

LOVE AND FEAR: USE OF TWO PRIMAL EMOTIONS IN NAZI POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN THE PERIOD OF 1930-1945

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***Abstract:** Two primal emotions of love and fear were used by the Nazis in their propaganda campaigns aimed at the German people. The Nazis resorted to total propaganda to control the psyche of the people. The success they achieved has few parallels in history. Attempt has been made in this paper to delineate, in broad strokes, the two tactics of their propaganda covering only the most important themes of the Nazi period.*

***Keywords:** Propaganda, Nazi, symbol, absolute authority, terror*

Introduction

This study examines the role of the two primal emotions, love and fear, as tactical weapons in Nazi propaganda. It is proposed that the Nazis resorted to total propaganda to sway the people and these two themes recurred time and again in their efforts. The Nazi leaders, including Hitler himself, held that terror is an effective tool to control (and impose on) the people. In addition to this, Hitler was portrayed as a benevolent god figure who bestowed love and compassion. Theories of propaganda by Jacques Ellul were used as theoretical basis to examine the propaganda techniques here in this paper.

Propaganda Defined

Ellul's views on propaganda bears some examination here as his "thought edifice" is different than that of other literature on propaganda (Ellul, 1978). The conventional definition of propaganda implies a form of communication that is targeted at a well defined group with the goal of changing their attitude towards some cause or position. Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell define propaganda in this way: "Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (Jowett, O'Donnell, 2006). Ellul has studied and explained propaganda from a sociological point of view. To him, it is a sociological phenomenon that is all pervasive, and an integral part of modern technological society.

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Harold Lasswell, a prominent scholar in the field of mass communication research, focused on the content analysis aspect of propaganda. He is the proponent of an early definition of communication that stated, “Who says what in which channel to whom and with what effects” (Lasswell, H.D, 1946). Lasswell, like Ellul, also came to the conclusion that propaganda had to be all pervasive in all aspects of the citizen’s life in order to be effective. It is the “says what” part of his definition that he focused on in his work to focus on the content of propaganda to understand its effectiveness.

Another propaganda model that also focuses on the effect of propaganda on the citizens has been advanced by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Their model of propaganda examines how populations are manipulated and how consent for economic, social and political policies are “manufactured” in the public mind due to propaganda. Their theory postulates five general classes of “filters” through which news is processed to be presented by the news media to the public. These five classes are: Ownership of the medium, Medium’s funding sources, Sourcing, Flak, Anti-Communism, and fear ideology. Chomsky and Herman updated the fifth class or “filter” to instead refer to the “War on Terror” and counter-terrorism after the attacks of 9/11, although they stressed that it operates in the same manner. We shall go into some more details into this fifth class of fear ideology to understand its implications in our present paper.

In an atmosphere of impending nuclear doom and fear and distrust during the Cold War, Herman and Chomsky wrote *Manufacturing Consent* and the fifth and final news filter Herman and Chomsky wrote was ‘anti-communism.’ Chomsky later updated the model as “fear”, often as ‘the enemy’ or and ‘evil dictator’ like Colonel Gaddafi, Saddam Hussein, or Slobodan Milosevic.

Extensive studies have been done of the Nazi phenomenon. Most cover wide areas. There are a few specific studies of the Nazi propaganda methods that discuss general use of media and messages. Notable among them are: *Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion: World War II*. by Anthony Rhodes and *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda* by Ernest K. Bramstead.

Both are excellent reference books but neither deal in depth with the two aforementioned tactics in detail though almost all books make passing references to the psychological aspects of the German people exploited by the Nazi propagandists.

This study was done completely on review of available literature and films of the Nazi period. The book *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler*. By Robert G. L.

Waite is an attempt to analyze Hitler's mental state during the war. The book is considered to be a definitive psychological portrait of Adolph Hitler. By documenting accounts of his behavior, beliefs, tastes, fears, and compulsions, Robert Waite attempts to explain Hitler and his motivations for doing what he did. But Waite's ultimate aim is to explain how Hitler's psychopathology changed German—and world—history.

The book *The Mind of Adolf Hitler; The Secret Wartime Report.* By Walter C. Langer provides fascinating insight into the mind of the German leader and his eventual degeneration and suicide.

Another book, *A Psychological Analysis of Adolf Hitler.* By Walter Langer was prepared as a report by Harvard Psychologist Langer as a psychological profile of Adolf Hitler for the Office Of Strategic Services (the forerunner of CIA) in 1943.

