THE WAY WE SAW IT

IMAGES OF HATE

VISUAL PROPAGANDA UNDER HITLER AND STALIN

In Illustration and Art

A Teacher's Resource Booklet

with Lesson Plans and Reproducible Student-Activity Assignments







Contents

ntroduction	1 2	2
Lesson 1	The Monumental State	4
Lesson 2	The Pure and the Impure	8
Lesson 3	Enemies Within	2
Lesson 4	Enemies Without	6
Appendix	Cartoons and Images	1

Introduction

Propaganda and the Totalitarian State

Human beings can be manipulated by words but the power visual images possess to arouse strong emotion makes them far more effective as tools of propaganda. Tyrants and dictators have always understood this. Kings and emperors in the past inevitably had their palaces, monuments, rituals, statues, and huge popular spectacles.

These seem sporadic and mild in their impact in comparison with the relentless, ever-present propaganda machinery of the totalitarian state of the twentieth century. The press, schools, radio, film, theater, and many other institutions were totally coordinated by such regimes and put to work in the effort to shape popular consciousness. This curriculum unit looks at the visual propaganda of two of the worst of these tyrannies, that of Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union and that of Germany's Adolf Hitler. These rulers used propaganda in very similar ways—to portray a pure and glorious people bringing a new order into being, to demonize entire categories of innocent human beings, and to focus hatred on enemies within and enemies without.

The twelve visual displays in this curriculum unit focus on all of these key aspects of visual propaganda as it was used by these two dictatorships. The illustrations are presented in four lessons. Each lesson uses three visual displays to explore one broad topic in the overall story. Briefly, the four lessons are as follows:

The Monumental State

The images here are examples of propaganda designed to portray the state as the all-powerful bearer of what is good and noble and as the defender of the virtuous of the nation against the wicked.

The Pure and the Impure

Both of these states justified their total control by picturing themselves as the revolutionary agents of a new social order and a new, superior human nature. For Hitler, that new human being was the Aryan race purified and brought to a state of perfection. For Stalin, the new socialist man would end all class division and social conflict. The propaganda of each regime was designed in part to clearly mark off the purified citizens from the impure classes or races who threatened them.

Enemies Within

Each dictator needed to identify an enemy within that was devious enough to remain hidden, but with enormous power to do evil. The ability to portray an entire group of people this way through relentless propaganda paved the way for the genocidal actions of each regime.

Enemies Without

In addition to the enemies within, equally relentless and evil enemies outside the nation were pictured as bent on its destruction. This aspect of each dictator's propaganda efforts kept the population in a constant state of anxiety and dependence on the all-powerful leader.

Using Visual Images in the Classroom

Many textbooks today contain colorful visuals, but, all too often, these images function primarily to fill space or offer little educational value. They make the text more entertaining, or at least more palatable, often doing little more than providing simple pictorial reinforcement of ideas already presented in the text. In many cases, school materials pander to the visual orientation of the young while doing little to help the students master the challenges of the visual media that dominate their lives.

By way of contrast, our approach to using visual materials emphasizes their unique strengths as social or historical documents. The lessons in MindSparks booklets focus students on the visual symbols and metaphors in editorial cartoons, the dramatic qualities of certain photographs, the potential of many images to make abstract ideas more specific and concrete, the implicit biases and stereotypes in certain images, their emotional power, and their ability to invoke the spirit of a time and place. In the process, we make every effort to strengthen students' visual literacy skills in general and their ability to think critically and engage in spirited but disciplined discussions.

After using the booklet, you may wish to look at some of the many other MindSparks products using editorial cartoons, photographs, posters, and other visual images.

How to Use This Booklet

This booklet is divided into four lessons, with three illustrations per lesson. Each lesson consists of the following:

A BACKGROUND-INFORMATION SHEET

An introductory page for each lesson provides brief explanations of the three illustrations for the lesson and their relevance to the lesson's objectives.

DISCUSSION-ACTIVITY PAGES FOR EACH VISUAL DISPLAY

Each page includes one image, and a sequence of questions is provided to help you plan an all-classroom discussion while examining the image. The questions take students step by step through an analysis of the visual. For students who require more support to answer the questions, you may reproduce and hand out an entire discussion-activity page in order to provide more visual support. For students who need less support to answer questions, keep the page yourself, and ask the questions of the class as a whole in order to provide a listening-and-response writing activity. In addition to these questions, one or two follow-up activities are suggested. The instructions for these activities are directed to the student. Some are individual assignments while others work best as small-group or all-class activities. You may reproduce any of these pages for classroom use. Answers to factual questions are also provided on the inside back cover of the booklet.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND OTHER VISUAL ART

Images are printed alongside discussion questions and follow-up activities on reproducible pages, making them readily available to students. Standalone versions of all images, also reproducible, can be found in the appendix. Using images without the text may prove helpful for testing or to encourage students to formulate their own analyses before consulting the text.

OBJECTIVES

- Students will better understand the nature of the totalitarian regimes that arose in the Soviet Union and Germany in the 1920s and 1930s.
- 2. Students will better appreciate the powerful impact propaganda can have within such regimes.

