MEDIA AND THE HOLOCAUST: A COMPARATIVE THEMATIC ANALYSIS

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Media Studies and the Robert D. Clark Honors College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

May 2024

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Eliana Norton for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the Department of Media Studies to be taken May 2024

Title: Media and the Holocaust: A Comparative Thematic Analysis

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Media historically shapes perspectives and creates normative ways of thinking. This paper will focus specifically on answering the question: How were themes surrounding the Holocaust presented within German vs. US media from 1938-1948 and how did they differ? This question will be answered through a comparative thematic analysis, comparing the themes presented in media artifacts from two different geographical locations. Media will be represented textually, graphically, and in film during this study, such as propaganda posters and both fictional and nonfictional movies. The scope of the "events of the Holocaust" implies a focus on things from how power was maintained by the Nazi party to scapegoat the Jewish population, to literal social opinion polls directly asking about respondents' thoughts on the event.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my primary thesis advisor, Maxwell Foxman, for his assistance on my thesis with key framing advice as well as keeping me on track. I would also like to thank my CHC reader, Nicole Dahmen, for serving on my thesis committee. A special thanks to Angelika Bammer (Emory University) for providing some key insight into my unique topic based on personal history as well as providing translations for artifacts. I want to offer a big shout out to Amanda Cote and Anita Chari for helping me formulate my many, broad, convoluted ideas for my thesis, and aiding me in the beginnings of the thesis writing and drafting processes. Lastly, I want to thank my HC 477 and J 415 classmates for providing valuable feedback and serving as a sounding board in the early stages of my thesis.

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Introduction

Media plays a large role in the way people grasp happenings of the world today, but this was not always the case. As the development of media grew, its coverage of history did as well, leaving absences of coverage in some historical events such as the Holocaust, and there continue to be gaps in important information surrounding the event today. There is a saying that the victor gets to write the history, which in this case is the Allied Forces. Thus, the United States perspective shall serve as an important narrative for this study. There are many papers written on the lack of history from non-dominant points of view. For instance, Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony is a well-studied subject of interest and is applied in this context of historical teachings¹. When applied to traumatic mass events such as the Holocaust, the consequences for the victims can take large emotional tolls as the psychological trauma for survivors is already a lasting effect². The impact on survivors and their families along with ways in which the Holocaust is discussed in media play important roles in generating meaning around the Holocaust and the themes that are presented.

In this study, media artifacts were collected through a series of keyword searches and then coded for thematic content. From these codes, multiple themes were identified and then put into context with the time period and origin of publishing to further create meaning. The three general themes that have been identified from the selected artifacts are anti-Semitism, nationalism, and political tactics.

¹ T. J. Jackson Lears. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 90, no. 3, 1985, pp. 567–93. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/1860957. Accessed 18 Mar. 2023.

² Barak, Yoram, and Szor, Henry. "Lifelong posttraumatic stress disorder: evidence from aging Holocaust survivors." *Dialogues in clinical neuroscience* vol. 2,1 (2000): 57-62. doi:10.31887/DCNS.2000.2.1/ybarak

These three themes, aided by artifact-specific codes, help paint a unique, but thematically similar story of the Holocaust, putting together more pieces of the historical event.

Chapter 1 – Background: What is the Holocaust and why media?

Hitler's Rise to Power and the Use of Media

To begin this study, I will first define the Holocaust as it relates to my research, and then delve deeper into its history with media. The definition that I will use is that of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, which states, "The Holocaust was the systematic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its allies and collaborators." The Nazi Party, led by Adolf Hitler, utilized methods of law, military, and media to alienate and Other³ Jewish people and further labeled "undesirable" minorities such as the Sinti/Roma, intellectually/physically disabled, politically different, and LGBT+ populations. A large part of the success of Hitler's rise to power and propagation of anti-Semitic views, which is often included in the education teaching gap,⁴ was his extensive use of media to promote these ideals as norms.⁵ Media in this sense is anything that might have been publicly displayed, distributed, or published, from newspapers, speeches, films, posters, etc.. These media, along with others, will be used for this study in the context of the Holocaust.

³ Define this concept of Othering

⁴ Totten, Samuel. "Holocaust education." *Educating about social issues in the 20th and 21st centuries: A critical annotated bibliography* 1 (2012): 226.

⁵ O'Shaughnessy, Nicholas. "Selling Hitler: propaganda and the Nazi brand." *Journal of Public Affairs: An International Journal* 9.1 (2009): 55-76.

Primary Forms of Mass Media the Holocaust (then and now)

Popular culture

Popular culture is roughly defined as any medium in which the general (non-intellectual) public is reached. This takes the form of leisure such as books, movies, music, etc. Conversely, mass media is the means of mass communication such as broadcasting or publishing. Both of these come into play as mass media became globalized with news airing internationally, or as content published in the form of a pop culture medium post-war. During the war, maintaining a positive public opinion in each respective country was of high importance, thus these industries were still attempting to produce entertainment, but were also slipping in some more pro-nation ideology into their products. For the Nazis, this came in the form of movies promoting anti-Semitic beliefs, or idolizing Hitler. Pop culture is key in maintaining dominant ideologies, of often presented by those in power, such as heads of large media corporations, so it is very effective in subtly enforcing beliefs that society will buy into. Even today, there are examples of historical events including the Holocaust and WWII, which are depicted in mainstream books, TV shows and movies, which strongly influence viewers' perceptions of these events.

Propaganda

The working definition of propaganda, as used for this thesis is "the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations.⁷" Propaganda as a term stems from religious origins of "sending forth" or preaching an ideology and slowly turning it into a

⁶ O'Shaughnessy, Michael. "Box pop: Popular television and hegemony." *Understanding Television*. Routledge, 2005, 90-104

⁷ Jackall, Robert, ed. *Propaganda*. Vol. 8. NYU Press, 1995, p. 13.

belief.⁸ The connection between religion and politics played a big role in early forms of political propaganda, forging the methods we know today. The next stage of propaganda did not really emerge, however, until the spread of mass media in the form of radio and tabloid papers, coinciding around the time of World War I. As Robert Jackall states in his book on the history of propaganda, "all major world powers competed, first and foremost, for the allegiance and good will of their own civilian populations. Without civilian morale, the vast industrial apparatus that produced ships, weaponry, and bombs, and thus made total war possible.⁹" By World War II, nations had their own national propaganda departments in charge of studying societal and advertising patterns, constructing propaganda campaigns that would effectively reach the public. Film was a major new technology that the US and Germany especially wanted to employ, being able to tap into the ethos of the viewer at an even higher level.¹⁰

Documentaries

Documentaries and histories cover the bases of historical interpretations of past events. While these are generally published well after the event, directors and producers often plan for live footage to be captured and synthesized into telling the story. This makes the case of Holocaust documentaries unique as there is limited footage that has survived being destroyed by Nazis, or is not filmed from the perspective of Allies liberating the camps, which is purposefully framed to demonstrate Nazi inhumanity. ¹¹ Furthermore, there have been worries voiced

8 Ibid

⁹ Jackall, Robert, ed. *Propaganda*. Vol. 8. NYU Press, 1995, p. 5

¹⁰ Ibid, 8

¹¹ Singleton, Daniel. "Exhausting Documentary: The Affects of Adapting Histories within and between Three Holocaust Documentaries." *South Atlantic Review*, vol. 79, no. 1–2, 2014, pp. 177–95. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/soutatlarevi.79.1-2.177. Accessed 31 May 2024, p. 176.

surrounding this footage glamorizing the Holocaust due to the biased nature of footage and substantial gaps in archives, as well as the various approaches to documentary narration, which often take positivist/ lesson-teaching perspectives, which does not actively encourage viewers to explore further for themselves. ¹² This being said, documentaries do provide an important historical lens of film on the Holocaust, as it is a subject that is necessary to discuss in human history, but acknowledging the limitations of filmmaking decisions, narrative plot, and historical footage must be present as well.

Previous studies surrounding the Holocaust

Holocaust teachings and memory studies

There have been many critical memory essays written through interviews and autobiographical accounts of Holocaust survivors or the family members of survivors and victims, which Marshman and others utilize in their research. This lens of memory studies was very useful in gaining perspective into the lives of those impacted by the Holocaust because it was needed to gather the sentiments of areas in the US, Germany, etc. during the time during and directly following the war, as there is a limited number of people who are alive, easily accessible, or willing to discuss their experiences today. These memories and the dialogue created through them have created a somewhat "collective memory¹³" of the Holocaust, providing a complex perspective into the importance of witness testimony but also recognizing

¹² Ibid, 178

¹³ Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer. "The witness in the archive: Holocaust studies/memory studies." *Memory Studies* 2.2 (2009): 151-170.

