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The Nazi Propaganda Before and During the Second World Wai	The	Nazi	<b>Propaganda</b>	a Before and	During the	Second	World	War
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Dissertation submitted as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of *Master* in English Literature and Civilization.

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Academic Year: 2019/2020

# **Declaration of Originality**

I hereby declare that this submission is my work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution.

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#### **Dedication**

# My greatest thanks to Allah almighty

I dedicate this humble work to my beloved parents most of all for their endless support and prayers.

This humble work is also dedicated to my brother, sisters, and cousins.

A special dedication to my friends.

# Acknowledgements

My thanks and appreciations go to my supervisor Dr. GHOUNANE for her great help in completing this humble work.

I would like to thank the members of the committee, Dr. Moussaoui, and Dr. Bouguesmia who have given their valuable time and expertise to evaluate and improve this humble work.

#### **Abstract**

This study aims to shed light on the Nazi use of propaganda in opposition and how it helped them to gain the support of the masses in the Reichstag elections. This study also tends to analyze the Nazi control of the propaganda system in Germany. Moreover, it attempts to investigate Nazi propaganda credibility during the Second World War. The results revealed that the Nazi use of propaganda in opposition enabled them to gain massive support from the people especially in the early thirties when they became the largest party in the Reichstag. The results also demonstrated that the Nazis institution of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda gave them the absolute power to bring the German propaganda system under the control of Nazi party leaders. Moreover, the results showed that Nazi propaganda gradually lost its credibility as the course of the war kept changing against Germany, Therefore, propaganda promises of a swift victory and revenge contradicted with the reality of the Second World War.

*Keywords:* Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Nazi party, Second World War

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#### **List of Abbreviations**

SS: Schutzstaffel

SA: Sturm Abteilung

SD: Sicherheitsdienst

HQ: Headquarters

NS: Nazi

RMVP: Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda

RKK: Reichskulturkammer

UFA: Universum-Film Aktiengesellschaft

RRG: Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft

OKW: Oberkommando der Wehrmacht

# **List of Acronyms**

DAP: Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

NSDAP: Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

USA: United States of America

UK: United Kingdom

SPD: Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

KPD: Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands

DNVP: Deutschnationale Volkspartei

RMVP: Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republic



#### **General Introduction**

In their way toward power, the Nazis had to compete with different political parties such as the Communists and the Weimar coalition. However, such competition required massive public support to win a high number of seats in the Reichstag. Therefore, the Nazis relied on propaganda to spread their ideology and gain the support of the people.

After claiming power in 1933, The Nazis immediately began to control the entire propaganda system (media, press, culture) in Germany in an attempt to dominate the country. Seven years later, propaganda was again put in use by the Nazis in the Second World War. Its task was to mobilize, persuade, and justify the war for the public in Germany and the neutral countries abroad. However, when the tide started to turn against Germany, Nazi propaganda was given the task of urging people to fight until the end and to abolish the idea of surrender.

The purpose of this research is to analyze Nazi propaganda in three different periods. Firstly, in opposition from 1919 to 1933. Secondly, in power from 1933 to 1939, finally, during the Second World War from 1939 to 1945. The following objectives are intended: To shed light on the Nazi use of propaganda for the sake of gaining support for the party on its electoral campaigns. Moreover, to investigate the Nazi control over the German propaganda system after claiming power. Finally, to examine the credibility of Nazi propaganda during the Second World War.

Accordingly, this dissertation aims to answer the following questions:

- ➤ How did propaganda pave the way to power for The Nazi party?
- ➤ How did the Nazis control propaganda after claiming power?
- ➤ Did Nazi propaganda maintain its credibility during the Second World War?

To investigate the questions above, these hypotheses are suggested:

- The Nazis relied on propaganda to persuade the Germans and gain their support for the Reichstag elections.
- The Nazis instituted the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda to control media, press, and culture in Germany.

The course of the Second World forced Nazi propaganda to change its strategies
constantly which resulted in decreased credibility and trust among the German
people especially in the last two years of the war.

This dissertation includes three chapters in which the history of the Nazi party and its propaganda are discussed. The first chapter entitled *Nazi History* sheds light on the events leading to the Nazi rise to power, in addition to the life under the Nazi rule, and the Nazi adventure during the Second World War.

The second chapter entitled Nazi Propaganda 1919-1939 discusses the Nazi use of propaganda in their path to power, moreover, this chapter also discusses the Nazi control over propaganda in Germany after claiming power in 1933.

The third chapter entitled The Nazi War Propaganda 1939-1945 walks through the main events Nazi propaganda dealt with during the Second World War and the strategies it obtained accordingly.

# **Chapter One**

**Nazi History** 

#### 1.1 Introduction

As the First World War came to an end and the German monarchy collapsed, Weimar Republic (1919-1933) was the new government that ruled Germany under democratic and constitutional laws. The republic in its beginning faced crippling economic problems as a result of the Treaty of Versailles; (peace document signed at the end of World War I by the Allied and associated powers and by Germany in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles, France, on June 28, 1919; it took force on 10 January 1920); the hyperinflation (1922-1923) and later the big hit which triggered the beginning of the Weimar fall; the (Great DepressionGreat ) (1929-1933). These events made the Germans desperate and the trust in Weimar government was fading as they started seeking help from the extremist parties such as the Nazis who took advantage and used the turbulences in their favor to gain the support of the people.

In Power, The Nazis used their influence to control social and cultural life in Germany. As their power grew more, the Nazis occupied many neighboring countries. Such occupations made Britain and France declare war on Germany. The Second World War lasted from 1939 to 1945 and was the reason for the fall of the Nazi party. This chapter aims to shed light on the different periods in the history of Germany, before and during the Nazi rule.

#### 1.2 Weimar Republic

Named after the town 'Weimar' where Germany's new government was formed. The Weimar Republic (1919-1933) was the government in Germany and ruled by democratic and constitutional laws from the end of the Great War until the rise of the Nazis to power. The early years of the republic were unsettled due to the political conflicts such as the Putsches and the economic crisis such as the sanctions represented in the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The mid-twenties (Golden Age) was a period of economic and social relief which resulted from the American loans to help the German economy. However, the loans eventually led to the direct cause behind the fall of the Weimar Republic, which was the Stock Market Crash in America in 1929 (the Great Depression) that led to an economic and political breakdown due to the suspension of the American loans. The Great depression paved the way for the Nazi Party to gain support, power and eventually rule the entire country (History.com Editors, 2019).

#### 1.2.1 The Economic Problems

Weimar was economically weak. Its weakness grew each year and resulted in two major crises. The Hyperinflation of 1923 and the Great depression which marked the beginning of the end for the Weimar Republic.

#### 1.2.1.1 The Hyperinflation of 1923

The Treaty of Versailles blamed Germany for the outbreak of the Great War, moreover, it forced Germany to pay the war reparations for that reason. However, Germany's weak economy due to the war unable it to pay. As a result, France and Belgium occupied the Ruhr river region which was the most productive industrial area in Germany. Under all that pressure, Weimar had to print money to pay the reparations. Consequently, the act made the German currency lose its value, hence, the prices grew at an astonishing speed causing the hyperinflation which resulted in crippling unemployment (History.com Editors, 2019).

#### 1.2.1.2 The Golden Age and the Great Depression

The Golden Age of the Weimar Republic started with the appointment of Gustave Stresemann as Chancellor on 13 August 1923. Stresemann helped in the development of the German economy as a Chancellor by ending the hyperinflation after replacing the Papiermark with a new currency 'Retenmark' supported by the American Banks. Also, as a minister of foreign affairs (1924-1929), Stresemann helped in the development of the German economy by signing the Dawes plan (1924) (History.com Editors, 2019).

#### 1.2.1.3 Dawes Plan 1924

Agreed in September 1924, between the committee of five nations (USA, UK, Italy, Belgium and France) lead by the American banker Charles Dawes and the German minister of Foreign Affairs Gustav Stresemann. The plan aimed to support Germany paying its war reparations via loans from the American banks. Effectively, the loans helped to stabilize the German economy and reduce unemployment. However, the Great Depression of 1929 in America forced the US banks to cease their loans to Germany, moreover, they demanded from Germany to pay back its debts. Germany's economy which was based on American loans was greatly damaged. the unemployment rose again and the desperate people turned their back on Weimar government seeking help from the extremist parties such as the Communists and the Nazis. The Great depression had affected Germany the most in Europe and started the countdown for Weimar's fall (History.com Editors, 2019).

#### 1.2.2 The Political Problems

Weimar Republic era witnessed many attempts to overthrew the government. The first attempt was led by the Spatacians Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who were inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Therefore, they attempted to turn Germany into a Communist country. In January 1919, the Spartacists revolution begun in Berlin. However, it was quickly defeated by the Freikorps (ex-German soldier militias). Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were eventually killed. The second attempt was led by another group of Communists in April 1919. The Weimar government once again used the Freikorps to suppress the uprising.

Another attempt to overthrow the government happened in March 1920. Lead by Dr. Kapp, the *Freikorps*; who helped Weimar against the Communists; were this time attempting to overthrow the government since many of them were extreme nationalists who hated the Weimar government because it signed the Treaty of Versailles. The government ordered the *Freikorps* to be disbanded. However, when they took control over Berlin the army refused to fight them. Hence, the government fled and called on the workers for a strike which successfully ended the revolt.

The last attempt to overthrow the Weimar Government was led by Adolf Hitler in 1923. Hitler saw in the devastating economic status of the government the perfect chance to take power. Nevertheless, the called 'Munich Putsch' also failed after the news of the riot in Munich transferred to Berlin. Therefore, when Hitler marched in the streets of Berlin, he was faced with military power. 16 members of the brownshirts were killed and Adolf Hitler was captured and sentenced with 5 years in prison, however, he only spent 9 months (The Problems of the Weimar Republic, 1919-1929, n.d.).

#### 1.3 The Fall of the Weimar Government

The economic and political storms in Germany weakened the government. The Chancellors had almost no power to control the Reichstag since the government coalition parties faced difficulties to win the majority of the seats due to the proportional representation. Such a problem in the parliament led President Paul von Hindenburg to use Article 48 in the constitution to pass laws without the need for the Reichstag approval. In April 1932, president Hindenburg won the presidential elections against Adolf Hitler with 53% to 36.8%, yet, Hitler's party (NSDAP) gain more supporters. On 30 May 1932, Chancellor Brunning resigned after his government lost its popularity due to the economic

crises resulting from the Great Depression such as crippling unemployment. Hindenburg, therefore, appointed Franz von Papen the new Chancellor of Germany on 1 June 1932.