A classic definition of propaganda is provided by Jacques Ellul (1965): "Propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in and organization" (p. 61). The success achieved by the German Nazi Party to subjugate the German mind during WWII is perhaps unparalleled in history. The Nazi Party and its leader, Adolf Hitler, earned a place in the life of the German people that is difficult to explain except in terms of propaganda and, to be more specific, Total Propaganda. Ellul (1965) defines Total Propaganda as "utilizing all types of technical means..." at the disposal of the propagandist" to achieve the goals of controlling the minds of the individuals (p. 9).

In this paper I shall try to explain the techniques of Nazi propaganda with the German people and try to find the psychological conditions that I think were conducive to such all pervasive effects. I shall show that Hitler and the Nazi Party sought to replace the German nation's Christian belief with a belief in Hitler and his party's ideals by placing Hitler as a replacement of the Christian God, and secondly, Hitler and the Nazi Party used the primal emotion of fear to gain a place in the German people's mind to achieve the effect of all pervasive sociological and political propaganda.

Germany and Hitler

Germany in the wake of the First World War and the Versailles Treaty was a despondent nation. The Germans thought that the treaty was a disaster to them and their self-esteem.

Germany in the 1930s was caught up in “...die grosse angst—an all pervasive ‘great fear’ of many thing, including economic catastrophe, personal failure, social upheaval, moral decline, the communist menace, the Jewish peril” (Waite, 1977, p. 330).

The Nazis understood this fear and manipulated this primal emotion to take over Germany’s political process. Hitler and his party provided the people with promises of fulfilling their needs.

Here we may take the help of the concept of the hierarchy of needs as proposed by Abraham Maslow (1970). According to Maslow, “...the basic human needs are organized into a hierarchy of relative prepotency” (p. 17). Once a human need is satisfied that need is replaced by other, previously less important needs which emerge as the primary concern at that moment.

The order of hierarchy of needs, according to Maslow (1970) is (a) Safety Needs, (b) Belongingness and Love Needs, (c) Esteem Needs, and (d) Self-Actualization Needs, (18-22).

Hitler and the Nazi party were offering to fulfill the deeply felt needs of safety, esteem, and self-actualization to the German people. Hitler and his party were the promise of transcendence from the hyper inflation and deep economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s to a position of power and primacy in Europe and eventually in the world.

Propaganda relies on a very effective mode of operation. It simplifies complex problems and offers quick solutions.

Use of Propaganda by the Nazi Party

Hitler and the Nazi Party did just that. Exploiting the emotional needs of the moment of the German people, the party elevated Hitler to the status of a god. They used imagery, motifs, music, literature, and Hitler’s demagogy to feed the mob’s psychic hunger.

Emotions and prejudices of racial superiority with pseudo-scientific theories provided the German people with a sense of self-esteem. The Nazi party soon instilled in them an illusion of power that filled them with a sense of control and they felt ready to do anything to destroy whatever was deemed to be against the Germanic people (Fest, 1970, p.99).

Hitler showed the Germans the reason for their misfortune and offered solutions. He appropriated the myths of Western Civilization and specially the German myths to create the Nazi Party and his demagogic persona.

Western civilization and its traditions were formed and modified to a great extent by the “Judeo-Christian heritage...” (Tilghman, 1994, p. 7).

Hitler utilized the myths of these traditions and was able to replace the originals and achieve transference of human dependence from the intangible to the tangible, from religion and God to the Nazi Party and the Fuhrer through clever manipulation of images and mythical traditions. Religion, at all times and places, has provided humans with answers to two great questions of existence: “Where did I come from?” and “Where am I going?” (Buller, 1943, p. 143). “Religion achieves its effect and success by assigning humans a means of determining their bearing...in the cosmos adequate to his complex nature...” (p. 144).

The devastated state of mind of the German people in the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty was filled by the Nazis in a way that nothing else could. Hitler and his Nazi party, through well planned manipulative actions, took up a position in the lives of the German people that apparently provided them with the answers to their existential crisis in post WW I Germany.

One leading intellectual in Germany at that time describing the Nazi party commented: “...much of their teaching and symbolism is directed towards answering the spiritual needs of this generation...” (p. 145). He further said, “Their solution is new gospel for the Nazis, called ‘Blood and Soil’... (145-146). The German youth specially could find a new significance to their lives because they could identify themselves with the German race and their destiny with that of the Third Reich.