"the impossibility of fully bearing witness to this particular traumatic past." ¹⁴ There is also the factor of how these memories are presented in media, and the argument of whether it is media which makes them relevant, or if media diminishes memory. 15 In this case, media have played a necessary role in connecting the collective memory, ¹⁶ as individuals come out and share their different histories. ¹⁷ These histories can come in many different forms, from the memoirs of prominent Nobel Peace Prize winner, Elie Wiesel¹⁸, who is an Auschwitz and Buchenwald survivor, to smaller format audio or visual interviews conducted by family members. Many Holocaust museums, across the US and other countries, have extensive archives of video interview footage from survivors who were willing to share their stories. These stories are not only unbelievably powerful to listeners, but also serve in creating an emotional connection through the deeply personal details of each individual story. Although these sources and studies of them are often powerful to listeners and readers, there is still a struggle to accurately represent the lives of the survivors, as there is no true way for outsiders to ever be able to understand what victims of the Holocaust were subjected to. What is often less discussed in these histories and analyses is the lack of support from society to share these stories to the public, and how it continues to be an issue today. Even those who would be considered successful publishers of histories, such as Wiesel, have also shared their difficulties of being misunderstood. As

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 152.

¹⁵ Tamir, Diana I., et al. "Media Usage Diminishes Memory for Experiences." *Journal of Experimental Social* Psychology, Academic Press, 22 Feb. 2018, psnlab.princeton.edu/sites/g/files/toruqf641/files/documents/tamir%2Ctempleton%2C%20ward%2C%20zaki%20jes

p 2018 0.pdf.

¹⁶ Baron, Lawrence. "The Holocaust and American public memory, 1945–1960." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17.1 (2003): 62-88.

¹⁷ Erll, A. (2011), Media and Memory, In: Memory in Culture, Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230321670 5

¹⁸ Wiesel, E. (1999). And the sea is never full: memoirs, 1969- (1st American ed.). Alfred A. Knopf: Distributed by Random House.

aforementioned, a lot of footage of interviews or excerpts from autobiographies of survivors are commonly used in Holocaust memorial museums.

Studies of pop culture and media

There have been a handful of analyses done on media surrounding the Holocaust, mostly focusing on representations of the Holocaust through popular films or even children's books. Walter C. Metz discusses the rise in media aiming to portray the Holocaust from periods following the war, from Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* to Dr. Seuss' "The Sneetches," and how many of these are done in ways which do not do justice to the traumatic events suffered by the victims of the Nazis¹⁹. Metz argues that media and its creators have the choice to pick what they want to cover, especially when it comes to entertainment. The Holocaust and its history should fall far from the likes of entertainment, but if it is brought into the spotlight, then we must do the best we can to ensure historic accuracy to the best of our abilities as members of a society which played a role in its history.

Yet another source that discusses this in an analysis of popular culture's relationship with the Holocaust is Alan Mintz's book, aptly called *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America*²⁰. Section III of Mintz's book is dedicated to studying the reception from mass society of popular films, specifically the relationships of Hollywood films and the Holocaust as a theme. Mintz discusses the complexities of film design: the fine lines of artistry

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¹⁹ Metz, Walter C. "'Show Me the Shoah!': Generic Experience and Spectatorship in Popular Representations of the Holocaust." *Shofar* 27, no. 1 (2008): 16–35. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42944683.

²⁰ Mintz, Alan. *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America*. University of Washington Press, 2012, *Google Books*, https://books.google.com/books?id=-

NYHCwAAQBAJ&dq=representations+of+the+holocaust+in+popular+culture&lr=&source=gbs_navlinks_s, Accessed 19 Mar. 2023.

and storytelling, but when applied to such topics as the Holocaust, pitting artistic cutout scenes of real death camp footage with close up scenes of the judge in a courtroom, as portrayed in the film *Judgment at Nuremberg*²¹, the artistry serves in detaching reality from what is portrayed to audiences. Mintz explicitly argues that there is no possible way to replicate the experiences faced by victims of the Holocaust, and that these pop culture portrayals lead to the victimization that society thinks of, not understanding and minimizing the events. These key analyses of Holocaust media in the form of film contribute to how media has transformed meaning and is perceived, which will translate into how film has created a new form of meaning surrounding the Holocaust. Apart from film, there have been fewer analyses conducted on other forms of media, however those that exist are insightful. For instance, Karthik Narayanaswami discusses Nazi propaganda posters, from the tactics employed by Hitler and Joseph Goebbels to what he deems necessary to analyze propaganda artifacts. ²² These sources give a good springboard for further approaches to studying various forms of Holocaust media.

Germany vs. US Media

While there are no existing studies explicitly comparing how media was handled in the US vs. in Germany during World War II, there are separate analyses of ways in which reporting media and propaganda played a role in the war efforts of each nation. For instance, Steven Casey writes about the intentional relaxation of censorship of the press by Roosevelt during the war and the push to send reporters abroad to the front lines so the public was aware "of the dangers,

²¹ Ibid, 87

²² Narayanaswami, Karthik. "Analysis of Nazi propaganda." *HIST S-1572: The Holocaust in history, literature, and film* (2011).

sacrifices, and suffering endured by American fighting men."²³ The incorporation of reporters in with troops along with the advanced technology of radio and film allowed led to some breaches in objective reporting, however it succeeded in reinforcing the narrative of needing to defeat the Nazis. ²⁴ Partly due to this broadcasting, along with government propaganda, the portrayals of Germans in American media began to shift, classifying them either as Nazis or "good Germans," as discussed in an article titled "Images of Germany and the Germans in American Media."²⁵ In this article, Gerhard Probst writes about the beginning of WWI, and the emergence of stereotypes about Germany as evil, which then shifted to Nazism during WWII and how this stereotype in particular was used well after the war. ²⁶

An interesting study of media from Germany comes in the form of German POW papers written by prisoners in America, although many were not published in fear of disloyalty to the home country, and due to censorship by the US government.²⁷ These papers would discuss thoughts on both Germany and the US from the POW perspectives, written entirely in German. It presented political opinions as well as mundane information such as the geography of the US or famous figures. One of these papers, *Der Ruf*, surprised its readers in a May 1945 edition in which it displayed a photograph of bodies from recently liberated Buchenwald, taking a stand against the Third Reich and fascism.²⁸ Within Nazi Germany, media recipients were passive

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²³ Casey, Steven. *The war beat, Europe: the American media at war against Nazi Germany*. Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 6.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 9

²⁵ Probst, Gerhard. "Images of Germany and the Germans in American media." *Mediating a Foreign Culture: The United States and Germany* (1991): 81-92.

²⁶ Ibid, 86

²⁷ Jones, Calvin N. "Views of America and Views of Germany in German POW Newspapers of World War II." *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 17 (1982): 63-70.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 68

audiences, unable to think critically about the information they were being fed.²⁹ The Nazis had set up a cross-Europe broadcasting program to unite the continent under Hitler. One study conducted by Vike Martina Plock focuses specifically on Erika Mann, a German-born actress and writer who ended up speaking out against Nazism and fled to England to work with the BBC. This provides an interesting study on literature published within Germany which spoke out against National Socialism, however it falls just early of the selected time period of my study, due to Hitler beginning to crack down on those who spoke ill of his policy.

Chapter 2: Methods

Overall Methodological Approach

My overall methodological approach was an inductive thematic analysis, which was then used to compare data from two countries – the US and Germany. This means that it was qualitative and focused on how the language and images used in written and visual media expressed different themes surrounding the Holocaust. This method was used in a variety of ways, from coding the texts such as newspapers and war propaganda to analyzing during and post-war film. I chose to focus on a limited ten year time period from right before World War II in 1938 to post-war in 1948. This provided some leeway in the media I am analyzing to include Nazi propaganda used in the latter stages of Hitler's rise to power, as well as some media that was published post-war, reflecting on the impacts of the Holocaust.

²⁹ Plock, Vike Martina. "Erika Mann, the BBC German Service, and Foreign-Language Broadcasting during WWII." *Modernism/modernity*, vol. 27 no. 1, 2020, p. 103-123. *Project MUSE*, https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2020.0004.

Sampling of Historical Texts

The time period that I selected was 1938-1948, which includes a lot of older newspaper articles or propaganda that I found using keywords such as "Holocaust news archives/ newspapers/ propaganda [insert year within timeframe]" or "WWII archives [insert country]" From this search, I was able to identify a handful of online databases^{30 31 32} with published reports or newspaper articles about the Holocaust from both German and American sources. I briefly combed through the sources for content that would be considered media from the appropriate time periods to weed out any non-published records or out of geographic range sources. After sorting through sources for eligibility, I did another skim, but this time doing a somewhat closer read to ensure that they were relevant to my study, as some of the sources that made it through my first round of selection ended up being from the correct time period, but not relevant to the Holocaust. In this closer skim, I checked for relevant language or images that discussed events that would be considered specific to the Holocaust. This meant that artifacts mentioning Jewish people, Nazi ideology and Hitler were relevant even if there was no direct mention of persecution, because these subjects within the time period given were all signifiers of the event itself.

³⁰ "Libguides: Primary Sources: The Holocaust: U.S.A." *U.S.A. - Primary Sources: The Holocaust - LibGuides at Christopher Newport University*, cnu.libguides.com/theholocaust/usa. Accessed 15 June 2023.

³¹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, newspapers.ushmm.org/. Accessed 15 June 2023.

³² "The Holocaust." *The National Archives*, 11 Sept. 2018, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/holocaust/?show=all#more.

