PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES WITHIN NAZI GERMANY

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The extent to which the propaganda machinery of a country has been brought under the control of one organization or of a group of related organizations is a useful measure of the degree to which absolutism dominates it, and of the extent to which democracy has been eliminated. Fascist Germany illustrates how propaganda is used both to bring a dictator into power and to aid him in maintaining and extending that power. In Germany the propaganda which helped convince the people of the efficiency of the National Socialist solution for the country's political and economic problems was reinforced by an army of storm troops that weakened opposition through terrorism. Such methods made difficult and dangerous the promulgation of competing propagandas.

Since the advent of the National Socialists the power of the agencies of propaganda has been intensified and coordinated so that all avenues of communication—press, school, radio, motion picture, and even the church—must carry but one propaganda to the public mind, must express one will, one voice, one opinion. Hence the Hitler regime has, in common with other fascist countries, established a system wherein authority flows from the top down; and from the people comes blind, instant, unquestioning obedience. In the pages that follow, the propaganda which aided the National Socialists in winning support, which helps them keep the support of a majority of the people today, is analyzed under the seven common propaganda devices.²

¹ Based in large part on Propaganda Analysis, May 1938; by special permission of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc., 132 Morningside Drive, New York City.
² First suggested in November 1937 News Letter of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.
I. NAME CALLING

"Name calling" is a device to make us form a judgment without examining the evidence on which it should be based. Here the propagandist appeals to our hate and fear.

Inasmuch as the first task of the National Socialists was to destroy simultaneously all trade unions as well as all liberal democratic institutions, it was necessary to make the people believe that these were devilish inventions, cleverly designed by malicious persons to ruin the German people. This they sought to accomplish by asserting with endless repetition that these institutions were similar in structure and mood to those of communism. They then painted communism in terms so lurid as to horrify even the skeptical. With people convinced that communism (often used by the Nazis as synonymous with the Weimar Republic) had been forced on them by a "degenerate" and "malicious" cabal of "alien enemies" to create their misery, they could then rally all good Germans around the Fuehrer, who promised to protect his people by waging relentless war on these "enemies of Germany." This picture was widely accepted and was supported by a complete mythology in which the Jews, communism, and liberalism or democracy were held to be the major evil influences from which the National Socialists saved Germany.

"Liberals" are classified as weak, insipid, vacillating, temporizing, and unprincipled. To be a "liberal" or to believe in the "stupid doctrine of equality" fostered by "Jewish-invented democracy" is to be a lily-livered "red." "Jewish democracy" is opposed to the "true democracy," which Hitler claims to have established.

Nazi propagandists supercharge words with feeling and emotion in order to give them greater force in name calling. The same supercharging is applied to the "virtue words" which they employ in the glittering-generalities devices. Many of these words derive their
virtue from the immense reservoir of honesty, decency, good workmanship, good will, fine imagery, and rich emotionalism of the German people. Others are given significant new meanings.

2. GLITTERING GENERALITIES

"Glittering generalities" is a device by which the propagandist identifies his program with virtue by use of "virtue words." Here he appeals to our emotions of love, generosity, and brotherhood.

Much that is to the interest of those who control the regime is praised in terms of the "community good" and "comradeliness." To the same end there is considerable talk about subjecting all "narrow" and "selfish" interests to the "welfare of the community." Such words as "labor" and "sacrifice" are given additional "virtue" by ceremonials and dramatic awards.

The most sweeping generality is that conveyed by the word Volk (folk or people). The Volk, after purging itself of Jewish blood, is to return to the true Germanic tradition of the Middle Ages. To lend authority to this theory a "biological mythology" has had to be invented, and is now proclaimed by professors appointed to university chairs for that purpose. Thus, we see the card-stacking and testimonial devices used to strengthen an application of the glittering-generalities device. The regime utilizes the word "science" to sanction practices, policies, beliefs, and races which it wants approved. From "science" it obtained approval for the destruction of all opposition and of all "Marxist liberal culture."