Earlier, in May, the Nazis had won 230 seats in the Reichstag elections and became the largest party. Such popularity, made Hitler request to become a chancellor. The request, however, was denied. In November, Chancellor von Papen was forced to call another Reichstag election in an attempt to win the majority. The elections affected the Nazis as they lost 34 seats yet remained the largest party. Hence, Von Papen proposed to revoke the Weimar constitution, but, the Minister of Defence Kurt von Schleicher convinced the president Hindenburg that such decision would result in a civil war. Von Papen, therefore, resigned after he lost faith in the president.

Kurt von Schleicher was appointed a Chancellor on 3 December 1932. Schleicher wanted to divide the Nazi house by trying to appoint the Nazi leader Gregor Strasser as his vice-chancellor, however, Hitler forced Strasser to refuse the vice chancellorship. In January 1933, thinking that they would control Hitler. The president Hindenburg and Von Papen agreed to make Hitler a Chancellor and Von Papen as his vice Chancellor. On 30 January 1933 Adolf Hitler was appointed the new Chancellor of Germany, officially ending the era of Weimar Republic (End of the Weimar Republic, n.d.).

#### 1.4 The Nazi Party 1919-1945

The Nazi party under the leadership of Adolf Hitler rose to power on the ruins of the politically and economically devastated Weimar Republic. Its time in power lasted from 1933 to 1945.

#### 1.4.1 Adolf Hitler, a Biography

Adolf Hitler was born on 20 April 1889, in Braunau am Inn on the Austro-German borders. His father Alois Hitler was a strict cold man who worked as a customs officer and died when Hitler was 13 years old. His loving mother was Klara Pölzl (Childers, 2017).

Hitler's carrier in school was a failure due to his boredom with traditional education. Moreover, the early death of his father made it easy for him to quit school. At the age of sixteen, Adolf Hitler with no degree as his interest was towards art hoping to get accepted at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. In July 1907, Hitler moved to Vienna to prepare for the entrance exam, little he prepared for being confident in his talent in painting (Childers, 2017).

Hitler (1943) noted:

I had set out with a pile of drawings, convinced that it would be child's play to pass the examination. At the Realschule I had been by far the best in my class at drawing, and since then my ability had developed amazingly; my own satisfaction caused me to take a joyful pride in hoping for the best. (p. 19)

Hitler submitted his paintings portfolio and set for the exam with a high moral, however, the result was devastating to the young Hitler as he mentioned in his book *Mein Kampf*, published in (1943) that "I was so convinced that I would be successful that when I received my rejection, it struck me like a bolt from the blue. Yet that is what happened" (p. 20).

Hitler's second chance came after one of the examiners suggested to him joining the Academy's School of Architecture since Hitler was capable to draw building and streets. Unfortunately, the Academy required a degree or an experience which Hitler did not require (Childers, 2017).

Hitler went back to Linz After the death of his mother in December 1907, to set her funeral and arrange for his orphan's pension to be forwarded to him, then, back to Vienna in January 1908, when he tried to enter the Academy of Fine Arts for the second time. However, the admission committee dismissed his portfolio for the exam. The rejection did not upset Hitler, yet, made him angry (Childers, 2017).

Hitler's payment ceased in 1909, which forced him to live a homeless life, sleeping in the streets, sometimes in homeless shelters. He had his meals from the charity houses and wear tattered clothes (Childers, 2017).

When the winter of 1910 arrived, Hitler had to live in the Homeless Men at Meidling and the Home for Men in the Meldemannstrasse. Until 1913, Hitler managed his daily living from painting postcards of Vienna's scenery and monuments (Childers, 2017). In 1914, Hitler moved to Munich in an attempt from him to avoid the military service because of his loath towards the Austrian ruling Habsburg Empire. However, with the outbreak of the Great War, Hitler with great enthusiasm asked to join the German army regardless of being Austrian. After his demand was accepted, Hitler joined the 16th Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment and fought in Belgium and France. Hitler was rewarded with the Iron Cross second class in 1914, for saving a wounded soldier in addition to the Iron Cross First for bravery and general

merit after he captured French soldiers alone in 1918. Hitler, during the war, was injured twice, the first was in the leg at the Battle of the Somme on 7 October 1916, in France. The second injury happened due to a British gas attack in 1918. While recovering at Pasewalk hospital in Pomerania (History.com Editors, 2019).

Hitler (1943) received the German surrender news with great grief as he described in his book *Mein Kompf*:

On November 10, the pastor came to the hospital for a short address: now we learned everything. In extreme agitation, I, too, was present at the short speech. The dignified old gentleman seemed all a-tremble as he informed us that the House of Hohenzollern

should no longer bear the German imperial crown; that the fatherland had become a 'republic'; that we must pray to the Almighty not to refuse His blessing to this change and not to abandon our people in the times to come. He could not help himself, he had to speak a few words in memory of the royal house. He began to praise its services in Pomerania, in Prussia, nay, to the German fatherland, and—here he began to sob gently to himself—in the little hall the deepest dejection settled on all hearts, and I believe that not an eye was able to restrain its tears. But when the old gentleman tried to go on, and began to tell us that we must now end the long War, yes, that now that it was lost and we were throwing ourselves upon the mercy of the victors, our fatherland would for the future be exposed to dire oppression, that the armistice should be accepted with confidence in the magnanimity of our previous enemies—I could stand it no longer. It became impossible for me to sit still one minute more. Again, everything went black before my eyes; I tottered and groped my way back to the dormitory, threw myself on my bunk, and dug my burning head into my blanket and pillow. (p. 204)

#### 1.4.2 Adolf Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party

When the Great War came to an end, Adolf Hitler encountered problems in reintegrating into civil life and did not want to leave the army. Luckily for him, the army offered him a job as an informer; a job that allowed him to attend political parties' meetings. Moreover, the job was the reason Hitler Joined the Germans Work Party after the army troubled that the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (German Workers' Party or DAP) could be a left-wing revolutionary group. Therefore, they sent Hitler to spy on its meetings. On 12 September 1919, Hitler attended a meeting of DAP where he was impressed by its ideas that matched his own. Even though he was not a member, Adolf Hitler stood up and gave a passionate speech disagreeing with a point

made by a member of the party. The speech caught the attention of the attendance, especially, Drexler (the founder of DAP), who immediately invited him to join the party and gave him a pamphlet entitled 'My Political Awakening' he wrote. Hitler admired Drexler's ideas which applied to his own after he read pamphlet (Hitler Joins German Workers' Party, n.d.).

Hitler quitted his job in the army and joined DAP as a member of the central committee in September 1919. Later in January 1920, Drexler appointed him as the head of the party's propaganda office. in February 1920, Hitler organized the party's first mass rally where he presented the party's new 25-points platform. Drafted by Hitler, Drexler, and Feder, the platform established the foundations of the new German (Aryan) community, blamed the Communists and the Jews for the country's problems, in addition to the call for the abolishment of the Treaty Versailles. On the same meeting, Hitler announced the new name of the party *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party, NSDAP) in a move to attract more people. Later in the same year, Hitler designed the famous Nazi flag (Swastika on a white circle and red background). The party's memberships grew from about 500 members before Hitler to about 2,000 members in 1920. Hitler's influence and help in the growth of the party were obvious (Hitler Named Leader of the Nazi Party, n.d.).

In July 1921, Adolf Hitler resigned from the party opposing an attempt to merge the NSDAP with the German Socialist Party (a rival party with mutual ideals with the NSDAP) causing a crisis inside the house NSDAP. Hitler rejoined the party at the end of the same month when the conflict was solved on 26 July 1921 and was elected as a leader by the party members after only two days on 28 July 1921 (Hitler Named Leader of Nazi Party, n.d.).

As the party grew larger and larger reaching over 20,000 members by the fall of 1923, with the help of Hitler's influence and the devastating economic status of the country which made the people shift their interest towards the extremist parties since they grew desperate with the government policies. The confident party and the weak government led to Hitler's attempt to overthrow the government.

On 8 November 1923, Adolf Hitler and his *Sturm Abteilung* (stormtroopers, brownshirts, or SA) broke into a meeting of 3,000 members held by Bavarian government at the Burgerbraukeller beer hall in Munich. In the meeting, Hitler delivered a speech asking for support of the NSDAP against the Bavarian government. After three hours the attendance of that meeting was allowed to leave. The next step was as Erich Ludendorff (World War One

Commander and a member of the Nazi party) suggested, to march in the streets of Berlin towards the Ministry of Defense. However, the march was faced with firepower where 16 members of the NSDAP were killed. Hitler was captured, however, the trial positively affected the Nazi party as Adolf Hitler was allowed to give speeches from the witness box, and since the trial was covered by most of the German newspapers, Hitler's speech was published all over the country.

Adolf Hitler was sentenced with 5 years, yet, he spent only 9 months in prison where he wrote the first part of his book *Mein Kampf*. The NSDAP was banned as a result of the 'Beer Hall Putsch', however, the members of the party operated secretly under the cover of 'German Party' (Llewellyn & Thompson, 2019).

Hitler walked out of prison in December 1924. Two months later, on 27 February 1925, He managed to convince the Bavarian government to lift the ban. The party was re-established, always under his leadership. The failed coup of 1923 taught Hitler a lesson as his intentions were redirected towards the political fight rather than the armed one. Hitler's reconstruction of the party resulted in the foundation of the position of *Gauleiter* (regional leader) whose task was to organize the party in his region and increase the support for the party. In addition to that, Hitler also created another paramilitary group called *Schutzstaffel* (Protection Squads or SS) who served as Hitler's bodyguards (A New Beginning, n.d.).

During the Great Depression (1929-1933), the NSDAP gained massive support due to its electoral campaigns and propaganda under the supervision of Dr. Joseph Goebbels who was the chief of the party's propaganda. In September 1930, the Nazi party won 18.3% of the seats in the parliamentary elections as the second-largest party behind *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party or SPD). The party's popularity continued to grow. In March 1932, Hitler ran for the presidential elections against the president Paul von Hindenburg. Hitler, despite his defeat by 30% versus 49% of the votes for Hindenburg, called for a run-off election in which he captured 36.8% versus 58% for Hindenburg. The elections, nevertheless, provided Hitler with massive support as in July 1932, the NDSAP won 37.4% of the seats in the Reichstag becoming the largest party in the parliament with the second-largest party; *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (the German Communist Party, or KPD); held only 14% of the seats. Such power of the NSDAP made it difficult for the government to rule since its parties' coalition failed to win the majority of the seats. As the Weimar republic started to decline, Chancellor Fritz Von Papen called for a new Reichstag election in an attempt to reduce the NSDAP and KPD's presentation in the parliament below 50%, so that

the government could strengthen itself if the coalition parties win the majority of seats. Although the Nazi seat percentage decreased from 37.4% to 33.1%, the NSDAP and the KPD still held the majority with over 50% of the seats in the Reichstag. Papen, the Chancellor of Germany desperately thought that making Hitler Chancellor would allow them to control him and monitor his right-wing ideas. Therefore, with the help of the new Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher, Papen (resigned on 17 November 1932) convinced the president Paul von Hindenburg to appoint Adolf Hitler as a Chancellor which was on 30 January 1933. The plan to control Hitler proved to be a failure as he used his power to take control of the entire political sphere in Germany (End of the Weimar Republic, n.d.).