Post-War Media

There is only one source which made it through my final selection of artifacts from post-war. This was not intentional, although I did find that many of the post-war artifacts that were dropped from my initial selection were not public enough, most of them were letters, which I feel did not qualify to accurately represent media of the time, but rather more personal testimonials, so I chose to exclude them. The artifact from post-war is a film that was published in 1946, but contains footage almost immediately after the liberation of Buchenwald and Dachau.

Analysis approach

After finalizing my sources from both geographical locations, the process of analysis for each country was conducted in a similar manner. Inductive thematic analyses typically consist of familiarizing oneself with the data (in my case, artifacts), then initially coding the data into groups, then sorting into main themes and sub themes, and reviewing the results. What this looks like in the scope of this project is that I did close reads of the textual content and views of film, and took notes to filter them into broad groups based on theme or messages using keywords to make general theme tags. I made sure to note the specific platform or medium used to publish the text as well. Next, I used secondary sources to further contextualize the sources to gain a better understanding of the geographical climate of the time and how that might have impacted the creation or reasons of publication for each source. This contextualization process also aids both my research and the reader's historical understanding of the events in question. From here, I used both the contextualization and artifact summary to code for themes, and I input my manually

complete analysis into Dedoose, a qualitative research software, to code the data into a more concise format. To do this, I took the analysis I wrote, and then broke that into distinct themes, some more common some not, and these themes or keywords are the codes. I ended up creating 17 codes, which I then was able to produce a code application in Dedoose to visually represent my data. The chart (Table 1) lists all codes along with how many sources they appeared in.

Methodological Justification

Using a comparative thematic analysis method aided in discussing my research question: How were themes surrounding the Holocaust presented within German vs. US mass media from 1938-1948 and how did they differ? This question helped shape how I went about selecting sources both for the analysis and for context. As I detailed above, this determined how I chose secondary sources which aided in the context section for my analysis of artifacts. I also selected a number of artifacts that are considered propaganda to analyze as a good means of dealing with the sentiments of the time period, which correlate with many of the journal articles I used to reflect on the anti-semetic ideology that was present in many countries. Lastly, I want to address the limitations of these methods, beginning with the possibility of potential oversight in my ability to determine additional keywords and the limited databases which are freely accessible to the public. Furthermore, there is a lack of journalistic resources, with only two being utilized, this was not intentional, but again a product of the artifacts that keywords triggered that fit within my parameters. I did attempt to use "newspapers" as a keyword search, however the results which were yielded often did not contain relevant content regarding the Holocaust. Regardless of

these limitations, there was sufficient, usable data which was able to be used for my analysis, thus did not significantly hinder my findings.

Chapter 3: Thematic Analysis and Coding

Overall Findings and Analysis

From the analysis below, the key themes that emerged were anti-Semitism, political tactics and nationalism. These findings signify that although there were different media being used and different messages surrounding the Holocaust being conveyed, the themes of the event itself were similar. This analysis will provide a brief summary of each artifact, using the general information provided within the media itself. Then, each artifact will be contextualized using secondary sources and knowledge from the location and time surrounding the event or general message in question. From this, codes were created to aid in identifying thematic similarities and the three general codes previously mentioned are discussed within each analysis.

American artifacts

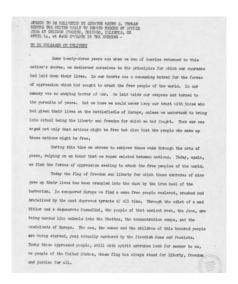


Figure 1: Harry Truman Speech, 1943

This excerpt comes from a speech by president Harry Truman before the United Rally to Demand Rescue of Doomed Jews in Chicago, containing strong, descriptive language against the actions of the Nazis.

Contextualization: This was somewhat of an unexpected move from Truman, as he had historically been known to be slightly anti-Semitic. Carrying momentum from his speech at this event led him further to recognizing and supporting Israel as a Jewish homeland later in his presidency. This speech came a little over a month after a massive showing at Madison Square Garden by the American Jewish Congress, called "Stop Hitler Now," with an audience of over twenty-thousand inside and tens of thousands more outside the gates. This event was a mass plea for action to save Jews from "the Hitler slaughterhouse." This live event was the real run of the 1934 original campaign to stop Hitler, even before the use of concentration camps became known. Due to the language used in this speech, it falls under the primary theme of nationalism,

which also denounces the Italian leader, Mussolini, framing Hitler and Mussolini as clear enemies and Jewish people as a population which needed protection from the US, therefore the rest of the country should rally behind this declaration. This source was also interesting in its explicit discussion of concentration camps and murder, because it was not something that had been widely discussed in other US sources.



Figure 2: The Conspirators, 1938-1941

This is an American anti-Semitic propaganda poster (exact origins unknown) featuring Franklin Roosevelt's declaration of national emergency to protect Jews in Europe. In response, this poster states "Jews Are The Cause of High Taxes - Slavery - Starvation and Death..." With Roosevelt in the foreground, are five other men, all illustrated with stereotypically Jewish, grotesque features, and labeled "The Conspirators." At the very bottom, all caps text reads "Break the Jew control before our country is totally destroyed."

Contextualization: The events in this poster allude to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Proclamation 2352³³ on September 8, 1939, just three days after he had declared US intentions to remain neutral in the war. This change in decision also came shortly after Germany's invasion of Poland that occurred on September 1, 1939. A report³⁴ published on February 19, 2022, looks into this presidential decision to bypass Congress and declare national emergency without consultation, concluding that times of world wars do require an expansion of power of the president. During this time period, historical studies show that there is also an increase on politically polarizing viewpoints of immigration in the US, such as one by Card et al., 35 which can be put into perspective of growing US sentiments of xenophobia both from Asian immigrants, and reluctance to accept Jewish immigrants as well. There was both a rise of anti-Semitic and racist towards Asians (specifically Japanese) propaganda at this time in the US as well.³⁶ Further literature from the case of the MS St. Louis,³⁷ carrying more than 900 hopeful Jewish refugees demonstrates this sentiment, denying refuge and sending the ship back to Nazi Germany. As aforementioned, this poster exemplifies the themes of anti-Semitism in the form of propaganda, using caricatured Jewish figures to present them as the "bad guys" and aided by the text that is explicit in its blame of Jews for problems in the US and for the war. While this

³³ Roosevelt, Franklin D. "Proclamation 2352-Proclaiming a National Emergency in Connection with the Observance, Safeguarding, and Enforcement of Neutrality and the Strengthening of the National Defense within the Limits of Peace-Time Authorizations." *The American Presidency Project*, UC Santa Barbara, 8 Sept. 1939, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/proclamation-2352-proclaiming-national-emergency-connection-with-the-observance.

³⁴ Fletcher, Alden. "Roosevelt's 'Limited' National Emergency: Crisis Powers in the Emergency Proclamation and Economic Studies of 1939." *Journal of National Security Law & Policy*, 19 Feb. 2022, jnslp.com/2022/02/19/roosevelts-limited-national-emergency-crisis-powers-in-the-emergency-proclamation-and-economic-studies-of-1939/.

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ "Racism in Anti-Japanese Propaganda." *Hampton Roads Naval Museum*, www.history.navy.mil/content/dam/museums/hrnm/Education/EducationWebsiteRebuild/AntiJapanesePropaganda/AntiJapanesePropaganda/20info.pdf. Accessed 2 June 2024.

³⁷ Refuge Denied: The St. Louis Passengers and the Holocaust by Sarah A. Ogilvie and Scott Miller

scapegoating of Jewish people in the US was exaggerated in this poster, the phrases such as "the Jewish plot" and "Jews Are The Cause of High Taxes - Slavery - Starvation and Death..." allude to the Darwinist anti-Semitic beliefs that many universities and Christian institutions harbored in the US at the time.³⁸



Figure 3: "Hitler Wants us to Believe," 1943

This is an anti-Hitler poster created by artist Daniel Fitzpatrick for the US Office of War Information to combat the fear tactics used in Nazi propaganda that was also targeting American audiences to turn against Jews, British and US government. It highlights bullet points of propaganda that Hitler had dispelled, including a fair amount of general statements which attacked US morale so that the "rational" American would feel threatened by these "Hitler

a cademic.oup.com/Document Library/HGS/HGS%20 Introduction%20 Virtual%20 Issue%20 Antisemitism%202.pdf.

³⁸ Bendersky, Joseph W. "Holocaust-Era Anti-Semitism: Selected Articles from Holocaust and Genocide Studies." *US Holocaust Memorial Museum*,

statements." What is also interesting about this list is that there are a fair number of bullet points which allude to other social issues, such as combating racism against Asians.

Contextualization: Propaganda as a method of weapon was first widespread used during WWI. In WWI, it was used directly by the government to villainize the US' opposition and create a sense of nationalism and pride in the country. By WWII, nations recognized propaganda as a necessity to succeed in war due to the growing power of media, both to gain greater support for themselves and to cast blame on opposition.³⁹ This poster uses a tactic known as a "whisper campaign," in which rumors about the opposition are spread, commonly used in elections. An early example of this was the 1884 election where Grover Cleveland was rumored to have an illegitimate child.⁴⁰ In this poster, the rumors are the bullet points, meant to cause anti-Hitler talk amongst viewers that would continue to spread. This poster brings up the theme of political tactics by using rumors, and serves as another example of an anti-Hitler/Nazi and pro-Jewish piece of propaganda, which although it mentions Jewish stereotypes, it is done in a way which discourages them, again claiming Hitler as the enemy. It also sets a nationalist theme, by uniting Americans against the rumors that the Nazis were trying to spread about the war, Jewish people, and Asian populations.

