faces, inflamed eyes, smoke begrimed, unshaven, staggering from exhaustion and unable to talk. They fought almost uninterruptedly for eighteen hours against enemies twenty times superior in numbers . . .⁷⁸

And when, on 18 August, Dittmar made an off-handed admission of the loss of Belgorod⁷⁹ he ended on this ominous note:

⁷⁷ According to the Russian review of the triumphant summer offensive of 4 November, the Russians claimed that 900,000 German officers and men had been killed, but only 89,000 been taken prisoners within four months. (*Soviet Embassy Bulletin*, no. 124, 9 November 1943.)

⁷⁸ 3 August 1943.

⁷⁹ The enemy 'forced us to give up parts of our positions, as for instance at Orel and Belgorod . . .'

We need an activity which directs all the bitterness alive in German souls today against the enemy who threatens us with destruction in its most primitive and obvious form.

As the Russian advance continued, however, the communique became ever more rigid in its insistence that the retreats were planned disengagement movements. The stereotype, introduced during the Russian winter offensive of 1942-3, was employed whenever the loss of an important town was admitted throughout the summer and autumn of 1943.

- 23 August: Kharkov . . . was *again* evacuated according to plan in the course of a detaching movement.
- 30 August: Taganrog was evacuated according to plan.
- 11 September: Mariupol was evacuated according to plan.
- 17 September: In the course of this disengagement movement, the towns of Novorossiisk and Bryansk were evacuated according to plan.

In his speech of 6 November 1943 Stalin declared that 'the success of the second campaign this year—the summer campaign—was only a continuation, and implementation of the winter offensive that had preceded it.' German propagandists did not call attention to what may have been obvious to many Germans. Instead they carefully chose the date of 12 July—and sometimes that of 5 July—as the beginning of the great battle. Only once, possibly in anticipation of Stalin's speech, did Dittmar state that it was all 'a continuation of the struggle which began last November.'⁸⁰

In general the German commentators favored another time perspective. Instead of linking the Russian summer offensive of 1943 with the Russian winter offensive of 1942-3 they compared it to the German conquests in 1941. In this perspective the Russian gains were meant to appear smaller. The Red Army tried to 'copy' the German performance but it failed, both with regard to speed and strategic results; moreover, this different

⁸⁰ 3 November 1943.

character of the Russian offensive was 'imposed upon' the High Command of the Red Army⁸¹ by the Germans, so that even in retreat, they held some sort of initiative.

However, such interpretations are hard to believe. While the Germans were kept in ignorance about the strategical significance of the battle for Kursk, they did learn from the reticent communiques that the front was moving toward the homeland, and nobody told them when it would stop moving west. The Dnieper was reached, but the Dnieper was crossed by the Red Army. Only in October, the same place names, particularly that of Krivoi Rog, where the Germans offered stiff resistance, were mentioned for weeks and in November the important railroad junction of Zhitomir and Korosten were reconquered by the Germans.

From the communiques and the little operational news that appeared in the press and on the radio the Germans at home learned of tremendous losses of Russian material, but the Red Army continued to advance and a glance at the map would show that the Donetz coal basin and a large part of the Ukraine was lost to the Germans. The Germans at home were told that the Red Army conquered nothing but ruins. However, the Germans lost raw material and fertile soil which they had previously been told were their most important economic gains.

The propagandist declared that the German High Command was systematically shortening the front and that the supply situation improved in consequence of the withdrawals. The listener, however, may have kept asking whether this was worth the sacrifice of 350 million square miles of territory within less than four months. Another glance at the map may have shown them that the Russians were improving their system of supply as well by reconquering strategically important railway lines.

The writer of the communique had adopted a new practice that, by its very novelty, revealed his apprehension that people

⁸¹ 1 December 1943.

at home were skeptical whether he was telling the truth. Whenever a particularly important evacuation was announced, the communique appeared with an unusually verbose preamble repeating the German interpretation of the summer campaign. For example, the communique of 17 September in which the loss of Novorossiisk and Bryansk was announced had this preamble:

In the defensive battle which has been raging over two months in the East, the Soviets, despite great numerical superiority, have nowhere succeeded in tearing open our front or in achieving any strategic operational successes. Wherever our troops yielded ground they always did so according to plan and in complete order, maintaining the cohesion of the front.

Then the admission followed. Thus the writer of the communique tried to reduce doubt in euphemisms by monotonous insistence on euphemisms.

It is certain that this method was unsuccessful. Toward the end of the summer the German press and radio not only tried to justify the lack of detailed official information but also began to argue openly with those who were skeptical about the truthfulness of the information that was released. The propaganda crisis had noticeably deepened.

As early as the end of July, Fritzsche was apparently so irritated by criticism of the German Front Reports that he insisted in several broadcasts that they really came from the battle field, not from a studio. At the beginning of November even Dittmar argued with the skeptics:

We have repeatedly tried to explain here the meaning and purpose of disengagement movements according to order and have pointed out that their advantage was in the first place constituted by shortening our defensive fronts and by the concentration of our forces which was thus made possible. It is possible that *many people* in Germany have accepted these explanations with considerable skepticism and may possibly have regarded them as nothing more than mere attempts to gloss over inevitable setbacks . . .

In October the communique changed its style. After the breakthrough at Kremenchug, euphemism was suddenly abandoned. Until the end of the year only one other evacuation was said to have been an evacuation according to plan, that of Cherkassy on 14 December. The new vocabulary included such terms as 'dent,' 'infiltration,' 'penetration,' 'break-through,' 'sealed off break-through,' and fighting was said with increasing frequency to be 'hard,' 'severe,' 'violent,' while resistance was called 'tenacious' or 'fierce.' The stress on Russian superiority was amplified by references to intensive artillery preparations of enemy attacks.

On 17 November the Russians admitted that they had yielded ground to Manstein's forces in the strategically decisive area of Zhitomir and Korosten. For about a month the offensive undertaken with large tank forces seemed to threaten Kiev.⁸² Dittmar, however, did not invite such speculations. In fact, he declared almost instantly after the fall of Zhitomir that he did not want to 'sing any victory chants,' although the Germans were 'glad about this victory from the bottom of their hearts.' And he added that the Russians 'will have to' stake everything on an attempt 'to attain somehow *a concluding success*.' Similarly, after the Teheran Conference he declared: 'The outcome of this war is fundamentally only a matter of our staying power.' When he mentioned Zhitomir and Korosten once more a week later, he referred to them merely in order to point out that the Russian offensive was not so threatening everywhere as in the Kremenchug and Kirovograd sector.

Thus, it cannot be said that the Germans were altogether unprepared for the Russian winter offensives, which according to German accounts began on 23 December. However, the warnings that certain commentators addressed to the home audience were probably too subtle to be easily understood; they were like diamond splinters in a sand pile of generalities.

⁸² Kiev had been reconquered by the Red Army on 6 November.

In the totalitarian system of communication there are few well-informed commentators, and unless directives are issued to the effect that attention should be called to the seriousness of a situation, these commentators express their apprehension in so veiled and vague a form that close familiarity with their style and their previous propaganda behavior is necessary in order to understand their hints or detect the cues they unwittingly offer. Often, these hints and cues become intelligible only in retrospect. For example, the Germans of course heard nothing about the Swiss opinion that attributed the failure of Mannstein's offensive to the fact that the number of tanks in the German armored division had been reduced. It is possible, however, that two words in Goebbels' article of 26 December referred to this weakness. Goebbels said:

The imponderables of war will . . . again be directly important. In general, they incline more toward the side of will and strength of decision than toward that of mere material. With regard to the latter we are *hardly inferior*, with regard to the former immensely superior.

A week later, Hitler admitted frankly that Germany had lagged behind her enemies in the quality of her arms during the year 1943.

F. CONCLUSION

In his Order of the Day of 1 January 1944, Hitler called the year 1943 the second crisis of this war, the first crisis having been the first winter in Russia. By calling the whole of 1943 'a crisis,' he tried to conceal that the year had been a series of 'crises' on several fronts. Under the impact of these defeats the power of German propaganda declined, its function changed, and its content deteriorated.

We do not know how influential German propaganda was at the beginning of the war or how much its influence waned under the blow of misfortune. However, there are certain unmistakable signs indicating that the German propagandist did

lose influence. In a totalitarian country, commentators do not carelessly acknowledge skepticism on the part of their audience; do not apologize for the reticence of the official news, because they are polite; and do not deny dangerous opinions unless such opinions are dangerously widespread.

No matter how much gullibility had survived in Germany by the end of 1943, there can be no doubt that the function of Nazi propaganda had decisively changed. With regard to order in the state, this change was most drastically demonstrated by Himmler's promotion to the position of Minister of the Interior. Terror had come to the rescue of propaganda more openly than ever before. The reduced importance of propaganda was also indicated by the fact that three of the most powerful men in Germany—Heinrich Himmler, Martin Bormann, head of the Party Chancellory, and Albert Speer—were satisfied with their power, leaving public appeals to more eloquent but less influential men. As to reporting the fortunes of war, in the field of battle, it appeared that the personnel of the Ministry of Propaganda had to follow the lead of the military.

