

ORGANIZING HATRED

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MANY will remember the *Hymn of Hate*, written by the German, Ernst Lissauer, during the first great war. Published in a Munich illustrated paper, *Jugend*, in October, 1915, the poem concluded with this explosion of hostility towards England:

You we will hate with a lasting hate,
We will never forgo our hate,
Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the head and hate of the hand,
Hate of the hammer and hate of the crown,
Hate of seventy millions, choking down.
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe, and one alone—
England!

With the seizure of power by the National Socialists in 1933, and the elevation of Joseph Goebbels to be Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, the Germans were called upon to hate, as the course of events demanded, a succession of internal enemies—Jews, Communists and others; and a succession of external enemies—the Russians, the Czechs, the Poles, then the English, later the French, and finally the Americans. Unlike the practice in 1915, these hymns of hatred were the official product of "public enlighteners," who enjoyed a complete monopoly of the modern resources for influencing and controlling public opinion. Unlike 1915, too, there was not merely "one foe, and one alone," but a series of enemies. By the outbreak of the Second World War, the Nazi technique of arousing mass hatred had already been developed to a fine art, and the familiar pattern of previous hate campaigns had only to be applied to the succession of enemies produced by the spread of war.

Much attention has been devoted to the strategy and tactics of German external propaganda, with its prime purpose of undermining the morale of Germany's enemies. A study of Nazi home propaganda, designed, as it is, to create and maintain a fighting spirit and to guard against internal disunity, is of equal importance. Such a study ought indeed to serve as the basis of our propaganda to the Germans. In propaganda, as in other spheres of total war, the United Nations have been largely on the defensive, concerned with the combatting of the Nazi

offensive. An offensive propaganda of our own, to penetrate the minds and feelings of the German people, must rest on a clear understanding of the strategy and tactics of the German. We can undermine German morale only if we are familiar with the manner in which the Nazi machine seeks to build up and preserve that morale. This article will attempt to analyze a typical Nazi "hate campaign"—the campaign against England, based largely on German home propaganda by radio from September, 1939 to February, 1940.¹

Broadcast propaganda was not, of course, an isolated phenomenon in the hate campaign. Radio propaganda was supplemented in the daily press, in the illustrated weeklies, in public speeches, pamphlets and books, in special exhibitions. *England, the Robber State*, for instance, was the title of an exhibition in Munich. *England's Guilt* was a special illustrated number of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. A spate of brochures appeared, with four series on England: *The British Empire in World Politics*, *England, The World Pirate*, *England Unmasked*, and *This Is England*. Typical pamphlet titles were *English Cultural Imperialism*, *The Exploiter of India*, *The Empire Against Europe*, *Cant—The English Type of Hypocrisy*, *England Fights To The Last Frenchman*, *Documents on British Plutocracy*, *England Is So Weak!*, *The English Lie Propaganda in The World War and To-day*, *Bankruptcy of English Economic Policy*, and so on ad nauseam. A popular song—*Wir Fahren Gegen England* (We Sail Against England)—was used on the air as an official theme-song, especially in connection with announcements of German victories. Month after month from May, 1939, onward, the regular instalments of the official Nazi Party Speakers' Notes and Propaganda Instructions² contained material of an almost exclusively anti-English character, and laid down the main lines of attack visible in all sectors of the hate campaign. The May number, for instance, contained a long, historical analysis of all parts of the British colonial empire, under the title *The Right of Self-Determination and Freedom in the English World Empire*. The September number was entitled *England's Influence in German History*; the October issue (the first to appear after the outbreak of war), *For England's World Hegemony the World*

1. The material used in this article was taken from the *Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts*, a confidential report prepared by the monitoring service of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Quotations used in the course of the article are taken, unless otherwise stated, from this source.

2. *Einsiges parteiamtliches Aufklärungs- und Redner-Informationsmaterial*, published monthly in Munich from January, 1934, by the Reichspropagandaleitung of the Nazi Party, and later in conjunction with the Reichspropagandaamt of the German Labour Front. This document was not sold to the German public or abroad, but distributed to the many hundreds of thousands of party functionaries throughout Germany.