Other generalities are effective in appealing to special groups. The farmers have been heartened to endure the poor return from their toil by a whole magnificat, written on the theme of Blut und Boden (blood and soil). They are told that they are "of the glorious peasant state," and each householder is given the honored title of Bauer, if he can prove freedom from Jewish blood from January 1,

8 This is one of the many examples of how two or more of the common propaganda devices can be used in combination. Here the glittering-generalities device is combined with the band-wagon and transfer devices.
"Bauer honor" ties him to the land and prevents him from changing his occupation or residence. The flattery, the insignia, and the verbal consolations offered to workers on the land have their parallels in those offered to industrial laborers.

The present internal conflict between the General Army Staff and the newly created Brown Shirts still further illustrates the influence of appealing to special groups. Since the early days of Bismarck top honors have gone to the General Staff; it is with bitterness and resentment that they have seen their priority usurped by the party leaders. Many predict that this animosity will lead to the overthrow of Hitlerism.

3. TRANSFER

"Transfer" is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept.

Something approaching deification of Chancellor Hitler is an outstanding example of this device. Nazi propagandists seek to establish him as a quasi divinity and to transfer to him the religious feelings of the German people; then to transfer from him the "divine" sanction to the policies, practices, beliefs, and hatreds which he espouses. Some party spokesmen and supporters refer to Hitler in terms like those applied to Christ. However, the pressure exerted to force the acceptance of the Fuehrer as a modern savior has been resisted by those church leaders who have recognized in the Nazi movement a conflict with Christianity, a conflict admitted by the more outspoken National Socialists. Despite this opposition Nazi leaders have had great success in capturing religious feeling and in establishing Hitler as a divinity embodying the traditions of the old German folklore.

Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical on Germany, March 14, 1937, stressed the point when he wrote:

Beware, Venerable Brethren, of the growing abuse in speech and writ-
ing, of using the thrice holy name of God as a meaningless label for a more or less capricious form of human search and longing.

When members of the Roman Catholic Church and of Protestant churches are not sufficiently influenced by the attempt to transfer their allegiance from the church beliefs which they have held to the beliefs "coördinated" with those of the state, more direct means of persuasion are used: intimidation and concentration camps.

Baldur von Schirach, Nazi youth leader, wrote for the youth of Germany this prayer:

Adolf Hitler, we believe in Thee. Without Thee we would be alone. Through Thee we are a people. Thou hast given us the great experience of our youth, comradeship. Thou hast laid upon us the task, the duty, and the responsibility. Thou hast given us Thy Name (Hitlerjugend), the most beloved Name that Germany has ever possessed. We speak it with reverence, we bear it with faith and loyalty. Thou canst depend upon us, Adolf Hitler, Leader and Standard-Bearer. The Youth is Thy Name. Thy Name is the Youth. Thou and the young millions can never be sundered.*

The prestige and authority of God are used to sanction the National Socialist party, its foreign policy of military expansion, and its domestic policy of bending to its will labor, agriculture, business, and all ideals, including those of Christianity. The Catholic Church, in particular, is attacked, though 30,000,000 of the 75,000,000 Germans were members of the Church. Catholicism is said to be competing with Nazism as a religion and educational agency;


* Note Hitler’s reference in his speech at Linz, Upper Austria (The New York Times, March 13, 1938), to the taking of Austria as a "divine commission" and this quotation from his Vienna speech (ibid., April 10, 1938): "I believe it was God’s will to send this Austrian boy to the Reich and to permit him to return as a mature man to reunite the two great sections of the German people. . . . Within three days the Lord struck the former rulers of this country. Everything that has happened must have been pre-ordained by Divine Will." At Danzig (September 19, 1939) Hitler proclaimed Divine support of German conquest of Poland (New York Herald-Tribune, September 20, 1939): "With horse and man and wagon, the Lord defeated them."
it is "foreign," "international," "communistic," "Jewish," and "wealthy."

Attempts are made to divert the attention of the industrial worker from the declining purchasing power of his labor and from the facts of his exploitation by transferring by songs, processions, and rituals the feelings aroused in his breast to a sense of pride in the "dignity of labor."

Love of the home and motherhood are similarly exploited to encourage women to accept the form of living which the National Socialist program requires of them. Children are made responsive to military ideals by transferring to these ideals the child's love of adventure.