The basic military news and the basic military interpretations of the events on all fronts were furnished by military officials. At the top of the hierarchy, Dittmar seemed to have and to give more 'information' than Goebbels. Never before in this war had the dependence of the propagandist proper,—i.e. the man who knows nothing but propaganda—upon the military expert been as great as it was in the year of defeat, 1943.

The military experts appointed to public relations offices wavered between their desires to be very brief in their admissions and casual in their reassurances. Since neither of their wishes could be fulfilled with impunity, they became rigid, leaving the choice between a repetition of military stereotypes, flights into the past, the future, and timeless generalities, to the propagandist proper. He was free to call the war 'tragic,' and Goebbels did so in November. His was the job of expressing the meta-

physics of German military failure as he did on 26 December 1943:

If history had always taken the course which pseudo-wisdom prophesied for her, the world would look quite different today from what she really looks like.

Nazi leaders made many statements like this toward the end of 1943. They said and repeated that Germany would win, because she must win or because history would otherwise lose its meaning. Unable to produce tangible reassurances of victory, Hitler, on 1 January 1944, declared that all wars in the past had come to an end; 'this war won't last forever, either.' This is a far cry from Nazi propaganda at the beginning of the war, which was widely admired not only because of its efficient organization but also because of its ingenuity.

The decline of Nazi propaganda is a result of German defeats in battle, and thus not primarily a merit of Allied propaganda. If any single proof of this were needed it can be found in the Nazi treatment of the crucial topic of the encirclement of Germany. At the beginning of the war, the propagandist worked frantically to persuade the Germans that this time they were not 'encircled.' But ever since the winter of 1942-3, he has virtually acknowledged the existence of a war on several fronts. He has tried to explain away the defeats on one front as sacrificial actions to keep things stable on another front. Stalingrad was only the 'protective shield' for other sectors of the Russian front, which caved in a little later, but Tunisia was the 'protective shield' of the Russian front and of the Atlantic Wall. Retaliation in the air war could not take place in 1942 and early 1943, because of the Russian war. The invasion of Sicily took place because of the German Eastern offensive in Russia. According to a remark by Dittmar, made early in October 1943, German soldiers in Russia held up a 'protective shield' behind which the Italian crisis could be overcome. Finally, the surrender of Italy was held responsible for the retreats in Russia. On 1

January 1944 Hitler declared that the repercussions of the Italian 'treachery' in September included the disaster in Stalingrad which had taken place in January 1943. In short, under the impact of defeat on all fronts, the specter of a war on several fronts crept into the very reassurances of Nazi propaganda long before the Second Front was established.

EPILOGUE

XIV

*Hope and Fear*¹

THE experience of the Second World War is gradually destroying the myth of Propaganda that arose as an aftermath of the first. Belief in the dark powers of propaganda is being replaced by a better understanding of its limitations and functions, which vary with the social order and the situation. Manipulated propaganda in a dictatorship is different both from the propaganda of competitive pressure groups and from the communication between leadership and people in a free society at war. In no society can the persuasiveness of the propagandist eliminate the impact of facts; all he can do is to re-interpret them. But in some situations propaganda finds a more fertile ground than in others. The strong and the free care little for propaganda and can rely upon traditional values when in distress. Anxious and uncertain people are more likely to be influenced and may search for the guidance that propaganda pretends to offer.²

The tensions of war time breed a demand for guidance, but not even in war time is the demand equally great at all times. In periods of success the need for it is less marked than in adversity, and not all adversity is of the same kind. Before the war there was a widespread expectation that civilians would break down when their lives were endangered, but people of all coun-

¹ This chapter was written in July 1943. In November 1943 some quotations from recent German sources were inserted to take the place of older ones. No major changes proved to be necessary.

² For the following see Kris, Ernst: 'Danger and Morale,' *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, xiv, 1944, Part 1, pp. 147-55.

tries gave the lie to such forecasts, by bravery under bombardment. A concrete and anticipated danger is readily met. Propaganda has its day when uncertainty prevails; during a lull in battle, when the next phase is unknown, or when, with the approach of defeat, men can no longer visualize their future. The fear of the unknown is easily aggrandized by fantasy, and unknown dangers readily grow into imaginary dangers that overwhelm and paralyze.

When defeat with its unknown dangers becomes a possibility, leadership can prove its mettle. The leader must clarify the future and strive to prevent flights into fearful imaginings. Churchill's speeches in the House of Commons during May, June, and July 1940 served the purpose of clarification. While they are remembered mainly for the greatness of certain phrases, they actually contained the most detailed elucidations of Britain's future chances; they analyzed the factors that would allow Britain to drive away the air fleets ready to attack her; they discussed the ways by which she could combat invasion should it materialize, and told of how, after an interlude, Britain could take the offensive. The British people lived through a crisis that they were made to understand.

By clarifying the situation, the paralyzing effect of danger can not only be diminished but transformed into a stimulating one. If apprehension is controlled by insight, it frequently acts as a signal for new and invigorating action. Churchill's speeches in the late spring of 1940 not only enlightened England regarding her reasonable chances, but also stirred the British people, not yet aware that they were facing great perils, into an unparalleled surge of activity.

Nazi leaders, when faced with a somewhat similar situation, had to adopt different methods.³ True clarification would have destroyed the egocentric imagery of Nazi propaganda, and con-

³ In stressing an isolated function of leadership in defeat, we naturally simplify the differences between British and German propaganda.

tradicted by implication everything that the Germans had ever been told. A reasonable understanding of Germany's situation would have established Hitler's responsibility for war, for the hardships it engenders, and the defeat to which it may lead. It would thus have prepared the downfall of Nazi leadership. Instead of clarification, Goebbels adopted the propaganda device of 'frankness,' and embarked upon a campaign of pessimism to stimulate participation and sacrifice. While he pretended to guide the German people through adversity, he was actually manipulating their hopes and fears to perpetuate their increased dependence on the regime.

While Churchill in 1940 could simply reject Hitler's peace offer, and did not bother either to discuss the consequences of a defeat or to contradict Nazi propaganda directed at Britain, in Germany the three topics, negotiated peace, defeat, and unity in the face of the enemy propaganda, became ever more important as the military situation deteriorated.

A people who had seen their triumphs crumble, their loot vanish away, and their blitz war degenerate into a war of attrition, a people who remembered how they had once been defeated after four years of war, will in the fifth year of a new war against the same foe naturally think of peace. To many Germans peace does not mean a political decision, but rather the discontinuation of bombing, fighting, and sacrifice: in short, a return to normality. On 7 January 1943, the *Schwarze Korps* wrote that soldiers talk about the future during lulls in battle. They want to be relieved of uncertainty. They do not worry about the future of the Reich; they think of home and return, and want to know how the social and economic changes that have come to pass will affect their own lives. The propagandist answers, that to strain one's imagination is useless since the future will be so very different from the past and that in any case a future is only possible if the war is won; should it be lost, nobody need worry about his 'future'; there would be no future left.

This is Goebbels' well-established line—but it is one that does not suffice. The manipulation based upon fear has to be supplemented by one which allows for hope, and when the thoughts of the people incessantly turn towards peace, peace must necessarily become a subject of propaganda. The propagandist's task is the more arduous, since he can no longer promise peace through victory; at best he can hint at victory through peace. This, however, is a prospect he cannot discuss explicitly lest it be interpreted as an admission of weakness or suggest surrender. The propagandist, therefore, relies as best he can upon hints and inferences. On 20 November 1943 Goebbels hinted at negotiated peace in these terms:

Loyalty to the principle of the struggle must be immutable, but that principle must be flexible in its practical application. *Any tactics lose their sense, however, if they are discussed openly.* 'That is why it is part of the first war duty of the citizen to have confidence in the leaders and precisely then, indeed, when the war loses its original lucidity and enters the realm of imponderables. *New possibilities of development often arise from seemingly ordinary day-to-day events; only the self-confident, alert instincts of a true Fuehrer nature are able to discover and exploit them.*

The possibilities to which Goebbels here refers are those inherent in a war of coalition: the potential disunity of the enemy. The propagandist can use it for two major purposes: first, to show that the enemy is weaker than he appears to be, and second, to suggest that one might split the enemies and deal with them in succession. Nazi propagandists talked of Franco-British disunity throughout the 'phoney war,' and of disunity between America and Britain after June 1940.⁴ Anglo-American disunity is brought forward to show the weakness of the enemy but is hardly used to adumbrate the possibility of a separate peace with

⁴ In the autumn of 1943 this disunity was evidenced by 'Roosevelt's demands' that the British should bear the brunt of the losses of the 'invasion from the West,' since high American losses would be likely to endanger his chances as a presidential candidate.

either. In dealing, however, with the relations of the Western democracies to Soviet Russia, the intention of the propagandist is rather to convey the impression that the gulf separating communism and capitalism may allow Germany an escape from the two-front war.

Hints of appeasement explicitly refer to Anglo-American distrust of Russia, while Russia's distrust of the Western Powers is hardly ever stressed. To the German people the possibility of an ultimate understanding with either side must be a familiar thought. They must remember that once before, in August 1939, enmity to Russia was transformed into a perennial treaty. Thus in speaking of disunity in the enemy camp, the German propagandist intimates a silver lining. If we fight on, he seems to say, one of the rifts in the enemy camp will turn out to our advantage.