The Monumental State

Use the background information on this page to help your students better understand the three illustrations making up this lesson. The questions and activities presented in the rest of the lesson can be used to help students clarify meanings and debate important issues.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1

Ancient civilizations often viewed their kings as gods with unlimited power. The actual powers of such kings were small compared with what a modern industrial society can give to a determined tyrant now. The twentieth century certainly produced its share of such tyrants. In fact, a new, more total (hence "totalitarian") kind of tyranny became possible in the modern age. Russia's Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 gave us the first such tyranny. Joseph Stalin perfected its methods—including a massive propaganda apparatus. This apparatus fostered an image of Stalin as all-knowing and the state as the sole source of progress and happiness. This poster conveys the image of a godlike Stalin looking on as his stateguided new industrial order transforms the Soviet Union.

Illustration 2

The term "totalitarian" describes a modern form of tyranny, one including total control over the economy, a huge state bureaucracy, a vast secret police and prison network, and a system of constant, everpresent political propaganda. Along with Stalin, Adolf Hitler is the other name most closely associated with the rise of this form of total control. To justify such power, the public had to be kept in a high state of fear and in need of an all-powerful leader to guide them. Hitler, even more than Stalin, relied on huge public spectacles, torchlight parades, and giant rallies to do this. Here he addresses a 1939 rally while thousands of teenage girls in the *Bund Deutcher Mädel*, or League of German Girls, spell out the words, "Wir gehoeren dir!"—"We belong to you!"

Illustration 3

Stalin and Hitler used all the techniques of propaganda that modern communications make possible. In addition to posters and huge rallies, the press, theater, radio, film, photography, and public education were put to use shaping public opinion. Famed Nazi photographer Leni Reifenstahl took the photo on the left of a German athlete at the 1936 Olympics. The photo is subtle but powerful propaganda. Together, the cropping, lighting, camera angle and composition turn this athlete into a symbol of Hitler's new Germany. The Soviet poster on the right portrays the Soviet state as a massive and unstoppable ship destroying puny capitalist enemies as it plows the waves toward its glorious future.

Lesson 1—The Monumental State

Illustration 1



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

Discussing the Illustration

- 1. In the twentieth century, several terrifying dictators came to power. They used the state to control every aspect of their people's lives, and they had a huge and destructive impact on the entire world. One of these dictators is shown here. Can you identify him?
- 2. Stalin made use of poster art like this regularly. What view of Stalin and his leadership is this poster meant to convey? From what you know of Stalin, why do you think he is shown as he is here?
- 3. Stalin used poster art such as this constantly in a relentless, daily propaganda campaign during his reign. How would you define propaganda? What do you think is propagandistic about this poster?
- 4. The Stalinist dictatorship is often called "totalitarian." What does this word mean to you?
- 5. What other modern forms of communication did Stalin use for propaganda purposes? How did the totalitarian nature of his government make it easy for him to mount a relentless propaganda campaign?

Follow-up Activities

- 1. Read a biography of Joseph Stalin or a long encyclopedia article about him. Based on what you learn, write an analysis of the poster shown here. How does its view of Stalin fit or not fit with what you have learned? Prepare a brief talk to the class about Stalin, his life, the key events of his rule, and central aspects of his personality. In your talk, explain what you think of this poster and its view of Stalin.
- 2. Small-group activity: This poster was one of many produced during Stalin's drive to industrialize the Soviet Union in the 1930s. That drive was directed by the Soviet Communist government through elaborate five-year plans. Read more about Stalin's rule in the 1930s. Find other examples of Soviet poster art from the 1930s on Stalin and the five-year plans. Make photocopies of five to ten posters. Use them in a presentation to the class entitled "Stalin's 1930s: Propaganda, Myth, and Reality."

Lesson 1—The Monumental State

Illustration 2



Debra Gierach, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Discussing the Illustration

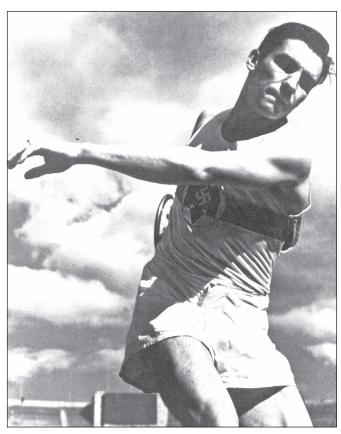
- 1. Soon after Stalin's rise to power, another totalitarian nation arose in Europe. It, too, would have a huge and destructive impact on the world. That nation's dictator is shown here addressing a huge rally in 1939. Can you name him and the nation he led?
- 2. Hitler and Stalin alike often used huge rallies of this sort as propaganda devices. What do you suppose went on at such rallies? How might the rallies themselves have had a propaganda effect on the participants? In what ways could there have been a propaganda effect even for those not at the rally?
- 3. In the bleachers across from Hitler, thousands of teenage girls in the Bund Deutcher Mädel (League of German Girls) have spelled out the words, "Wir gehoeren dir!"—"We belong to you!" The League of German Girls was a part of the "Hitler Youth" organization, which itself was a form of Nazi propaganda. What do you know about Hitler Youth? In what sense could it be described as a form of propaganda?