On 27 February 1933, a fire destroyed the Reichstag building. The government declared that the fire was arson and accused the Communists. Consequently, five members of the Communist Party were put on trial including Marinus van der Lubbe who was caught in the burning parliament and was later executed in January 1934. After the event, Hitler convinced the president to issue the Law for the Protection of People and State (the Reichstag Fire Decree). The law allowed the government to arrest and imprison without a trial, the suspension of assemblies, parties, press, and other constitutional rights. The SA troops on that day arrested about 4,000 people, many of whom were tortured and imprisoned (History.com Editors, 2019).

The series of arrests and parties banning helped the Nazis in the Reichstag elections of 5 March 1933, by winning the highest vote total to-date, 43.9%, followed by the Social Democratic Party with 18.25% and the Communist Party with 12.32% of the seats. Regardless, the massive NSDAP win still did not hive Hitler the two-thirds majority he needed to pass the Enabling Act. However, Hitler made a coalition of parties with the Catholic Centre Party which had 11.9% of the seats, *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (the German National People's Party, or DNVP) with 8.3% of the seats, and the Bavarian People's Party, which held 2.7% of the seats in the Reichstag, that enabled him to pass the Enabling Act by the Reichstag with 441 votes to 94 on 23 March 1933. The act gave Hitler the absolute power to pass laws without the need for the Reichstag approval for 4 years (Goss, 2020).

In its quest to make Germany a one-party state, the NSDAP integrated all the Nationalist parties under its name. The Catholic Party was voluntarily dissolved under the wish of Adolf Hitler to not involve religion in politics. The remaining members of the Communist parties

were arrested and put in prison after the Reich Fire incident. The local parliaments were dissolved in the beginning, then re-established with a Nazi majority. The Communists, Jews, and others who were considered by the Nazis 'political enemies' were dismissed from social services, while the Nazis occupied key positions in local governments. In July 1933, all political parties were dissolved except the Nazi Party. Moreover, the pass of the Law Against the Formation of New Parties, all members in the Reichstag and local government meetings were Nazis. In January 1934, the Law for the Reconstruction of the State dismissed all local governments except that of Prussia. With these events, Germany was declared a one-party state. After the death of the president Paul Von Hindenburg on 2 August 1934, Hitler declared himself a president and chancellor jointly under the name of Führer (leader) marking the official beginning of the Nazi domination of Germany (Hitler takes political control 1933-1934, n.d.).

#### 1.5 Life in Nazi Germany

After gaining power, the Nazi party immediately started in applying its vision of great Germany. The Nazis influenced and controlled 'social, political, economic, cultural, and religious.

#### 1.5.1 Social Life

The Nazis determined the roles of each segment of German society so that they perform to support the party. Men in Nazi Germany were seen as workers, as the government provided jobs and encouraged agriculture. The construction of the autobahn provided jobs for 80,000 men. Women's role in German society, however, was completely different from that of men. The Nazis introduced plans to encourage women to make families and produce children to increase the 'Aryan' race. The Nazis also introduced the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage which lent brides 1,000 marks with the ability to keep 250 marks for each child they would have. Mothers with more than four children were awarded the Mother's Cross. Moreover, unmarried girls were asked to join the Lebensborn program to conceive children from SS members. The Nazi plans for the German youth presented in the Hitler Youth organization which was made compulsory for kids of 10 years old to join. The Hitler Youth programs insisted on the physical abilities of its members in addition to teaching them Nazi ideology for the sake of making them future leaders and soldiers. The League of German Maidens was the girls' branch of the Hitler Youth organization, its task was to prepare the girls for motherhood and house care by teaching the young girls domestic activities such as sewing and cooking (Life in Nazi Germany 1933-1939, n.d.).

#### 1.5.2 Political Life

The Nazis after gaining power banned every political activity and declared Germany a one-party state. To suppress any interior opposition, Hitler ordered a purge of the possible future threats within the party, especially leaders from the SA which was soon later dissolved. In the purge called 'The Knight of Long Knives' Hitler's forces executed hundreds of Nazi members and leaders such as the head of the SA Ernest Rohm (History.com Editors, 2019). The foreign policy of Nazi Germany was represented in the abolishment of the Treaty of Versailles by the re-armament program since the Treaty of Versailles limited the military power of Germany, and the annexation of Austria to Germany 'Anschluss' since the Treaty of Versailles deprived Germany of some of its lands, moreover, it prevented it from conquering other countries. The Nazis also withdrew Germany from the League of Nations (Life in Nazi Germany 1933-1939, 2020).

#### 1.5.3 Economic Life

Despite the years of economic instability in Germany, life had improved during the Nazi rule of Germany. The Nazi economic policies helped in reducing unemployment to a very low level. The construction of infrastructure in Germany such as 'roads, hospitals, and schools) provided the Germans with enormous job opportunities. Not only that, the re-armament program also provided millions of jobs in weapons factories. To increase the productivity of the workers, the Nazis established three organizations to supervise the workers. The first was 'The Labor Front', it served instead of the dissolved Trades Unions. The second organization was 'Strength Through Joy', its role was to provide the workers with awards for their job such as 'cheap cars, picnics and theatre trips and even free vacations'. The third organization was 'Beauty of Labor' which worked on improving the image of work in the eyes of the workers, urged people to join and work more. Moreover, the 'Beauty of Labor' encouraged the improvement of work conditions by the factory owners (Life in Nazi Germany 1933-1939, n.d.). Labor

In agriculture, The Hereditary Farm Law of 1933, gave the farmers more security as it prevented the repossession of farms from their owners. The agricultural life Germany flourished during the period of the Nazi rule as the wages increased faster than the wages of the industrial field. Moreover, by 1937, agricultural prices rose by 20 percent (Life in Nazi Germany 1933-1939, n.d.).

#### **1.5.4** *Cultural and Religious Life* (More space between the titles and the text)

The cultural life in Germany was fully controlled by the Nazis. The establishment of the Reich Chamber of Culture in 1933 under the leadership of Dr. Joseph Goebbels gave the

Nazis the upper hand over the German Culture. The Chamber of Culture, on the one hand, performed censorship programs on 'Art, Music, Literature, etc.' and banned all the works that did not meet the Nazi interests which the Nazis called them 'Degenerate works or Un-German'. On the other hand, it praised the German artists who supported Nazi ideology (Culture in the Third Reich: Disseminating the Nazi Worldview, n.d.).

In Religion, the Nazis saw the Church as a threat since it could influence the people. Therefore, they signed a Concordat with the pope in 1933, which stated that the church should not interfere in politics and the Nazis should not interfere in the church. However, the Nazis did interfere in religion by the institution of the Reich Church which served to spread Nazism (Life in Nazi Germany 1933-1939, n.d.).

#### 1.6 Germany in World War Two

During the short period from 1939 to 1941, Nazi Germany carried out a series of invasions that enabled it from taking over several countries. However, the operations happened in an unexpected period so that it was named the lightning war (*Blitzkrieg*). Poland was the first country to fall in the hands of the Nazi storming troops, tanks, and aircraft on 1 September 1939. The Nazis occupied the western side of Poland which had a large German population, whereas, the eastern side was left for the Nazi ally 'the Soviet Union' to occupy on 17 September 1939. Two days after the German invasion of Poland, Great Britain and France declared war on the Nazis (History.com Editors, "Blitzkrieg"). After the declaration of the war, Britain and France gathered their troops in the French fortification line called 'Maginot' alongside the German-French border waiting for a German offensive. Similarly, the Germans alongside the Siegfried line waited for a British-French offensive in what was called the 'phoney war' ;since both troops were in a state of war yet not fighting; which ended on 9 April 1940, when the Germans invaded Denmark and Norway (PHONEY WAR OF WORLD WAR II, n.d.).

One month later, Netherlands, Luxemburg, and Belgium were under the Nazi occupation. Distracted by the German invasion of those countries, The Allies were surprised when another tank force breached the Maginot line after they marched through the wooded region of Ardennes and moved north to join the Nazi forces in Belgium to trap the British-French troops

in the city of Lille in May 1940. With no other solution, the trapped Allies troops pushed back to the French beaches of Dunkirk, from where they were rescued by the British Royal Navy. Between May 26 and June 4, about 338.000 were sailed under the German fire-power to the British shores (History.com Editors, 2019).

After Dunkirk, the resistance in France weakened. Hence, the Germans were in Paris on 14 June. France eventually surrendered on 22 June 1940 and a 'puppet' government was established in the city of Vichy under the leadership of Marshal Philippe Petain (History.com Editors, 2019).

Britain was the new target for the Nazis, using their bases in Norway and Denmark, in the summer of 1940, the German Luftwaffe 'German Air Force' bombed the British airfields and the planes factories as a strategy to limit the Kingdom's air Force. On 7 September 1940, the Luftwaffe shifted to bombing London in an attempt to demoralize the British people. However, with the help of the Radar technology and the hacked German Enigma machine which was brought to England in the late 1930s. The Royal Air Force was able to perform surprising arracks on the Germans. Because of taking a long time, the Nazi offensive was cancelled by Adolf Hitler. the Battle of Britain ended on 10 May 1941 (History.com Editors, 2019).

The failure in invading Britain made Hitler direct his forces towards North Africa, Balkans, and the Soviet Union. In North Africa, the Nazi Ally, Benito Mussolini was defeated in Egypt by the British troops in December 1940 while the Battle of Britain was still on. Hitler made the move to rescue his Axis ally and sent Erwin Rommel as the head of the tank force 'the Afrika Korps' who landed in Tripoli, Libya in February 1941. In March 1941, Rommel ordered a sudden offensive against the British troops who were forced to retreat to the east of the Libyan city of Tobruk. After bloody battles in the city, the British started to push the German Afrika Korps back until they retreated to Tripoli in January 1942. However, by June 1942, Rommel stroke back in an offensive against the British enabled him from capturing Tobruk, and getting his nickname "Desert Fox". (History.com Editors, 2018)

While Rommel operating in North Africa, Hitler had started his plan to invade his Soviet Ally. To secure the southeastern Europe "Balkans" and use it as a base from where he could invade the Soviet Union, Adolf Hitler convinced Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary to join the Axis. However, in April 1941, Hitler used military power to occupy Yugoslavia and Greece which both had pro-British governments (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.).