This line is being maintained irrespective of the true state of diplomatic affairs. It was hardly affected by the conferences of Moscow and Teheran in October and November 1943; it is a line of approach the Nazi propagandist cannot miss if he wants to point to a satisfactory conclusion of the war.

Goebbels' anti-Bolshevist propaganda is a revival of German propaganda ideas of the First World War. In June 1918, Colonel Haeften, the representative of the High Command in the German Foreign Office, suggested to Ludendorff that Lansdowne's peace party in England should be encouraged to believe that a similar movement was gaining ground in Germany. German business leaders and educators were to declare that a united front must save Europe from the danger of Bolshevism. Colonel Haeften proposed that this campaign should be conducted so as to give the impression of complete spontaneity on the part of the spokesmen. Any suggestion that their anti-Bolshevism was inspired by the government was to be carefully avoided in order not to betray any weakness in the German military machine.

Goebbels cannot resort to such tricks, since any statement coming from Germany today is at once recognized abroad as

officially inspired. It is entirely possible that there are many Germans who have the same skeptical attitude towards Goebbels' domestic anti-Bolshevist propaganda. A comparison between Colonel Haeften's and Dr. Goebbels' anti-Bolshevism illustrates an intrinsic weakness of Nazi propaganda, a weakness that is sometimes overlooked by those who admire the efficient centralization of the new German system of communication.⁵

Goebbels tries to create the impression of a chance of victory through appeasement not only by isolated remarks dropped here and there, as when he reassures the Germans that many people in London and Washington recognize the danger of world-Jewry—here synonymous with Bolshevism—but also when he less indirectly accuses Britain and the United States of having betrayed Europe to Bolshevism—for betrayal presupposes a common bond, and only a partner can betray. The impression is also quite consistently conveyed through the propagandist's distinction between the Eastern and the Western, the human and the subhuman enemy. Brutal and bestial as the democracies may be, they seldom sink to the level of the Russians; and the propagandist implies that they are at heart opposed to Russia.

On 16 March 1943, Dietrich, Hitler's Press Chief, replied on short wave to Vice-President Wallace's speech on co-operation between the United Nations. German home listeners had heard that Wallace championed an understanding between Bolshevism and capitalism, whereby the capitalistic exploiters would obtain one half of the world and the Bolsheviks the other. But Dr. Dietrich described this alleged plan as not feasible: harsh reality would soon destroy all hopes that Bolshevism might abandon its plan for world revolution in return for Europe. The German propagandist also pointed out that the Allies could not protect Europe from Bolshevism, implying that they would wish to do so. The following is from an article in *Das Reich*, of 23 March 1943:

⁵ Cf. Speier, Hans, 'Ludendorff and the German Concept of Total War,' in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, ed. by Edward M. Earle, Princeton, 1943.

There are people who hold strange views on the future course of the war. They believe that just at the right moment an American or an English army could land in the north of Finland or sail through the Dardanelles to Rumania, in order to oppose the Soviet armies. The right moment refers to the time when the German troops and their allies have exhausted themselves in the defense of the Eastern front.

The idea that the Allies cannot protect Europe from Bolshevism may nonetheless lead to the conclusion that sooner or later they might agree to compromise with Germany.

That such an interpretation was attempted before the Western Powers took the offensive against Germany seems plausible enough; but it has actually survived the air raids in the spring of 1942, the conquest of North Africa, Sicily, and southern Italy, and the bombing of the German capital in the winter of 1943. The Nazi propagandist can only modify his line superficially and if we piece his hints together, his argument in 1943 runs about as follows: when Britain and the United States will have recognized that the Atlantic Wall is impregnable, that Germany cannot be invaded from the south, and that air raids will never destroy her; when their forces will have been repulsed with severe losses after initial successes in the forefield of Europe; then the moment will come to think once more of appeasement. Germany is playing for time. 'Everyone knows,' wrote Goebbels in November 1943, 'that the enemies are split by the sharpest inner contradictions and if only for that reason must strive to bring the war as soon as possible to an issue half way tolerable to them.'

Such hints and intimations of victory through enemy disunity cannot, however, develop unimpeded. The prospect of an ultimate understanding with the democracies involves the propagandist in a serious dilemma, when there are Germans who may overlook the difference between vague hopes of future understanding and immediate political action leading to peace: Germans who are not only convinced of the material superiority of

the Western Powers, but also 'believe in the possibility of the creation of a democratic preserve, a democratic reservoir in some area of Europe;' ⁶ Germans, in other words, who do not shrink from the idea of 'peace at all costs,' even at that of unconditional surrender to Britain and the United States.

In this dilemma the propagandist temporarily drops the distinction between human and subhuman, Western and Eastern enemies; he stresses the ferocity of British and American pilots, who wantonly destroy civilization and attempt to eliminate future European competition. Then for a while the democratic and the Bolshevik foe are described in similar terms and, since the manipulation of hopes has become dangerous, the propagandist relies solely upon fear as stimulus for resistance and sacrifice. It is a see-saw movement; the intervals of ups and downs are irregular and dependent on changes in the political and military situation. But it is a movement forced upon the propagandist who can rely neither too long nor too constantly on vague hopes, or entrust his persuasion to fear alone. The logic in the situation of totalitarian dictatorship during defeat has limited his freedom of action.⁷

While hope is construed out of hints and inferences, the manipulation of fear is entrusted to the imagery of German national disaster. In victory, this imagery served to show what might have happened had Hitler not saved Germany. In periods of setbacks, it serves to show what might happen should the war be lost.

The task is easy when the propagandist wishes to make the prospect of a Russian victory seem like utter disaster, for twenty years of anti-communist slogans had made every statement of

⁶ 21 November 1943, Hans Fritzsche.

⁷ The change of emphasis here described has occurred several times. The transition was almost sudden at the time of the Moscow Conference; before the Conference the differentiation between the enemies was dropped for a while; after the Conference, in the face of a manifestation of unity, the differences in the camp of the United Nations suddenly gained renewed importance.

the propagandist familiar to his listeners. During the war, German propaganda has carefully included the whole system of government and the way of life of the Russian people in its atrocity campaigns, thus linking it to the daily life of the Germans that they might see what would happen to each of them under Soviet rule. The living conditions of the Russian peasantry are caricatured and said to represent the blessings of Bolshevism; while exhibitions of photographs, sent all over Europe, are said to demonstrate the purpose of Germany's crusade as it relates to the living conditions of the ordinary man.

The common experience of Western civilization makes the task of the propagandist more difficult when he describes the consequences of an Anglo-American victory. The two images of defeat, the one through Russian and the other through Anglo-American victory, are kept apart by the Nazi propagandist. In the latter case, Germany would not perish by being engulfed in an alien social order, but would be systematically destroyed according to the plans of Allied leaders. The propagandist, therefore, quotes or distorts discussions of Germany's future in Allied countries that might serve his purposes. With the fortunes of war, however, his preferences have changed. In the days of German victory he quoted the enemy on Germany's political future, but as her prospects darkened, he laid more stress on the horrors planned for the individual German.

Early in the war, German propagandists spoke of a dismembered Germany and of American diplomats scheming with Poles for Germany's annihilation. In 1939-40, there were French plans for a Hapsburg restoration, and in 1941, there was Vansittart's pamphlet, *The Black Record*,⁸ in which all Germans were held responsible for the war. In 1941, also, a Mr. Kaufmann⁹ of New Jersey became helpful by suggesting that all Germans should be sterilized. An anthology of quotations from a book by Kauf-

⁸ Vansittart, Sir Robert, *The Black Record: Germans, Past and Present*, London, January 1941.

⁹ Kaufmann, Theodore N., *Germany Must Perish*, New York, 1941.

mann and slanted passages from Roosevelt's speeches sold several million copies, while Wolfgang Diewerge, its compiler, was subsequently made head of the Broadcasting Division of the Propaganda Ministry.¹⁰ In 1942 a letter to the editor of a Dutch refugee paper in London suggested that after the war German children should be familiarized with the democratic way of life by living in other countries for a while;¹¹ Nazi propaganda transformed this letter into Mr. Churchill's plan for the deportation of German youth. In 1943, an article by Mr. Kingsbury-Smith in the March issue of the *American Mercury*, on the post-war administration of Germany, was reported to the German people as the American blueprint for their enslavement. Allied political and military actions are also integrated into the image of German defeat. The meeting at Casablanca and the stipulation of unconditional surrender were said to mean that the Allies aimed at complete domination of the world. And the intensification of Allied air raids reinforced the image, since one could hardly expect so brutal an enemy to be lenient in victory.

And yet, since the threat from the West is identified with leading individuals, or the Jew, rather than with the people of Britain and the United States as a whole, a way remains open for possible understanding with these nations in a safely distant future. In the context of war, Germany's magic enemy, the Jew, also served to unite the disparate enemies of East and West. In the context of defeat, the magic enemy served to unite the German people with their Nazi leaders. When the propaganda of the United Nations expresses a determination to punish Nazi leadership, the German propagandist tells the German people that the Jews would never allow of any such distinction. The people who had witnessed the extermination of the Jews were united in crime with their leaders, and would suffer a like fate if they surrendered.

While the Nazi propagandist shows the German people their

¹⁰ Sington and Weidenfeld, op. cit. p. 142.