Follow-up Activity

1. This activity will take some research work and a great deal of imagination. First, read more about Hitler's organizations for young people in the 1930s - Hitler Jugend (Hitler Youth) for boys fourteen to eighteen and the Bund Deutcher Mädel (League of German Girls) for girls aged fourteen to eighteen. Now pretend you were actually in one of these organizations and were at the rally shown above on May 1, 1939. You were fifteen years old at the time. Now it is fifty years later, or 1989. In your attic one day you discover a long diary entry you wrote for May 2, 1939, in which you recorded your thoughts about Hitler, the rally, and the Nazi youth organization you were in. Your assignment is to write that diary entry for 1939—and another long diary entry written for that day in 1989, as you reflect on what you wrote fifty years earlier. (Extra credit if, in your second diary entry, you also relate your thoughts to the dramatic events unfolding in Europe in 1989). Share these entries in a discussion with the rest of the class.

Lesson 1—The Monumental State

Illustration 3



Courtesy of the Library of Congress

Discussing the Illustrations

- 1. Propaganda under Hitler and Stalin often used wildly exaggerated and brutal imagery to convey a sense of the power of the state. The poster on the right is one example. Is this a poster in support of Stalin or Hitler? How can you tell?
- 2. Visual propaganda need not be obvious or brutal. The photo on the left, for example, is a powerful bit of Nazi propaganda. Without knowing more about the photo, do you think this is apparent in any way?
- 3. The photo is of a German athlete at the Olympic Games of 1936. In fact, Hitler hoped to use the entire 1936 Olympics as a propaganda tool. From what you know of the 1936 Olympics, can you explain how?
- 4. One writer says of this photo, "the camera angle, the dramatic shading, the Classical composition, even the narrow cropping, all help make this a dramatic glorification of Hitler's new Germany." What do you think this writer means? Do you agree with his assessment of this photograph? Why or why not?



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

Follow-up Activity

1. Small-group activity: Hitler hoped the 1936 Olympics in Berlin would be a great propaganda triumph for him and his Nazi state. Photographer and filmmaker Leni Reifenstahl did her best to help him realize this desire. Reifenstahl took the above photo. Your task is to learn more about the 1936 Olympics. Also learn more about Reifenstahl and her role at those Olympics. (The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has information on the 1936 Olympics on its website.) Bring to class a wide variety of photos on the 1936 Olympics. including, if possible, photos by Reifenstahl or stills from her film on the Olympics. Use these in a class presentation in which you describe what Hitler hoped to accomplish at these Olympic Games, how Reifenstahl tried to help him, and why Hitler was not entirely successful in getting what he wanted from the 1936 Olympics.

OBJECTIVE

 Nazi Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union vowed to create utopias of perfect human beings. Students will understand how their propaganda efforts tried to divide the citizens of those nations harshly into those who were perfect or pure and those who were degraded and impure.

The Pure and the Impure

Use the background information on this page to help your students better understand the three illustrations making up this lesson. The questions and activities presented in the rest of the lesson can be used to help students clarify meanings and debate important issues.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1

Both Hitler and Stalin justified the monumental state as the necessary tool to create a totally new and pure social order. That social order would be made up of a new type of citizen, perfect in all ways. But first, all the impure and imperfect human beings would have to be eliminated. The visual propaganda of the two societies was used to portray the world as divided between the pure and noble and the impure and debased. Here, a 1939 copy of the Nazi publication *Der Stuermer* ("Storm Trooper") portrays the Jew as the ultimate enemy of all that is good in Germany. The headline is about a Jewish woman who drove a pregnant non-Jewish woman to her death. An ugly, stereotypical cartoon pictures two angry Jews. The caption reads in part: "Unmasked hatred/In his unbounded rage the Jew . . . displays his hatred against all non-Jews."

Illustration 2

In Nazi Germany, the division of society into the pure and impure was often made visible. Here, for example, is a chart of prisoner badges and patches worn by inmates in German concentration camps. The horizontal categories list markings for the following: political prisoners, criminals, emigrants, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and German and non-German slackers or people "shy of work." The fourth row down shows Jewish stars for Jews in these seven categories. Among the other badges are ones for Jews who had sexual relations with Aryans and Aryans who had sexual relations with Jews.

Illustration 3

In the late 1920s, Stalin launched his plan to industrialize the Soviet Union. As a part of it, peasants were to be forced into government-run collective farms so as to ensure enough food for industrial workers in the cities. Most peasants resisted collectivization. To terrorize them, Stalin cut off food shipments to Ukraine in 1932 and caused the death by starvation of at least five million peasants there. To justify what was in fact genocide, those peasants had to be seen as evil, grasping "kulaks." The poster on the left shows how they were depicted. Meanwhile, heroes of socialist labor were identified and praised for their great efforts. Honest, strong, and sturdy, they were given awards and held up to others as the pure symbols of a new social order.