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³⁹ Casey, Ralph D. "Em 2: What Is Propaganda? (1944)." *American Historical Association*, 1944, www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gi-roundtable-series/pamphlets/em-2-what-is-propaganda-(1944).

⁴⁰ Huck, Courtney. "The Halpin Affair: How Cleveland went from Scandal to Success." *Wittenberg History Journal* (2017): 3.



Figure 4: "Lest We Forget," 1946

This film was shot by Captain Ellis Carter and Lieutenant William Graf of the US Air Force Motion Picture Unit immediately following the liberations of Buchenwald and Dachau. It was edited and voiced over by Jewish-American Norman Krasna and published under the title, "Lest We Forget." The film contains very graphic footage of Nazi pseudo-science experiments, mass graves, survivors, and camp conditions. It was shown in newsreels across the US post-war to raise awareness of the events of the Holocaust. The film concludes with narration asking viewers to reflect on what they witnessed, especially confronting those who denied or downplayed the events of the Holocaust: "Well, that's what it was like. Except for the smell, you're now a big expert on Buchenwald. If anyone tells you atrocity stories are exaggerated, think of these people. Lawyers, doctors, editors, musicians, judges—it's hard to believe these people were rich and dignified, when their ribs are sticking out. And who can tell who's a Jew and who's a Christian in this pile? Perhaps the man across your dinner table, who tells you these things are exaggerated, knows the difference." This film was provided by the USHMM, gifted to the museum by Beth Krasna.

Contextualization: The Motion Picture Unit was a combined Air Force and Army unit which independently produced films surrounding wartime impacts. It was formed between March and June of 1942 and trained Combat Camera Units. 41 It produced over 300 instructional films during WWII from uplifting stories of specific Air Force members to historical recountings of battles. 42 This film footage was taken with the intention to display the atrocities committed by the Nazis, which explains its graphic nature. The framing and narration was later done by Krasna to question those who were not aware of the gravity of the concentration camps, creating the theme of memory of the event, which plays into the subject of mass murder in the concentration camps. Memory of the Holocaust is an important theme for this artifact due to the intentionality on Krasna's part to call on the public to remember and reflect on these events, even titling it "Lest We Forget."

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⁴¹ Amidon, Audrey, and Heidi Holmstrom. "World War II and the First Motion Picture Unit Films." *Know Your Records Program*, 19 Sept. 2017.

⁴² Amidon, Audrey. "The U.S. Military Goes Hollywood: Behind the Scenes with the First Motion Picture Unit." *The Unwritten Record*, National Archives and Records Administration, 12 Sept. 2013, unwritten-record.blogs.archives.gov/2013/09/12/the-u-s-military-goes-hollywood-behind-the-scenes-with-the-first-motion-picture-unit/.

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believe that Elizabeth was a deadly encounty of my people. She was such a charming person! She bends her tall, slender figure very graciously to hear the words of a shorter person. She has a piquant little child's face, set off by brilliant lipstick which she applies skillfully to her pouting mouth. Her black yes are deep-set and mysterious. She wears her smooth dark hair in an individual believe that Elizabeth was a deadly enemy of my people. She was such a charming person! She bends her tall, slender figure very graciously to hear the words of a shorter person. She has a piquant little child's face, set off by brilliant lipstick which she applies skillfully to her pouting mouth. Her black eyes are deep-set and mysterious. She wears her smooth dark hair in an individual manner, the thick coil in back of her left car. She speaks in a deep rich

sand mysterious. She wears her smooth dark hair in an individual manner, the thick coil in back of helt care. She speaks in a deep rich voice, the blur of her accent adding charm to familiar English words.

All in all, Elizabeth is very attractive. She knows it, I am sure, because she never fails to wear vivid colors. Scarlets and burning oranges. Eyes cannot help but follow her. That is undoubtedly one reason why Hitter sent her here.

Each year between twenty and forty foreign students enter our university. They come from almost every country—China, Japan, Albania, Turkey, Switzerland, Palestine, Persia, everywhere. As guests and fellow-students, they are traditionally accorded every possible courtesy. Each rates a feature story in the Missourian. Teachers give them special assignments, and personal help. They are invited to many social affairs, and offered opportunities to speak to various groups about their own countries.

The feature story about Elizabeth was published in the Missourian of September 29th:

"In no other country I have visited have I heard so much talk of war," marveded Elizabeth now for the company is so large, no powerful, that it seems very strange to me to find here was such shear of the country is to large, no powerful, that it seems very strange to me to find here was such shear of the past of the contractive ideals from Germany. "Your country is so large, no powerful, that it seems very strange to me to find here was such as the country is to large, no powerful, that it seems very strange to me to find here was a such as the country is to large, no powerful, that it seems very strange to me to find here was a such as the country is the large, no powerful, that it seems very strange to me to find here the contractive in the past decade. This believed that years and the proposed of the past of the past of the contractive in the past of the past

present another surprise in May.

Figure 5: Nazi Exchange Students in Missouri, 1838

This newspaper article from the Jewish magazine "The Menorah Journal" details the exchange of Nazi students at the University of Missouri. We now know that these German students were well-trained to positively spread Nazi ideas to others on the campus. Jewish student writer, Esther Priwer, had the chance to interview one Nazi student, Elisabeth Noelle, recounting their interactions in this article. This article was accessed on the USHMM's online archive, using keywords: US, Nazis, WWII.

Contextualization: The Menorah Journal was first published in 1915 in connection to the Harvard Menorah Society, which had been founded by Henry Hurwitz in 1906, 43 with the

⁴³ "Menorah Association and Menorah Journal." Jewish Virtual Library, 2007, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/menorah-association-and-menorah-journal.

mission to "pursue the study of humanistic values in Judaism and to develop a positive intellectual relationship to Jewish tradition and belief. 44" The journal provided a way to extend these views past individual societies and into a collective publication, showcasing Jewish perspectives, intellectuals, and art, while also featuring a fair share of non-Jewish intellectual opinions. During its peak between 1915-1929, the journal advocated for a Jewish-American identity based around Judaism as an ethnicity rather than a religion or nationality. 45 This specific article which discusses Nazi exchange students, alludes to a Nazi propaganda effort of sending hundreds of trained young German Nazis to gain sympathy for their cause and spread pro-Nazi ideas. US universities also participated in these exchanges, with American students being sent to Nazified German universities, with many prestigious universities holding pro Nazi beliefs throughout the 1930s. 46 The surprising thing about this article is that it was written from the perspective of a well-educated, Jewish student, who is able to objectively discuss this Nazi exchange student, even going into detail to describe her positive traits, and then discussing her involvement in spreading Nazi ideology to others on campus.

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⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Kaufman, Matthew. "The *Menorah Journal* and Shaping American Jewish Identity: Culture and Evolutionary Sociology." *Shofar*, vol. 30, no. 4, 2012, pp. 61–79. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5703/shofar.30.4.61. Accessed 4 Apr. 2024.

⁴⁶ Norwood, Stephen H. "Nazi Sympathy in 1930s American Universities - Fifteen Eighty Four: Cambridge University Press." *The Official Blog of Cambridge University Press*, Cambridge University, 16 July 2013, www.cambridgeblog.org/2010/08/nazi-sympathy-in-ivy-league/.

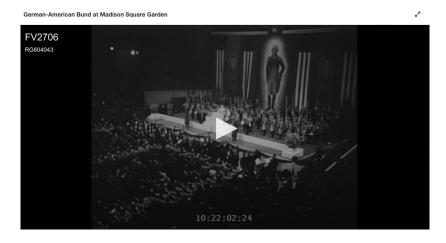


Figure 6: German-American Bund Footage, 1939

This film shows live footage of the German-American Bund celebration held at Madison Square Garden in February 1939. Footage also captures protesters holding signs stating things such as "Fight to death against fascism," and police pushing back against the protesters. The scenery then moves inside where Bund leaders stand on stage with a massive George Washington poster. During a speech by the head of the Bund, Fritz Kuhn, a man identified as "the Jew Gruenbaum" breaks onto stage and tries to attack Kuhn. The narration identifies him as a Jewish man, and reveals that he had a gun but was not given serious punishment by the police. This film, along with the following three films was found on the USHMM's online film archive, narrowing down the time periods in the search engine and then skimming for general content and country of origin to fit the qualifications.

Contextualization: The German American Bund was founded in 1936 by Fritz Kuhn, meant to spread Nazism to the US. It was mainly made up of American citizens of German descent and followed an organizational hierarchy to simulate Nazi unity tactics. They glorified Hitler and

strongly and publicly promoted Nazi ideals to the American public in the years leading up to the US entering the war. They especially leaned on anti-Semitic and anti-Communist⁴⁷ beliefs along with fear tactics to gain support.⁴⁸ This is one of the few US artifacts with anti-Semitic themes, presented through its support of Nazi ideas and the stereotyping of the Jewish man who comes on stage. The theme of the German-American Bund is a stand-alone theme, but an interesting one to include as it was a part of US history involving the Nazi party that is often not discussed.