For children the transfer device most frequently employed is the symbol of the Nazi hero—especially in his role of soldier. Manliness is identified with the glory of the party and is used as a means of encouraging in German boys an attitude of superiority toward women and a belief in the doctrine of militarism and anti-Semitism. Words and symbols appertaining to war have been endowed with a glorious sense to make war appear heroic and thrilling. Little children know and give the Hitler salute. Toy soldiers, tanks, machine guns, and simplified battle instructions abound everywhere—symbols to transfer sanction to the later use of real tanks and machine guns.⁷

4. TESTIMONIAL

The "testimonial" is a device to make us accept anything from a patent medicine or a cigarette to a program of national policy.

From the fact that "the Fuehrer knows the goal and knows the direction," it follows that his is the supreme testimonial. No author-

⁶ S. K. Padover, "Nazi Scapegoat Number 2," Forum, February 1938; also in Reader's Digest, February 1939.
ity and no adjustment which does not follow from or accord with his can be right. No specialist knows better than he, no recommendation can be better than his. He can deny even the authority of science. Only the conclusions of “German science” as approved by the Fuehrer may be accepted. When the conclusions of science do not accord with his wishes, as in genetics, a new science has to be invented (card stacking); its prestige then has to be established by his testimonial. So also with the arts. Only that art which is approved by the Fuehrer and his subordinates as German art may be accepted by the German people. So also does he decree how men and women shall live their lives. The kind of life which has the Fuehrer’s approval is that which is surrendered to the state. In this Hitler is the arbiter; his approval is the supreme testimonial.

5. PLAIN FOLKS

“Plain folks” is a device used by politicians, labor leaders, businessmen, and even by ministers and educators to win our confidence by appearing to be people like ourselves—“just plain folks among the neighbors.”

At the same time that the Fuehrer is canonized, an attempt is made to transform him into a “man of the people.” In this, the propagandists are greatly assisted by his habits, for he effects ordinary clothes, wears no medals other than his simple Iron Cross, eats plain food and that sparingly, and leads a quiet, secluded life. He is pictured as a man of the people meeting plain folks in their ordinary walks of life, enjoying with them their simple work and pleasures. Hitler himself makes the same appeal to his people. He is no longer a plain man but a common soldier. In his address to the Reichstag (September 1, 1939) he declared:

9 See Olin Downes in The New York Times, April 3, 1938: “... It remains a fact that an absolute dictatorship of the sort now practised in such extensive areas of the world overseas (Germany, Italy, and Russia) is nothing but destructive to creative thought in any field.”
10 Facts in Review, 1: 6, p. 4. Published by the German Library of Information.
I myself am today as ready as I once was to make every personal sacrifice. I expect no more of any German than what I for four years was voluntarily prepared to do. There shall be no privations in Germany which I myself will not immediately endure. My whole life from now on belongs still more exclusively to my people. I now do not want to be anything but the first soldier of the German Reich. I, therefore, again put on the uniform which once had been most sacred and dearest to me. It will be taken off only after victory or death.

The simplest peasant and the most untutored servant girl feel that he is talking directly to them. As he speaks, they seem to relive with him his terrible experiences in the war and his poverty-stricken postwar days. Just as one of the most powerful appeals of the figure of Christ for the poor of all ages is his lowly origin and his expressions of sympathy for humble people, so the National Socialists attempt to capitalize on Hitler’s early career. Jesus, a carpenter, is the Messiah of the Christian world; Hitler, a house painter, is the savior of Germany. However, to judge by what Hitler has written in his book, Mein Kampf, he appears to have little sympathy but much contempt for the broad masses. Miriam Beard says:*1

... He (Hitler) will not be squeamish about his methods: “Whenever people fight for their existence all questions of humanity or esthetics fall away to nothing.” Mercy is a vain illusion, he informs us on page 267 of the original, cut from the translation, “in a world... in which Force is forever mistress over the weak” and in which “Nature does not know” it.

The real sting is taken from his (Hitler’s) remarks on labor. His intention to “free economic life from the influences of the mass” is omitted.

In this case, as in that of the other propaganda devices discussed in this paper, the element of misrepresentation of fact is considerable, although it is not always predominant. The device which plays the most important part in National Socialist propaganda is, therefore, “stacking the cards” for or against beliefs or facts which the National Socialists wish either to encourage or to suppress.