With the Balkans in hand, Hitler ordered to begin the operation 'Barbarossa' on 22 June 1941. Within two weeks the Nazis marched 500 miles inside the Soviet land. The City of Leningrad was put under siege in September 1941. By November, the city was cut off from any food supply in addition to bombing the food warehouses in an attempt to fasten its fall. As time

passes by, the 'impatient' Hitler ordered his troops to march toward the capital city 'Moscow'. The march started on 2 October 1941. By December the Nazi troops were in the city suburbs. In the cold of the winter, the German soldiers in summer uniforms withdrew. However, Hitler's order was "No Retreat!". Hence, the German troops sheltered about 150 miles west of the city until March 1943 (History.com Editors, 2019).

After the join of the United States to the war due to the Japanese 'Axes member' attack on the American Navy base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on 7 December 1941. On 22 December 1941, at the White House the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the president of the United States Roosevelt met to discuss a joint war strategy. Stalin had asked them to decrease the pressure on his country by opening a second front and divide the Nazi army. The proposal was accepted by Churchill, however, Roosevelt hesitated at the beginning yet, eventually agreed. The second front was not what Stalin wanted as Churchill decided to land the Allies forces in North Africa and not in France. Hence, the Soviets had to resist on their own and all that the Allies offered were supplies (Worrall, 2019).

In North Africa, Rommel, and after taking over Tobruk, stationed with his troops in the Egyptian fortressed village of El Alamein, east of Alexandria. General Bernard Montgomery who was sent by Britain to lead the British army in the area, saw that there was no other way to breach into the city except a sweeping frontal offensive. The sudden offensive was carried away on the night of 23 October, announcing the beginning of the battle of El Alamein. The Germans who fought fiercely for almost two weeks were at last defeated on the 4 of November. Rommel and the rest of the army retreated west. However, the definite end of Erwin Rommel started On 8 November 1942 with the Allies 'Operation Torch'. Led by the American General Dwight D. Eisenhower, 100.000 Allies troops "Mostly Americans" landed in Morocco and Algeria. Surrounded by both General Montgomery's troops from the east and General Eisenhower's troops from the west Rommel's Afrika Korps were finally destroyed in May 1943, which marked the end of the Nazi Adventure in North Africa (Trueman, 2015).

In the east, and after a devastating winter, Adolf Hitler ordered the pride of the Wehrmacht, the sixth army (Catastrophe at Stalingrad). Under the leadership of General Friedrich Von

Paulus to move towards the oil fields in the Caucasus Mountains to capture and then towards the industrial area on the Volga river 'the city of Stalingrad'. The Battle of Stalingrad was declared on 23 August 1942. After the nightly bombing of the city, 90% of the ruined Stalingrad was captured by the sixth army. However, on 19 November, the Soviets launched a

counter-attack and sieged the City. The trapped Germans suffered once again from the hazardous winter. On February 1943, about 90.000 soldiers who remained from the 330.000 sixth army soldiers surrendered due to the frostbites and starvation. The burned Stalingrad liberation cost the Soviets more than one million soldiers. As a result of the defeat, the Germans strategy was shifted from offensive to defensive with the Soviet advance towards Germany (History.com Editors, 2019).

In 1943, the preparations for a total invasion in Europe started. In 1944, the Allies introduced false military decoy preparations which indicated the landing would happen in the French Seaport of Calais since they knew that the Nazis had information about a massive landing will happen soon. However, the real-time and place remained classified by the allies until the day of the invasion (Klein, 2018).

On 6 June 1944, the Largest navy and airborne offensive in history commenced. After crossing the English Channel, more than three million (American, British, Canadian, and French) soldiers arrived at the shores of Normandy, France. The German 60-mile line of fortifications was breached within a month. As the Allies forces captured the beachheads, one million more soldiers landed in Normandy. On 25 July 1944, the American General Patton and his Third Army fought through the German defense line near Saint-Lo, a month later they marched the streets of Paris. By September, most of France, Belgium, and Luxemburg were back to the Allies (History.com Editors, 2019).

The march towards Berlin was then from both eastern and western fronts. As the changes in the war narrowing down, Adolf Hitler, agitated after the Operation Valkyrie "an attempt to assassinate Hitler", thought that Germany had one last chance in the war, that is a full offensive against the weak Allies defense line in Ardennes. The purpose of the offensive was to break through Ardennes, march northeast towards the Belgian city of Antwerp to split the British and American Armies and make the Allies supply line for their final offensive on Berlin difficult.

Believing if the fell, Hitler would be able to negotiate with the Allies to avoid the unconditioned surrender, and allowing the Nazis to continue their fight in the east. (Roos)

The German offensive code-named *Wacht am Rhein* "Watch on the Rhein" by the Germans and "The Battle of the Bulge" by the Allies begun on 16 December 1944. Caught by surprise, German infantry quickly surrounded two regiments of the 106th Division in the largest field surrender of Allied troops in the Second World War. 24 hours later, the German panzers broke through the center of Ardennes, moving west to the Meuse River, the Germans

created a bulge in the Allied defense line which gave the battle its name "The Battle of the Bulge". However, the move towards Antwerp never happened due to the Allies resistance. After long fighting against the Germans and the cold weather with no supply drops, the Allied troops at the Battle of the Bulge were finally relieved when the skies cleared out allowing the aero planes to drop supplies. Days later, General Patton moved his 350.000 men north to decrease the pressure. By 13 January 1945, the German offensive was completely repulsed by the Allied forces and the battle was over (Roos, 2019).

The Battle of the Bulge indicated that the war in Europe was at its final moments. On 7 March 1945, the Allies crossed the Rhein river towards Berlin, by the middle of April, three million allied troops were marching from the west and about six million red army soldiers approached from the east. Berlin was finally surrounded by the Soviet army on 25 April 1945. Under heavy Soviet bombardment, Germany surrendered on 7 May 1945 marking the end of the war and Nazism (Klein, 2018).

#### 1.7 Conclusion

Before gaining power, the Nazi party operated during the unsteady era of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) as an opposition party alongside many other parties such as the Communists. After a series of devastating economic crises, the Weimar government fell in 1933 marking the beginning of the Nazi rule (1933-1945) in Germany. The Nazis quickly dominated the country after they declared Germany a one-party state as they restrained any other political activities in addition to the control of every aspect of life in Germany.

Seven years later from their rise to power, The Nazis occupied many neighboring countries such as Poland 1939. Days after the Nazi invasions, Britain and France declared war on Germany giving the beginning of the Second World War which ended the Nazi system in Germany after the Allied forces took down Berlin in 1945.

# **Chapter Two**

The Nazi Propaganda 1919-1939

#### 2.1. Introduction

In their way to power (1919-1933), the Nazis used propaganda as a tool to spread their ideas and beliefs among the Germans. Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels, in the beginning, had limited access to propaganda tools and related greatly on (Oratory in mass meetings and writings in newspapers, etc.) to perform their propaganda and influence the people. However, the situation changed with the early thirties when they made alliances with the media and press baron Alfred Hegunberg.

With their seizure of power in 1933, the Nazis were in a position to perform extensive propaganda with great skills. The foundation of the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Reich Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment or RMVP) in March 1933, had a great impact on spreading Nazism, the control of media, education, and art, in addition to the propagation of the Nazi programs. This chapter aims to walkthrough the Nazi propaganda in the periods from 1919 to 1933 and from 1933 to 1939.

#### 2.2. Propaganda Definition and Origin

The word propaganda refers to the advertisement of ideas, ideologies and information, etc. Its role is to defend, raise support, or attack persons, groups, movements, institutions, or nations, etc. Propaganda is used to strengthen people's beliefs or change them according to the propagandist needs. Often by using biased techniques or by triggering emotions. Propaganda could be executed via different methods such as (Literature, mass rallies, posters, newspapers, radios, movies, and television, etc.). The word 'Propaganda' was first used by the Catholic church in 1622, when Pope Gregory XV founded the Congregation de Propaganda Fide (Congregation for Propagating the Faith). The role of the organization was the spread of Catholicism. The group's name was with time 'informally' abridged to 'Propaganda'. And from then, the word 'Propaganda' gained its modern meaning (A Brief History of Propaganda, 2014).

#### 2.3. Adolf Hitler and Propaganda

Adolf Hitler's beliefs in the power of propaganda were dated back to the First World War. In his book *Mein Kampf* originally published in 1943, Hitler (202)

wrote about how effective was the British propaganda and how significant were its psychological effects on the people and soldiers. Nicholas O'Shaughnessy (18) mentioned in his book *Selling Hitler Propaganda and the Nazi Brand* originally published in 2016 that "Hitler refused to accept that Britain had won the First World War through military means" referring to the efficiency of the British propaganda being the reason for its victory and at the same time the weakness of the German propaganda being the reason for its defeat. Another reason that strengthened Hitler's beliefs in propaganda was his work in the German army as a propagandist, O'Shaughnessy (2016) wrote that "Another explanation for Hitler's embrace of propaganda is that he had functioned as a propagandist himself, having been selected for that task by the German army to propagate a nationalist message to the troops" (p. 20).

Moreover, David Welsh in his book *The Third Reich, Politics and Propaganda* originally published in 2002 mentioned that Adolf Hitler discovered his demagogic talent when the army appointed him as a propagandist to engrave 'nationalist and anti-Bolshevik sentiments' into the soldiers (pp. 10-11).

#### 2.3.1. The Rules of Successful Propaganda

The recipe of successful propaganda put by Adolf Hitler was written in his book Mein Kampf 1943. Adolf Hitler noted that propaganda must be directed to the masses and not the intellectuals. Moreover, he added that the broad masses are feminine in their personality, and their thinking and behavior are dominated by irrationality rather than logic. Therefore, Propaganda must only stir their emotions rather than their "reasoning powers". Furthermore, Hitler mentioned that propaganda must be presented in a popular style. Moreover, it must set its intellectual level to that of the least intelligent individual it is sought to reach. Hitler also added that propaganda is about stirring up people's imagination by appealing to their emotions by finding the psychological aspect that would seize their attention. Since the masses have "feeble" intelligence and their memory is weak, Hitler stated that Propaganda must have only a few themes extensively repeated so that every last individual fully comprehends the forwarded message. Dealing with the truth, Hitler illustrated that propaganda must be subjective, moreover, if the truth also suits the other side, the truth should be presented "according to the theoretical rules of justice; yet it must

present only that aspect of the truth which is favorable to its own side" (Hitler, 1943, pp. 200-204).

The rules of propaganda set by Adolf Hitler were first worked within the Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* in 1925. The newspaper was bought by the Nazis in 1920, disappeared with the party ban after the 1923 failed Putsch, and was re-published on 26 February 1925. By the year 1929, the *Völkischer Beobachter* circulation had attained the number 26.715 (Welch, 2002).