Figure 7: Clips from "War Comes to America," 1942

This film was produced by the US Army and three-time Academy Award and Oscar winner, Frank Capra. During WWII, Capra produced many propaganda films for the US armed forces, including this one, titled "War Comes to America." This video contains clips from the full film with scenes of German-Americans reciting the American pledge while doing the Nazi salute, the

Quarterly, vol. 85, no. 4, 1970, pp. 585–99. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/2147597. Accessed 6 Apr. 2024.

⁴⁷ Although anti-Communism is a key aspect of the organization, it will not be considered in coding as the media artifact itself does not allude to it. It is merely used here to further contextualize the German-American Bund.

⁴⁸ Bell, Leland V. "The Failure of Nazism in America: The German American Bund, 1936-1941." *Political Science*

German invasion of Czechoslovakia, Japanese soldiers invading China, etc.

Contextualization: Frank Capra was an Italian-American filmmaker who produced many US patriotic themed films and was nominated multiple times for film awards. He had the unique talent of producing films which most general audiences enjoyed, regardless of political affiliation. In the 1940s, his works became more politically anti-Fascist as he was hired by Warner Brothers to produce films to boost the American war effort. He film these scenes were taken from was produced in 1942, although footage depicts times from 1938-39. This film is a prime example of the US government's attempts to pit the American public against the Nazi Germany and Japan, as there were many citizens who still did not support the war effort. It played into themes of US nationalism of having to be the better nation against the evils of Hitler and that war was necessary to defend the great country of America from invasion that had befallen other countries.

German artifacts



Figure 8: Nazi Parades Across Germany, 1938

⁴⁹ Barson, Michael. "The 1940s." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica, inc., www.britannica.com/biography/Frank-Capra/The-1940s. Accessed 1 June 2024.

This video contains footage shot by Nazi party official, Regierungsbezirkdirektor of Arnsberg. There are multiple settings ranging from the Reich Party Day in Nuremberg, Hitler parade in Berlin and other displays of the Nazi army in fields, streets and crowds. One setting shows seas of Nazi party members and marching soldiers with Swastikas, all saluting a figure approaching a podium, who may or may not be Hitler. In Berlin, there is a massive Nazi armed force spectacle, with roaring tanks, rows and rows of horses and soldiers, in a dramatic fanfare and power display, with Hitler riding in an open-aired car surveying his troops.

Contextualization: Hitler notoriously held performative parades to display a sense of regiment and power, showing off to onlookers and creating a sense of intimidation. While in Berlin over the summer, our guide told us that when the Nazis marched through the Brandenburg Gate, Hitler created the illusion of there being more soldiers than there were by having them march in a loop, and these were the kinds of tactics that led to the Nazi regime maintaining power and credibility. Hitler was also very aware of the power of propaganda in the form of film, with a lot of it glorifying Hitler and the Nazi regime, as well as a few "home videos" to make him seem more likable to the public. ⁵⁰ The predominant theme of this video is very pro-Hitler/Nazi

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⁵⁰ "Hitler's Home Movies." *History Detectives*, Public Broadcasting Service, www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/feature/hitlers-home-movies/index.html. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.

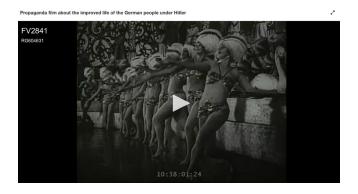


Figure 9: "Word Und Tat," 1938

This film is titled "Word Und Tat" (translating to "Word and Deed"), which was a German propaganda film to promote life under Hitler. It starts out with the chaos that is the German streets, with riots and unrest plaguing towns, Jews and communist agitators, and nightclubs and raunchy behavior. The footage then transitions to Hitler giving a speech followed by Prussian prime minister, Otto Braun, speaking of the goods of National Socialism. The film then transitions back to Hitler in front of a crowd and the joyousness displayed by the people and control kept by Nazi soldiers.

Contextualization: The global Great Depression stemmed from the 1929 stock market crash in the US, as they were an integral part of the international economic system. In Germany, post WWI had already set back their economy due to the Treaty of Versailles reparations. The Weimar Republic had not done much to rectify the economic situation, ⁵¹ leaving the role of political leader up in the air. This allowed Hitler to play into the already existing desperate, fearful, angry population and create an extreme political party created on anti-Jewish and anti-

⁵¹ "The Great Depression." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-great-depression. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.

Communist ideas, falling into all of the predominant themes of political tactics, anti-Semitism and nationalism.



Figure 10: Unified Germany Under Hitler, 1938

This is a Nazi propaganda postcard circulated by the Nazi party from 1938. It is part of a collection of other propaganda postcards from its time. This particular card shows Hitler's face over the map of Germany, with the Nazi eagle emblem at the top. There is text at the bottom with the date and words translating to "one nation one empire one leader." It is a very prideful and nationalist image, put on display by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum's online collection.

Contextualization: As Hitler officially took control of power in Germany, he also made sure that Nazism was more than a political party, but also had control over the social and cultural aspects of German life. The promotion of anti-Semitic beliefs were not solely religious, but racial and ethnic, instead favoring "Nordic" and "German" qualities, creating the hegemonic "Aryan

race. 52" This purification of cultural beliefs translated to all aspects from education, appearance to even architecture and everyday artifacts, including postcards. In this specific example, themes of nationalism and political tactics are present, the first being rather self-explanatory and also playing into how this tactic of a strong, unified agenda maintained political power for Hitler and the Nazis.



Figure 11: Rudolf Hess Speech

This rambling flier speaks of the oppression Germany faced in the hands of the English after the First World War, and that it was the English who enabled "world Jewry and world freemasonry" to take over the country. Hess continues on about how Hitler is Germany's biggest hope for getting out of depression because he and National Socialism will strengthen and unite the nation.

Contextualization: Rudolf Hess was one of the leading Nazi officials, appointed Deputy Führer in 1933, serving until 1941.⁵³ Throughout his career, he worked closely with Hitler, even being

⁵² "Culture in the Third Reich: Overview." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/culture-in-the-third-reich-overview. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.

⁵³"Rudolf Hess (1894-1987)." *Jewish Virtual Library*, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/rudolf-hess-2. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.

his personal secretary for a number of years, transcribing "Mein Kampf.⁵⁴" He also inspired a lot of the publicity tactics that Hitler utilized and led the campaign to put Hitler on a pedestal, giving speeches around Europe detailing how Hitler would save the continent from disaster.⁵⁵ Thematically, this poster is interesting because it touches on politics, although it is not in a way which I would necessarily categorize as political tactics, since it is merely a quote from Hess' speech. There are, however, themes of nationalism and anti-Semitism present within the speech, and it seems as though this is the main message that readers would gather, that "world Jewry" is bad, but the German nation will be strong and persevere.⁵⁶



Figure 12: "He is Guilty For the War," 1943

This is a Nazi propaganda poster featuring words that translate to "He is guilty for the war!" The poster features a hand pointing to the stereotypical image of the "greedy Jew" with a large nose, business-like top hat, grotesque facial features, and yellow felt star of David which Jewish people were forced to wear by the Nazis. This sort of ideology was leaned into heavily by the

⁵⁴ Quinlan-Flatter, Katherine. "Rudolf Hess: Part One - on a Mission of Peace." *Imperial War Museums*, 24 May 2021, www.iwm.org.uk/blog/partnerships/2021/05/rudolf-hess-part-one-on-a-mission-of-peace.

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ See appendix, fig. 13

Nazi party to villainize Jewish people, and many of these stereotypes are still propagated in various countries to this day.

Contextualization: There is not a ton to say about this poster, other than it is an example of the simple visual and textual propaganda that the Nazi party employed to target Jewish people. This poster was published in 1943, two years after SS police chief, Reinhard Heydrich, mandated all Jewish people over the age of six to wear the yellow Jewish Star. ⁵⁷ It relies on anti-Semitic political tactics to push the agenda of alienating the Jewish population further and further to the point of dehumanization, which allowed for their persecution in concentration camps without citizens speaking up. ⁵⁸



Figure 13: "The Eternal Jew," 1940

⁵⁷ "Jewish Badge." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/timeline-event/holocaust/1939-1941/jewish-badge-decreed. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.

⁵⁸ Smith, Peter Scharff, and Anna Eriksson. "Dehumanization, social contact and techniques of Othering." *Combining the lessons from Holocaust studies and prison research* (2016).

This film, titled "Der Ewige Jude" (translated to "The Eternal Jew") was a Nazi propaganda film presented in the form of a documentary. It was first shown November 11, 1940 in Germany. It takes the form of narration by a German man reporting on the dangers of Jewish people and giving filmed "evidence" to his claims.