Karl Weber, an ardent Nazi youth leader, explained to Buller (1943) Nazism’s appeal to the youth in these words: “...the younger generation...needed...freedom that comes from security...which come to those who give complete obedience to an authority they know they can trust” (p. 151). The parallels to subscribing to a religious ideology seems obvious from this statement from an authority figure in the party. The Nazis also understood that the principle of authority “...is not abstract, but embodied in a living and concrete personality. Hence, the ‘Fuhrerprinzip’ which starts with the Fuhrer himself...” (p. 147)

Increasing Power of Hitler

Indeed, Hitler and his party’s actions seemed to propel him to a position of god and the party’s ideological narrative and rituals as the religion of the Germans. Hitler became the quintessence of the Judeo-Christian God to the Germans, at once the creator and the destroyer, the loving father figure who also punishes those who are against his injunctions terribly.

Hitler presented himself as the manifest destiny of the German nation. He saw himself to be a messiah or deliverer who has been divinely ordained to redeem Germany. He even went so far to say: “Just like Christ, I have a duty to my own people...” (quoted in Waite, 1977, p. 4). Waite (1977) writes: “In a speech on 10 Feb 1933 he parodied the Lord’s Prayer in promising that under him a new kingdom would come on earth, and that his would be ‘the power and the glory, Amen.’” He added that if he did not fulfill his mission, “you should then crucify me” (p.27).

That Hitler sought to replace the traditional religion with his own brand was to be manifested on many occasions. Waite (1977) mentions Hitler as saying to his followers that “We are not a movement, rather we are a religion” (p. 29).

In a closed meeting of the party in 1930 in the Brown House Hitler announced: “I hereby set forth for myself and my successors in the leadership in the Party the chain of political infallibility. I hope the world will grow as accustomed to that chain as it has to the chain of the Holy Father: (p. 29). He preached a different kind of trinity of his own making—of the State, Movement and Volk and called it the “inseparable Trinity” (p. 29). The German public picked up the refrain in their collective chant of “Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuhrer.”

Wilhelm Hauer (1937), a professor of Tubingen University in writing about the new religion of Germany said:

Every great epoch in the religious history of the world has a particular focus where God reveals himself to man... . Once upon a time the point may have been the person of Jesus...for us today it is the nation and German history (p. 54).

Elsewhere, in an oblique reference to Hitler, Hauer (1937) says: “We can see God advancing over German soil, seeking his instrument and, in spite of all opposition, molding events according to his purpose” (p.55).

Use of Symbol

All religious expressions take up iconic symbols to distinguish its identity. For the Nazi party, it was the Swastika. The modification of the Hakenkreuz, a special type of cross, to design the party symbol of the Swastika by Hitler was done to take over the mind and soul of the German people replacing any religious feelings by their feelings for the party.

The use of the symbol in human history was not new at that time, but its use in this way was. The use of the swastika symbol goes back to at least 5000 years (Horst, 1991). Originally meaning “god fortune” or “well being” in ancient

Sanskrit, the *svastika* motif appears to have been first used in Neolithic Eurasia (p. 937). Swastikas also have an ancient history in Europe, appearing on artifacts from pre-Christian European culture. (p. 937).

It was the famous German archeologist Heinrich Schliemann who discovered the hooked cross on the site of ancient Troy. He identified this symbol with similar shapes found on pottery in Germany and speculated that it was a “significant religious symbol of our remote ancestors.” (Quinn, 1994). This conjecture of Aryan cultural descent of the German people is likely one of the main reasons why the Nazi party formally adopted the swastika or *Hakenkreuz* (Ger., hooked cross) as its symbol in 1920. Schliemann’s work was adopted by the Nazi party in its *völkisch* movements, transforming the swastika into a symbol of “Aryan identity” and German nationalist pride. (p. xx).

The Nazi party was not the only party in Germany to use the symbol of swastika. A number of far-right nationalist movements had also adopted the swastika. It became a symbol associated with the idea of a racially “pure” state.

Hitler described his decision to adopt the symbol for his party in the *Mein Kampf* :

“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.”

In time, this potent symbol became an emotional stimulus of pride for the German people and at the same time it struck terror in the minds of the Jews and others deemed to be enemies of Nazi Germany.