Must Bleed; the November issue, *The Führer Wished Peace—The English Warmongers Wish Destruction*; the December issue, *Albion Is Seen Through!* In 1940 the propaganda instructions continued to concentrate on England, with issues entitled *Why England Attacked Us* and *England's War Guilt*. Only in March 1940, was a number devoted to France, a secondary enemy in this phase of the war.

In this ever-mounting hate campaign the radio played a unique rôle, since it could be all-inclusive, reproducing material used in newspaper, pamphlet, book, speech and song, and could influence great masses of the population more immediately and more directly. Apart from news bulletins, the radio war against England was waged in long talks, in plays and songs, in history lessons, in broadcast speeches by Nazi leaders, and in special "flash" items sandwiched unexpectedly between other programmes. The news bulletins themselves were vehicles of anti-English propaganda. At a peak period, the seven news bulletins of April 4, 1940, contained approximately 77 items, of which 42 were directed against England and the English. In this torrent of abuse two things stand out. In the first place, the perfect coordination of Nazi propaganda, centrally directed and expressing itself in every organ of publicity, stands clearly revealed. All subordinate propagandists had faithfully followed the instructions set forth in the October, 1939, number of the official information service referred to above:

At the present time there is one question and one question alone, the settlement of which must be dealt with; there is nothing else to be taken up and discussed than the fateful German struggle against the external foe—and that foe is England!

And secondly, this continuing barrage of hatred of England showed how much Nazi propagandists had taken to heart the "fundamental principle" set forth long ago by Hitler in *Mein Kampf* with regard to successful propaganda: "it has to confine itself to little and to repeat this eternally." "Persistency," he wrote, "is the first and the most important condition for success"; the masses "will lend their memories only to the thousand fold repetition of the most simple ideas"³

It is worthy of notice that open exhortations to hatred were rare in the period under analysis. Indeed on more than one occasion German propaganda, twice through the mouth of Adolf Hitler himself, repudiated the idea of hating the enemy.

3. English edition (Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1940), pp. 234, 238-240.

Thus on January 30, 1940, Hitler declared that "the German nation has never been educated to enmity," and that "the German people had no hatred for England and France". On May 10th, in his Order of the Day accompanying the invasion of the Low Countries, the Führer declared: "The German people have never had hatred against the English and French people, but to-day we face the question whether Germany is to live or to die." A front-page article in *Das Schwarze Korps*, organ of the S.S., entitled *Why We Do Not Hate*, elaborated this thesis on April 25, 1940, explaining that the German soldier does not need or desire to have his lower instincts of hatred aroused, since he knows why he is fighting. In direct contrast to these statements is the practice of German propaganda, as we shall see. Moreover, there are not lacking open invocations of hatred, and by persons of high standing. In October, 1939, *Der Stürmer*, anti-Semitic organ of Julius Streicher, published a revised version of Lissauer's *Hymn of Hate*, with the refrain, "England is the curse of the world. She knows but greed and hate and gold." Rudolf Hess, in a funeral oration on November 11, 1939, over the dead of the Munich bomb explosion, declared: "The instigators of this crime have taught the German nation how to hate". On January 24th, a speech before the Hitler Youth contained these words: "German boys and girls know the warmongers in London and Paris and hate them ardently . . . There never will be an army that hates the enemy more fervently . . . German Youth stands by the German army, whose soldiers learned to hate years ago when the Reich was at stake". On February 18th, Russell Hill, American news commentator, was told at a press conference that "the German people are becoming more united than ever in their hate of England and in their belief in the words, " 'May God Punish England!' "