Contextualization: This film was produced collaboratively with president of the Reich Film Chamber, Fritz Hippler and German Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels. It was a pseudo-documentary film with footage from the Jewish ghettos, comparing Jews to contagious, filthy rats. There are many scenes painting Jews as gross and dangerous, being able to blend in with normal German neighborhoods. The film ends with a scene from Hitler's 1939 speech to the Reichstag where he alludes to the Final Solution in response to what he refers to as the Jewish Problem. In this excerpt from the speech, he once again blames the Jewish people for the misfortunes of Germany and the war, therefore he has no choice other than "the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe. As represented in its title, this film propagates anti-Semitic themes throughout, as that is the whole premise of the film. It also demonstrates the power of political propaganda film, as it was intentionally funded by the Nazi ministry of Propaganda.

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⁵⁹ "Der Ewige Jude." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/der-ewige-jude. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.



Figure 14: "Jud Süss," 1940

This is another fictional Nazi propaganda film made to propagate anti-Semitic beliefs. This was the movie poster that was widely advertised in Germany and other parts of Europe in 1940, when the film was released.

Contextualization: "Jud Süss" is loosely based on a novel from 1925 sharing the same title. The film paints a fictional tale of a Jewish man who somehow earns a high position working for the Duke of Wurttemberg. He begins to feed disillusions to the Duke, all part of his scheme to end the Jewish ban. The film comes to a head with the Jewish man raping a Christian German girl, and being tried and hanged. This subtle anti-Semitism through a fictional plot was a very effective tactic, reaching an estimated 40 million viewers across Europe. Reportedly, the film was "shown to all SS inductees at the request of Heinrich Himmler. Similarly to the last film, this artifact employed similar political tactics of anti-Semitism, but also added in the extra factor

⁶¹ Harlan, Veit, director. *Jud Süβ*, 1940.

⁶² Ibid

of needing to protect German citizens (especially its Christian girls), creating a nationalist "us vs. them" theme. ⁶³



Figure 15: "The World Bank," 1944

This is a newspaper article from the paper "Der Stürmer," titled "Die Weltbank," that translates to "The World Bank." This alludes to the stereotypical belief that Jews are greedy businessmen who control banks in North America.

Contextualization: Der Stürmer was an anti-Semitic German newspaper that ran from 1923 to 1945. The paper was created by Nazi party member, Julius Streicher, to spread anti-Semitic propaganda and Nazi beliefs. This edition was published February 1944, long after Germany began feeling the force of the Allies attacking from both the eastern and western fronts, as well as attacking Japan and other important Nazi supply areas. Italy had withdrawn from the war in September 1943, and the British Royal Air Force had begun their campaign of bombing Berlin,

⁶³ Kohl, Diane. "The presentation of "self" and "other" in Nazi propaganda." *Psychology & Society* 4.1 (2011): 7-26.

joined shortly by the other Allied forces. Nazi soldiers were now spread thin across all of their conquered land.⁶⁴ At this point, German civilians were also struggling, as they had been living off of limited rations since August 1939.⁶⁵ However, this mutual enemy of the RAF bombings drew the country together, and the Nazis made sure to take advantage to keep nationalism high within Germany.⁶⁶ This article is an example of another attempt to rally behind the common anti-Semitic beliefs and denounce the American enemy as being controlled by these Jewish bankers⁶⁷ through anti-Semitic and nationalist themes.



Figure 16: "The Masterminds," 1942

This anti-Semitic poster was published and distributed in Munich, Germany from May to June 1942. The bold text at the top and bottom translates to "The Masterminds... they are only Jews!" The body of the text was taken from a speech that Hitler gave on April 26, 1942, to the

⁶⁴ "World War II." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., www.britannica.com/place/Germany/World-War-II. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.

⁶⁵ Corper, Haydn. "Everyday Life in Germany during the War." *Haydn Corper Author*, haydncorper.com/index.php/germany-at-war/everyday-life-in-germany-during-the-war/. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.
⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Foxman, Abraham H. Jews and money: The story of a stereotype. St. Martin's Press, 2010.

Reichstag. In the context of this speech, six prominent Jewish men are shown, who are on opposing sides as Germany: an American presidential supervisor, a US Supreme Court justice, a Soviet diplomat (against Germany before WWI), an English Parliament member, and two German Jews, one a Socialist and the other an industrialist.

Contextualization: This artifact is relatively straightforward due to the large amount of context that Hitler provides from this excerpt of his speech. This portion is one of a longer bit in which Hitler provides ample reasoning for the Jewish people to be blamed for all of the wrong that is occurring in Germany. This discussion of Jews comes a little less than halfway through his speech, which in whole is fairly long. The full speech was presented to the Reichstag, asking them to grant him full decisive powers, which he was granted unanimously. ⁶⁸ He rambles on about the history of Germany, how the war has been progressing, back to who is to blame for all of it (the Jews), and a final ask for power so that he can be the savior, as "destiny has chosen [him] to lead the German nation in such a great period. ⁶⁹" This poster follows a similar structure to Figure 11 with anti-Semitic and nationalist themes presented through a quoted speech in the form of a poster.

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⁶⁸Bytwerk, Randall. "Nazi and East German Propaganda." *German Propaganda Archive*, Calvin University, 23 Mar. 2024, research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/.

⁶⁹ "Adolf Hitler: Speech to the Reichstag Assuming New Power (April 26, 1942)." *Jewish Virtual Library*, www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/adolf-hitler-speech-to-the-reichstag-assuming-new-power-april-1942. Accessed 30 Apr. 2024.

Chapter 4: Thematic Results

From the codes that I identified within each artifact from the analysis section, I imported documents by medium into Dedoose. I then manually grouped codes and generated a qualitative chart by medium, which appears on the left column, and then broke both countries into their respective codes along the top of x axis. The frequency and medium location of the code was established in this visual table which provides insights into common themes and where they occur, both geographically and by medium, as shown below.



Table 1: Coding Results by Code, Location, and Medium

This section will discuss the results of the coding into four distinct sections: first going into an overview of code numbers before qualifying them, followed by unique themes to Germany, unique themes to the US, and overlapping codes. A key thing to note for this section is that many of the unique themes to each country's codes also overlap with common codes, which might be mentioned, but will mostly focus on these thematic differences as they apply specifically to common vs. unique codes.

Overview of Results

The mediums which I ended up collecting results from in order of their frequency ended up being films (7), posters (5), articles (2), postcards (1) and speeches (1) from nine each of German and US sources. Total overlapping codes between the US and Germany were 11, being: anti-Semitism, conspirators, Franklin Roosevelt, Hitler, Jewish stereotypes, Jews, nationalism, Nazi ideology, Nazis, Pro-Nazi/Hitler, and propaganda. From these codes, the key themes that emerged were anti-Semitism, political tactics, and nationalism. What this generally implies is that many of these artifacts, on both the US and German side, leaned into themes of Jewish people and Nazi ideologies (in anti-Semitism), which are both key components of the Holocaust, signifying that my data is meaningful. The other themes that emerged were interconnected with each other and the theme of anti-Semitism, and also helped provide insight into this analysis of Holocaust media.

Overlapping Codes

Overlapping codes, listed again, are: anti-Semitism, conspirators, Franklin Roosevelt, Hitler, Jewish stereotypes, Jews, nationalism, Nazi ideology, Nazis, Pro-Nazi/Hitler, and propaganda. The main themes that can be commonly identified by grouping codes are anti-Semitism, and propaganda. For instance, under a bigger theme of anti-Semitism lies conspirators, Hitler, Jewish stereotypes, Jews, Nazi ideology, Nazis and Pro-Nazi/Hitler. It could even be argued that propaganda might fall under this as well. These anti-Semitic tropes were found both in US and German media, though in slightly different ways.

While the USs' themes of anti-Semitism were often very blatantly anti-Semitic, German artifacts of this theme contained a mix of both obvious anti-Semitism, but also more subtle tropes of Nazi ideology which did not always explicitly mention Jewish people, but in nature was still anti-Semitic due to the Nazi beliefs that were being promoted. ⁷⁰ For example, the US artifacts containing anti-Semitic rhetoric were a propaganda poster and a film of the German-American Bund, both of which played into Nazi tropes of blaming Jewish people for the Great Depression and being all around perpetrators of evil. In German media, some artifacts such as propaganda posters, films and articles speak directly about the Jewish population, such as one poster clearly stating "He is guilty for the war!" On the other hand, there are a couple of films or posters containing excerpts from speeches which allude to Nazi superiority and how Hitler will save the nation, which allude to "Jewish problems" as an undertone. While these artifacts predominantly have a tone of German nationalism under Hitler, they still serve to alienate those who do not agree with Nazism. In general, Germany contained a much higher number of anti-Semitic content, with seven out of nine of the German artifacts being coded as anti-Semitic, as it played into the primary ideology of the time. These themes also appeared predominantly in the form of posters and film in both Germany and the US. This is significant, as posters are more specific to a time and place, whereas film can be transmitted and broadcast. This demonstrates the importance that Hitler and the Nazis put on spreading anti-Semitism through two prominent forms of media, and which, on Germany's side, was also combined with themes of pro-Nazism and German nationalism.

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⁷⁰ "Antisemitism in History: Nazi Antisemitism." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/antisemitism-in-history-naziantisemitism. Accessed 1 June 2024.