Accomplices of Hitler

Hitler found willing accomplices among the German intellectuals in his search for authority, including Martin Heidegger¹ who, along with other scholars and scientists, called for “an understanding attitude towards Hitler’s policies” (Fest, 1970, p. 253). An influx of new supporters of Hitler and his ideals started to fill up different intellectual institutions in 1933. University professors made a collective declaration of support to the regime of Hitler in May 1933. Students had expressed their support even earlier, in the summer of 1932 (p. 253).

¹ Martin Heidegger was a German philosopher and a seminal thinker in the Continental tradition particularly within the fields of existential phenomenology and philosophical hermeneutics. Born September 26, 1889, Messkirch, Germany.

To end the “spirit of subversion” against Germany, new professors were appointed to the universities, unfriendly artists were intimidated and 20 thousand books of “un-German writings” were burnt in university squares with SA² and SS³ troops in attendance (p. 253-254).

While trying to take over the minds of the German people, Hitler was plainly contemptuous of the people. He believed that the mass were like women or even children who respond only emotionally to a proposition. He held the people in disdain and wrote in *Mein Kampf*: “The receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous” (Hitler, 1971, p. 180). In the same chapter on propaganda, he writes: 0.

.“The people in their overwhelming majority are so feminine by nature and attitude that sober reasoning determines their thoughts and actions far less than emotions and feeling” (p. 183).

Hitler is said to have adopted these concepts of the mass psyche from a book on psychology by Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie der Massen*. (Leipzig, 1908) that was available to him in Vienna (Waite, 1977, p. 122).

Hitler also devised an oath of allegiance to the Fuhrer that was a close copy of the oath of the Jesuit priests to the Pope. The elite SS wore the sacred runic symbol and were dressed in black, a fashion idea that was borrowed from the dress of the Jesuits.

Using Religious Sentiments

Indeed, Hitler aimed to appeal to the very basic and common religious sentiments of the people with his own prayers and chants, symbols, and events. He even formulated a mystical threat to non-believers that was similar to Gregory VII:

Woe to them who do not believe...These people have sinned...sinned against all life...it is a miracle of faiths that Germany has been saved. Today more than ever it is the duty of the party to remember this National Socialist confession of

² The *Sturmabteilung* (S.A.) meaning Storm Detachment or Assault Division in Nazi Germany, functioned as the original paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party. It played a key role in Hitler’s ascent to power in the 1920s and 1930s. Their primary purposes were to provide protection for Nazi rallies and assemblies, disrupting the meetings of opposing parties, intimidating Slavic or Romani citizens, Unionists, and Jews.

³ The *Schutzstaffel* (abbreviated SS) “Protection Squadron” or “defence corps” was a major paramilitary organization under Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party (NSDAP). It grew to one of the largest and most powerful organizations in the Third Reich. The SS was responsible for many crimes against humanity during World War II.

faith and to bear it forward as our holy sign of our battle and our victory (quoted in Waite, 1977. P. 30).

Ceremonies were instituted with all the paraphernalia of conventional religion. Hitler's colleagues who had died in the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923, were initiated as saints in the Nazi myth and Hitler said that "the blood that they shed becomes the baptismal water of the Third Reich" (Waite, 1977, p. 3). The ritual of touching the so called Blood Flag to the standard of the Brown Shirts could only be done by the high priest, Hitler himself. "Nazi high holy days were substituted for traditional religious holidays..." (Waite, 1977, p. 31).

There was a scripture for the new religion too—Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and it became the marriage gift for young couples instead of the Bible. The league of German Girls reformulated the Lord's Prayer substituting Hitler's name in place of God. Small children were taught to thank "my Fuhrer, my faith, my light" for the daily bread. (Waite, p. 31).

The effect of these manufactured artifacts on the people was remarkable. This is how an American journalist who saw Hitler entering Nuremberg one September day in 1934 described the reaction of the masses:

...I got caught in a mob of ten thousand hysterics...shouting: "We want our Fuhrer."...They reminded me of the crazed expression I saw once in the back country of Louisiana on the faces of some Holy Rollers...They looked up at him as if he were a Messiah, their faces transformed...(quoted in Waite, p. 4)

Another writer (Buller, 1943) has written of similar crowd reactions to the appearance of Hitler to that of the appearance of some holy figure.

The 1935 documentary film *Triumph of the Will*⁴ amply captures the adulation and reverence of the crowd to their god rarely found in political settings. (Barsam 1975. p. 21).