6. CARD STACKING

"Card stacking" is a device in which the propagandist employs all the arts of deception to win our support for himself, his group, nation, race, policy, practice, belief, or ideal. He stacks the cards against the truth. He uses underemphasis and overemphasis to dodge or evade facts.

The misrepresentation of facts works in two ways. On the one hand, there is a rigorously enforced censorship, backed by an elaborate spy system and the constant threat of concentration camps. By this means the regime can suppress facts, prevent discussion and expression of discontent and opposition. This largely accounts for the fact that many visitors on returning from Germany report that they have heard no expression of discontent. On the other hand, the regime has freedom to give publicity to falsehoods. Hitler\textsuperscript{19} approves such duplicity in \textit{Mein Kampf} (deleted from the English translation) when he writes:

\textit{... Propaganda ... does not have to seek objectively for the truth so far as it favors an opponent ... but exclusively has to serve our interests.}\n
It must adopt every device of slander that ingenuity can suggest: \textit{“whenever our propaganda permits for a single moment the shimmer of an appearance of right on the other side, it has been laid a foundation for doubt in the right of our cause ... especially among a people that so suffers from objectivity-mania as the German!”}

The duplicity associated with the Reichstag fire and the spirit of the resultant “trial” is reflected in the announcements of foreign policy from Wilhelmsstrasse. Treaties and pronouncements are often regarded as instruments useful to placate, appease, or even deceive other governments. After categorical denials of German interference in Spain, official recognition was given Franco, and Hitler made the statement that German troops were in Spain not only to “protect” her from “communism” but also to keep open for Germany access to ores and other raw materials.

\textsuperscript{19} Quoted by Beard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 269.
In line with this policy was the destruction of books and papers that contained "dangerous thoughts." Public and private libraries, bookstores, offices, and reference files were searched for "red," "communist," "Jewish" literature—literature which includes the works of Helen Keller, Émile Zola, Marcel Proust, H. G. Wells, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Arnold Sweign, Albert Einstein, Jacob Wassermann, along with Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Such books fed great fires in public squares throughout the country. Quotations from some of these works were taken out of their context and presented to the public as examples of how these authors have been "poisoning the community" with "filth" and "lies." The "Aryan" treatises attacking "enemy lies" are widely circulated as substitutes; but those attacking Stalin and communism have since been suppressed as a result of the Nazi-Russian pacts.

An analysis of parallel news reports in German and foreign papers offers examples of the effective use of card stacking by the controlled press. For instance, Niemoeller's release by the court was announced but his rearrest by the secret police was not. Convictions of Roman Catholics for "immoral practices" were published; acquittals were "played down." Although the Minister for Church Affairs, Herr Hans Kerrl, announced that more than eight thousand Catholic religious leaders were or had been under arrest, he did not publish the fact that only about forty-nine had been convicted of immoral actions. Similarly, many crimes of individual Jews are publicized, but no publicity is given to ways in which German Jews have served their country. No intimation, for example, is made of the fact that 12,000 Jews died for Germany in the World War; or that, despite official discouragement, approximately the same proportion of Jews as of gentiles served in the German army and navy. 33

33 For a summary of statistics relating to the number and positions of Jews in Germany, see Schuman, op. cit., pp. 316-318; and Mildred Wertheimer, "The Jews in the Third Reich," Foreign Policy Association Reports, IX (1933), pp. 174-184. According to German census figures in 1925, professing Judaists constituted 0.9 per cent of the total population of 62,410,619.
In addition to influencing the German people in the direction desired by the dictator, the falsehoods inherent in card stacking arouse hatreds which have the effect of rallying the people against the supposed enemy or peril. With difficulty and dexterity the Nazi press has explained the German-Russian Treaty. Nazis have never opposed Communism in Russia; only "international communism" is to be resisted. The superficiality and inconsistency of propaganda is startlingly illustrated in the following contrasting statements. The first was made before the Reichstag on February 20, 1938; the second was made at Danzig following the fraternization of Russian and Nazi soldiers at Brest-Litovsk but eighteen months later.

There is only one state with which we have never sought close relationships and with which we do not want to have any close relationships. I mean Soviet Russia. We must look upon Bolshevism as upon the destructive qualities of human nature and we do so even more than before.

We have found it in the best interests of both our nations to have an understanding with each other. Russia remains what it is and Germany will remain what it is. But both regimes see clearly that neither the Russian nor the German regimes want to sacrifice even a single man for the interests of the Western democracies.

The name calling has been shifted from communism and Russia to democracy and the "war-mongering English."

7. BAND WAGON

The "band wagon" is a device to make us follow the crowd, to accept the propagandist's program en masse. Here his theme is "Everybody's doing it." His techniques range from those of medicine show to dramatic spectacle.

One of the great unifying principles adopted by the National Socialists is that of hate. Among the passages deleted from the English version of Mein Kampf, Hitler has written:

"... Hate is more lasting than dislike, and the thrusting power for the

14 Beard, op. cit., p. 267.
mightiest upheavals on this earth has at all times come less from scientific recognition than from a fanaticism that fills the souls of the masses and in a forward-driving hysteria" (*vorwaertsjagenden Hysterie*).

In accordance with this principle Jews, communists, liberals, and democrats became objects of hatred and scapegoats that could be made to suffer for the people’s distress. Unity is further encouraged by patriotic demonstrations. Typical in these are gigantic crowds of people, massed ranks of uniformed troops, bands playing patriotic and martial airs, voices declaiming from a hundred mechanical mouths, ecstatic marchers carrying flickering torches, their resinous smoke blending into the darkness, flags and swastikas everywhere. This is the National Socialist equivalent of “bread and circuses.” To bring all Germans upon the National Socialist band wagon, the party propagandists play continuously upon the common fears, hatreds, prejudices, aspirations, and traditions. All propaganda devices culminate in this one. Not to get on the German fascist band wagon is the gravest heresy, tantamount to treason. This largely accounts for reports of nearly 100 per cent “Yes” votes in all Nazi plebiscites.

**TO WHAT END ALL THIS PROPAGANDA?**

Prophesies are hazardous. We do not know the future of German Fascism. When Hitler wrote his book, *Mein Kampf*, he stated as objectives so many goals which since have been attained that the book is often called the blueprint of German Fascism. Hitler has written: “A State which . . . devotedly fosters its best racial elements is bound one day to become Master of the Earth (*Herr der Erde*).”

Physical, political, economic, and cultural expansion is still the major activity of the National Socialists. Hitler’s program is as impressive as the Berlin-to-Bagdad objective of the former Kaiser. When expansion could be obtained without fighting, as in Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, by mere threat of military attack, with ac-
quiescence, support, or approval of politicians, statesmen, and groups in other states, there was simply the peaceful yielding to German Fascist occupation or domination. When war was necessary, German troops goose-stepped into Poland.

Preceding such occupation or domination was subversive then open propaganda to make the people receptive to fascism and to win the support of those groups and individuals, including high public officials, who expect advantages from German Fascism and those who have been made to fear the consequences of resistance. In this connection, however, a word of warning: We must guard against assuming that German Fascism or any other variety of fascism arises from propaganda alone. German Fascism came into being not primarily because of Hitler’s masterful skill as a propagandist but because conditions of unemployment, impoverishment, despair, anger, and resentment were such in Germany that any person or group offering salvation in terms sufficiently appealing could have influenced profoundly the political and economic decisions of the German people. Hitler was sufficiently appealing. With the financial support of certain individuals and the intrigues and incompetencies of men like von Papen and Hindenburg, fascism becomes a reality. The Germans, traditionally nationalistic and arrogantly proud, were defeated, humiliated, crippled, and degraded by the World War. Nazi ideology first made them racially superior, the Nazi politics and force proved their right as a world power and revealed again their interrupted “destiny.” It was a combination of economic breakdown, governmental weakness, frustrated morale, and propaganda which made pre-Nazi Germany ready for fascism. A similar combination could bring fascism elsewhere.

Propaganda has no meaning and hence no effectiveness except in terms of life conditions of people—their needs, fears, hatreds, loves, aspirations, prejudices, and traditions. These affect propa-
Propaganda as much as propaganda affects people. National Socialist propaganda is based on the hatreds, fears, aspirations, and traditions of the German people. That explains its success—that, together with the fact that most of the German people and doubtless many of the Nazi propagandists themselves were unable to analyze, evaluate, and appraise the Nazi propaganda and its possible consequences. Whether Hitler or his fellow Nazis were sincere or insincere, racketeers or honest men, is not a matter of prime importance. What is of importance is that they won to their cause honest, earnest men and women who in their turn became zealous and effective propagandists for National Socialism. Some of them, like Niemoeller, came to see that National Socialism (German Fascism) actually was destructive of the Germany of their hopes and aspirations; therefore, they broke with the Nazis and lost their liberty or their lives. The process of such disillusionment may be slow or negligible because the regime has a monopoly of propaganda.

Card stacking must be used constantly by the National Socialists to prevent Germans and the rest of the world from knowing significant facts about German Fascism. In this connection, note the proposal by Dr. Otto Dietrich, Reich press chief, for press non-aggression pacts, providing for governmental control of printed and spoken words in all nations negotiating such treaties with Germany.

Once the German Fascists obtain power over another nation, we see pressure exerted, as in Austria, Sudetenland, Slovakia, and Poland, to bring the press and all channels of communication under totalitarian control, and to silence all critics. In order to save their lives and positions, some editors, writers, clergymen, teachers, business men, farmers, and others, who might be adversely critical, yield to pressure. By so doing they become part of the totalitarian

16 See William Graham Sumner, Folkways (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906), Chapter I.
propaganda system—they lend themselves to its pressure to silence editors, teachers, and clergymen. Courageous educators are removed from their teaching posts, independent editors from their desks, and forthright clergymen and priests from their pulpits.18

The effectiveness of fascist propaganda at home and abroad has placed the democracies on the defensive. They are discovering the extensive deliberate spread of Nazi propaganda within their own borders.19 (Some 800 organizations in this country are disseminating fascist propaganda.) To be consistent with their principles, the democracies cannot halt the invasion of ideas and feelings by force or by legislation. They may protect themselves only by education and reason. Thus, we find increasing interest in education for tolerance.20 (All public schools in New York City now teach tolerance, following an order of the Superintendent of Schools, and many teach resistance to propaganda—15,000 pupils in 600 schools, and 3,000 teachers, use Institute for Propaganda Analysis teaching materials.) Most American newspapers have emphasized their freedom, referring in all reports to dictators' newspapers as "the controlled press" long before war censorships began. Increasing num-

18 See The New York Times, March 28, 1938, for an account of Edward Y. Hartshorne's study of the effect of the Nazi dictatorship on German education, in which he shows that of the 1,684 professors who have been dismissed by the National Socialists almost 900 were released for being Jewish, Catholic, or "politically unreliable," and more than 700 others were dismissed for no known cause.
The Dies Committee Reports.
Immigrants All—Americans All, radio broadcasts, United States Office of Education and Commission on Intercultural Education, Progressive Education Association.
bers of popular magazines, motion pictures, plays, and forums are developing similar resistance patterns to Nazi propaganda.

Recently the democracies have taken the offensive, in invading Germany with radio news reports and interpretations, apparently with some success. *Time* magazine (January 30, 1939, page 22) reports an early attempt:

... NBC's 25-kilowatt W3XL, its power stepped up to the equivalent of some 150 kilowatts by a directional beam antennae, has sent in the direction of Germany's 5,000,000 short-wave receivers an hour of news, music and Americana....

The cheap People's radios are designed to receive mainly the medium-waveband domestic German broadcasts. But the popular British Broadcasting Corporation's medium-wave news periods are frequently and easily received on People's radios.

In the short-wave bands, Germany's most galling intruder is Moscow which, by some underground means the Gestapo has not yet uncovered, gets German news and broadcasts it back to Germany almost as soon as it happens. In spite of all the Reich's counteracting efforts, many Germans can and do learn what goes on.

The British Broadcasting Company's stations intersperse among news broadcasts to Germany accounts of the names, location, and physical condition of German prisoners in England. Even fear of Nazi penalties does not keep German mothers from listening.

The battle of propagandas is under way. Planes drop leaflets as well as bombs; radio invasions are as important as those of armies. Can the Nazi structure survive these contacts with differing ideas, with clever hostile propagandas? The history of social thinking indicates that a free search for truth and fact eventually undermines and then destroys a system of mysticism and false logic.

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21 British planes dropped millions of copies of the White Paper over Germany, and British cities and the countryside were bombarded with a retaliatory White Book in the first week of the present war.