Lesson 2—The Pure and the Impure

Illustration 1



Virginius Dabney, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Discussing the Illustration

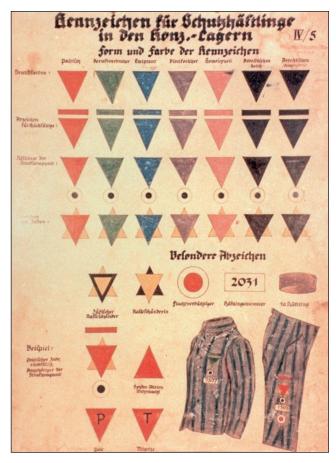
- 1. This is a front page from the Nazi publication *Der Stuermer*, or "Storm Trooper." Over the years, this publication offered a steady stream of some of the worst anti-Semitic articles and images imaginable. What does the term anti-Semitism mean?
- 2. The cartoon here contains a typical anti-Semitic stereotype of the Jew. What is a stereotype? From what you know about anti-Semitism, can you explain how the features of the two men depicted here fit with typical anti-Semitic stereotypes?
- 3. The cartoon's caption reads: "In his unbounded rage, the Jew has once again committed a grave error which in our time has undercut him—that he so often displays his hatred against all non-Jews." Most historians would say that the Jewish population of Germany in the 1920s and '30s was law-abiding, generally successful economically, and admiring of German society and culture. Why then do you think so many Germans accepted views such as this one in *Der Stuermer*?

Follow-up Activity

1. The ugly stereotypes in this copy of *Der Stuermer* are clearly meant to portray the Jewish people in an insulting way, yet such stereotyping is common in editorial cartoons and other kinds of political art in our own time and country. However, stereotypes in cartoons are not always used in an insulting manner. Often they are used simply to help readers identify a group quickly in order to see the point of the cartoon. At other times, the stereotype may actually be intended as positive or a form of praise. Spend the next few weeks looking through the newspaper for editorial cartoons. Also look through recent issues of weekly news magazines. Bring in eight to ten cartoons you think contain stereotypes about some group (The groups need not always be racial or ethnic.) Look for some stereotypes you think are highly insulting as well as others you think are not insulting at all. Share the cartoons in a discussion about the uses and misuses of stereotyping in editorial cartoons.

Lesson 2—The Pure and the Impure

Illustration 2



KZ Gedenkstaette Dachau, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Discussing the Illustration

- 1. This chart may look harmless. It is in fact a listing of markings for various groups of prisoners in German concentration camps. What is a concentration camp?
- 2. The chart is also a form of propaganda. It shows different badges to be worn by political prisoners, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and others, as well as Jews in each of these categories. How are these markings a form of propaganda?
- 3. Both Hitler and Stalin wished to portray their nations as divided into pure and noble groups on the one hand and impure and dangerous groups on the other. How might these markings help to convey the idea of a nation divided into pure and impure groups?
- 4. Among the prisoner markings here is one for Jews who had sexual relations with Aryans and one for Aryans who had sexual relations with Jews. How would such identifications aid Hitler in his plans to alarm Germans about a Jewish threat to the nation's supposed racial purity?

Follow-up Activities

- 1. The Nazi badges used to identify Jews and others were a way to mark off those whom Hitler saw as outcasts or inferior human beings from those he considered fit or superior. Why did he view the Jews as inferior and as a danger to the rest of his society? One way to try to understand this is to read his book *Mein Kampf*. Read the book or look through it to find several passages on the Jews that you think best help to explain Hitler's outlook. Lead a talk in class about the book in which you share these passages with others, and explain why you chose them.
- 2. Do some research into the German concentration camps Hitler set up before and during World War II. In particular, learn more about badges and patches like those shown above that were used in these camps. Report your findings in a brief talk in class.

Lesson 2—The Pure and the Impure

Illustration 3



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives



Hoover Institution Archives

Discussing the Illustrations

- 1. Stalin's visual propaganda also helped him portray his nation as bitterly divided in a battle of the pure and noble against the impure and dangerous. But in his case, the groups identified this way were classes, not races. Can you explain what this means? Why would Stalin's Communist view of the world lead him to stress class over race in this way?
- 2. On the left, a Soviet poster portrays an ugly kulak peasant as an enemy of the people. From what you know of Stalin's years in power, can you explain who the "kulaks" were? Why do you think Stalin needed to picture them as he has here?
- 3. The kulak in the poster is surrounded by the tractors of a Soviet collective farm. What were the collective farms? A collective farmer on the right is shown with a tractor and his awards for hard work. His efforts have won him the title "hero of socialist labor." Stalin presented such heroes as examples of the new, perfected socialist man being created in the Soviet Union. How does the photo help present this view?

Follow-up Activities

- Small-group activity: Learn more about Stalin's war on the kulaks. A scholarly book is Robert Conquest's Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). A good source with many photographs is Famine in the Soviet Ukraine, 1932–1933: A Memorial Exhibition, Widener Library, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.) Using one of these sources, prepare a report to the class on this event, and compare it with Hitler's genocidal war against the Jews.
- 2. Some people say our society has of late seen a movement that divides people into the "pure" and the "impure." They use the phrase "political correctness" for this effort to impose pure, or "correct," attitudes regarding many things, from relationships between men and women to racial issues, to smoking and even the food we eat. Is this movement an example of an effort to divide people into the pure and the impure? As a class, debate this question.

OBJECTIVE

 Students will better understand how vicious propaganda in both Stalin's and Hitler's regimes could generate fears about and hatred of completely innocent groups, portraying them as evil enemies of the state.