⁴ *Triumph of the Will* (German: *Triumph des Willens*) is a propaganda film released in 1935. It was commissioned by Adolf Hitler himself and was directed, produced, edited and co-written by Leni Riefenstahl. It was made to document the 1934 Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg, which was attended by more than 700,000 Nazi supporters. The film highlighted excerpts from speeches given by Nazi Leaders at the Congress. Scenes of Hitler's speech were interspersed with footage of ordered lines of Sturmabteilung and Schutzstaffel troops and public reaction. The film's main focus was to underline the theme of Germany's return as a great power and Hitler as the savior of Germany who will bring glory to the nation. Released in 1935, the movie became a classic propaganda film in history for its use of imagery and cinematic techniques. (Hinton, David B. (1975. Pp. 48-57)

The opening sequence of the documentary shows Hitler's aircraft descending through clouds over Nuremberg "to review his faithful followers" (Riefenstahl, Leni, 1935).

The film opens with shots of the clouds above the city, and then moves through the clouds to float above the assembling masses below, with the intention of portraying beauty and majesty of the scene. The cruciform shadow of Hitler's plane is visible as it passes over the tiny figures marching below, accompanied by an orchestral arrangement of the Horst-Wessel-Lied⁵. Upon arriving at the Nuremberg airport, Hitler and other Nazi leaders emerge from his plane to thunderous applause and a cheering crowd. He is then driven into Nuremberg, through equally enthusiastic people, to his hotel where a night rally is later held.

It seems to imply that a god is descending in his chariot from the heavens to the earth. Further footage would show Hitler's motorcade proceeding through the streets of Nuremberg while the citizen's adulation, the veneration and awe, with which they are greeting him, showing the status he was able to gain in the minds of the Germans. In making the movie, it was Hitler's intention to create a powerful propaganda tool that would appeal at the most visceral level to the most uninitiated German citizen to the ideals and goals of himself and the Nazi Party.

The whole 'ritual' of the Nuremberg rally is characterized by the themes of 'domination' and 'enslavement' and this is reflected in all the symbolism presented in the documentary. Nichols (1976) says that:

"...the meaning of groups of people; the turning of people into things; the multiplication of things and the grouping of people/things around the all powerful, hypnotic leader figure or force, the fascist dramaturgy centres on the orgiastic transaction between mighty forces and their puppets. Its choreography alternates between ceaseless motion and a congealed, static, 'virile' posing. Fascist art glorifies surrender, it exalts mindlessness; it glamourises death."

The documentary was not any propaganda film but *Triumph of the Will* is sometimes seen as an example of the propagation of Nazi political religion⁶. The primary religion in Germany before the Second World War was Christianity.

⁵ "The Horst Wessel Song" was the anthem of the Nazi Party from 1930 to 1945.

⁶ The theory of political religion concerns governmental ideologies whose cultural and political backing is so strong that they are said to attain power equivalent to those of a state religion, with which they attain significant similarities in both theory and practice. (Gentile, Emilio. 2006).

With the primary sects being Roman Catholic and Protestant, the clever use of Christian symbolisms in this movie seem to be meant for it to immediately resonate with the intended audience. In fact, religion is a major theme in *Triumph of the Will*. The film opens with Hitler descending god-like out of the skies past twin cathedral spires. It contains many scenes of church bells ringing, and close up shots of individuals in a state of religious fervour, as well as a prominent shot of Reich Protestant Bishop Ludwig Müller standing in his vestments among high-ranking Nazis. It is probably not a coincidence that the final parade of the film was held in front of the Nuremberg Frauenkirche. In his final speech in the film, Hitler also directly compares the Nazi party to a holy order, and the consecration of new party flags by having Hitler touch them to the "blood banner" has obvious religious overtones. Hitler himself is portrayed in a messianic manner, from the opening where he descends from the clouds in a plane, to his drive through Nuremberg where even a cat stops what it is doing to watch him, to the many scenes where the camera films from below and looks up at him: Hitler, standing on his podium, will issue a command to hundreds of thousands of followers. The audience happily complies in unison. As Frank P. Tomasulo comments, "Hitler is cast as a veritable German Messiah who will save the nation, if only the citizenry will put its destiny in his hands." (Tomasulo, p.104).