#### 2.4. The Nazi Propaganda in opposition 1919-1933

On 24 February 1920, at his first mass meeting as a speaker. Before more than 2000 people, Adolf Hitler as the chief of the DAP propaganda announced the new Nationalist 25 points program (O'Shaughnessy, 2016). party's The program's major points such as; the unity of all German people, the condemnation and abolishment of the Treaty of Versailles, the demand of land and territory to feed the people, only Aryans can be citizens, all men must work, land reform, and a central government with absolute power; represented the Nazi ideology, moreover, a reference for the Nazi propaganda.

Furthermore, On the same day, Hitler changed the name of the party from Deutsche Arbeitpartei (DAP. or German Workers' Party) to Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist Workers' Party or NSDAP) in an attempt to attract more people from both right and left wings.

Later in that year, Adolf Hitler decided that the party needed its special flag. According to Hitler (1943), the flag had to be "a symbol of our own struggle" (p. 495), who also added in his book *Mein Kampf* 1943:

I myself, meanwhile, after innumerable attempts, had laid down a final form; a flag with a red background, a white disk, and a black swastika in the middle. After long trials, I also found a definite proportion between the size of the flag and the size of the white disk, as well as the shape and thickness of the swastika. And this remained final. [...] As National Socialists, we see our program in our flag. In red we see the social idea of the movement, in white the nationalistic idea, in the swastika the mission of the struggle for the victory of

the Aryan man, and, by the same token, the victory of the idea of creative work, which as such always has been and always will be anti-Semitic. (pp. 496-497)

The flag was officially used at the meeting of Salzburg, on 7 August 1920.

Hitler as chief of the NSDAP propaganda, created membership cards, used posters to advertise the party's meetings which were attended by a growing large number of attendances; such the right-wing group 'the Thule society' who was Volkisch, anti-Semitic group (O'Shaughnessy, 2016). In addition to the Freikorps (irregular German military volunteers during the First World War) whom their membership in the party increased during the Hyperinflation of 1923, industry laborer's, etc. (O'Shaughnessy, 2016). By then, there was no doubt that Hitler's propaganda skills were the only reason behind the growing memberships in the party. Such a fact gave Hitler power within the party as he became its leader by the year 1921 (History.com Editors, 2016).

When arrested in 1923 after the failed Putsch, Adolf Hitler took the chance of being in court where all Germany could hear him since it was covered in the entire German press and media. Standing on the witness box, Hitler gave a passionate speech about the Treaty of Versailles and the November Criminals (who signed the armistice in 1918). Hence, the speech turned Hitler from a regional to a national figure. Hitler was sentenced with five years, yet, he spent only nine months in prison where he wrote the first volume of his book *Mein Kampf*.

After his release from prison in late 1924, Hitler had to face interior and exterior conflicts. Within the party; on the one hand, Gregor Strasser announced that the party is ready to co-operate with the Bolsheviks to defeat Capitalism, however, on the other hand, Hitler was opposed to Bolshevism. Therefore, a conflict was created. However, Hitler had the upper hand after winning the support of the majority. Such power made Joseph Goebbels change his side from supporting Strasser to supporting Hitler (Simkin, 2020). The exterior problem Hitler had to face was the ban of the party and its press such as the *Völkischer Beobachter* (Peoples' Observer) newspaper. However, Adolf Hitler successfully convinced the Prime Minister of the state of Bavaria to lift the ban. On 27 February 1925, Adolf Hitler re-announced himself as the party Fuhrer at the first

mass meeting after the 1923 Putsch. However, Hitler spoke against 'Weimar, Marxism, and Jewry'. The speech resulted in his ban from public speaking for two years. (A New Beginning, n.d.) The ban had badly affected the Nazi propaganda since it relied heavily on Hitler's oratory.

In 1926, Joseph Goebbels was appointed by Adolf Hitler as the *Gauleiter* (regional leader) of Berlin. Goebbels who joined the party in 1924 after failing in publishing his literary works such as novels, plays, and poems ("Joseph Goebbels") proved to be a capable propagandist. In 1927, Goebbels had founded the *Der Angriff* (The Attack) newspaper, in which he propagated the Nazi ideas in articles such as 'We Demand' on 25 July 1927, 'Hail Moscow' on 21 November 1927, 'The World Enemy' in 1928, 'Why Do We Oppose the Jews?' on 30 July 1938, 'When Hitler Speaks' on 19 November 1928, 'Why Do We Want to Join the Reichstag?' on 28 April 1928, and 'We are Voting for Hitler' on 7 March 1932, etc. The themes of *Der Angriff* articles differed from anti-Weimar, anti-Bolshevism, anti-Semitism, anti-economic plans, to electoral and Hitler praising themes. The newspaper also included works of the cartoonist Hans Schweitzer 'Mjölnir' which often tackled the themes of anti-Semitism and Hitler Cult (Welch, 2002).

Besides newspapers such as 'Völkischer Beobachter; which also tackled 'the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles, anti-Bolshevism and Jewry, and anti-Weimar parliamentarianism'; moreover, all were "contrasted with Nazi patriotic slogans such as Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer ('One people, one nation, one leader')" noted Welch (2002), and Der Angriff', posters, and the mass meetings. The Nazi propaganda until 1929, lacked the modern mass media tools such as 'films, radio, and television'. In that year Adolf Hitler allied with the press baron Alfred Hugenberg who had bought the German film company UFA (Universumin 1927 2002), in addition FilmAktiengesellschaft) (Welch, owning newspapers and a news agency. The alliance, however, provided the Nazis with great propaganda abilities that no other political party could compete (O'Shaughnessy, 2016). The NSDAP activities were then regularly presented by UFA (Welch, 2002). The themes propagated were once again brought down to simple causes such as 'Weimar parliamentarianism, the Marxists, the plutocrats, the Jews, and above all the Treaty of Versailles (O'Shaughnessy, 2016).

The Nazi propaganda breakthrough was accompanied with "circumstances conspired to make the rise easier" (Welch 2002). The appointment of Joseph Goebbels; who led the demonstrations against the premiering of the pacific movie "All Quiet on the Western Front,", started the Hitler Myth, and put the loudspeakers for the first time in every corner so that the Nazi voice could reach everyone; as the leader of the party's propaganda in 1930, the support from Hugenberg's media empire, the devastating economic status of Germany which forced the People desperately to search for answers from the extremist parties such as the NSDAP and the KDB (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2001). Hence, the Nazis with their effective propaganda abilities produced an immense amount of works that helped them increase the votes to their favor from 2.6% (810,127) in May (6,379,672) in September 1930, 18.3% to astounding (13,765,781) in July 1932, therefore, they had become the largest party in the Reichstag (Welch, 2002) until they seize power in the year 1933 and declaring Germany a one-party state (Cummings, 2011).

# 2.5. The Nazi Propaganda in Power 1933-1939

Convinced more with the power of propaganda after the elections of 1932, Adolf Hitler informed Joseph Goebbels that he will institute a ministry for public enlightenment and propaganda and to appoint him as the minister. Goebbels immediately started planning for the new ministry. Before agreeing to it, Goebbels, in the beginning, thought that the use of the word 'propaganda' openly would have a 'counter-productive' psychological effect.

Goebbels' outline had only five departments within the ministry, however, the ministry was established with seven departments; Budget and Legislation, 'Mass rallies, public health, youth, and race', Radio, Press, 'Film industry and newsreels', Theater, and Art; which operated to control every aspect of the German life.

#### 2.5.1. The Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda

On 12 March 1933, *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda or RMVP) was founded by a presidential decree signed by Hindenburg (Welch, 2002). The RMVP was created to centralize media and culture, spread the Nazi ideology, and maintain

support for the party and its agenda. However, Goebbels' power, in the beginning, was not absolute for that Alfred Rosenberg, had his Cultural agencies such as the 'Combat League for German Culture' and the 'Reich Office for the Encouragement of German Literature' (Welch, 2002). Moreover, 51% of the shares were owned by Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft (the Reich Radio Radio Company or RRG), the other 49% were owned by other nine regional companies which had the power to control the content of the broadcasted programs (Welch, 2002). Press, however, proved to be much difficult to control since it was owned by vast segments of society from political parties, social associations, religious organizations, to privet companies. In 1933 Germany had more daily newspapers than Britain, Italy, and France combined (Welch, 2002). Film industry faced problems due to the Great Depression of 1929 when companies were bankrupt. In addition to that, the ReichsverbandDeutscher Lichtspieltheater (German Cinema Owners' Association) which had a hand in the film industry was soon removed after the Nazi claim to power. That made the control of the film industry easy for Goebbels, However, the establishment of the Reich Chamber of Culture in late 1933, gave Joseph Goebbels the power that allowed him to have absolute control over the German media, culture, and press (Propaganda Timeline 1933-1938, n.d.).

#### 2.5.1.1. Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture)

Founded on 22 September 1933, *Reichskulturkammer* (Chamber of Culture or RKK) was Goebbels' ultimate card to media and culture coordination under the RMVP. As a president of the RKK, Joseph Goebbels appointed Max Amann (Reich Press Chamber); Horst Dressler-Andress, (Reich Radio Chamber); Hans Friedrich Blunck (Reich Writers Chamber); Fritz Scheuermann (Reich Film Chamber); Otto Laubinger (Reich Theatre Chamber); Richard Strauss (Reich Music Chamber); Eugen Hönig (Reich Artists Chamber) (Propaganda Timeline 1933-1938, n.d.). The appointments came also as acts of *Gleichschaltung* (or Nazification) that meant the integration of all economic, political, and cultural activities to the State (Welch, 2002). To control and supervise the content of the 'media, culture, and art' presented to the German people, the Chamber of Culture started a censorship program to suppress anti-Nazi works (Welch, 2002). Welch

mentioned that the Nazis believed that the RKK control system would result in very efficient censorship as the artists would self-censor their works out of fear.

Moreover, the leaders of each of the RKK Chambers issued a pass for the artists. The pass gave Goebbels and the RKK the power to exclude the artists who were considered "racially or artistically objectionable" (Welch, 2002). On 13 May 1936, Goebbels disallowed art criticism declaring that "Artistic criticism no longer exists for its own sake. In future, one ought not to degrade or criticise a well-meaning or quite respectable artistic achievement for the sake of a witty turn of phrase" (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 35).

The first act of censorship happened, however, before the establishment of the Chamber of Culture. On the night of 10 May 1933, German students, right-wing associations, policemen and many of the pro-Nazis marched in the streets chanting songs and holding torches, raid 'universities, libraries, bookstores' and burned more than twenty thousand books which were considered 'Un-German' (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. n.d.).