The defensive note in the statements quoted earlier, and their open contradiction with the practice and the theory as stated on other occasions, need not be unduly emphasized. The fact of the matter is that Nazi propaganda agencies are accustomed to arousing hatred in more indirect fashion than by open appeals to hate. For example, two of the primary goals of Nazi propaganda after the outbreak of war were to demonstrate the sole war guilt of England and the innocence of Germany, and to expose the war aims of England—the destruction of Germany and a new Versailles. Two other constant themes in the early stages of the war were the charges that England was seeking to extend the war to other fronts, and that England's policy

was causing untold injuries to neutral countries. Success in these four areas of propaganda would naturally contribute to the growth of hatred of England among Germans. The Germans would become accustomed to place all blame for the war itself, and for all the sufferings which war brought to themselves and neutral countries, on England, exonerating their own government from all responsibility. Any hatred which the war aroused would thus be concentrated, not on German leaders, not even on England's allies, but on England alone. The importance of these four main trends of Nazi propaganda must not be underestimated. This article will, however, confine itself to an analysis of the more direct attempt to arouse hatred of England by depicting her as the embodiment of everything evil and vicious, in contrast to Germany, the pure and undefiled.

In this process Nazi propagandists use black and white brushes, portraying England as *entirely* without good qualities, heeding Hitler's warning in *Mein Kampf* against half-measures. "As soon as by one's own propaganda even a glimpse of right on the other side is admitted, the cause for doubting one's own right is laid", Hitler had written. The good propagandist must understand "the primitiveness of feeling" of the masses, which perceives "not many differentiations, but rather a positive or a negative; love or hate, right or wrong, truth or lie; but never half this and half that . . ." As we shall see, Nazi propagandists have taken this warning very much to heart. Every aspect of English society is worthy of hatred. Its social and political system is faulty and unjust; the empire is based on brutal violence and selfish exploitation; its history is one of bloody war, constant perfidy and grasping egotism; the national character of the people is evil and hateful; its culture is poor or non-existent; all spheres of life are dominated by Jews; its methods of warfare are barbarous; its leaders are men without honour, hated by the world . . . But let Goebbels speak for himself!

Britain is a land of social inequality. "One eighth of the population is enormously rich, one-third lives in the gutter, scarcely like human beings; in between there is a small middle class". Unemployment is serious; strikes and lockouts are frequent; prices rise and wages do not. Social legislation is backward, and social services have been cut since the war. The slums are horrible, and the distressed areas places of hopelessness. A small class of plutocrats reap the benefits of this exploitation

4. *Mein Kampf*, (English edition), pp. 236-8). Cf. Hans Speer, *Morals and Propaganda*, in Hans Speer (ed.), *War In Our Time*, p. 212.

of the masses, and are enjoying the profits of war. They evade taxation by living out of England for more than six months of the year. In this welter of exploitation and corruption the Jews play leading parts. English society is thus described as a hateful class society, in sharp contrast to the healthy "Socialist" Germany, which has abolished unemployment and class distinctions, has guaranteed a decent life to the people, and wiped out the Jewish international financiers. The English hate Germany, said Hitler in a speech on November 8, 1939, "just because she is healthy". In all this the Nazi propagandists were clearly striving to arouse hatred for England and love for Germany in the minds of the German people. The two sentiments supplemented each other; the greater the love for Germany, the greater the hatred of the enemy, and *vice versa*. Moreover these feelings helped to protect the Germans from any external propaganda which sought to prove that Germany was the land of economic suffering, and England the country of the "new social order". In spite of the Nazi portrayal of the class divisions of English society, however, rarely is the attempt made to distinguish the British people from their rulers, although this is the constant theme of German propaganda for English consumption. On the home front, such a clear distinction would involve the danger of arousing some sympathy for the British people as distinct from their rulers. This would be one of the dangerous half-measures which Hitler warned against. The truth for Germans must be that *all* Britons, rulers and subjects, merit the hatred of Germany.

A defensive note is even more apparent in Nazi discussion of the British political system. Here the propaganda was much preoccupied with the task of breaking down "prejudices" and dispelling "illusions" that still remained in the minds of Germans. Moreover there was the unforgettable fact that in the first world war enemy propaganda, exalting the democratic system, had contributed to the breakdown of German morale. England, says the Goebbels machine, is not a *true* democracy. In fact it is an autocracy, in which the upper class alone have power and political rights, since they alone can afford the expenses of parliamentary candidacy. The House of Commons, with its Conservative majority, is composed largely of big capitalists; 181 members of the Government party hold no fewer than 775 directorships, we are told. The Opposition is "feeble and polite". King, Lords and Commons form "a deceptive theatre"; political life is "nothing but a play, stage-managed with the