Towards Absolute Authority

While Hitler and the party image was being nurtured with overt religious parallels, the other propaganda tool of terror was also being wielded with perfect adroitness by the Nazis. Hitler wanted to become the center of all of Germany's thoughts by creating the illusion that he was the incarnation of the mythical Fuhrer. He concentrated all authority unto himself and became the god. But there was nothing mythical about his other face, the face that used terror so powerfully to bend the people to his will. He was very candid about using terror as a political weapon. The idea Hitler put down in the pages of *Mein Kampf* were the theoretical basis on which Nazi policies and activities were decided upon and implemented.

Hitler's ideas put down in his book spoke eloquently of his real intentions a lot before the world even took notice of the terrible consequences he was to unleash on the world. Hitler and his followers had been talking about "anti-capitalism," "annihilation of world finance," "unification of Germans," "living space," "conquest of the East," "racial superiority," "fight for world hegemony," all ideas contained in Hitler's work *Mein Kampf*. Hitler (1971) wrote: "...Reich must again set itself on the march along the road of the Teutonic Knights of old,

to obtain by the German sword sod for the German plow and daily bread for the nation” (p.140).

The clear message from the above statement that can be parsed is that Germany would go for finding living space by force, control world capitalism and become the single most superior world power. One of Hitler’s main concerns was the “Jewish question.” Approximately six million Jews were to be murdered during the Nazi years. To whip up anti-Semitic feelings Hitler’s able associate Goebbels produced several anti-Semitic films but none can compare with the rabidly anti-Semitic 1940 film *The Eternal Jew*.

The film portrays the Jews as subhuman and actually equates them with rats. It shows them as lice-infested, lazy, and avaricious people who mingle in the culture of the Europeans and undermine Western civilization. Graphic scenes of kosher butchering show the Jews as bloodthirsty and without any cleanliness or sense of European decency. All of these scenes were meant to incite fear and hatred in the minds of the audiences.

The Rise of S. A.

From the early days of the Nazi Party, during the 1920s and 1930s, an extra-legal armed group of thugs and goons started to operate as the strong arm of the party. The S.A. was such a group raised under the patronage of Ernst Röhm, affiliated with the Nazi Party. The S.A. acted to eliminate all opposition to the Nazi Party and was generally tasked with providing protection to Nazi rallies, disrupting the meetings of opposition parties, and fighting with the paramilitary forces of opposing parties among other disruptive activities against the Nazi Party opponents (Kershaw, Ian, 2008, p. 313). This brutal enforcement of the party ideals and the leadership is explained by Ellul. Ellul (1973) observes that when a society is going through a period of violent upheavals, propaganda “...can interfere brutally” (p. 280).

The S.A. would march the streets in uniform with swastika printed armbands and engage in numerous street brawls to instill fear in the minds of those who opposed the Nazi Party. Hitler also personally believed in the “...annihilation of all those whom he regarded as his enemies” (Krausnik, 1968, p. x). To gain political grounds, the party used promises of anonymity and impunity to those who would engage in uncovering and eliminating its enemies.

There were other means used by the Nazis to create terror in society and instill a regime of suppression were used effectively by the Nazis. The Reichstag fire on February 27, 1933 was used as an excuse to start a reign of terror against communists and other opposition of the Party. Immediately after the Nazis

Reichstag fire, Göring was the first to arrive at the scene. A communist radical—Marinus van der Lubbe was arrested. Göring immediately called for a crackdown on communists.

The Reichstag Fire Decree was passed the next day on Hitler's urging, suspending basic rights and allowed detention without trial. Activities of the German Communists Party were suspended, and some 4,000 communist party members were arrested. Göring demanded that the detainees should be shot, but Rudolf Diels, head of the Prussian political police, ignored the order. Some researchers, including William L. Shirer and Alan Bullock, are of the opinion that the NSDAP itself was responsible for starting the fire (Shirer, 1960, p. 192, Bullock, 1999, p. 162). Some historians support the theory that the fire was actually a work of the Nazi Party under the direct supervision of Herman Göring, a leading member of the Nazi Party (OUPblog, 2013). This incident is considered to be pivotal in the establishment of Nazi Germany.

Fear and Terror

It can be considered that this was done to strike fear in the hearts of the German people so that the actions of the party met no opposition from the people. Rather the people would consider the Nazis, and Hitler in particular, to be the saviours of Germany. *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror* cites the official circulation after the fire that declared "...today was to have seen throughout Germany terrorist acts against individual persons...life and limb of the peaceful, and also the beginning of general civil war" (p. 57).