#### 2.5.2. Media and Culture

In the field of media, Goebbels gave great importance to the radio since it has created a national audience and allowed the Nazis to address the nation as one body. (O'Shaughnessy, 2018). Moreover, it reached every German, anywhere. In his speech to the managerial staff of the German Radio Goebbels concluded "I am placing a major responsibility in your hands, for you have in your hands the most modern instrument in existence for influencing the masses. Using this instrument, you are the creators of public opinion. If you perform this well, we shall win over the people." (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 39) Goebbels proclaimed the RMVP's absolute control of radio broadcasting as he said "We make no bones about the fact that radio belongs to us and no one else. And we will place the radio in the service of our ideology, and no other ideology will find expression there" (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 42). In 1933, on a request from Joseph Goebbels, the first German radio *Volksempfänger* (People's

Radio) was produced for a cheap price and with low frequencies that prevented the Germans from receiving foreign radio broadcasts. One of the famous posters

advertising the people's radio was published in 1936 saying 'All Germany hears the Führer on the People's Receiver'.



Figure 1. All Germany listens to the leader (Museum Syndicate, n.d.)

The *Volksempfänger* production escalated from 1.6 million units in 1933 to an astonishing number of 6 million units by 1934. It was estimated that in 1933 alone, fifty speeches by Hitler were broadcasted and by 1935, Hitler's speeches were heard by an audience of over 56 million listeners. Furthermore, By the outbreak of the war, 70% of German houses had a radio set.

The field of press witnessed the rise of (The Attacker) as a propagandistic, anti-Semitic, "tabloid-style" newspaper. *Der Stürmer* served the Nazi cause alongside other newspapers such *Der Angriff* and *Völkischer Beobachter*, etc.



Figure 2. A 1934 issue of the fiercely antisemitic newspaper Der Stürmer (USHMM, courtesy of Virginius Dabney, n.d.)

*Der Stürmer* used the motto "*Die Juden sind unser Unglück!*" (The Jews are our misfortune!) at the bottom of the first paper. The newspaper was edited by Julius Streicher and lasted from 1923-1945 (Der Stürmer, n.d.).

In the film industry, the Film Chamber under the supervision of the RMVP produced many works to support the Nazi party and its ideologies. The year 1933 witnessed the production of two outstanding propaganda films. *Hitlerjunge Quex* (Hitler Youth Quex) 1933 which depicted the life of Herbert Norkus, the hero and martyr of the Hitler Youth organization, in addition to the film *Hans Westmar* 1933 which dramatized the life and death of Horst Wessel who was one of the earliest Nazi martyrs (Welch, 1983). The year 1935 featured one of the most remarkable documentaries and the most famous piece of Nazi propaganda.

Directed by Leni Riefenstahl, *Der Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will) was filmed at the 1934 Nuremberg Rally and depicted Adolf Hitler as the super leader of the Nazis who came to save the nation (Der Triumph Des Willens (Triumph of the Will. 1936, n.d.). In the same year, the Nazi propaganda targeted the Bolsheviks in *Friesennot (Frisians in Peril*, 1935) which was directed by Willi Krause under the pseudonym of Peter Hagen. The film recalled the problems of the Volga Germans who were living in Russia during the Revolution (Welch, Propaganda and the German Cinema 242). In 1938, Leni Riefenstahl directed another Nazi propaganda masterpiece for the favor of the *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community). *Olympia* was filmed during the Berlin Olympics of 1936 and presented the Aryan athletes as the superior sportsmen (Welch, 1983).

In Art, Welch (2002) stated that the Nazis gave the artists a role in their revolution; that was the support of the Nazi 'political revolution' and the *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community). Adolf Hitler in his speech at the opening of the House of German Art said:

During the long years in which I planned the formation of a new Reich, I gave much thought to the tasks which would await us in the cultural cleansing of the people's lives; there was to be a cultural renaissance as well as a political and economic reform [...] As in politics, so in German art-life, we are determined to make a clean sweep of empty phrases [...] The artist does not create for the artist. He creates for the people, and we will see to it that the people in future be called to judge his art. No one must say that the people have no understanding of a valuable enrichment of its cultural life [...] The people in passing through these galleries recognize in me its spokesman and counsellor. will a sigh of relief and gladly express its agreement with this purification of art [...] The artist cannot stand aloof from his people. (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 33)

Art in Nazi propaganda was another tool to influence the masses and its relation with other propaganda types laid in its reproducibility. Being a symbol for spirituality, Art was important for the Nazis (O'Shaughnessy, 2016); Hitler illustrated at the 1935 Nuremberg Rally that "no people live longer than the evidence of its culture (qtd in O'Shaughnessy, 2016, p. 235). Art in Germany was divided to two types; the pure 'Aryan' artworks such as (landscape paintings,

sculptures of Aryan figures, and portraits of Hitler, etc.) were welcomed and praised, however, the 'Degenerate' artworks such any (Abstract, modern, and expressionist, etc. works) were censored and banned. The 'Aryan and Degenerate' art was illustrated in the Berlin 1937, Great Exhibition of German Art and Degenerate Art Exhibition (*Entartete Kunst*).

# 2.6. Conclusion

Until 1929, the Nazi propaganda had limited access to modern media tools and relied heavily on its leaders' oratory and press. However, that changed with Hitler's alliance with the media baron Alfred Hugenberg. The Nazi activities were then published in Hugenberg media which granted the NSDAP great popularity and support. The Nazi propaganda was also supported by the mastermind Dr. Joseph Goebbels who became the chief of the party's propaganda in 1930.

After taking Power in 1933, the Nazis used their strength (RMVP and RKK) to control media and culture in Germany. They performed censorship programs and used media and culture to exclusively support their cause. With the outbreak of the war in 1939, the Nazis used propaganda to justify the war and gain the support of the people inside and outside Germany.

# **Chapter Three**

The Nazi War Propaganda 1939-1945

#### 3.1. Introduction

At the beginning of the Second World War, The Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda under the leadership of Dr. Joseph Goebbels was given the task of public persuasion and mobilization for the war, in addition to the justification of the invasions.

Through the course of the war, the events for and against Germany forced the Nazi propaganda to keep its flexibility, as it started with triumphal tone in the first years to describing the brutality of the enemy and the need for total war in 1942, then at the end, the urge to defend the country till the last man. This chapter aims to give an in-depth look at Nazi propaganda through the zig-zagged years of the Second World War.

#### 3.2. Goebbels and the War

Goebbels' opinion on the war was different from that of pro-war Nazi leaders. He saw in war a threat to his power as a leader of the propaganda ministry, moreover, he believed that Hitler would only consult with his generals. Albert Speer declared that "we who were members of Hitler's circle considered him [Goebbels], as well as Göring, who also counselled peace, as weaklings who had degenerated in the luxury of power and did not want to risk the privileges they had acquired" (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 117).

Goebbels worries proved to be true as his RMVP lost its absolute power over decision making and had to co-operate with the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* (The High Command of the Wehrmacht or OKW) (Welch, 2002). Moreover, Goebbels had a rivalry with Dr. Otto Dietrich who was the Press Chief and State Secretary within the RMVP. Dietrich's power lay in being one of Hitler's inner circle in addition to being a *Reichsleiter* (Reich Leader). Hence, Dietrich was autonomous. The rivalry between Goebbels and Dietrich remained until Dietrich replacement on 30 March 1945 (Welch, 2002). Goebbels recorded in his diaries:

I hear from *Reichsleiter* Bormann that the Führer had a three-minute interview with Dr Dietrich at which Dietrich and Sündermann [Dietrich's deputy] were sent packing in short order. I shall take full advantage of the opportunity and create *faits accomplis* in the press which it will be impossible to countermand later. (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 119)

The independence of the RMVP through the course of the war was not total, however, Goebbels played his role as the head of the ministry until he was appointed Chancellor on 30 April 1945, one day before his suicide.

# 3.3. Propaganda and the Justification of War 1939

The reports collected by the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD, the intelligence agency of the Nazi Party and the SS) showed that the German people were not excited for war. (O'Shaughnessy 2016). As the German people showed no enthusiasm for the war, the Nazi propaganda took on the task of convincing the masses that the war was to be fought for noble causes and it could and would be won soon due to the invincibility of Germany (Welch, 2002).

The Nazi propaganda introduced the theme of 'encirclement disinterred'; that is, the Poles, the Bolsheviks, and the West were surrounding Germany and 'tightening the noose' (O'Shaughnessy, 2016). Moreover, Goebbels declared that "This is not a war of crown and altar; it is a war for wheat bread, a full table three times a day" (qtd in O'Shaughnessy, 2016, p. 54). Goebbels' ministry used newsreels, newspapers, and other propaganda methods to tell the Germans and world that Germany is only defending its territories from foreign invaders and the war was imposed on it using the British-French peace offer rejection of 6 October 1939, as Goebbels repeatedly told the media to publish that the enemies "had taken the unilateral decision to declare war on the Reich and had repeatedly scorned Germany's 'peace' offers' (qtd in O'Shaughnessy, 2016, p. 52).

The Nazi propaganda machine also operated on the international level to win over the neutral countries, moreover, to weaken the enemy's resistance (Welch, 2002).

# **3.4.** The Nazi Blitzkrieg 1939-1941

With the outbreak of the Second World War after the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 and the British-French war declaration on Germany on 3 September 1939, the German army (*Wehrmacht*) succeeded in performing further series of rapid invasions to Scandinavia, Netherlands, Belgium and France. The speed of these invasions gave them the name lightning war or (*Blitzkrieg*); a war strategy used to execute a swift attack against an enemy through the use of ground, maneuverable forces, tanks and air forces. Blitzkrieg strategy limits the losses and leads to a swift victory) (History.com Editors, 2019).

For the Nazi propaganda, the *Blitzkrieg* was the perfect theme to persuade the Germans and change their attitude towards the war. The ministry of propaganda used newsreels and documentaries to depict the weakness of the enemy's resistance in front of the superior Nazi army. Moreover, to consolidate the feelings of safety and reassurance among the hesitated Germans (Welch, 2002). On 21 November 1940, the Nazis founded the Deutsche Wochenschau GmbH. The company operated under the umbrella of the RMVP and was responsible for the distribution and copyrights of the newsreels. Goebbels wrote:

Discuss the re-organization of the newsreels with Hippler [president of the Reich Film Chamber]. We have established a new company including Ufa, Tobis and Bavaria, I intend to keep personal control of it. After the war, there will be three different newsreels again. Now, in the middle of a war, this is not a practical proposition (qtd in Welch, 2002).

The documentaries produced by the RMVP about the Nazi campaigns such *Feldzug in Polen* (Campaign in Poland, 1939) which depicted the Wehrmacht campaign in Poland. *Feuertaufe* (Baptism of Fire, 1940) which showed the Luftwaffe bombing of Poland and its capital Warsaw, and *Sieg im Westen* (Victory in the West, 1941) which documented the German campaign in France and Europe.