Aforementioned, propaganda is another broader common theme between the US and Germany which also played an important role in the media artifacts selected. Since the propaganda artifacts chosen for both countries were limited by the overall relevance to the Holocaust, there were fewer differences in propaganda strategy that I had imagined. Both countries seemed to have a mix of nationalistic and villainizing the opponent posters or films, although the way in which the focus was distributed differed. For the US, most of its propaganda, apart from the anti-Semitic example above, aimed to gather pro-US sentiments against the Nazis and Hitler, making them appear threatening and attacking the character of US values. For example, the "Hitler wants us to believe" poster utilizes these tactics, as well as the speech given by Harry Truman, both with a direct focus on the enemy being the current threat of Hitler/Nazis/Mussolini. German propaganda, while similar in the portrayal of their enemies, had differences in how nationalism was shown and who their enemy was. German nationalism was often presented in a grandiose manner, idolizing Hitler and Nazi soldiers, advertising parades and power in an almost utopian manner, but also making it clear that this privilege was only available for those who fit the Aryan description. The propaganda also generally targets Jewish people as their common enemy, or if there is a nation such as the US mentioned, they are often mentioned due to their support for Jews, thus villainized for that reason. As might be expected, the primary means of promoting propaganda was through posters, as it has occurred throughout history. 71 Poster form allows for the grotesque, caricature style of art which ridicules enemies, again shown in the poster captioned "He is guilty for the war!"

Another key thematic difference to note between these common codes are the typical contexts in which Nazism and Hitler are discussed. There were no anti-Nazi/Hitler artifacts from

⁷¹ Jackall, Robert, ed. *Propaganda*. Vol. 8. NYU Press, 1995, p. 14.

Germany, but there were anti-Semitic and thematically, although not explicitly, anti-US gov artifacts from the US. In the US, the general tone when discussing Nazis/Hitler is negative, or oppositional. Nazi Germany was the enemy to the Allies, thus was treated as one in the majority of mass media. However, within First Amendment laws, there was room for some opposition such as the German-American Bund and even German exchange programs which promoted Nazi beliefs across the US. For instance, the poster from the US which labels Roosevelt as working with Jewish "conspirators" is unaffiliated with the Bund, but represents this theme of anti-Semitism and denounces the nation's president. In Germany, there was no such room for opposition, at least not publicly, with the threat of being sent to concentration camps, as Hitler made it against the law to defy National Socialism.⁷²

Codes with overlap that were slightly more surprising are conspirators and Franklin Roosevelt, although given the context of the political climate of the time, it is somewhat less surprising. In the US, Roosevelt was interestingly mentioned in one of the anti-Semitic propaganda posters, where his declaration to support Jewish people in Europe was made into a political cartoon, stating his willingness to conspire with prominent Jewish figures in the US. The German artifact mentioning Roosevelt comes from another propaganda poster, quoting a speech given by Hitler and is presented in the same vein as the US artifact, in which Roosevelt was working with or letting the Jewish conspirators gain power in high up positions of government. These codes both contribute to a specific theme of Franklin Roosevelt, as he played an important role in the war. His decisions were highly discussed around the world, especially the event which is in discussion for both artifacts coded with his name. This occurrence is also in

⁷² "Outlawing the Opposition." *Facing History & Ourselves*, 2 Aug. 2016, www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/outlawing-opposition.

conjunction with his pro-Jewish beliefs, both artifacts being against the policy which he supports.

Germany-Specific Codes

For Germany, the unique codes are Rudolf Hess, anti-Communism, and speech. 73 From these codes and their artifacts, there is a common theme of Nazi tactics that are intertwined with other common codes from the previous section. For instance, Rudolf Hess was one of the top Nazi officials who played a leading role in Hitler's media campaign and spreading Nazi ideology, which included playing into the rhetorics of anti-Communism, anti-Semitism and idolizing Hitler. Hess gave multiple famous speeches in support of Hitler and Nazism during his years working as Hitler's personal secretary and inspired many other rising Nazi leaders to follow his examples. Other examples of speeches within German artifacts were also centered around anti-Semitic beliefs, taking excerpts of speeches Hitler gave. In general, there is a smaller range of codes amongst German artifacts, and they tend to be more homogenous in theme, again pointing back to Hitler cracking down and silencing opposition.

In terms of medium, two of these unique codes appeared in poster form while the other occurred in film. This makes sense as posters are physical forms of media, more limited to where they are hung up, so having this discussion of more Germany-specific subjects matches this geographical limit. These codes play into the Germany specific theme of Nazi tactics, as well as a common theme between Germany and the US of Nazi ideology. What the media achieve for

⁷³ Speech as a code is being classified as unique for Germany because the US speech given by Harry Truman was the artifact, whereas the two German artifacts with this code were primarily in the form of posters, drawing text from speeches given previously.

this theme is to promote the ideologies of Rudolf Hess, Hitler and Nazism in a public space of the German papers or on the streets as well as on television.

US-Specific Codes

Within the US artifacts, the unique codes for this country came in at 9, which were: memory, mass murder, Mussolini, Harry Truman, pro-Jewish, war, German-American Bund, concentration camps, anti-Nazi/Hitler. Using these US unique codes as well as what is lacking from the common codes, it is clear that at least one of the thematic differences in artifacts lies in the fact that there are pro-Jewish and/or anti-Nazi/Hitler media. This makes sense to be a US specific category, because as mentioned previously, Hitler abused the power of law to ensure that no one was allowed to promote anti-Nazi/Hitler beliefs. This category of pro-Jewish themed media includes anti-Nazi/Hitler, Harry Truman, Mussolini, memory and concentration camp codes, many of which overlap with the theme of war as well. This support of the Jewish people is stated both explicitly and implicitly in artifacts. For example, in President Harry Truman's speech, he directly mentions the anti-Semitism encouraged by Hitler and Mussolini to put Jewish people into concentration camps. Truman then turns this into a very nationalist tone of calling on the people of the US to stand for the American morals of "liberty, freedom and justice for all."

Another theme presented is that of the US and the war, which comes up both in anti-Semitic/anti-US government and nationalist scenarios. For example, the anti-Semitic propaganda poster alluding to Roosevelt supporting European Jews talks about war in a Nazi ideology sense, that Jews were to blame for the misfortunes of the country, including the deaths suffered in war. On the other hand, the US Office of War Information and other government entities explicitly

discuss war in the context of falsifications spread by Hitler, justifying the US' involvement in WWII, and in informational films to boost public opinion of the war effort. The US even conducted numerous public opinion polls surrounding Americans' thoughts on US involvement in the war. This demonstrates the power in the US of having its citizens support the war cause, 74 which is supported both by the number of war justification examples as well as the opposition targeting war (also shown throughout history of anti-war campaigns in the US⁷⁵).

Lastly, the German-American Bund is somewhat of a stand-alone category. This subject occurs in conjunction with previously mentioned common codes between the US and Germany, as the organization was a pro-Nazi group in the US. This code as a theme is relatively self-explanatory – the film depicting a Bund meeting was published with anti-Semitic tones and used to promote Nazi ideology, spreading it across the US. It is an important example of the US' allowance for free speech, a key difference between the US and Germany at the time of WWII, tying into this broader theme of political tactics that the US employed. Although the US pushed for nationalism strongly, it also retained historical values, even at the expense of national perspectives.

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⁷⁴ This is a key difference between the government structures of the US vs. Germany at the time, with the US being a democracy, thus giving more power to its people, whereas German citizens had no room for opposition under Hitler.

⁷⁵ Damousi, Joy. "Socialist women and gendered space: the anti/conscription and anti/war campaigns of 1914/1918." *Labour History* 60 (1991): 1-15.

Chapter 5: Discussion

So why do themes matter when looking at media surrounding the Holocaust? As the results show, the overarching themes found in coding and analysis are anti-Semitism, nationalism and political tactics. These themes can factor into much broader research surrounding Holocaust media and are useful to be kept in mind while doing so. These themes, while not necessarily unexpected or unique, add to existing studies. For example, numerous scholars have conducted studies on the longer history of anti-Semitism around the world, as well as how it shaped Hitler's tactics, such as Phyllis Goldstein and Harold Evans in *A Convenient Hatred the History of Antisemitism* and Charles Patterson in *Anti-Semitism: The Road to the Holocaust and Beyond.* Further studies have explored the interconnected nature of anti-Semitism and using it to propel Hitler's political campaign. For example, William W. Hagen discusses the political tactics leading up to the "final solution" to exterminate Jewish people and other Nazi "undesirables" in concentration camps.⁷⁶

Looking at nationalism as a theme in media surrounding the Holocaust also provides an interesting study, as it can be even more implicit than perhaps the other themes. For instance, there are many films which utilize aspects of the Holocaust as part of their plot, the most common example being the villainization of Nazis and Hitler. For example, multiple *Indiana Jones* movies utilize Nazis and Hitler as the "bad guys," further framing this American, rugged explorer as the ideal hero. Sara Buttsworth and Maartje Abbenhuis continue to explore this villainization of Germany through Nazis in their book *Monsters in the Mirror*, in which those fighting against the Nazis also make a case for their own nationalist sentiments, united against

⁷⁶ Hagen, William W. "Before the" final solution": Toward a comparative analysis of political anti-Semitism in interwar Germany and Poland." *The Journal of Modern History* 68.2 (1996): 351-381.

the Nazis.⁷⁷ Nationalism continues to be an interesting study as it relates to Jewish international relations and politics today, as Israel has gathered many powerful western allies, and the lines between Jewish identity and an ethnic homeland become blurred, causing strong national stances to be intertwined with geographic identity as well.