Enemies Within

Use the background information on this page to help your students better understand the three illustrations making up this lesson. The questions and activities presented in the rest of the lesson can be used to help students clarify meanings and debate important issues.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1

Many people think of propaganda as simply a matter of telling lies. It's true that propaganda does lie but, for its lies to work, they usually must refer to some truth that can be distorted or twisted and they usually must appeal to what people feel to some extent already. In Germany, the truth that was twisted was the fact that Jews were a fairly successful group. The bitter feelings appealed to were widely held anti-Semitic feelings going back centuries in Central Europe. Therefore, when Nazis called on Germans to boycott Jewish-owned businesses, as they are doing in this photo, their action was itself a form of visual propaganda playing on long-held resentments. In the photo, the signs read, in part, "Germans defend yourselves . . . buy only at German stores."

Illustration 2

In Nazi Germany, the Jewish people were seen as an internal enemy of the nation. That enemy was said to be living off of the vital energies of a superior German civilization. It was supposedly working in secret to take over and destroy every aspect of German life. On the left, a horribly stereotyped Jewish couple are shown just pretending to become Christians. On the right is the cover of a Nazi book titled *The Poisonous Mushroom*. That mushroom is the Jews—compared here to a fungus that lives parasitically off of other living organisms. Metaphors like this are typical of visual propaganda, which often taps into primitive ways of thinking and strongly held feelings of terror and disgust.

Illustration 3

Nazi propaganda made use of ugly facial stereotypes and images of decay and deceit. Soviet visual propaganda was similar. Here the kulak peasantry is a giant spider preying upon collective farmers in all sorts of ways. Both Nazi and Soviet Communist propaganda portrayed entire classes or categories of people as inhuman or subhuman monsters. By constantly repeating such horrible images, it was hoped that citizens would come to feel no pity at all when called upon to destroy such human "monsters" by the thousands, or millions.

Lesson 3—Enemies Within

Illustration 1



National Archives, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Discussing the Illustration

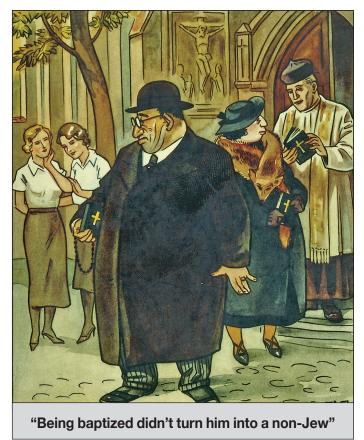
- Propaganda takes many forms—cartoons, posters, films, newspaper ads, photos, etc. It can also take the form of actual political actions such as the one you see here. In this photo, some members of Hitler's SA are posting signs in front of a store in 1933. Explain briefly what the SA was.
- 2. The store is a Jewish-owned business and the SA signs read, "Germans defend yourselves against Jewish atrocity propaganda; buy only at German stores." From what you know about events in Germany in 1932 and 1933, what do you suppose the signs are referring to in accusing the Jews of spreading "atrocity propaganda"?
- 3. In reality, the Jewish community in Germany was lawabiding and hard-working. The real propaganda here was the street action of the SA itself in its boycott drive against Jewish store owners. In what sense could such actions be seen as a form of propaganda? What feelings would such actions have engendered in Jewish as well as non-Jewish German citizens?

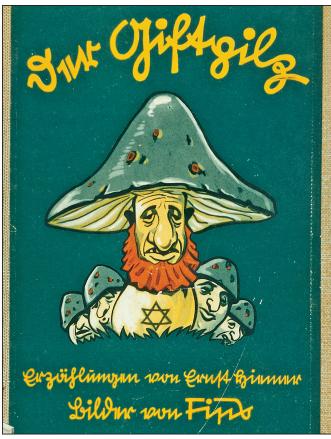
Follow-up Activities

- 1. The photo shown here is of some members of the Nazi SA. The SA (Sturmabteilung or Storm Troopers) were the paramilitary force the Nazis used to undermine democracy. SA thugs were famous for street fighting and other acts of terrorism. In 1934, in what was called "The Night of the Long Knives," Hitler had their top leadership executed, and the SA was less important after that. Find out more about the SA. Write a brief essay on this organization. Describe its usefulness to the Nazis and explain why its bullying violence had propaganda value as well as serving other purposes.
- 2. Learn more about the Jewish community in Germany in the years before and during Hitler's rise to power. How large was it? What kinds of occupations were common among its members? What famous people did it produce, and what did they accomplish? What role did Germany's Jews play in the arts, education, business, science, and technology? Prepare a brief report to the class answering these questions.