In addition to their effects on the German people, Goebbels thought about the probable effect of such documentaries on the neutral nation. Hence, works such *Feuertaufe* were played in the German embassies in such countries (Welch, 2002). Besides films and newsreels, the Nazi propaganda used the 'radio *Blitzkrieg*' in the Netherlands, Belgium and France in 1940. The purpose of such broadcasts in these countries was to break their alliance and spread panic and terror among their people and soldiers before invading them. Welch (2002) illustrated:

Soldiers, why are you fighting? Why are you allowing yourselves to be butchered? For the capitalists in France and England?' They would then try to divide the country under attack. In Belgium for example, they broadcast to one-half of the nation in Flemish: 'Flemings, you have always been treated as second-class citizens. We Germans will give you back your self-respect.' And, broadcasting in French to the Walloons: 'Belgium doesn't care about you, she only expects you to die for her. We will help develop your country. (p. 124)

The campaign and victory in France were the most celebrated events by the Nazi propaganda, however, the last one (Welch, 2002).

# 3.5. Britain 1940-1941

The Nazi propaganda toward Britain remained less aggressive compared to that of the Bolsheviks or Jews. Goebbels mentioned in his diaries that Hitler had "A very positive attitude towards England" (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 125). However, its tone changed to be aggressive after the British rejection of Hitler's peace offer of 16 July 1940.

The Nazi propaganda depicted Britain as a monstrous colonialist empire which caused many people to starve. O'Shaughnessy (2016) illustrated that the Nazi propaganda described the poverty in the British colony 'Newfoundland' saying that 'many of the children have never in their lives seen a coin'. An article in the Nazi propaganda magazine *Signal* described Britain as

a global pirate saying. '250 wars in approximately as many years were necessary to fund their power' (O'Shaughnessy, 2016). Moreover, the Nazi propaganda used the British bombing of the French battleships in Oran (Algeria) on 3 July 1940, to describe the treachery of Britain as in *Signal* words "unparalleled, monstrous, British crime against an ally of yesteryear" (qtd in O'Shaughnessy, 2016, p. 58). Furthermore, the relation between the Jews and Britain was a dominant theme in Nazi propaganda. Goebbels stated that the British were "the Jews among the Aryans" (qtd in O'Shaughnessy, 2016, p. 59) in addition to that, *Das Reich*; a Nazi propaganda newspaper founded by Dr. Joseph Goebbels in May 1940; claimed that Winston Churchill "promises Germany to the Jews" (qtd in O'Shaughnessy, 2016, p. 59).

The Blitz (bombardment of Britain), was also the focus of Nazi propaganda. as Goebbels ordered press and radio to redirect their focus toward the events in Britain. Special brochures pictured the bombing of London with pride "The 'sharks' are over London again. Protected by their fighters, the German bombing planes can carry out their attacks unhindered. 7000 meters are between the German aeroplanes and the burning capital of a dying empire, 7000 meters obscured by rising flames and choking smoke" (qtd in Kallis, 2005, p. 102).

(Reconsider the way we write long quotations)

As people hoped for a quick victory in Britain, Goebbels worked to boost such hopes by claiming that the war would be won 'in these days, weeks and months. However, the war appeared to be taking more than just days or months. However, with time, An SD report of 7 October 1941, stated that the Germans were becoming worried about the Nazi ability to defeat Britain (Kallis, 2005). The worries of the German people were soon a reality after the Luftwaffe defeat in the Battle of Britain and the suspension of the ground invasion Welch (2002) noted that the Battle of Britain was a 'failure not only for the Luftwaffe but also for Nazi propaganda' which was not ready to recognize 'a victory of British defense in the air'.

The Nazi propaganda was shortly after put in another difficult situation when Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess plane landed in Scotland. Hess was in a mission to make peace with Britain, however, was arrested. Otto Dietrich (Hitler's chief of the press) immediately issued a statement declaring that Hess was mentally ill. Yet, for the Nazi propaganda, the task was to create diversions from the failed invasion of Britain in addition to Hess' capture. Therefore, until the invasion of the Soviet Union, Goebbels ministry broadcasted the news from the U-boat campaign, Luftwaffe bombing of Britain. Another diversion used by the Nazi

propaganda was the Bismarck triumph when it sank the HMS Hood in the waters of Denmark. Eventually, the case of Hess was forgotten in Germany according to the SD reports (Kallis 2005).

#### 3.6. Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union 1941-1943

The Nazi HQ and propaganda kept the preparations for the invasion secret. As the Operation 'Martia' in the Balkans provided the perfect cover, in addition to that, Goebbels kept the British invasion alive as he told his press officials to publish that the invasion of Britain will start in few weeks. Therefore, in Russia, the RMVP had to work simultaneously with military progress during the invasion (Kallis, 2005).

Despite their absence from the Nazi propaganda since the beginning of the war, the 'Anti-Bolshevism' and *Untermensch* 'Sub-Humans' themes were revived with the beginning of the invasion of the USSR 'Operation Barbarossa' in June 1941. Kallis (2005) wrote:

In terms of long-term employment Operation 'Barbarossa' cemented an array of disparate themes in NS propaganda discourse that had previously been either sidelined or invoked in separation from each other. The 'western conspiracy' was now transformed into an unholy alliance of western plutocrats, Bolsheviks and of course Jews – a plot ostensibly geared to eliminating the German Reich from the map of Europe. (p. 109) (Reconsider the way we write long quotations)

Moreover, the theme of the Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy to destroy Germany was too dominant in the Nazi propaganda, for example, the pamphlet entitled "Germany has Entered the Fight to the Finish with the Jewish Bolshevik System of Murder" (O'Shaughnessy, 2016, p. 73). Furthermore, The Nazi propaganda not only pictured the invasion of the USSR as a defense against the Bolsheviks, but also a defense of Europe from the eastern *Untermensch* (sub-humans) (Kallis, 2005; Welch, 2002). Hitler in his speech following the invasion of USSR illustrated that "The task of this front is no longer to protect single countries but to ensure the security of Europe and thereby save them all (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 131).

The quick advance of the Nazi army in the Russian soil as they reached Moscow in a short time, in addition to, other victories such as the fall of Kiev in September 1941, provided the Nazi propaganda with triumphal reports to deliver to the German people; that the war would be won soon. As well as Hitler's declaration of victory "Our opponent has already been broken and will never rise again!" (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 132). However, the winter of 1942 changed

the game for the Nazi propaganda as war prolongation worries rose among the Germans. The worries soon proved to be a reality as the soldiers wearing summer clothes in

the front lines suffered from the worst Russian winter for fifty years. To spread reassurance among the German people, Goebbels used radio and newsreels to propagate the *Winterhilfesspende* campaign (German people Christmas gifts to the Wehrmacht soldiers in Russia), such campaign resulted in positive effects as it increased the solidarity between the people and the soldiers and bought the Nazi propaganda valuable time during the winter (Welch, 2002).

The failed promise of a short-time victory obliged Goebbels and his propaganda to change their strategy, in his diaries in February 1941, Goebbels wrote:

We shall have to change our propaganda and our policies in the east as already arranged with the Führer. These were hitherto based on the assumption that we would take possession of the East very quickly. This hope, however, has not been realized. (qtd, in Welch, 2002, p. 134)

Learning from the previous experiences, Goebbels ordered that the media and press must not report about any swift victories. Moreover, to keep picturing the horrible events in Russia. Even with the progress made by the Germans troops in Russia by reaching until the Caucasus and Stalingrad, in addition to Rommel's success in North Africa and the capture of Tobruk. Goebbels order to his ministry was "No propaganda of illusion" (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 135) also, to not to use excessive optimism. Such orders proved to be wise as the course of the was changed against the Nazis propaganda. As the allies raid west of Germany and the devastating defeat Rommel had encountered in El Alamein. However, most of all the Germans' increased fears resulted from the possibility of another winter in Russia since the war there was not any close to an end. By October 1942, Stalingrad was almost taken by the German Sixth-Army under the commands of General Paulus. Goebbels, however, kept his orders of avoiding optimism valid. Furthermore, he was disgruntled with Hitler's HQ statements about the soon coming fall of the city. In November, The Russian started a counter-offensive and had the Sixth-Army surrounded and surrendered in the Battle of Stalingrad After Hitler refused Paulus retreat request because of his fears of the psychological effect the defeat would cause. Consequently, the Sixth-Army lost 124,000 soldiers and surrendered in February 1943.

The Nazi propaganda justified Stalingrad by using the theme of *Heldentod* (honourable death). it never mentioned that the Sixth-Army had surrendered, yet, said that the soldiers fought until the last man. In an article issued by *Das Reich* in December 1942 related *Heldentod* to Greek heroism and the German struggle for its existence (Welch, 2002).

#### 3.7. Total War 1943

Total War was a term Goebbels used in his propaganda to refer to the total mobilization of the all Germans toward a final battle to win the war. "Total War' was first used by Goebbels in his speech at the Sportspalast rally in Berlin on 18 February 1943" (Welch, 2002, p. 139). O'Shaughnessy (2016) described the event:

Thus, the famous rhetorical tour de force: 'Do you want total war? ... Are you determined to follow the Führer and fight for victory whatever the cost?' This speech was of course packaged with customary banners and symbols, and slogans such as 'A total war is the shortest war'. As Goebbels posed his famous ten questions on Total War, the crowd screamed 'Ja'! And thus, as Burleigh describes it, 'he reached the rhetorical crescendo, a series of challenges and responses. "'Do you want total war?" (Loud cries of "Yes!" Loud applause). "Do you want total war?" (Loud cries of "Yes!" Cloud cries "Yes!" Applause). (p. 84)

Goebbels' speech which was covered by all media in Germany, was not only directed toward the people but was also a strategic move to force Hitler to approve the full mobilization of the German resources toward a final battle. Goebbels noted in his diaries on 19 February:

Many people are of the opinion that this mass meeting is really a type of coup d'état. But we are simply straddling the many hurdles which the bureaucracy has placed in our path. Total war is no longer just a question on the minds of a few perceptive men, but the whole nation is concerned with it. (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 141)

Hitler described the speech as a propaganda masterpiece. Nevertheless, his approval of the full mobilization did not happen. Goebbels propaganda, however, gained 'at least' a temporal success before the people started to question the credibility of the party leaders' statements concerning the 'Total War' and the threat coming from the East. The SD reports on the Sportspalast Rally showed that the media coverage had helped in building people's confidence and lavished the previous skepticism among the people, moreover, it positively affected even the cautious segment of the population.

However, the SD reports of May 1943 included the beginning of the Germans' mistrust toward the Nazi party. The 'Total war' was a subject of the workers' concerns about its economic oppressions especially the call of women to work since women in Nazi Germany and propaganda were only related to motherhood and house care, besides, to the class injustice it created as the lower class' small businesses were closed, whereas, the middle and upper class remained safe.