This study of how media of the time inform themes can aid in how other forms of media and themes might be approached, and also provides information on the political tactics of those publishing said media. For example, looking at popular culture for its themes in memory and the Holocaust would be relevant to addressing more modern takes on memory studies and how it might be perceived, while also providing insight into the political climate of where it was published. This is especially present in more recent media forms, as the internet and streaming platforms allow for a greater volume of media to be considered mainstream in popular culture. Looking into the various studies of Spielberg's Schindler's List allows for both themes and choices in production to be analyzed, creating an effective, yet controversial representation of a Holocaust story, based on real lived experiences. Looking into themes within this media might aid in addressing varying perspectives on making art out of the Holocaust, from some saying that receiving pleasure in a pop culture setting of such a traumatic event is inhumane, while others argue that it increases visibility on the subject. ⁷⁸ This is relevant today in exploring themes represented in newer forms of social media and its platforms, regarding Jewish holidays, the climate of genocide in Gaza, increasing anti-Semitism and its relationship to zionism, etc. all being hot topics online and in newspapers.⁷⁹

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⁷⁷ Buttsworth, Sara, and Maartje Abbenhuis, eds. *Monsters in the mirror: representations of Nazism in post-war popular culture*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2010.

⁷⁸ Rapaport, Lynn. "Hollywood's Holocaust: Schindler's List and the construction of memory." *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies* 32.1 (2002): 55-65.

⁷⁹ Weimann, Gabriel. "NEW TRENDS IN ONLINE ANTISEMITISM." RESEARCH STUDY (2024): 43.

Limitations

First of all, it is important to note that the term "Holocaust" was not yet known and that the word "genocide" was first coined in 1944. ⁸⁰ The word "Holocaust" itself has roots from a Greek word, roughly signifying a burnt sacrifice for God, used because of the means in which Nazis would burn the bodies in concentration camps. ⁸¹ Therefore, there was no code which discussed the event by name, instead being addressed by the themes of anti-Semitism, mass murder, and concentration camps. In general, this notion of Holocaust media which is being explored in my thesis actually refers more to the time period, rather than the event itself, as a good portion of the media does not focus on the persecution of Jewish people, but rather the circumstances and environment that encouraged the continuation of their persecution.

Second, the time period actually ended up being narrower than I was initially intending for it to be. Within the given 10 year window of 1938-1948, my selected artifacts were all between 1938-1946, and with that, were heavily concentrated towards the front end of time. Time period breakdown is as follows: 1938 (6), 1939 (2), 1940 (2), 1941 (0), 1942 (1), 1943 (3), 1944 (2), 1945 (0), 1946 (1). This isn't necessarily a limitation, as it gives a bit of insight into the media published surrounding the Holocaust and when the US and Germany were most active. For Germany, it makes sense that the amount of media decreased as the time progressed, because my results showed that the majority of German media was anti-Semitic, and with Germany surrendering, there was no longer need for this type of propaganda. On the US side, there seemed

⁸⁰ What Is the Origin of the Term Holocaust?" *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica, inc., www.britannica.com/story/what-is-the-origin-of-the-term-holocaust. Accessed 1 June 2024.

⁸¹ Ibid

to be almost a sense of shame regarding the Holocaust, not wanting to acknowledge⁸² that they let it go on for as long as it did, even attempts to silence survivors or downplay⁸³ the events. The 1946 artifact published was a film reflecting on the liberation of Buchenwald and Dachau, which was made into a newsreel to show to the public, but there is no knowledge on exactly how or where it was shown, losing a key piece of context. For a couple of other sources, there also was a lack of information surrounding exact publication info.

Lastly, it must be mentioned how the US handled details surrounding the Holocaust as they pertained to the general public. There was a lot of information that the people did not have access to, and that the US government tried to hide or minimize. Even today utilizing a basic Google Scholar search, there are more articles written on how the US responded to and punished perpetrators of the Holocaust as opposed to literature on the lack of action taken by the US. While this is not an absolute measure of how details have been excluded from history, it is an interesting study into how many articles are still being written defending the action that the US took, rather than exploring reasons why. Even today utilizing a basic manner of the Holocaust as opposed to literature on the lack of action to an absolute measure of how details have been excluded from history, it is an interesting study into how many articles are still being written defending the action that the US took, rather than exploring reasons why.

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⁸² Stein, Arlene. ""As Far as They Knew I Came From France": stigma, passing, and not speaking about the Holocaust." *Symbolic Interaction* 32.1 (2009): 44-60.

⁸³ Lipstadt, Deborah E. "America and the Holocaust." *Modern Judaism* (1990): 283-296.

⁸⁴ Stein, Arlene. ""As Far as They Knew I Came From France": stigma, passing, and not speaking about the Holocaust." *Symbolic Interaction* 32.1 (2009): 44-60.

⁸⁵ Adler, Selig. "The United States and the Holocaust." *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 64.1 (1974): 14-23.

⁸⁶ Search words used were "US Government Holocaust"

 $https://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en\&as_sdt=0\%2C38\&q=us+government+holocaust\&btnG=0\%2C38\&q=$

⁸⁷ There is some literature surrounding the US' anti-Semitic political beliefs, which contributed to its lack of action. Whether this jump to action by the US is due to the public beginning to learn about the reality of concentration camps or not is unknown.

Future Studies

Overall, this project had a relatively narrow scope of both timeline and sheer number of sources. This could definitely be expanded upon, especially to include sources specifically focused around Hitler's rise to power and how that is represented in media, as well as taking a larger geographical scope of other countries' propaganda surrounding Hitler and the Holocaust. Another interesting study in a different direction might be to explore more in the realm of human subjects with memory studies or families of survivors and their perspectives on mass media. Furthermore, there are still many gaps in Holocaust research surrounding those who are not Jewish that were persecuted, and to explore if media covered their stories.

Conclusion

The themes presented in this study are important to recognize, as they dictate the way we look at this media today. Additionally, it is also imperative to the historical knowledge that we possess now, which informs the way we approach subjects such as anti-Semitism, a term which was not commonly denounced as hate-speech during the war. The information and analysis provide a mere glimpse into media involved in creating meaning out of the Holocaust, but even these small differences are able to identify patterns and themes. These central themes are illustrated throughout this analysis as anti-semitism, nationalism, and political tactics, all of which contribute to the deranged nature of the Holocaust event. Further investigation of related artifacts illustrates how they served the purpose they were meant to serve, communicating key

information from their country of origin regarding the war and how their enemy should be perceived. Taking this study as well as previous studies all enhance the ways in which Holocaust media are approached, and can aid in future approaches of mass-traumatic events which require careful and thoughtful treatment, in attempts to better understand these events.

Appendix

Figure 1. Transcript

(From paragraph 3 of the full speech) "Today the flag of freedom and liberty for which those comrades of mine gave up their lives has been trampled into the dust by the iron heel of the barbarian. In conquered Europe we find a once free people enslaved, crushed and brutalized by the most depraved tyrants of all time. Through the edict of a mad Hitler and a degenerate Mussolini, the people of that ancient race, the Jews, are being herded like animals into the Ghettos, the concentration camps, and the wastelands of Europe. The men, the women and the children of this honored people are being starved, yes! Actually murdered by the fiendish Huns and Fascists. Today these oppressed people, still with spirit unbroken look for succor to us, we people of the United States, whose flag has always stood for liberty, freedom and justice for all."

Figure 13. Translation

"We find ourselves hardened and vigilant through adversity and worry. Befonders against our sophisticated enemies. world Judaism and world Freemasonry. World Jewry and World Freemasonry, please note: your game is finally valid and clearly lost with us. All their attempts to bring about a new alliance against us do not change this. If people in England today are touchingly worried that nations will become slave states, that's all we have to say. Oh, if only a lot of fears had come to England 20 years earlier. For one and a half years Germany was the slave of the strong states. And it would still be the case today if the Führer hadn't been with his National Socialist movement. because we simply don't believe that England's suddenly expected

tender concern had set us free. Germany knows what it means to be the slave of the star states. And that is why its National Socialist leadership was concerned and will continue to be concerned that Germany will never again become a subordinate slave - despite all unity. they won't get us down."

Figure 18. Translation

The leader spoke on April 26, 1942: ""The hidden forces that had driven England into World War I in 1914 were the Jews. The force which paralyzed us even at the time and finally forced us to surrender under the slogan that Germany should no longer be able to carry her flag home victoriously, was a Jewish one. Jews instigated the revolution in our people and robbed us of any further resistance. But since 1939 Jews have also maneuvered the British Empire into its dangerous crisis. Jews were the carriers of that Bolshevik infection that once threatened to destroy Europe. But they were also the warmongers in the line of plutocracy. A circle of Jews drove America into the war against all its own interests, solely from a Jewish- capitalist point of view. And President Roosevelt, in the absence of his own ability, has the intellectual support that I do not have to list by name for his senior men: they are only Jews!"

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