¹¹ *Vry Nederland*, London, 19 September 1942, p. 246.

future in the double light of utter calamity if they surrender, and dimly hints at a chance of negotiations if they fight on, the daily flow of propaganda from the United Nations also speaks to them of their future, carefully reporting all statements by Allied leaders on the post-war world. Many people have taken the view that lack of definite peace plans has become a serious impediment to Allied propaganda, and that propaganda directed to the German people is less effective than it might be because no picture is being projected of Germany's future, beyond the removal of tyranny. Evidence culled from the study of Nazi propaganda does not indicate whether the advantage that United Nations' propaganda might derive from a definite statement on Germany's future could ever outbalance the risks that any such statement would involve. What we do learn from Nazi propaganda on this subject can be divided into three propositions:

1. All positive statements on the post-war world coming from Britain or the United States greatly concern Nazi propagandists, while they generally neglect those from the Soviet Union.¹²

2. For a long time, they considered the Atlantic Charter the most important promulgation by Anglo-American leaders.

3. They react not only to policy statements on international affairs, but also to all statements concerning social organization in the present and in the future, even if it concerns only domestic issues in Britain or the United States.

Hitler has more than once expressed his belief in the power of ideas in so far as they can impress the masses and be used in psychological manipulation.¹³ And Nazi propagandists take great pains to immunize the German people against ideas from the enemy world. Any discussion of post-war problems by American or British leaders is attacked by them with two arguments: first, that the speaker lies in order to trap the Germans, and

¹² The Soviet statements concerning Poland are naturally mentioned as evidence of inter-Allied disunity.

¹³ In this, he follows closely Gustave Le Bon in his *The Psychology of the Crowd*, published first in 1895.

second, that his ideas are only a repetition of what Hitler has said before, or promises of what Hitler has already accomplished.

In saying that Allied discussions of post-war problems are lies and attempts to trap the German people, the Nazi propagandist relies on a tradition he has carefully created. All German reactionaries and many other Germans had been taught to look at Wilson's Fourteen Points as a clever, mendacious move of political warfare. And in the fourth year of the second German war, Wilson's memory naturally gains importance. Wilson's address to Congress on 8 January 1918 is said to have had a greater effect upon the German people than poison gas.

Germany became intoxicated with the *fata morgana* of a just peace . . . Jews stabbed Germany in its only vulnerable spot, its boundless confidence in others. Wilson gambled away for humanity the belief that in the life of nations there could exist right without might.¹⁴

The accusation of plagiarism, indiscriminately used when Allied leaders speak of lasting peace or of social and political justice, carries the German claim of initiative into the field of ideas.

In dealing with the Atlantic Charter, both arguments were combined. The propagandist said that whatever it could achieve was already guaranteed by the New Order of Europe that Hitler was defending in the East, while Roosevelt and Churchill were forced to use all the paraphernalia of cheap films to make any impression on the world. While in 1941 the discussion of the Atlantic Charter played only a minor part in German home broadcasts—though its role was greater in Germany's foreign transmissions—with the approach of setbacks it became ever more important, and in Hitler's survey of the war of 30 September 1942, he himself referred to the Atlantic Charter when he compared the eternal pact signed with blood—i.e. the conquest of German troops in the second Russian winter—to the empty chatter of Germany's enemies.

¹⁴ 8 January 1943.

The discussion of the Atlantic Charter on the German home radio entered a new phase in the spring of 1943, for by then the propagandist was not only saying that it was a plagiarism and a trap, but also assured the German people that it had been dropped. Eden's visit to Washington in February 1943 was said to have been undertaken to bury the Charter, and its alleged invalidation was linked to the theme of the Red menace. On 27 February 1943, Fritzsche treated the subject in the following manner:

When Messrs. Churchill's and Roosevelt's hopes looked like vanishing into thin air, then they met and solemnly announced an Atlantic Charter, a sort of basic law of a newer and better world order. There was no room for the diversity of opinion . . . Promises are never cheaper than in the hour of danger . . . During the last weeks, when the Bolsheviks achieved success in their winter offensive, when the British advanced in North Africa and United States soldiers landed there, during that time when a few hasty people already believed that the time for putting the Atlantic Charter into practice had arrived, suddenly there was no longer the faintest hint or trace of that recklessly promised beautiful new world order. The nations of Europe to whom independence had been promised were advised that they could not do any better than to allow the Bolsheviks to gobble them up.

Not only is the Atlantic Charter combatted by the Nazis with three instead of two arguments: calling it a trap and a plagiarism and finally speaking of it as having been dropped; the same treatment is also applied to reports on social progress or social planning in the democracies. The ideological defensive was forced upon the Nazis in the fall of 1940, when the description of social change in Britain became an important element of all British communication. All tricks of Nazi propaganda were used to debunk these reports. When the Beveridge Plan appeared, the Nazis violently stressed the advantages of social security in Germany, already introduced, they said, by Bismarck. When the acceptance of the Beveridge Plan was postponed by the House, they tri-

umphantly announced that the promises made in times of greater danger had been dropped by the plutocrats. And when in his speech of 9 November Roosevelt spoke of international collaboration in the post-war world, the German home radio the next day reported on his 'paper pledges' as 'an effrontery . . . while there is famine in India, in the Near East and in North Africa.'

While the battle for Europe is being waged, the propaganda battle for the mind of the German people continues. The common man in Germany lives through doubts and anxieties; he wants to hear what his future will be like. The Nazis, whose promises and predictions continue to fail, offer hazy prospects of escape through victorious appeasement or grim visions of utter disaster. The democracies can make few concrete promises. As their victory ripens they supplement initial descriptions of their military and industrial potential by other themes. They explicitly deny the Nazi horror tale of Germany's future in defeat; they assure the Germans that Germany's economic prosperity lies in their own, the democracies', interest; they speak of the removal of tyranny and remind the German people of the workings of democracy and the importance of discussion for settling national and international affairs.

One might call this a meager attraction and yet its potential effect should not be underrated. For more than ten years the German people have known only propaganda based on violence, supplementing violence, or advocating it. The Nazis have stripped ideas of their value and their power, either by destroying their meaning, unless they served Nazi interests, or by exploiting them or by perverting them to Nazi ends. A propaganda for democracy which does not describe a fairyland but discusses the pitfalls no less than the advantages of freedom—its initial slow working and its final achievements—may well impress a people whom permanent efficiency has brought to the brink of defeat. The common man in Germany may no longer crave big words and loud enthusiasm, but be prepared to listen to the voice of reason.

Propaganda extends from war into peace. In the last war

propaganda was considered largely as a device to win victory and the Allies forgot to use it as a means to cement peace. This time the opportunity is greater and so is the task. It is twofold: first, to destroy the Nazi tradition and to prevent a myth from growing when the unavoidable hardships of defeat will engulf Germany. Second, to explain that the democratic process has essentially contributed to the victory of the United Nations.

Even the Nazi propagandist had to modify his image of the Englishman when the British people lived through the Blitz, and to modify his image of the American when American soldiers conquered. Similarly, what democracy can achieve and actually does achieve in the field of social endeavor, of justice and equity, is more important than what propagandists say. The radio has punctured the isolation of the German people. Despite the devices of Nazi propaganda, the news that Allied propaganda is able to give gradually reaches the German people. And if there is news of facts which clearly show the advantage of free society, its essence and its value, such news is better than any persuasion. Victory speaks for itself and so does progress.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SECTION A

Periodization and Number of Items for News Bulletins and Topics of the Day

NO. OF PERIOD	MAIN EVENT	EXTENSION OF PERIOD	NUMBER OF ITEMS	
			NEWS ¹	TOPICS ²
1	Polish Campaign.....	1-29 Sept. 1939	...	264
2	Early Phoney War	30 Sept.-29 Nov. 1939	616	
3	Early Russo-Finnish War...	30 Nov.-17 Dec. 1939	203	235
4	<i>Graf Spee</i> to <i>Altmark</i>	18 Dec. 1939-16 Feb. 1940	592	
5	<i>Altmark</i> to End of Finnish War.....	17-28 Feb. 1940	174	209
6	Stalemate.....	1-31 Mar. 1940	403	
7	Pre-campaign.....	1-8 Apr. 1940	130	114
8	Norwegian Campaign.....	9-30 Apr. 1940	348	
9	Pre-campaign.....	1-9 May 1940	134	84
10	French Campaign.....	10 May-22 June 1940	693	
11	Inter-campaign.....	23 June-7 Aug. 1940	693	...
12	Battle of Britain.....	8 Aug.-31 Oct. 1940	1436	281
13	Aftermath of Battle of Britain.....	1 Nov.-8 Dec. 1940	640	...
14	First Battle of Libya.....	9 Dec. 1940-6 Feb. 1941	733	181
15	Lend-Lease.....	7 Feb.-11 Mar. 1941	412	...
16	Belgrade Revolution.....	12 Mar.-3 Apr. 1941	270	...
17	Yugoslav, Greek, and African Campaigns.....	4-27 Apr. 1941	334	...
18	Inter-campaign.....	28 Apr.-19 May 1941	307	...
19	Crete Campaign.....	20 May-1 June 1941	194	...
20	Inter-campaign.....	2-21 June 1941	256	...
21	Invasion of Russia.....	22-30 June 1941	217	195
22	Minsk to Stalin Line.....	1-12 July 1941	199	
23	Stalin Line to Atlantic Charter.....	13 July-13 Aug. 1941	516	256
24	Post Atlantic Charter.....	14 Aug.-18 Sept. 1941	547	
25	After Kiev.....	19 Sept.-2 Oct. 1941	258	142
26	Hitler's Victory Claim to Fall of Kharkov.....	3-25 Oct. 1941	380	
27	Kharkov to Rostov.....	26 Oct.-22 Nov. 1941	548	142
28	Rostov to Pearl Harbor.....	23 Nov.-6 Dec. 1941	239	

¹ The sample news bulletin referred to is broadcast to the home audience at 8 P.M.