greatest sophistry". The real rulers are "the capitalistic plutocrats", who solve the problem of governing without popular support by "keeping the people in ignorance, bluffing and keeping the masses in poverty, and maintaining the most infernal police-spy system in the history of the world—the Secret Service." The so-called free press is practically controlled by "six lying multi-millionaires", and is indeed "the least free press in the world". The labour movement, moreover, is a tool in the hands of the governing classes. "Hand in hand with the plutocrats work the representatives of the Second International who disguise themselves as Socialists, while they are in reality nothing but paid instruments of the plutocratic system". Throughout their handling of this theme, Nazi propagandists seek to counteract the possible appeal of the ideals of democracy, parliament and trade unionism among the Germans, and to balance enemy charges against totalitarianism, the Gestapo and the controlled press by denunciation of corresponding enemy institutions.

As for the British Empire, it is "that Jewish system of haters and murderers" built up by violence, while in Germany Goethe, Mozart and Schubert lived and created. India was conquered for markets only, and is kept in direst poverty. The Indian struggle for independence is ruthlessly suppressed. "400,000,000 oppressed Indians burst into genuine tears at the very mention of the name of the former viceroy (Halifax)". "Ireland's passion", centuries old, continues now in the form of the "hated partition". In Palestine the Englishman has "an open pocket for the Jews, but for the Arabs only bombs, dynamite and hand-grenades". In the colonies British rule is a "carnival of cruelty"; the natives are bled white for the profits of the Jews, and suffer from terrible malnutrition. In West Africa, to encourage the payment of taxes, natives are hit with hippopotamus whips, salt is rubbed on their wounds and pepper thrown in their eyes and gullets. In Newfoundland even white men die of slow, miserable starvation.

The Dominions, the Nazis admit, have been sovereign states and voluntary members of the Commonwealth only since 1930 (*sic*). But this is "all on paper". In practice Britain seeks to set up governments in all the Dominions which are pledged to aid Britain. In Canada, it is alleged, for instance, parliament was dissolved through British pressure, because a large part of its members were opposed to the war! In most of the Dominions the Jews are in any case the masters, and can

force them to follow their interests. And within the Dominions are oppressed peoples: the Maoris, the African negroes and the Red Indians. Thus do the Nazis exploit the topic of British imperialism, deepening the darkness of their picture of the enemy, and at the same time counteracting enemy propaganda concerning German imperialism and the allied struggle for national self-determination.

Space prevents a complete analysis of Nazi versions of English history and culture in radio propaganda. Let two examples suffice to illustrate the approach. Special effort is expended to show that England is the historic foe of Germany, in particular the old enemy of the first great war. The theme is constantly repeated, with many variations: the same encirclement policy, the same false British slogans of freedom and democracy, the same real purpose of destroying Germany, the same attempt to impose a hunger blockade, the same atrocities, the same lying propaganda, the same Churchill! In this way the Nazis play on slumbering world-war feelings of hatred, seek to arouse the fear of a new Versailles, and warn against another collapse of the German home front. On the topic of English culture, a single statement by Baldur Schirach, Nazi Youth leader, is enough. "The sclerosis of England's spiritual veins", he said on Dec. 10, 1939, "cannot be stopped, for the country is like a desert, and no cultural life is possible there. No other country has contributed so little to culture: even Shakespeare's genius was discovered by Germans".

The topics discussed up to this point might, had the Nazis wished, have been handled in such a way as to concentrate hatred on the leaders, rather than the masses of the English people. In fact the Nazis did not so wish. "Political England is the sum of individual Englishmen", proclaimed the German radio, thus neatly identifying the misdeeds of the country as a whole with the character of the individual citizens. Throwing all reason to the winds, Nazi propagandists have gone further, and sedulously constructed a concept of "the Englishman" which suits the purposes of the hate campaign. The Englishman is lying, hypocritical and Pharisaic, concealing his real motives and purposes with high-sounding phrases and ideas. According to Hans Fritzsche, the leading Nazi radio commentator, "he goes for walks during the day in the garment of a moralist who has found grace in the sight of God and of an honest merchant, only to throw the Bible and the morals into a corner at night and to act as a thief and a murderer". He is self-righteous,

having an exalted idea of his own importance and of the infallibility of his judgment and standards, and a supreme contempt for all things non-English. He has a double standard, for judging his own and others' deeds. The myths of the English "gentleman" and of English "fair play" have long since been exploded. In thus denouncing the Englishman as such, Nazi propaganda passes over to the most extreme chauvinism, in its attempt thoroughly to discredit all things English and to make the popular hatred indiscriminate.