Lesson 3—Enemies Within

Illustration 2





Gichner, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Discussing the Illustrations

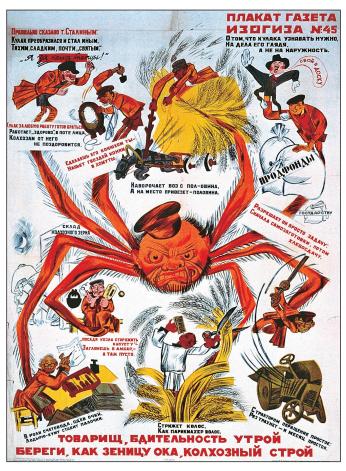
- 1. The Nazis said the Jews were an inferior race, rather than a people who followed a certain religion. How does the Nazi cartoon on the left make this point? Why do you think the Nazis insisted on calling the Jewish people a racial rather than religious group?
- 2. On the right is the cover of a Nazi book on the Jews called *The Poisonous Mushroom*. A mushroom is a kind of fungus. How does this image of a mushroom help express the Nazi's view of Jews as an impure force corrupting German society?
- 3. Visual propaganda often makes use of metaphors such as this mushroom. Perhaps that's because their emotional impact is so powerful. What is a metaphor, and in what way is this mushroom a kind of visual metaphor? Do you agree that such metaphors can be powerful in their emotional effect? Why or why not?
- 4. One writer says of this mushroom, "the image stays with you and affects you even though rationally you know it's absurd." Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Follow-up Activity

1. **Small-group activity**: The mushroom in the above image on the right is a kind of visual metaphor. Editorial cartoons often make use of such visual metaphors—for example, by showing a president or other top leader as a cowboy or a gangster, or by portraying the government as a huge gorilla. Such visual metaphors can help to clarify complex or highly abstract issues by using a tangible, easily recognized object as a symbol for it. Visual metaphors can also oversimplify an idea while presenting it in a powerful way that appeals to emotions, prejudices, and fears. Bring in and discuss recent editorial cartoons that use visual symbols and metaphors. As a group, choose five or ten of these that you think can help to clarify the issue dealt with by the cartoon, and five or ten that distort or oversimplify the issue. Share these with the class and explain why you classified them as you did.

Lesson 3-Enemies Within

Illustration 3



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

Discussing the Illustration

- 1. Stalin's propaganda portrayed his enemies in every bit as crude and extreme a way as Hitler's. Here the people Stalin labeled kulaks are shown as a giant spider. This spider is causing many different kinds of trouble within the collective farm system. How does the spider image help to identify the kulaks as this kind of a danger?
- 2. Stalin often blamed "sabotage" for failures in his industrial projects or on the collective farms. Why do you suppose he did this? In what way could the spider image here help intensify the public's fears about sabotage?
- 3. Stalin's propaganda often portrayed his nation's internal enemies as giant spiders or other monsters. How would you compare the spider metaphor here to the mushroom metaphor in the previous illustration? Is one more "primitive" or crude than the other? Do the differences between them help illustrate anything about differences between Hitler's racism and Stalin's class hatreds?

Follow-up Activity

 Soviet writer Vasily Grossman speaks as follows of how he and other Soviet citizens were taught to think of the kulak by Soviet officials and by posters such as the one shown here:

What I said to myself at the time was "they are not human beings, they are kulaks".... What torture was meted out to them! In order to massacre them it was necessary to proclaim that kulaks are not human beings. Just as the Germans proclaimed that Jews are not human beings. Thus did Lenin and Stalin proclaim kulaks are not human beings.

Using your history textbook and other sources from your library, learn more about Stalin's war against those peasants he labeled kulaks in the early 1930s. Also learn more about German persecution of the Jews during the Holocaust. Write an essay on the two episodes in which you offer your own thoughts about Vasily Grossman's comment here.

OBJECTIVE

 Students will better understand how Hitler and Stalin kept their people in a constant state of anxiety through propaganda images that portrayed a world of evil enemies determined to destroy the nation.

Enemies Without

Use the background information on this page to help your students better understand the three illustrations making up this lesson. The questions and activities presented in the rest of the lesson can be used to help students clarify meanings and debate important issues.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1

In spite of the power of their totalitarian states, neither Hitler nor Stalin ever really felt safe. Not only did they hate their internal enemies, but they also saw their nations as surrounded by enemies from without. For each leader, the external enemies were really the same as the internal enemies. So, for example, Hitler claimed that just as German Jews were plotting to destroy Germany from within, Jews all over the world were plotting to destroy her from without. Here, a cartoon on the front page of *Der Stuermer* shows the Jewish people as highwaymen crashing a huge boulder down onto a road leading "to the peace of all nations." The caption reads, "How will the people of the world come to peace if the way there is not secure?"

Illustration 2

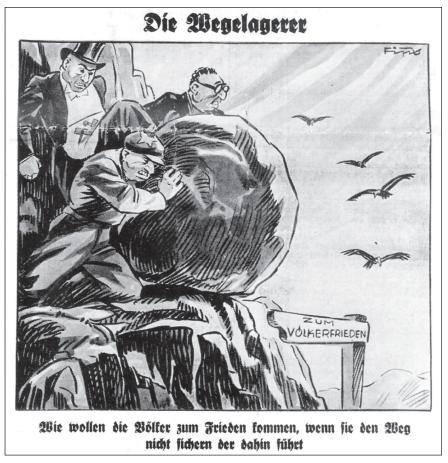
This cartoon illustrates the same theme as the last one. In it, a huge Jewish star is shown as a prison wall. From each of its compartments, the nations of the world call to each other for help. The Jewish wall keeps them apart and turns them against one another. In the Nazis' bizarre mental world, Jewish bankers had somehow united with Jewish Bolsheviks in Russia in a worldwide conspiracy to enslave everyone else. Even as Hitler prepared to launch the most destructive war in history, his propaganda tried to blame the approaching disaster on the Jews.