² Selected periods.

³ No quantitative data available for Period 1, because of incomplete monitoring reports.

*Periodization and Number of Items for News Bulletins and
Topics of the Day (Cont.)*

NO. OF PERIOD	MAIN EVENT	EXTENSION OF PERIOD	NUMBER OF ITEMS	
			NEWS ¹	TOPICS ²
29	Beginning of Far Eastern War and of First Russian Winter Offensive.....	7-20 Dec. 1941	240	197
30	From Hitler's Assumption of Command to Fall of Manila	21 Dec.-2 Jan. 1942	204	
31	Manila to Defeat in Malaya	3-31 Jan. 1942	388	
32	Battle of Singapore.....	1-15 Feb. 1942	232	207
33	Battles of Burma and Java..	16 Feb.-9 Mar. 1942	354	
34	Burma, Bataan and India...	10 Mar.-11 Apr. 1942	517	
35	Spring Stalemate.....	12 Apr.-7 May 1942	357	...
36	Spring Offensive.....	8-30 May 1942	292	...
37	Bombing of Cologne to Fall of Tobruk.....	31 May-21 June 1942	236	...
38	Tobruk to German recapture of Rostov.....	22 June-27 July 1942	400	...
39	Beginning of Siege of Stalingrad.....	28 July-6 Sept. 1942	452	...
40	Second Stage of Siege of Stalingrad.....	7-29 Sept. 1942	290	...
41	The Turning of the Tide....	30 Sept.-6 Nov. 1942	407	...
42	Invasion of North Africa....	7 Nov.-31 Dec. 1942	642	...
43	Capture of Velikie Luki to Fall of Stalingrad.....	1 Jan.-3 Feb. 1943	370	...
44	Stalingrad to Russian Capture of Kharkov.....	4-18 Feb. 1943	157	...
45	Battle of Kharkov.....	19 Feb.-13 Mar. 1943	182	...
46	The Campaign in Africa....	14 Mar.-4 May 1943	373	...

¹ The sample news bulletin referred to is broadcast to the home audience at 8 P.M.

² Selected periods.

SECTION B

Periodization and Number of Items for Front Reports

DESIGNATION OF PERIODS	MAIN EVENT	EXTENSION OF PERIOD	NO. OF ITEMS ¹
a	Minsk-Bialystok, Stalin Line.....	22 June-12 July 1941	157
b	Claim of Smolensk.....	13 July-13 Aug. 1941	111
c	Encirclement of Odessa, beginning siege of Leningrad.....	14 Aug.-18 Sept. 1941	87
d	Kiev, Attack on Crimea.....	19 Sept.-2 Oct. 1941	39
e	Hitler Speech, Russian Government in Kuibishev, Kharkov.....	3-25 Oct. 1941	51
f	Kerch, claim of Rostov.....	26 Oct.-22 Nov. 1941	53
g	Within 30 miles from Moscow, retreat from Rostov.....	23 Nov.-6 Dec. 1941	26
h	Russian counter-offensive.....	7-20 Dec. 1941	21
i	Hitler assumes command, Germans recapture Benghazi.....	21 Dec.-29 Jan. 1942	48
	Germans encircled at Staraya Russa, Rommel advances.....	30 Jan.-25 Feb. 1942	30
k	Russian gains on Smolensk front.....	26 Feb.-11 Apr. 1942	66
	Preparation of spring campaign.....	12 Apr.-8 May 1942	35

¹ These items, 724, are samples of the total number of 1688 items broadcast during the entire period.

Note: In determining the item as a statistical unit, we have followed the Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation, in which items are numbered. The size of an item differs from program to program. In the *Topics of the Day* and in the *Front Reports* they are much longer than in the *News Bulletins*.

APPENDIX II

*Calendar of the War*¹

PERIOD 1—POLISH CAMPAIGN—1-29 Sept. 1939

- 1 September Hitler proclaims war with Poland
Rationing cards issued in Germany
- 3 England and France declare war on Germany
British Liner *Athenia* sunk in Atlantic
- 10 British War Cabinet announces that England is preparing
for a war of 3 years or more
- 12 Halifax threatens retaliations if Germany should bomb
civilians
RAF attacks Kiel Canal
- 17 Russia invades Poland
H.M.S. *Courageous* torpedoed
- 19 Hitler speech at Danzig; hints at early peace
- 21 Roosevelt requests substitution of arms embargo by cash-
and-carry formula
- 24 Germans shell Warsaw
- 27-28 Churchill denies German claims of destruction of British
warships by air attack (*Ark Royal* actually sunk in 1941)
- 28 Warsaw surrenders
- 29 Russo-German treaty dividing Poland

PERIOD 2—EARLY 'PHONEY WAR'—30 Sept.-29 Nov. 1939

- 6 October Hitler speech proposing peace conference
- 11 Russia acquires bases in Baltic countries
Finnish delegation in Moscow
- 12 Chamberlain rejects Hitler's offer of peace based on con-
quest
- 14 British admit sinking of H.M.S. *Royal Oak*; Germans
claim sinking of H.M.S. *Repulse* (actually sunk 9 Dec.
1941)
- 16-17 German air attacks on Firth of Forth and Scapa Flow
- 19 England, France, and Turkey sign treaty of mutual as-
sistance
- 30 Molotov speech: Russia is neutral

¹ The Calendar lists only the most important events and events referred to in this book. Its main purpose is to show the periodization on which our charts are based. Among the propaganda events, Hitler's routine speeches on 30 Jan., 30 Sept., and 8 Nov. are omitted.

- 1 November Cash-and-carry bill passes House of Representatives
- 8 Bomb explodes at beer hall after Hitler speech
- 12 England rejects mediation offer extended by Low Countries

PERIOD 3—EARLY RUSSO-FINNISH WAR—30 Nov.-17 Dec. 1939

- 30 November Russia invades Finland
- 14 December League of Nations expels Russia
- 17 Germans scuttle *Graf Spee* off Montevideo

PERIOD 4—'GRAF SPEE' TO 'ALTMARK'—18 Dec. 1939-15 Feb. 1940

- 8 January German press attacks Scandinavian neutrality
Finns claim annihilation of Russian 44th Division
Rationing begins in England
- 26 Germans reinforce listening ban: death penalty in grave cases
- 9 February Russians pierce Mannerheim line

PERIOD 5—'ALTMARK' TO END OF FINNISH WAR—16 Feb.-13 Mar. 1940

- 16 February H.M.S. *Cossack* intercepts German prison ship, *Altmark*, in Norwegian waters
Sweden refuses military aid to Finland
Sumner Welles in Rome
- 25 British announce that German coal supplies to Italy will be intercepted
- 1 Sumner Welles meets Hitler
- 3 Russians storm Vipuri
- 12 Finland accepts Russian peace terms

PERIOD 6—STALEMATE—14-31 Mar. 1940

- 18 March Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at Brenner Pass
- 19 Daladier government resigns
- 21 Reynaud forms new cabinet
- 25 Norwegians protest British violation of neutral waters

PERIOD 7—PRE-CAMPAIGN—1-8 Apr. 1940

- 3 April Reshuffle of Chamberlain government: Churchill given supervision of all three fighting services

PERIOD 8—NORWEGIAN CAMPAIGN—9-30 Apr. 1940

- 9 April Germany invades Norway and Denmark
- 12 Sweden proclaims neutrality
- 13 British land at Narvik
- 30 German forces from Trondheim and from the South
 effect junction

PERIOD 9—PRE-CAMPAIGN—1-9 May 1940

- 2 May British abandon attack on Trondheim
- 3 British withdraw from Namsos
- 7 Debate on Norway in British House of Commons
- 8 Chamberlain government receives vote of confidence

PERIOD 10—FRENCH CAMPAIGN—10 May-22 June 1940

- 10 May Germany invades Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg
- Germans charge RAF with 'child murder' at Freiburg
- 11 Chamberlain resigns
- Fall of Fort Eben Emael, Liège
- 12 Churchill forms new cabinet
- 14 Germans take Rotterdam
- 21 Germans take Amiens and Arras
- 23 Germans reach English Channel at Abbéville
- 28 King Leopold surrenders
- 30 British evacuate Dunkerque
- 5 June Battles of the Somme and the Aisne
- 10 Italy declares war
- British withdraw from Narvik
- 14 Germans enter Paris
- 16 Reynaud resigns—Pétain forms new cabinet
- 17 Pétain sues for armistice
- 18 Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini in Munich
- Churchill speech: 'We shall fight on.'
- 22 Armistice signed at Compiègne.