Professor Laswell has written that "the simple minds inside a nation need to have some individual on whom to pin their hate". Accepting this as an axiom, Nazi propaganda seeks to personify the hated England in certain individuals. Mr. Churchill has been "the supreme war-monger", receiving, like Sir Edward Grey in 1914, the main brunt of the German propaganda offensive. Churchill is "the murderer", "the starver of women and children", "the sea pirate", "the past master of lies", "Satan's Knight", and in the words of Hans Fritzsche, "the most hated man in the world to-day". During Mr. Chamberlain's tenure of office the treatment of the British Prime Minister, who had been termed "the flying messenger of peace" in 1938, had to be somewhat different. It was necessary to uproot lingering illusions before a good hatred of Chamberlain could be worked up. The method used was simple: to show the falsity and hypocrisy of all the seemingly good qualities in Chamberlain's character. Hitler himself, in his January 30th speech, compared Chamberlain, declaring war aims, to "the Devil approaching the poor soul with a prayer book,"—a prayer book which later German radio propaganda described as stained with the blood of Chamberlain's victims.

One of the commonest devices of Nazi propaganda is to link or to identify the object of hatred with the Jew. The anti-English campaign was no exception. The pages of the Nuremberg *Der Stuermer* were full of anti-English items after the outbreak of war. Radio propaganda has emphasized the fact that Jews dominate all spheres of English life—industry and commerce, education and politics, the press and films. English statesmen are Jewish [Hore-Belisha, or as the Nazis call him, Horeb-Elisha], or of Jewish ancestry (Eden), or *judenhörig*, i.e. under Jewish influence (Churchill). Jewish financial interests dragged England into the war, and the English people will be sacrificed to those interests. On occasion the Nazi radio has tried to create the impression that the English *are* in fact *Jewish*.

Baldur Schirach, in the speech referred to above, asserted: "England is in such close touch with Jewry that it can be said that Jewry and England are identical". On another occasion the radio station, *Deutschlandsender*, argued that the Britons are descendants of Isaac; these sons of Isaac—*Isaacsons*—eventually became *Saxons*! In all this the object of the public enlighteners is clearly to produce hatred by associating England with another "enemy", and with an enemy whom the Germans had already been taught to hate at home. Once again, too, the Nazis could pose as the protectors of Germany against the Jewish danger, this time manifesting itself in the form of the English.

Horrible stories of atrocities past and present are an essential ingredient of a hate campaign. No historical instance is too remote to be used in besmirching the honor of the British armed forces, and in arousing the loathing of the Germans for this sadistic foe. In the American War of Independence, the German listener is told, the British gave prizes to the Indians for the scalps of the rebels; on one occasion eight bales of scalps were received, including eighty scalps of expectant mothers and twenty-nine of unborn babies taken from their mothers' wombs. In the Boer War the British used dum-dum bullets and lydite poison gas, and introduced concentration camps for non-combatants. In the Great War the British starved eight hundred thousand women and children through the blockade. In this war Britain has resorted to the most cruel deeds. She sank the *Athenia* in cold blood; she used poison gas in Poland and in the River Plate battle; she has fired on German sailors on the ice or swimming in the water; she has used the blockade again. The British Secret Service adds another bloody page to Britain's lawlessness in warfare: "With the Bible and the Cross, these murder gangs wander all over the world distributing money and bombs to seditious elements". Worst of all, it was the Secret Service that sought to assassinate Hitler at Munich!