Illustration 3

The Nazis pictured a worldwide conspiracy of Jewish bankers and Jewish Bolsheviks. Meanwhile, Stalin's propaganda industry painted a similar picture. For Stalin, the enemy without was the worldwide capitalist class, shown here in the form of a giant, grasping businessman with swastika cufflinks. He is holding the priests and politicians he controls. It may not be accidental that this monster capitalist has stereotypically Jewish features similar to those found in much Nazi visual propaganda. After all, a strong anti-Semitic theme could often be found underlying the hatreds fostered by both of these bloody tyrannies.

Lesson 4—Enemies Without

Illustration 1



Virginius Dabney, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Discussing the Illustration

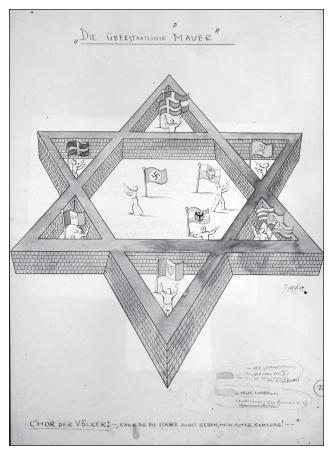
- 1. This is another cartoon from the Nazi publication Der Stuermer. It shows three Jews as highwaymen about to roll a boulder down a hill. The caption says the boulder will block the road "to the peace of the nations." It then asks, "How will the people of the world come to peace if the way there is not secure?" What view of the Jewish people is suggested by this cartoon?
- 2. Look closely at the way each of the three figures is portrayed. How do these figures play upon or add to the stereotypes about the Jews common in Nazi Germany?
- 3. A common myth about the Jews in the 1920s and 1930s was that somehow, Jewish bankers, Jewish Bolsheviks (or Communists), and other Jews were all engaged in a vast plot to ruin successful nations and take control of the world. How does this cartoon make use of this myth and strengthen it?

Follow-up Activity

1. The cartoon shown above is one of many that appeared in Julius Streicher's violently anti-Semitic newspaper Der Stuermer. Often the cartoons in this publication would present updated images fostering a myth about Jews that goes all the way back to the Middle Ages—the myth that Jews practiced ritual murder, or ritual sacrifice. Given the history of Judaism and its basic beliefs and practices, this was always an especially absurd charge to make against Jews. Why? Do some research into these myths about the Jews. Learn more about the actual views of Judaism toward ritual sacrifice and other related matters. Write a brief essay answering this question: "Given Judaism's actual beliefs about ritual sacrifice and consuming the blood of animals, why do you think this myth about Jewish ritual murder was believed by so many for such a long time?"

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Illustration 2



Library of Congress, Washington, DC, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Discussing the Illustration

- 1. This cartoon is labeled "The Wall Over Nations." It shows figures representing different nations inside a huge, complex system of prison walls. The shape of this set of walls makes it clear who it is that has imprisoned these nations. Can you explain?
- 2. Hitler said a Jewish world conspiracy was pushing the nations of the world toward war. This idea was a useful propaganda tool for him, especially after he came to power in 1933. Why might this have been an especially useful propaganda tool for him after he came to power in the 1930s?
- 3. Hitler warned of a worldwide conspiracy by Jewish financiers and businessmen and Jewish Bolsheviks. This notion is actually self-contradictory. Yet it also had a powerful appeal for many ordinary Germans. Why can it be called self-contradictory? Why do you think that, in spite of this, it appealed so strongly to so many in Germany in the 1930s?

Follow-up Activity

 Small-group activity: The mastermind of Hitler's propaganda efforts was Joseph Goebbels, head of the Nazi Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda. In one speech, he said this:

[Propagandists must have] a fine and sure instinct for the often changeable feelings of the people. They must be able to reach into the world of the broad masses and draw out their wishes and hopes. . . . Good propaganda does not need to lie, indeed it may not lie. It has no reason to fear the truth. It is a mistake to believe that people cannot take the truth. They can. It is only a matter of presenting the truth to people in a way that they will be able to understand.

Read more about Goebbels. Then, as a group, use some of the illustrations in this booklet in your own class presentation on Goebbels. Discuss his views as stated here, and explain how you do or do not agree with what he says about propaganda.

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Illustration 3



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

Discussing the Illustration

- 1. Stalin also portrayed his nation as beset by enemies from without. The gigantic figure here represents that class of people all over the world who, in Stalin's propaganda, were seen as the most determined foes of the Soviet Union. What class do you think this figure is supposed to stand for? How can you tell?
- 2. In Stalin's view, the international capitalist class had several powerful allies in its war against Communism and the Soviet Union. From the poster and from what you know about Stalin's Communist ideology, can you identify some of those other key allies?
- 3. Like Hitler, Stalin also used his vast propaganda powers to keep his people in a constant state of fear about the enemies he said were encircling his nation. Why do you think he felt a need to do this?
- 4. From this poster and the other examples of propaganda you have seen, how would you describe the similarities and differences between Hitler and Stalin in their use of visual propaganda?