PERIOD 11—INTER-CAMPAIGN—23 June-7 Aug. 1940

- 28 June Russia occupies Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina
- 3 July British destroy part of French fleet at Oran
- 19 Hitler speech: 'I prophesy that a great empire will be
 destroyed.'
- 21 Soviet Union incorporates Baltic States
- 27 Pan-American Conference in Havana
- 6 August Italians invade British Somaliland

PERIOD 12—BATTLE OF BRITAIN—8 Aug.-31 Oct. 1940

- 8 August Beginning of Battle of Britain according to British Air Ministry
- 19 British Somaliland conquered by Italy
- 21 Rumania cedes Dobrudja to Bulgaria
- 30 German-Italian arbitration of Hungarian-Rumanian border dispute. Most of Transylvania given to Hungary
- September Roosevelt announces exchange of American destroyers for lease of British bases
- King Carol of Rumania abdicates
- Churchill broadcast on Battle of Britain
- 14 U. S. Congress passes bill for compulsory military service
- 15 Heaviest German air raid on London
- 23 British and Free French attack on Dakar
- France admits Japanese troops into Indo-China
- 27 Tri-Partite Pact concluded between Germany, Italy and Japan
- 4 October Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini on Brenner Pass
- 17 British re-open the Burma Road
- 24 Hitler meets Pétain
- 27 Italians invade Greece

PERIOD 13—AFTERMATH OF BATTLE OF BRITAIN—1 Nov.-8 Dec. 1940

- 2 November British announcement of landing in Greece
- 6 Re-election of Roosevelt
- 13 British claim destruction of Italian warships at Taranto
- 15 German air raid on Coventry
- 21 Italians abandon Koritza in Albania
- Hungary signs Tri-Partite Pact
- 24 Rumania and Slovakia sign Tri-Partite Pact
- 27 Assassination of Iron Guard Leaders in Rumania
- 4 December Greeks conquer Southern Albania
- 7 Germans announce completion of Channel Coast fortifications

PERIOD 14—FIRST BATTLE OF LIBYA—9 Dec. 1940-6 Feb. 1941

- 9 December British open offensive on Libya
- 11 British capture Sidi Barrani
- 16 British take Sollum
- 3 January British take Bardia
- 6 Roosevelt's 'lend-lease' message to Congress
- 9 Hopkins in London as special envoy
- 11 Greeks occupy Klisura in Albania

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 20 January | Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at Berchtesgaden |
| 21-22 | British take Tobruk |
| 7 February | British take Benghazi |

PERIOD 15—LEND-LEASE PERIOD—7 Feb.-11 Mar. 1941

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 10 February | Great Britain severs diplomatic relations with Rumania |
| 12 | Meeting of Franco and Mussolini |
| 18 | Arrival of Australians in Singapore |
| 24 | Hitler speech on Battle of Atlantic |
| 1 March | Bulgaria signs Tri-Partite Pact |
| 3 | Russian protest against occupation of Bulgaria by Germany |
| 6 | German troops on Greco-Bulgarian frontier |
| 11 | Roosevelt signs Lend-Lease Bill |

PERIOD 16—BELGRADE REVOLUTION—12 Mar.-3 Apr. 1941

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 16 March | Hitler speaks in answer to Roosevelt address of 15 March: 'No power . . . will change the outcome of this battle' |
| 24 | Departure of Yugoslav officials for Berlin
Russo-Turkish pact of mutual assistance |
| 25 | Yugoslavia signs Tri-Partite Pact |
| 26 | Matsuoka in Berlin |
| 27 | Yugoslav Regency and Cvetkovitch government overthrown by pro-British <i>coup d'état</i>
Churchill signs 'destroyer-base' agreement |

PERIOD 17—YUGOSLAV, GREEK, AND AFRICAN CAMPAIGNS—4-27 Apr. 1941

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 4 April | Beginning of German offensive in Africa |
| 6 | Germany invades Yugoslavia and Greece
Addis Ababa surrenders to British |
| 9 | Germans capture Salonika and Nisch |
| 10 | Creation of Croatia |
| 13 | Russo-Japanese five-year neutrality pact
Germans take Belgrade and Bardia |
| 14 | Germans cross into Egypt and take Solum |
| 18 | Yugoslav army surrenders |
| 19 | British invade Iraq |
| 23 | Surrender of Greek army |
| 27 | Germans enter Athens |

PERIOD 18—INTER-CAMPAIGN—28 Apr.—19 May 1941

- 28 April British evacuate Greece
- 2 May Iraq resists British occupation
- 4 Hitler speech: Balkan campaign
- 6 Stalin adopts the title of premier, Haile Selassie that of Emperor
- 9 Russia withdraws recognition of governments-in-exile
- 10 Hess flies to Scotland

PERIOD 19—CRETE CAMPAIGN—20 May-1 June 1941

- 20 May Germans land in Crete: first air-borne invasion
- 21 Germans sink American freighter, *Robin Moor*
- 24 Germans sink British battle cruiser, *Hood*
- 27 British sink German battleship, *Bismarck*
- Roosevelt proclaims 'an unlimited national emergency'
- 31 British enter Baghdad
- 1 June German victory in Crete

PERIOD 20—INTER-CAMPAIGN—2-21 June 1941

- 2 June Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner Pass
- Lowering of German meat rations to 400 gr. weekly
- 8 British invade Syria
- 16 Closing of German consulates in United States
- 18 Germany and Turkey sign neutrality pact
- 19 Germany and Italy close United States consulates

PERIOD 21—INVASION OF RUSSIA—22 June-30 June 1941

- 22 June Germans invade Russia
- 23 Germans take Brest-Litovsk
- 29 Germans claim victory of annihilation at Minsk

PERIOD 22—MINSK TO THE STALIN LINE—2-13 July 1941

- 3 July Germans claim victory at Bialystok
- 7 Announcement of United States occupation of Iceland
- 12 Germans claim break through 'Stalin Line'
- Great Britain and Russia sign a treaty of mutual assistance
- 14 Franco-British armistice in Syria

PERIOD 23—STALIN LINE TO ATLANTIC CHARTER—13 July-13 Aug. 1941

- 16 July Germans claim Smolensk
- New Konoye Cabinet—exclusion of Matsuoka
- 25 United States and Great Britain freeze Japanese assets
- 2 August Inclusion of Finland under British blockade
- 6 Germans claim victorious conclusion of the battle of
 Smolensk
- 13 Russians admit withdrawal from Smolensk

PERIOD 24—POST-ATLANTIC CHARTER—14 Aug.-18 Sept. 1941

- 14 August Announcement of the Atlantic Charter
- 15 Anglo-American invitation to Stalin
- 17 Beginning of Budenny's retreat in Ukraine
- 25 British and Russians invade Iran
- Russian admission—Enemy at approaches of Leningrad
- 29 Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini in Russia
- 31 Most of Karelian Isthmus conquered by Finland
- 1 September Armistice in Iran
- 2 Beginning of Leningrad siege
- 16 Shah of Persia abdicates

PERIOD 25—AFTER KIEV—19 Sept.-2 Oct. 1941

- 21 September Russians admit capture of Kiev
- 27 Germans claim 665,000 prisoners in battle of Kiev.
- 30 Churchill speech: review of war
- 1 October End of Three Power Conference on supplies to Russia
 in Moscow

PERIOD 26—HITLER'S VICTORY CLAIM TO FALL OF KHARKOV—3-25 Oct. 1941

- 3 October Hitler speech: 'The enemy already lies defeated'
- 8 Russians abandon Orel
- 9 Dietrich's press interview: 'The campaign . . . is decided'
- Roosevelt advocates repeal of neutrality act
- 12 Russians admit withdrawal from Bryansk
- 14 Germans at Mozhaisk—65 miles from Moscow
- 16 Rumanians enter Odessa
- 17 U. S. destroyer *Kearney* torpedoed on convoy duty in
 Atlantic
- New Japanese cabinet—Tojo, premier
- 19 Stalin announces state of siege in Moscow
- Russian government transferred to Kuibyshev

- 19 October Germans take Taganrog
24 Germans claim fall of Kharkov

PERIOD 27—KHARKOV TO ROSTOV—26 Oct.-22 Nov. 1941

- 31 October Germans sink U.S. destroyer *Reuben James* in Atlantic
4 November Germans claim Feodosia in Crimean Peninsula and Kursk
10 Churchill pledges help to United States in case of Japanese aggression
13 Congress repeals Neutrality Act
Germans sink British airplane carrier, *Ark Royal*
16 Resumption of German offensive to take Moscow
17 Rosenberg appointed Reich Minister for the Eastern Territory
19 British offensive in Libya begins
22 Germans announce capture of Rostov

PERIOD 28—ROSTOV TO PEARL HARBOR—23 Nov.-6 Dec. 1941

- 23 November British take Bardia
25 Anti-Comintern Pact signed by twelve countries
27 British take Sidi Rezegh
29 Russians announce recapture of Rostov
3 December Germans retreat through Taganrog
5 Tokyo note to United States concerning Japanese troops in French Indo-China
British declare war on Finland, Rumania, Hungary
6 Beginning of Russian counter-offensive before Moscow

PERIOD 29—BEGINNING OF FAR EASTERN WAR AND OF FIRST RUSSIAN WINTER OFFENSIVE—7-20 Dec. 1941

- 7 December Japanese air attacks on Hawaii and Philippines
8 German communique announces that 'winter' dictates further course of war in Russia
9 British lift siege of Tobruk
Japanese sink H.M.S. *Repulse* and H.M.S. *Prince of Wales*
11 Germany and Italy declare war on United States
Japanese occupy Guam
13 Hungary and Bulgaria declare war on United States
Great Britain declares war on Bulgaria
15 Japanese begin offensive in Malaya
16 Russians report recapture of Kalinin
18 Dutch and Australians land in Timor; Japanese land in Borneo
19 British withdraw from Penang
Hitler assumes active command of armies in Russia

PERIOD 30—FROM HITLER'S ASSUMPTION OF COMMAND TO FALL OF MANILA—
21 Dec.-2 Jan. 1942

- 22 December Churchill in Washington
Japanese take Wake Island
- 23 Russians announce re-establishment of land communication with Leningrad and Donetz Basin
- 24 Free French take islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon
- 25 Hong Kong surrenders to Japanese
British take Benghazi
- 28 Roosevelt pledges freedom for Philippines
Official announcement of Eden's visit to Moscow
- 30 Russians announce German withdrawal from Kerch and Feodosia
Gandhi resigns leadership of All-India Congress
- 1 January Japanese occupy Changsha
- 2 Manila surrenders to Japanese

PERIOD 31—MANILA TO DEFEAT IN MALAYA—3-31 Jan. 1942

- 3 January United Nations' declaration: no separate peace
Germans admit British capture of Bardia
- 12 British admit withdrawal from Kuala Lumpur, 200 miles from Singapore
- 13 British occupy Solum
- 15 Japanese occupy Johore
Pan-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro
- 17 Germans surrender at Halfaya Pass
- 21 German counter attack at Agedabia
- 25 Battle of Macassar Straits
- 29 Germans and Italians recapture Benghazi
- 30 Hitler speech: war of survival
- 31 British announce withdrawal from Malayan mainland

PERIOD 32—BATTLE OF SINGAPORE—1-15 Feb. 1942

- 2 February British lose tank battle in Libya
- 4 British abandon Derna
- 9 Japanese land at Singapore
- 12 Escape of *Prinz Eugen*, *Scharnhorst*, and *Gneisenau* through Channel
- 15 Singapore surrendered to Japanese

PERIOD 33—BATTLES OF BURMA AND JAVA—16 Feb.-9 Mar. 1942

- 19 February Beginning of Riom trials
British cabinet changes—Cripps' appointment

- 21-22 February Battle of the Java Sea
- 25 Russian victory near Staraya Russa
- 1 March Japanese land in Java
- British and Dutch withdraw from Batavia
- 8 Fall of Rangoon
- Fall of Java

PERIOD 34—BURMA, BATAN, AND INDIA—10 Mar.-11 Apr. 1942

- 11 March Announcement of Cripps' mission to India
- 12 Second battle of the Java Sea, Japanese land on New Guinea and on Solomon Islands
- 16 Announcement of American troops in Australia
- 17 MacArthur appointment as commander in the Pacific area
- 18 Naval battle off New Guinea
- 26 Encirclement of Chinese at Toungo
- 28 British commando raid on St. Nazaire
- 5 April Lowering of German meat rations to 300 gr. weekly
- 9 Americans surrender at Bataan
- 10 Announcement of failure of Cripps' mission
- 11 Japanese begin drive toward Burmese oil fields

PERIOD 35—SPRING STALEMATE—12 Apr.-7 May 1942

- 14 April Reappointment of Laval as Premier
- 16 Recall of Leahy, U. S. ambassador in Vichy
- 18 U.S. air raid on Tokyo
- 22 British Commando raid near Boulogne
- 26 Hitler speech: assumes full judicial power
- 28 General Giraud escapes from German prisoners' camp
- Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini near Salzburg
- 29 Japanese occupy Lashio
- 1 May British and Chinese withdraw from Mandalay
- 4 British land on Madagascar
- 6 Surrender of Corregidor to Japanese
- 7 Surrender of Diego Suarez, Madagascar, to British
- 7-9 Battle of the Coral Sea

PERIOD 36—SPRING OFFENSIVE—8-30 May 1942

- 8 May Germans begin offensive against Kerch Peninsula
- 10 Churchill speech warning Germany against use of poison gas
- 13 Russians announce beginning of counter-offensive at Kharkov
- 23 Russians admit withdrawal from Kerch
- 27 Assassination of Heydrich (died June 4)

- 28 May Axis attack at Bir Hacheim
29 Germans announce victory at Kharkov

PERIOD 37—BOMBING OF COLOGNE TO FALL OF TOBRUK—31 May-21 June 1942

- 31 May First heavy RAF raid on Cologne
1 June German 'reprisal' raid on Canterbury
Camacho signs Mexican declaration of war on Axis
4 Japanese attack on Midway
8 German attack on Sevastopol
10 Germans announce the destruction of Lidice
11 Anglo-Russian treaty; twenty years' mutual assistance
British withdraw from Bir Hacheim
18 Germans attack Tobruk
Churchill in Washington
21 British garrison at Tobruk surrenders

PERIOD 38—TOBRUK TO GERMAN RECAPTURE OF ROSTOV—22 June-27 July 1942

- 25 June British withdraw to Mersa Matruh
Heavy RAF raid on Bremen
1 July Germans announce capture of Sevastopol
9 Germans admit allied attack at El Alamein
19 Russians admit withdrawal from Voroshilovgrad
21 Germans announce beginning of their attack on Rostov
27 Russians admit withdrawal from Rostov

PERIOD 39—BEGINNING OF STALINGRAD SIEGE—28 July-6 Sept. 1942

- 9 August British arrest of Gandhi
10 Allies land on Solomons
16 Russians admit withdrawal from Maikop
17 Churchill returns from Moscow
19 British commando raid on Dieppe
2 September Germans claim reaching the Volga
3 Germans cross straits of Kerch
6 Germans take Novorossiisk

PERIOD 40—SECOND STAGE OF THE STALINGRAD SIEGE—7-29 Sept. 1942

- 8 September Churchill in Parliament discloses differences with Stalin
9 Japanese advance on Moresby
10 British open new drive to complete occupation of
Madagascar
11 50th RAF raid on Duesseldorf
14 100th RAF raid on Bremen

- 15 September Germans claim capture of central station at Stalingrad
- 18 Germans reach Terek River in the Caucasus
- 20 Willkie in Moscow
- 23 British occupy Tananarive, capital of Madagascar
- 21 National Socialist Party defeated in Swedish elections
- 24 Germans claim blasting of convoy near Iceland and other U-boat victories

PERIOD 41—THE TURNING OF THE TIDE—30 Sept.-6 Nov. 1942

- 30 September Hitler speech announcing conclusion of summer campaign
- 2 October Germans claim Orlovka, fortress of Stalingrad
- 4 Stalin letter to Cassidy: demand for second front
- 8 Japanese withdraw from Stanley area in New Guinea
- 13 70th RAF raid on Kiel
- 19 Increase of German meat rations to 350 gr. weekly
- 23 RAF bombs Genoa and Turin
- 25 British begin attack at El Alamein
- 26 Naval engagement off Solomon islands, U.S.S. *Hornet* sunk
- 28 Clandestine station *Gustav Siegfried Eins* announces replacement of General Franz Halder by General Kurt Zeitzler as Chief of Staff (admitted by Berlin early in December)
- 4 November British 8th Army defeats Rommel at El Alamein

PERIOD 42—INVASION OF NORTH AFRICA—8 Nov.-31 Dec. 1942

- 7 November Allied landing in North Africa
- 11 Germans occupy Southern France
- Darlan orders French to cease hostilities
- 12 British recapture Bardia and Tobruk
- Third Battle off Solomon Islands
- 15 Giraud appointed Commander-in-Chief of French Forces
- 18 U.S. troops in contact with Germans in Tunisia
- Laval appointed dictator
- 19 Beginning of Russian winter offensive
- 20 British enter Benghazi
- 23 Port of Dakar opened to Allies
- 27 Germans occupy Toulon; French scuttle fleet
- American troops in Medjez-el-Bab
- 29 Churchill speech to Italy
- 1 December Darlan assumes authority in Africa
- Beveridge plan sent to House of Commons
- 10 U.S. troops capture Gowa in New Guinea
- 24 Darlan assassinated
- 28 Sumner Welles speech on post-war world

PERIOD 43—CAPTURE OF VELIKIE LUKI TO THE FALL OF STALINGRAD—
1 Jan.-3 Feb. 1943

- 1 January Russians at Stalingrad-Rostov railroad
- German army at Stalingrad encircled
- Russians claim Velikie Luki and Elizha
- 3 Russians take Mozdok in Caucasus
- 14 Meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill at Casablanca
- 16 Iraq declares war on Axis
- 17 Russians take Millerovo
- 18 Russians lift siege of Leningrad
- 19 Peyrouton appointed governor general of Algeria
- 22 Rommel leaves Tripoli
- 25 Street fighting in Marseille
- End of Casablanca conference: unconditional surrender
- 28 Roosevelt in Brazil
- 30 Russians recapture Maikop
- 31 German Sixth Army surrenders at Stalingrad
- 1 February Churchill visits Turkey
- 3 German Special Announcement about Stalingrad
- Germany decrees total mobilization

PERIOD 44—STALINGRAD TO THE RUSSIAN CAPTURE OF KHARKOV—4-18 Feb. 1943

- 5 February Ciano dismissed
- 6 Russians reach Sea of Azov
- 8 Seyffardt, Dutch collaborationist, assassinated
- 9 Japanese withdraw from Guadalcanal
- Russians recapture Belgorod
- 11 Eisenhower appointed supreme commander in African area
- Churchill speaks of invasion in 1943
- 14 Russians recapture Rostov and Voroshilovgrad
- 15 Germans successful in counter attack against U.S. troops in Tunisia
- 16 Russians recapture Kharkov
- 18 Goebbels' speech: total mobilization

PERIOD 45—BATTLE OF KHARKOV—19 Feb.-13 Mar. 1943

- 24 February German attack halted in Tunisia
- 26 Germans slow down Russian offensive in the Donetz and counter-attack
- 2 March 900-ton bomb raid on Berlin
- 3 Russians recapture Rhzev
- 7 Giraud abolishes Vichy laws
- 9 Russians admit German success in Donetz

- 10 March Roosevelt proposes cradle-to-grave social security plan
- 12 Eden visits Washington
- 13 1,000-ton bomb raid on Essen

PERIOD 46—THE CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA—14 Mar.-14 May 1943

- 14 March Germans recapture Kharkov
- 17 Giraud restores laws of French Republic
- 18 Americans retake Gafsa
- Eastern front stabilized
- 21 Hitler speech
- 23 British reach Mareth line
- 29 United States institutes food rationing
- 30 British capture Gabes
- 3 April Russians announce end of offensive
- 6 United Nations publish post-war currency plan
- 7 American and British armies effect junction in Tunisia
- 10 Meeting of Hitler and Mussolini
- 12 Allies capture Sousse and Kairouan
- 13 British attack Tunis
- 20 Roosevelt in Mexico
- 22 Russians sever diplomatic relations with Polish government-in-exile
- 30 Meeting of Hitler and Laval
- 3 May German monthly total for April of allied merchant ship losses shows first sharp decline
- 4 Riots in Sofia
- Allies capture Mateur
- 8 Allies take Tunis and Bizerte
- 9 Hitler issues a brief appeal to sacrifice
- 12 End of African Campaign
- Churchill in Washington
- Allies start round-the-clock bombing of Mediterranean islands
- 17 Heavy air raid on Berlin
- Allies start round-the-clock bombing of Western German industry:
 - 18 May Ruhr dams
 - 20 Kiel, Flensburg
 - 23 Dortmund
 - 27 Duesseldorf and Essen
 - 28 Jena
 - 29 Wuppertal
 - 11 June Wilhelmshafen and Cuxhafen
 - 12 Duesseldorf and Bochum
 - 13 Kiel and Bremen
 - 14 Oberhausen
 - 16 Cologne

- 22 June Le Creusot (France) and Ruhr cities
- 23 Muehlheim
- 27 Bochum-Gelsenkirchen
- 30 Cologne
- 14-31 May U.S. troops recapture Attu
- Japanese offensive in Changsha area
- 20 Davis delivers Roosevelt letter to Stalin
- United Nations' Food Parley at Hot Spring
- 23 Stalin dissolves Communist International
- 31 French fleet at Alexandria joins Allies
- German meat rations reach low of 250 gr. weekly
- 1 June Formation of the French Empire Committee of seven
- Peyrouton and Nogues resign
- Japanese retreat from Changsha area
- 4 Castillo government of Argentina overthrown by military pronunciamiento
- 5 Laval issues orders to mobilize workers for Germany
- Goebbels and Speer speak on German armament
- 11 Island of Pantelleria surrenders after 18 days of air attack
- Roosevelt speaks to Italian people
- 12 Island of Lampedusa surrenders
- 13 Island of Linosa surrenders
- Pope warns of revolution
- 26 Goebbels' speech: American barbarism
- 27 Nazi leader Schmidt in Netherlands killed
- 1 July U.S. troops occupy Rendova, land at Munda, advance on New Guinea
- 4 British commando raid on Crete
- Polish premier Sikorski killed in airplane crash
- 5 Germans launch offensive in the direction of Kharkov
- Naval engagement off Solomons
- 10 Allies land in southern Sicily
- 12 Allies take Syracuse
- Russians start counter-offensive at Orel
- 13 Russians beat off German offensive near Kursk
- Admiral Robert yields Martinique and war ships to French Committee of Liberation
- 16 Allied leaders urge Italian revolution
- 18 Allies take Agrigento
- General Alexander dissolves Fascist Party in Sicily
- 20 Allied air raid on Rome
- 23 Allies occupy Palermo
- 25 Fall of Mussolini, Badoglio Premier
- 27 Uprisings in northern Italy
- 29 Eisenhower presents peace terms to Italy
- 1 August Yugoslav guerillas invade Italy
- USAAF raids Ploesti oil fields
- 5 Russians recapture Orel
- British take Catania
- Russians recapture Belgorod

- 13 August Allies take Randazzo
- Second bombing of Rome, Rome declared an open city
- 18 End of Sicilian campaign
- 20 Meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill in Quebec
- Kiska recaptured by United States
- 23 Russians recapture Kharkov
- 24 700 plane raid on Berlin
- Announcement of Himmler's appointment as Minister of the Interior
- Attempted assassination of King Boris of Bulgaria in Berlin
- 25 Mountbatten appointed commander in South East Asiatic area
- 26 De facto administration of French Empire by Committee of Seven recognized by Allies
- 28 Death of King Boris
- 29 Danish cabinet rejects Nazi demands; Danes scuttle fleet; internment of King Christian, government deposed
- 30 Russians recapture Taganrog
- Reports of guerilla warfare in Savoy
- 2 September Allies land in southern Italy
- Russians recapture Sumy
- 8 Italy surrenders
- Russians retake Stalino
- U.S. Troops land near Naples
- 10 Hitler speech: loyalty to Mussolini; Badoglio's stab in the back.
- Germans take Rome and Milan
- Russians recapture Mariupol
- 11 Italian warships arrive in Allied ports
- U.S. troops capture Salamaua field in New Guinea
- Battle of Salerno
- Russians recapture Bryansk
- Chiang Kai-shek elected President of China; advocates armistice with Communist partisans
- 12 Mussolini rescued by Germans
- 15 Mussolini issues proclamation of Republican Fascist Party
- 16 Russians recapture Novorossiisk
- Tito's guerillas capture Spalato and Susak
- U.S. troops take Lae
- 17 Allied forces in Italy effect junction
- 19 Italians expel Germans from Sardinia
- 20 Free French land on Corsica
- Increase in German bread rations
- 21 Churchill's speech: review of the war; no Allied ships sunk in North Atlantic for last four months
- 22 Allies land above Finchhafen
- 23 Russians recapture Poltava, reach Dnieper
- 24 Russians recapture Smolensk
- 25 Foggia taken

- 29 September Russian break through at Kremenchug
- Allies take Naples
- 3 October Goebbels and Backe speeches: good harvest
- 15 Fifth Army crosses Volturno River
- Germans withdraw to "Winter Line"
- 19 Hull and Eden in Moscow
- Rommel recaptures Susak
- 23 Russians retake Melitopol, but are halted before Krivoi Rog
- 25 Russians retake Dniepropetrovsk
- 31 Closing of Moscow Conference: 4 Power Declaration
- 1 November Russians in Perekop, cutting main rail line from Crimea
- U.S. troops land on Bougainville
- 6 Russians retake Kiev
- 8 Hitler's speech: 'I won't lose my nerve.'
- 12 Germans land on Leros
- 13 Russians take Zhitomir
- Germans bar Pétain from radio
- 18 Germans retake Zhitomir
- British evacuate Aegean Islands
- 26 Gomel falls to Russians
- 28 U.S. troops land on Gilbert Islands
- Chinese beat Japanese attacks in 'rice bowl' area
- 28-1 December Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin confer at Teheran

APPENDIX III

List of Research Papers

issued by

*the Research Project on Totalitarian Communication
in War Time*

1941 and 1942

1. *German Radio News Bulletins*
Problems and Methods of Analysis
December 1941, 83 pp., mimeographed
2. *A Study of War Communiques*
Methods and Results
January 1942, 137 pp., mimeographed
3. *German Freedom Stations Broadcasting to Great Britain*
January 1942, 177 pp., mimeographed
4. *German Radio Propaganda to France during the Battle of France*
(by H. Speier and M. Otis) in *Radio Research*, ed. by P. Lazarsfeld
and F. Stanton, Vol. III, 1942-3, in press
5. *Data on a German Defeat Situation*
Preliminary Remarks on German Radio Communication during the
Winter 1941-2, June 1942, 82 pp., mimeographed
6. *Topics of the Day—A German Radio Program*
August 1942, 125 pp., mimeographed
7. *A Typological Analysis of Stereotypes Used in German News Broadcasts*
(by J. Goldstein) December 1942, 112 pp., mimeographed
8. *German Front Reports in the Russian Campaign*
(by Sidney Axelrad), unpublished

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Many catch words and phrases widely used in radio propaganda are listed alphabetically under Stereotypes, Slogans, and Propaganda Lines.

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