It is possible to draw certain conclusions as to the strategy and tactics of Nazi home propaganda from the evidence given above. The hate campaign which we have described served, it may be inferred, two main purposes. It had a positive purpose: to make the German people ready and willing to fight the war to the end, and to bear all the sacrifices involved in that struggle. The alternative—the victory of the hated foe—is made too dreadful to contemplate. It is not merely a choice between evils—between Hitler and the enemy, although the hate campaign

will encourage the choice of Hitler by those who view the issue in those terms. England is so *absolutely* evil that under no circumstances may a German defeat be permitted. No suffering is too great to be endured if the hated enemy may be prevented from gaining victory.

A second purpose is negative in character: to guard against disunity and treachery among the German people. The enemy must be so hated that his propaganda will have no effect on the German masses, and that the idea of aiding him to victory will appear monstrous. The hate campaign will in, other words, safeguard the home front against a collapse of morale such as occurred in 1918. This negative purpose blends with the positive one already mentioned. They are indeed but two sides of a single coin. If Germans are utterly convinced of the necessity of fighting on to victory, there will be no division or disloyalty. If sympathy with the enemy, or aid for him, is discouraged, then the fighting spirit of the Germans will be the greater. The hate campaign is intended to serve the dual purpose of maintaining war spirit and warding off disunity.⁵

Certain tactical principles of German propaganda may also be deduced from the evidence submitted in this article. First, supposed English virtues must be shown to be false. Fair play and gentlemanliness are *not* part of the English character; democracy and free trade unionism do not *really* exist in England. Here the propaganda is on the defensive, uprooting old sympathies for things English.

Second, there is an English evil to match every alleged German evil. There is the Secret Service, to match the Gestapo; there is Churchill, to match Hitler; there are British atrocities as well as German; German imperialism is balanced by British imperialism. At the worst, the Germans may be made indifferent as a result of this device: there is nothing to choose as between Germany and England, they may conclude. At the best, however, German propaganda may win the loyalty of the people, since it will be able to hide or distort the real meaning of German weaknesses or evil deeds, while focussing all attention on the corresponding British faults and crimes. Moreover the tables may be turned by asserting that British propaganda falsely charges Germany with certain evils merely to divert attention from these very evils in British life.

5. Cf. Ernst Kris, *Morale in Germany*, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 47, November, 1941, p. 452 et seq.

A third tactical principle—this time offensive in nature—is the contrasting of English *bad* and German *good* qualities. Social inequality is contrasted with German socialism; plutocracy with the people's state; barbarism with German culture; Jewish Britain with Aryan Germany, and so on. This is the method urged by Hitler in his denunciation of half-measures.

A fourth device in Nazi hate propaganda is to declare that the enemy hates the Germans and Germany. Time after time Hitler, Goebbels, Ley, Fritzsche and others charge the British leaders with inoculating the British people with hatred of the Germans. Not merely British statesmen, they allege, but all Englishmen, are filled with hatred of Germany. And this hatred is directed not simply at Hitler and the Nazis, but at the whole German nation. [The statements of a Vansittart are welcomed by the propagandists as grist to their mill. There can be but one German reaction—hatred of the English.]

Fifthly, Germany is not alone in hating England and the English. A special series of programmes—"Anti-British Anthology"—is designed to illustrate from the world's literature the universal hostility towards England. Said Charles Maurras, according to the Nazis, England is "our chief enemy, the declared enemy of the whole world". Said Maupassant, according to the Nazis, "I don't hate the Germans as much as I hate and detest the English."

Finally, a Nazi hate campaign follows the precept enunciated by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, that propaganda "has to limit itself only to a very few points and to use them like slogans" (this is the principle of repetition already discussed), and "has to adapt its spiritual level to the perception of the least intelligent of those towards whom it intends to direct itself". "The more modest, then, its scientific ballast is," writes Hitler, elevating lying to a principle, "the more striking will be its success." As he later states it with even more frankness, "in the size of the lie there is always contained a certain factor of credibility"; the masses "will more easily fall victims to a great lie than to a small one" and "some part of the most impudent lie will remain and stick." The reader may judge for himself how well these principles of the master have been applied by his disciples in the anti-English hate campaign.

6. *Mein Kampf*. (English ed.), p. 234.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 315.