The growing pessimism in Germany, however, helped Goebbels' new propaganda campaign 'strength through fear' which focused on the theme of the Bolshevik threat coming from the East to destroy Germany and Europe. 'Hard Times, Hard Work, Hard Hearts', 'Victory or Bolshevism', 'Total War – the Shortest War' posters were everywhere throughout the country besides Goebbels' orders to his propagandists that they should always conclude with that the fight against Bolshevism is Germany's ultimate task. Fear was then, a dominant theme in the Nazi propaganda, and optimism was avoided even when the Wehrmacht made victories such the re-capture of the city of Kharkov in March 1943, which was not covered in the media out of fear that it could raise the hopes of the Germans (Welch, 2002).

The 'Total war' and 'Strength through Fear' campaigns directed by Goebbels and his ministry helped in strengthening the people's moral and solidarity against the USSR. However, Welch (2002) noted that the SD reports suggested that the success of the propaganda campaigns was short-lived and the hopes raised were not of a final victory yet of a quick end of the war by diplomatic methods (Welch, 2002).

# 3.8. Toward the End of the Second World War 1943-1945

From 1943 until the end of the war, the allied raids over Germany caused troubles to Goebbels' propaganda which, in the beginning, kept the subject out of its media and press. However, Goebbels was aware that such silence would have terrible effects on his ministry since the raids covered a large area across Germany. Being the case, the Nazi propaganda started to include slogans such us 'battle for the home front' to increase solidarity and relate the people in the destroyed cities to the soldiers in the front line. The damage, however, was too devastating to be covered with silence or slogans as people were too desperate and pessimistic.

Goebbels, from a mass meeting in Sportspalast in June 1943 launched another propaganda campaign under the name *Vergeltung* (retaliation). In his speech, Goebbels announced that the

Nazis were constructing a massive weapon that would lead Germany to have revenge and would also bring victory. According to the SD reports, people's reaction was positive towards the matter. However, such positivity depended on the reality of the *Vergeltung* and the weapon. Goebbels commented on the matter on Harvest Thanksgiving Day in October:

As regards the question of *Vergeltung* discussed by the entire German people with such heated passion, I can only say that the English commit an exceedingly fatal error if they believe that this is a merely rhetorical or propagandist slogan with no reality behind it. England will one day make acquaintance with this reality. (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 147)

As months passed by, morale and confidence in Germany decreased as there was no appearance of the massive weapon in addition to, the continuous allied raids over the German cities and the deterioration in food supplies. In an attempt to lift the morale of the people, the Nazis decided to resume their raids over London. The bombardment was covered by Nazi propaganda as being the beginning of the total *Vergeltung*. Goebbels declared that the Allied airstrikes would be fully revenged. However, the attacks on London were ineffective, and people still hoped for the massive weapon as the only way to victory.

With the weapon still disappeared, the Nazi propaganda lost a great deal of its credibility as the people started to think that the weapon was just a propaganda lie. However, the weapon finally appeared in June 1944. The V-1 and V-2 (V for *Vergeltung*) missiles were used in an attack on London. In the Nazi propaganda, the weapon was first introduced in the *Deutsche Wochenschau* in early July. In a radio broadcast in July 1944, Goebbels spoke about the terror and destruction the V-1 and V-2 caused in Britain, and that Britain had no defensive powers to block the missiles.

Even though, the announcement of the massive weapon improved the morale of the Germans. The lifted morale was soon crushed since the weapon soon proved to be unable to defeat Britain. Thus, the built hopes became ruins and propaganda became a subject to sarcasm:

Goebbels is bombed out in Berlin. He has two suitcases, leaves them on the street and goes back into the building to rescue other things. When he re-emerges, the suitcases have been stolen. Dr Goebbels is very unhappy. He shouts and moans. Someone asks him why the suitcases were so important and he replies: 'One had the revenge weapon in it and the other final victory. (qtd in Welch, 2002, p. 149)

During the last year of the war, Goebbels, despite the failure, kept on practicing his propaganda. In an attempt to increase the German trust in Hitler, Goebbels used the 20 July

1944, failed attempt to assassinate Hitler in his propaganda to tell the people that 'Hitler ist der Sieg' ('Hitler is Victory'). Goebbels also depicted the attempt as an act of cowardice and treachery. Goebbels propaganda campaign after the assassination attempt was reported to have worked and indeed increased the confidence of the people in Hitler, yet it was a short-lived success.

The last cards Goebbels played in the war propaganda were for the sake of preventing people from surrender. Nazi propaganda relied on history to urge people to defend their homeland until the end. *Kolberg* (1945) was a historical film produced by the RMVP which depicted the war of the Prussians against Napoleon and how the people of Kolberg defended their city and eventually won. Always to urge people to defend their country, Goebbels in Berlin in 1945 spoke about the future film 'Twilight of the Gods' which would be shown in 100 years:

Gentlemen, in a hundred years they will be showing another fine color film describing the terrible days we are living through. Don't you want to play a part in this film, to be brought back to life in a hundred years? Everybody now has a chance to choose the part which he will play in the film a hundred years hence. I can assure you that it will be a fine and elevating picture. And for the sake of this prospect, it is worth standing fast. Hold out now, so that a hundred years hence the audience does not hoot and whistle when you appear on the screen. (qtd in Welch 2002, p. 153) (Reconsider the way we write long quotations)

As the war drew to its end, and the Soviets surrounding Berlin, The Nazi propaganda desperately insisted on the themes of Bolshevik terror and the *Heldentod* (honourable death) to make people resist and defend the city.

In April 1945, with the Red Army encircling Berlin, the RMVP alongside other ministries were dissolved marking the end of Goebbels' propaganda adventure in the Second World War (Welch, 2002).

#### 3.9. Conclusion

Throughout the years of the Second World War, Goebbels and his ministry went through three phases. In the beginning, propaganda adopted a triumphal tone due to the successful *Blitzkrieg* campaigns. Two years later the Nazi propaganda was faced with a turndown in the events as the failure in invading Britain and the devastating loss in Stalingrad. Such events made the propaganda change its triumphal tone to a cautious one which told the people the war is fought against cruel enemies who their aim is destroying Germany and Europe.

The last years of the war, however, witnessed a deterioration in the credibility and effectiveness of the Nazi propaganda due to its failure to accomplish its promises to the people such as the *Vergeltung*.

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In their way to power, the Nazis needed massive public support to succeed in their electoral campaigns. Therefore, propaganda was extensively used by the Nazi party to persuade the Germans and win their support and votes. In power, the Nazis saw in controlling propaganda the key to controlling the entire country, Hence, the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda was established two months after Hitler's appointment as a Chancellor. Seven years later, propaganda was given the task of people persuasion and war justification when the Second World War started. However, as years passed by, Nazi propaganda strategies changed to keeping the morale of the Germans high, moreover to urge the people to keep fighting until the end.

During the politically and economically turbulent reign of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi party made its way to power through a series of parliamentary elections. The Nazi star rose in Germany in 1932 when the party became the largest in the Reichstag. Such success forced the Weimar politicians who feared Hitler's ideologies to make a desperate move when they appointed him as Chancellor in January 1933, in a failed attempt to control him. As a Chancellor, however, Hitler executed a series of political maneuvers such as the Reichstag Fire Decree, The Enabling Act, and The Law Against the Formation of New Parties. Such maneuvers eventually granted Hitler the absolute control over Germany as he declared Germany a one-party state. In power, the Nazis took control over every aspect of life in Germany; socially, politically, economically, culturally, and religiously. In 1939, the Nazi party started a new phase in the history of Germany and the world. The Second World War started when Britain and France declared war on Germany after the Nazi invasion of Poland in September 1939. In the beginning, the war smiled at the Nazis as they led a series of successful campaigns in Scandinavia, Netherlands, Belgium, and France. However, by the year 1941, the tide started to turn against them as they failed to invade Britain after their defeat at the Battle of Britain. The Nazis from 1941 to 1943 encountered a series of devastating defeats in Russia at the Battle of Stalingrad which was a major loss in the history of Germany in World War Two, in addition to Rommel's defeats in North Africa at the battles of El Alamein in Egypt and Tobruk in Libya which ended the Nazi campaign in North Africa. Being on the defensive from the east after Stalingrad, in 1944, the Nazis were faced with another western front after the Allies D-Day offensive. Consequently, the noose started then to tighten around Germany. By the year 1945, Berlin was surrounded by the Allies from the west and the Soviets from the east.

In May, Germany surrendered indicating the end of the War and the Nazi rule in Germany and Europe.

The results of this study showed that the Nazi use of propaganda gained them massive public support since it was used exclusively and directed for all segments of German society. Therefore, the Nazi alliance with the press and media baron Alfred Hugenberg in 1929, in addition to the appointment of propaganda mastermind Dr. Joseph Goebbels as the party chief of propaganda in 1930, resulted in the Nazi triumphs in the Reichstag elections, especially in 1932 when they became the largest party in Germany with 37.3 % (13,265,781) of the votes.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the Nazis immediately started to control the entire propaganda system in Germany after their claim of power in 1933. Therefore, they instituted the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda two months after Hitler's appointment aa Chancellor in January 1933. RMVP under the leadership of Goebbels used its branch (The Reich Chamber of Culture) to bring all propaganda forms such as media, press, and culture under the Nazi control in a strategy called *Gleichschaltung* (Nazification). The control of propaganda provided the Nazis with great abilities to indoctrinate the German people with Nazi ideologies.

Finally, the results demonstrated that Nazi war propaganda gradually lost its credibility with every downturn in the Second World War. Despite its triumphal tone of 'swift and short victory' during the years of Blitzkrieg, Nazi propaganda was soon contradicting the events of the war as the defeat at Battle of Britain and the failure to invade Britain, in addition to the winter of 1942 in Russia, indicated a long and difficult war. Hence, Nazi propaganda shifted its strategies from 'short and swift victory' to prepare for 'long years of struggle' for the very existence of Germany and Europe, yet, it kept the tone of victory. However, with war getting close to its end as the Nazis were defeated in Russia and North Africa, in addition to the Allies advance from the west after D-Day landing, the moral of the Germans was at its lowest levels. Therefore, Nazi propaganda attempted to elevate their people's spirits by introducing the theme of revenge with the promise of a massive weapon that would bring a swift victory. However, the massive weapon failed to impress the Germans after the small damage it caused in Britain. Hence, Nazi propaganda became a joke among the Germans who described Goebbels as a liar. By 1945, when Germany was surrounded, Nazi propaganda which then lost a great deal of its credibility desperately urged the people to keep fighting and not to surrender with introducing the theme of honourable death and the fight for the existence of Germany and Europe.

An issue that was not addressed in this dissertation is the Themes in Nazi Propaganda. Such an issue is vital to understand the nature of Nazi propaganda and why it affected a large segment of German society. Hence, an inquiry on the matter is needed to have an in-depth look at the content of Nazi propaganda.



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