The Nazis used a very resonant theme to keep the German people fearful and uncertain. Dread and the resulting confusion served the Nazis well.

In propaganda this technique of creating an uncertain mental state is defined as Fear, Uncertainty, and Doubt or FUD. This tactic has many uses in sales, marketing, public relations, politics and propaganda⁷. FUD is generally a strategic attempt to influence perception by disseminating negative and dubious or false information. FUD is a manifestation of the appeal to fear.

Immediately after the fire started the police were on their way to arrest a cross section of the population, including Communists, Socialists, Pacifists, writers, doctors, and lawyers (p.57). The book documents horrific accounts of systematic torture, killings and persecutions aimed at persons not submitting to the Nazi ideology.

⁷ The term FUD is also alternatively rendered as "Fear Uncertainty and Disinformation".

Ellul (1973) says: "...it must not be forgotten that it [propaganda] also creates anxiety and provokes tensions. Particularly after a propaganda of fear and terror..." (p. 187, 188). The Nazi Party was creating anxiety and tensions among the population at that time and it was using the S.A. with ruthless efficiency. *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror* informs us that Göring, as commander of Prussia, had issued an order to the Storm Troopers to use their weapons "regardless of consequences" and promised protection to them.

Public Concerns

The unbridled excesses of the Nazis and the paramilitary wing of the party created concerns in the German society too. Hans Frank, the head of the National Socialist League for Preservation of the Law and President of the German Law Academy, said in an address on October 11, 1936 "...with the rise of the Gestapo machine...I have encountered increasingly violent and widespread opposition to any views" (Krausnick, 1968, p. 199).

What the Nazis themselves thought about such concerns can be found in Himmler's writing in 1937: "...the power of the police force cannot... be restricted by formal regulations..." (p. 188). The Nazis were consolidating their power on all fronts with their terror campaigns. On March 13, 1933 Goebbels was appointed the Minister for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda. The death penalty was enacted on March 29, 1933 for "crimes against public security." On April 1, a boycott of Jewish doctors, lawyers, and businesses was ordered around the nation. The following events take place in ominous succession: On May 10, the S.A. and the S.S. start burning books by non-Aryans and those who are out-of-line with Nazi ideology. Himmler and the S.S. were given police power to quell opposition.

Total propaganda and a campaign of terror were handmaidens in the service of the Nazis. So effective was the combination that at the concluding months of war in 1944 and even when the allied troops were at the Berlin perimeter in June of 1945, the German army fought on bitterly. During the last four months of the war the police and party had reduced their activities to a great extent, presumably sensing the imminent capitulation of Nazi Germany. But the political propaganda machine that had worked all through the Pre-war and war period had the desired effect of instilling fear in the minds of the people so effectively that the German people and the army continued to resist and fight the allied forces. Bramsted (1965) says, "Fear of...dreadful possibility was to make the last German man and woman prefer to die stoically than to live as a slave under the foreign yoke" (p. 316). The German propaganda painted horrific pictures of possible allied occupation and the tools of terror successfully kept the

people of Germany psychologically unprepared to accept any alternative to the Nazi regime.

How the Nazis spread fear and terror among the German populace is described in detail in the book *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930-1935* by William Sheridan Allen (1965). It is appropriate to cite a few lines from Allen's account to show that fear was an important element for the success of the Nazi propaganda process:

...the first thing the Gestapo did was to prove that they will use power in a ruthless and effective way. If this could be done if Thalburgers came to believe implicitly that they might expect no mercy from their new Nazi rulers, then later terrorism would not be needed. The initial investment of terror would multiply itself through rumor and social reinforcement until opposition would be looked upon as wholly futile (p.173). Raids were made to the houses of Communists; arms were seized; homes of opponents, real of potential, were "repeatedly ransacked and various people arrested" (p. 176). Allen (1965) says "...the Gestapo became extraordinarily efficient by reasons of rumors and fears" (p. 179). The attacks on the general populace were varied and cruel designed to break down any opposition. There were threats of prison, no work, work designed to break the spirit, concentration camps, etc. to name a few.

Conclusion

Thus Hitler and the Nazi regime used two very effective psychological motivations, one of fear and the other of love, two primal emotions, as tools of propaganda to effectively rein in the German population and impose their dictatorial powers over Germany which would have far reaching consequences over their nation and the world for generations to come.

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