Follow-up Activities

- 1. **Small-group activity**: Stalin's Soviet Union was not alone in portraying wealthy businessmen as grasping giants of the sort shown above. You should be able to find examples of similar images in political cartoons from various stages in U.S. history since the 1870s. Look through history textbooks in your school and through illustrated history books and news magazines in the library. Choose ten or more cartoons about big business and make copies of them. Share them with the class and try to decide if they are fair or unfair in the way they portray big business and its owners.
- 2. **Small-group activity**: The illustrations in this booklet were selected to show the similarities in Stalin's and Hitler's visual propaganda. Less emphasis has been placed on the differences. As a group, look over these illustrations and discuss any significant differences you see between visual propaganda under Hitler and Stalin. Guide a class discussion of these images, focusing on how they differ as well as on how they are similar.

Appendix Cartoons and Images

The Monumental State

Illustration 1



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

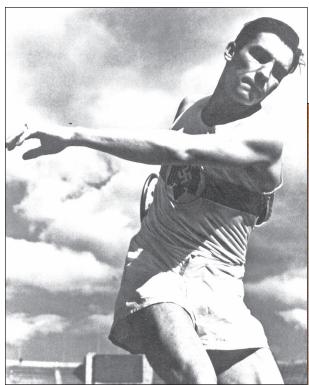
The Monumental State Illustration 2



Debra Gierach, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

The Monumental State

Illustration 3



Courtesy of the Library of Congress



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

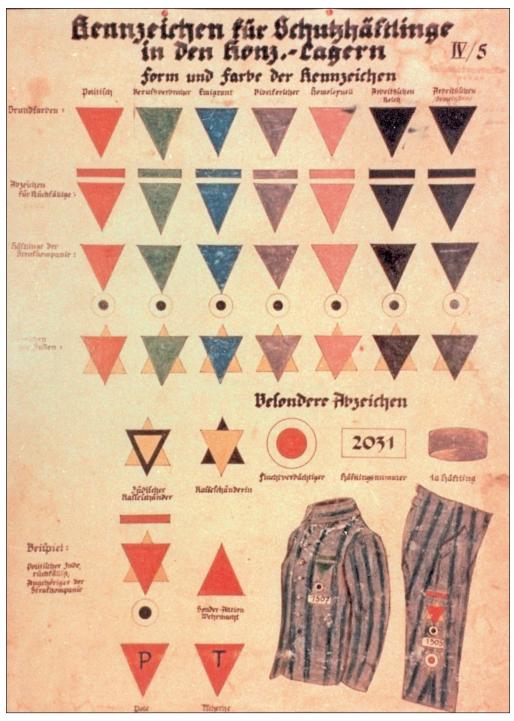
The Pure and the Impure

Illustration 1



Virginius Dabney, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

The Pure and the Impure Illustration 2



KZ Gedenkstaette Dachau, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

The Pure and the Impure Illustration 3



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives



Hoover Institution Archives

Enemies Within

Illustration 1



National Archives, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Enemies Within

Illustration 2



"Being baptized didn't turn him into a non-Jew"

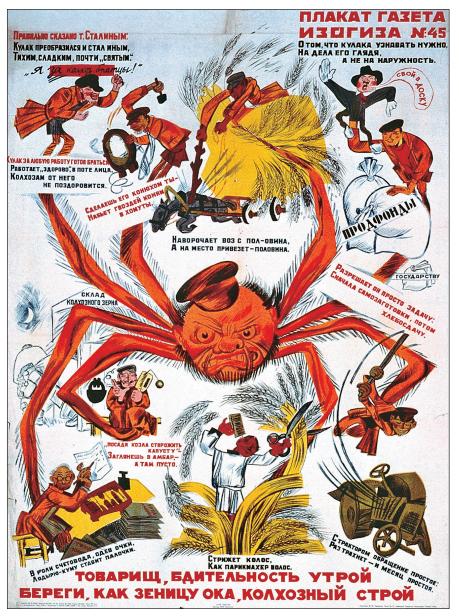
Gichner, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives



Gichner, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Enemies Within

Illustration 3



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

Enemies Without

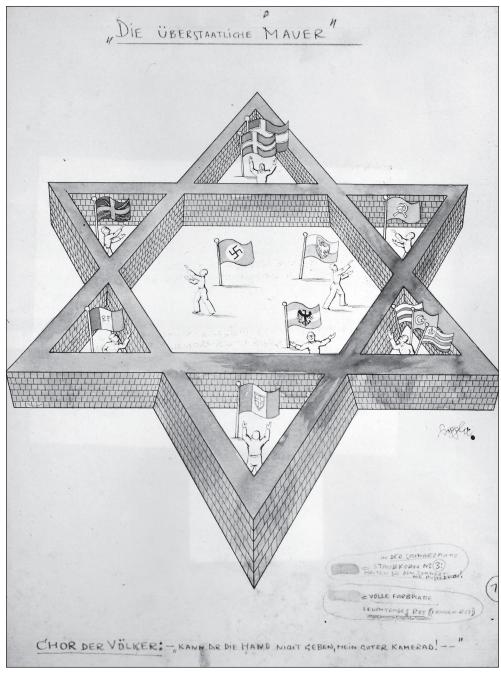
Illustration 1



Virginius Dabney, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Enemies Without

Illustration 2



Library of Congress, Washington, DC, courtesy of USHMM Photo Archives

Enemies Without

Illustration 3



Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives