

JSHC / Paper / F-W 2018

“The Silent Column”: Anti- Spy Poster Propaganda (1939-1945)

by

Urvashi Gautam

This article looks at one of the most important propaganda poster campaigns in Germany and Britain which was to caution people against the spies and to not let out any secrets. The ‘Careless Talk Cost Lives’ campaign in Britain and the ‘Shadow Campaign’ in Germany catered to this sentiment through a publication of a number of posters during the war. The article through the analysis of anti-spy posters tries to locate the specific target groups of these posters. The various aspects such as ‘characterization’ as well as the representation of ‘the enemy’ in these posters have been studied too within the parameters of propaganda devices used to ignite the sensitivities of the audience more than rationale.

Introduction

“Careless Talks” was one of the most important themes in propaganda posters throughout the Second World War. The campaign against ‘Careless Talks’ was the most formidable campaigns undertaken by the British government during the war. Its significance stemmed up from two widely prevailing beliefs- firstly, spreading rumours that could have a negative impact on the listeners and could damage the public morale and secondly, important information that could be revealed by careless talking. The term ‘Fifth Column’ was used against spies in Spain centuries earlier but came to be commonly used only during the Second World War. The Fifth Column consisted of a seditious faction that was helping the enemy through spies and by spreading rumours.¹ Since the beginning of the war the Armed Force security in Germany and Britain were worried about such people. They realized that the information possessed by these people would immensely benefit the enemy and hence the urgent need to ensure that they do not become moles or playthings in the hands of the enemy i.e. fighting the “Fifth Column” with the “Silent Column”.

As a result, the British Government introduced the slogan “Careless Talk Costs Lives”, which was illustrated in colourful cartoons created by comic artist Fougasse which presented the issue in a trivial manner. The corresponding German slogan was “The Enemy is listening” (*Feind Hoert Mit*).² One of the most important propaganda themes in both the nations was to caution people against the spies and to not let out any secrets. The “Careless Talk Cost Lives” in Britain and the “Shadow Campaign” in Germany catered to this sentiment through a publication of a number of posters during the war.

The campaigns to chide ‘careless talk’ during Second World War have not been studied adequately by historians and scholars. Angus Calder has perfunctorily presented the ‘Careless Talks’ campaign in *The Myth of the Blitz* and *The People's War: Britain, 1939-1945*, and so has Juliet Gardiner in *Wartime: Britain 1939-1945. This Is Your War: Home Front Propaganda in Second World War* and *Propaganda in War, 1939-1945: Organisations, Politics and Publics in Britain and Germany*, by Michael Balfour do not examine the subject matter in detail either. Their focus is mainly confined to the year 1940 or limited only to posters from the ‘Careless Talks Costs Lives’ campaign. The only exception is Jo Fox’s article which focuses on the period from 1939-1945 mapping the entire campaign and the shifts and tensions in the careless talk propaganda.³ Other works such as *The Evolution of the Mythical British Fifth Column, 1939-46* by Richard Thurlow does not look at anti-spy propaganda rather examines the growth of security services.

While the “Shadow Campaign” was launched much later in the war, by the first half of 1944, it has copious similarity to the ‘Careless Talk Costs Lives’ campaign in Britain. Though ‘Careless Talk Costs Lives’ campaign is much celebrated, it is limited only to the posters. The anti-spy poster campaign in Britain had more to it than the ‘Careless Talk Costs Lives’ posters. There were several other poster campaigns in Britain to curb rumour and careless talking which will be subsequently discussed in this article. The British campaign has nonetheless received the due attention by the scholars while the ‘Shadow Campaign’ is entirely circumvented.

The objective of Fifth Column was to spread gossip and gloom by professionals and paid agents whose duty was to assist their armies in the event of invasion, to give false orders and spread rumours. The main task of combating Fifth Column depended on the Armed Forces, the Police and the Air Raid Precaution (hereafter, A.R.P) wardens. The ordinary citizen’s duty was to neither believe the rumours or to spread them. It was difficult to recognize the Fifth Column, as their trade was to go unnoticed fooling people into believing that it did not exist in the first place.⁴ The Ministry Of Information (hereafter, MOI) was concerned to take steps to discourage discussions on matters of military significance and information which could be of use to the enemy. To be able to curb ‘gossip’ would imply curbing ‘rumour’ and ‘defeatist talk’ at the same time. While ‘gossip’ or ‘careless talk’ was defined as revealing information concerning matters of fact, ‘rumour’ was perceived as informing true or untrue reports, and ‘defeatist talk’ meant to pass on ‘gossip’ or ‘rumour’ with added self opinions by the chatterer.⁵

Propaganda campaigns concerned with rumours and gossips began in 1939 in Britain with the establishment of a ‘Committee on the Issue of Warnings against Discussion of Confidential Matters in Public Places’.⁶ The subjects for home publicity was supposed to caution against gossip and rumour including any kind of talk which helped the enemy, rumour spread to incur confusion, rumour as the source of fear and depression, rumour as the means of undermining confidence, and defeatist talk.⁷ The commencement of the war led to the production of the poster by the War Office asking people not to help the enemy by giving away vital secrets by indiscreet talks. ⁸ The first poster reiterating the theme was published in 1939. Then came a large variety of posters promoting caution while talking and denouncing gossipers. The first was ‘Warning’.⁹ These were the slogan or textual posters produced by the MOI with the image of the sovereign’s crown at the top signaling as a directive.

There were similar slogans and textual posters from Germany during the same period. Posters from Germany were with elaborate messages or just a single word ‘pst!’.¹⁰ Caution against English and

Bolshevik agents who floated rumour and slander against which the German population had to unite and oppose, were disseminated. The offenders were to be reported to the police and whoever failed to do so was considered an accomplice and was to be treated accordingly.¹¹ Discretion while talking was promoted in the poster by quoting Hitler and Gottfried Keller.¹² These posters made use of the 'testimonial' propaganda technique. Another slogan poster by Goebbels which promoted civilian's discretion while talking mentioned "the soldiers died on the front while performing their duty. The soldier might claim that the one in the home sabotaged the war and he suffered death. Thus, the front had a right to be covered by the high moral at the war home front".¹³

Characterization in Propaganda Posters

Churchill believed that spreading rumours could be harmful for public morale so he ordered the MOI to set up a campaign to counter it. On the basis of evidence from Mass-Observation and the MOI's own Home Intelligence department, it was brought to the forefront that there were rumours rife about spies and Trojan Horses in Britain. The MOI duly mounted its 'Silent Column' campaign on posters in the press and in the BBC. Rumour mongers were personified in the characters of 'Mr. Knowall', 'Miss Leaky Mouth', 'Mr. Glumpot', 'Mr. Secrecy Hush Hush', 'Miss Teacup Whisper' and 'Mr. Pride in Prophecy'. The advice to the public was to 'Tell These People To Join Britain's Silent Column' and to report persistent offenders to the police. The campaign was not very successful.¹⁴ Personification was something very peculiar to the poster propaganda campaign in Britain which was also seen in Nazi anti-spy propaganda posters. These Nazi posters also introduced characterization of gossipers such as Frau Keppelmeier and Herr Semperer. The poster's (Figure.1) text was in a couplet and the image portrayed Frau Keppelmeier spreading rumours and Herr Semperer as the rumour monger.¹⁵ Another poster showed Frau Keppelmeier listening in to British radio and accused her of committing a crime.¹⁶ The poster "*Du bist ein Verräter*" (You're a traitor) declared anyone listening in to enemy news as a traitor, also if they did spread the enemy news or followed enemy's instructions. The poster also threatened the spies who were disguising as a friend that they could not escape and would be found and executed.¹⁷

According to the Ten Commandments against enemy propaganda by the Nazis, foreign radio propaganda worked with deliberate distortions and lies and therefore, people's duty was to



Figure:1 Frau Keppelmeier, wie man sieht, ist tief erschüttert im Gemuet Herr Semperer uber mit Behagen laesst ein Geruecht ins Ohr sich sagen

Date: 1941 ; Issued by: Unknown ; Artist: M B; Nationality: Germany
 Source: <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/steiermark.htm>



Figure:2 Put a sock in it!

Date: Second World War
 Artist: Bert Thomas ; Issued by: Unknown ; Nationality: British ; Source: INF 3/276, TNA, Kew,

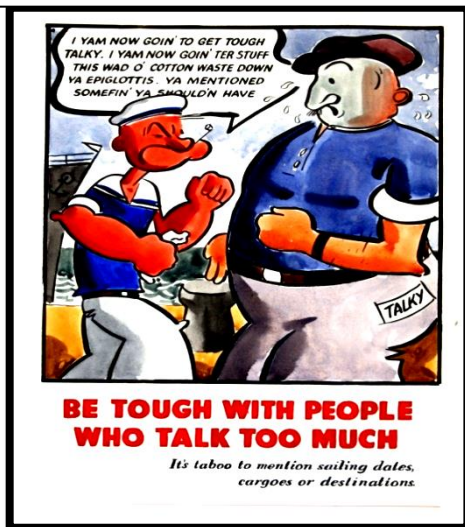


Figure.3 Be tough with people who talk too much - it's taboo to mention sailing dates

Date: Second World War
 Artist: Unknown; Issued By: Unknown
 Nationality: British
 Source: INF 3/252, TNA, Kew, London.

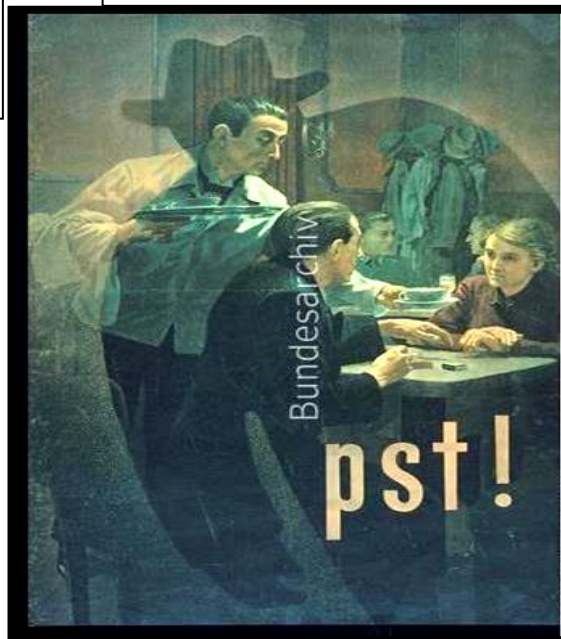


Figure.4 Pst!

Date: 1944
 Issued by: Unknown
 Nationality: Germany
 Artist: Franz Oswald Schiffers
 Source: Plak 003-027-028, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

refrain from listening to foreign radio broadcasts.¹⁸It was deemed dishonorable and was therefore banned. Anyone not complying with this was labeled as a 'traitor'.¹⁹ A poster depicted a man broadcasting from London and Moscow while a German was trying to snoop in slyly reiterating the

same theme.²⁰ In another poster a man and his wife with oversized ears, tuning into foreign broadcasts were reprimanded.²¹ The British claimed that in Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia to be caught listening to foreign broadcast meant a sentence of anything up to eight years of hard labour while to be caught disseminating news in a number of known cases also meant death. According to the British reports in spite of such strict regulations and high risks the number of people listening to B.B.C in Germany alone were claimed to be nearly one million and indicated that the Germans had failed to put a complete barrier against influences from outside which was their principal aim.²²

The German defeat at Stalingrad in early 1943 steered the propaganda into a different direction. Bolshevism became the biggest enemy and therefore, it became necessary to inform people of the Bolshevik saboteur.²³ Similarly, in Britain 'Put a sock in it!' poster (Figure 2) depicted a helmeted man putting a sock in trumpet of gramophone marked 'Service gossip'. This was the only poster from Britain that talked about what was to be done in order to counter the fifth columnist and offered a way out.²⁴

The oral propaganda from Germany also made use of personification to caution against spies as evidenced by the articles sent to the local propagandists for background information, which included several stories in which "Albert Schm, a book keeper, revealed a secret on a telephonic conversation because of his carelessness and was sentenced. A soldier on leave, Private S, met a former workmate W at a pub and both of them were fooled by Agent L, who pretended to be deaf and dumb, leading to the bombing of the factory. Old maid Gerda B went out with a man she had just met, and without any suspicions revealed important secrets to him and was thus, convicted. Gerta P lost a briefcase with valuable documents to an enemy spy. She was also sentenced for her carelessness. S was charged for spreading secret information and served a penalty". This article also mentioned that a jail term was too mild for such offenders.²⁵ Although the personification is vague as only the initials were used in most cases still keeping the anonymity intact.

The Silent Column campaign in Britain was not very popular neither was it very successful. Another such initiative in Britain, the 'Wartime Social Survey' by the Minister of Information, Duff Cooper, was also unsuccessful. The campaign was dismissed by the public and the press while the latter termed it as 'Cooper's Snoopers', an initiative that needlessly pried into people's lives and caused offense by doing so.²⁶ Churchill himself had admitted that the attempt to create a silent column was sapless and inactive and thus had to be dropped.²⁷ The Anti- Rumour Campaign had to go back to its previous structure and focus on 'careless talk' rather than 'rumour'.²⁸ Then, came the 'Keep

it Dark' initiative and posters encouraging people against imprudent talk.²⁹ There was a growing resentment to the unvarying prohibitions more in the form of exhortatory tone of do nots- don't talk and don't listen³⁰. The poster 'If you must talk, talk victory' was a more positive relief from the earlier accusatory posters and were printed to be pasted on all Fougasse posters.³¹ The desirability of corrective action to remedy a repressive atmosphere possibly induced by the "Careless Talks" campaign was considered. It was agreed although the campaign itself did not require being upsetting; corrective hints were to be included from time to time telling people the things about which to talk. In this reference the poster 'If you must talk, talk victory' was opportune. In particular people were to be told that they could grumble.³²

The use of personalization is also seen in the "Be tough with people who talk too much" posters from Britain. These posters have Pop-Eye the Sailor Man berating 'Talky'. A 'Careless talk' cartoon showed Pop-Eye the Sailor Man trying to revive 'Talky' the dockworker. In another poster (Figure.3) Pop-Eye the Sailor Man was shown in an altercation with 'Talky', and was about to strike him for mentioning something he should not have. In the third poster Pop-Eye the Sailor Man was about to knock 'Talky'.³³ People working in places such as the docks, factories, and munitions were considered to possess valuable information and thus were targeted in the posters especially. The campaign was to encourage people to be intolerant towards rumour mongers. People were asked to be rude to people who probed into such details/information which could be a threat to the nation's security. The character Pop Eye was taken from the cartoon published for the first time in 1929. While 'Talky' was a take on 'Wimpy', a slothful and self centered character from the same cartoon, depicted as the rumour monger in the posters.³⁴

The Targets

The nature of 'careless talks' varied with local circumstances, industrial, maritime or military, so the propaganda used to counter it also had to be specific.³⁵ In February 1940 a nationwide campaign was launched in Britain that warned the public against loose talk and the dangers of unwittingly giving information to enemy sympathizers. This is when the slogan "Careless Talk Costs Lives" started gaining popularity. The MOI distributed more than two and half million posters of Fougasse to offices, shops, public houses etc.³⁶ The posters were in portrait format and the image was placed on a white background with broad margins making the picture tiny in the overall frame. The 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' was the most famous poster of the anti-spy campaign. In contrast to the British posters, humour was never used in anti-spy posters from Germany.

The corresponding slogan in Germany was '*Fiend Hort mit*' (Enemy listens with). The "Shadow Campaign" which began in 1944, much later at the tail end of the war. The campaign was launched to spread awareness about spies. There was a mention of it in Goebbels diary and the aim was to uproot the rumour mongers and careless talk which could be of use to the enemy. The weapon they used against the chatterers was 'Pst'. "Pst!", denoted the warning that "the enemy is listening" and therefore, to behave accordingly.³⁷

The Nazi propaganda believed that victory depended not only in the battlefields, but also in winning the mindset of the people. As a consequence, complaining, chattering and discouraging rumors had to be pointed out and proactively rejected. The losses at the front, winter damage and political or military difficulties disseminated were part of enemy propaganda. The propaganda speakers from Nazi Germany were instructed to publicize that the government and military offices gave open and honest information about all situations. It was only for the welfare of the people that silence was maintained on certain issues and it was not to conceal information from the public. Rather, it was done to conceal the upcoming operations from the enemy to keep them baffled and it helped to protect soldiers from avoidable losses. Rumors about losses were propagated to be usually spread by the enemy in vague terms in the hope that it would provide them with valuable information. The duty of the German people was to not give out valuable information to the enemy by indulging in unmindful chattering.³⁸ To keep the enemy unaware about the chattering rumors nothing was mentioned about the fear of "Careless talks" in the press or radio. It was therefore even more important for the speakers and propagandists to use every opportunity to condemn rumor-mongering as criminal offence and immoral.³⁹ Goebbels stated that gossiping deserved not merely detention, but also the condescension of the people.⁴⁰ The posters narrated how the responsible citizens were not interested in rumour mongering. In one poster a rumour monger was shown running after his neighbour to share certain gossip while the neighbour donning a scorn was rebuking him for his act which reflected his disinterest. According to the German propaganda ghostly broadcasts of the enemy which enveloped the city during night (indicated by humans with wings flying over the city spreading false news) was said to disappear by day and the offenders were to be reported to the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces (OKW). The poster depicted a man and women caught by the police who pulled at their enlarged ears.⁴¹

Several, 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' posters from Britain depicted people in everyday situations revealing secrets. The use of depersonalization and anonymous figures that bore no resemblance to anyone was used by Fougasse in the 'careless talks' posters.⁴² The common feature in all Fougasse's

poster was the omnipresence of Hitler, clearly indicating the use of reverse testimonial propaganda device. All posters by Fougasse inserted Hitler's caricature disguised subtly in the background. The text was in small cursive typography, which being illegible from a distance forced the viewer to study the poster closely. Fougasse's message was clear that no place was safe, whether it was in the trains, on the roads, restaurants, telephone booths, bars or even inside the house- the looming danger of the surreptitious listener was omnipresent. The representation of bars was done in several posters indicating that it was easier to reveal secrets when intoxicated.⁴³ It was felt important to avoid any anti-liberal taint in "Careless Talks" propaganda and thus the emphasis was always to be on "Careless Talk Helps Hitler".

When the slogan "Careless Talk" was in circulation for quite some time it was felt that the slogan because of its common currency was not effective in curbing indiscreet talk. While it was understandable that no one would knowingly pass on information that would be helpful to the enemy, people lacked an understanding of what kind of information was to be concealed. Therefore, it was necessary that the campaign gave examples of what must be avoided. The Services were not able to produce specific reports. Thus, a need was felt to make use of Defence Notices Censorship as these set out in detail, all aspects of Naval, Military, Air and other War affairs to build hypothetical cases to spread awareness.⁴⁴

The enemy spy in Germany was indicated to work here and there among business associates (two men were shown engaged in a conversation), during a call, (a man was shown on call in a telephone booth), in the bar (two men are shown drinking in the bar), in the train (a man and a woman were shown chatting while another man concealing behind a newspaper snooped on them) and in the coffee shop (two women were shown over a coffee table drinking coffee while talking).

Fox's depersonalization of figures in Fougasse's 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' can also be seen in posters from the 'Shadow Campaign' in Germany. The posters depicted similar situations and surroundings where people were prone to let out secrets, i.e. in public places. In the poster (Figure.4) 'Pst!' a waiter in a restaurant was shown serving the table where a man and woman were seated engaged in a conversation while the dubious waiter listened to them.⁴⁵ Another suspicious scene in a pub showed (Figure. 14 "Pst! The enemy is listening") an old man speaking, and two young men were intently listening to him while the black shadow hovered above them.⁴⁶ Another poster depicted men in a pub engaged in rumour mongering with enlarged ears and an anxious expression.⁴⁷ Only fools

engaged in rumour mongering was implied in posters from Germany. According to the text two dumb Germans were discussing rumours.⁴⁸

Public places such as restaurants, pubs, train stations, bus stations, etc., where these posters were displayed also featured in the posters from Britain. The heightened dangers of an unguarded conversation in these places were shunned in the 'Careless Talks' posters. The targets were to be tackled on occupational and regional basis so as to provide material for maritime areas (civilians, and sea men), industrial workers (male and female), transport workers, hotels and restaurants (better grade), bars and cafes (lower grade), hairdressing establishments and public transport vehicles.⁴⁹ The snack-bars and pull ups for lorry drivers were included for anti-gossip posters.⁵⁰ People were shown engaged in indiscreet conversations in railway carriages, in buses and on platforms.⁵¹ This kind of intrusion of the 'Fifth Column' was emphasized so much that people were exhorted not to keep even a personal diary.⁵² Things said to strangers or unguarded conversations in public places were also represented in the posters "You Know More than Other People" and "THE ENEMY HAS LONG EARS".⁵³ Other than the sectional approach as discussed above the "Careless Talks" campaign had to take a regional approach too by which localized action were to be taken which enabled the problems of the particular regions to be handled separately. "Anti-gossip" week was one such tool of regional approach.⁵⁴

The 'Shadow Campaign' posters from Germany also listed stations, markets and trains where extra care had to be taken before divulging secrets. Two truckers were shown chattering about secret matters.⁵⁵ The idea of public places being easier targets from the enemy was depicted subtly yet clearly with just three words '*Feind hoert mit*'. Similar themes showed an aerial view of train stations (Figure.5), of busy roads with buses, people walking, and a flea-market (Figure.6) with people thronging and above them was the huge black shadow which engulfed them.⁵⁶

The poster '*Vorsicht bei Gesprächen Feind Hort mit!*' (Caution While Speaking, Enemy Listens With) depicted two men seated in a bus talking while a dubious man was prying on them. A similar situation in a train was shown in the poster '*Schweig*' (Silence). Factories were seen as important breeding ground for 'careless talk' and rumours. In one of the posters from the 'Shadow Campaign' two workmates engaged in a conversation were shown overheard.⁵⁷ In another poster from the same campaign chattering workmates talked about things they should not in public.⁵⁸ The poster "*Schäm dich, schwätzer! Feind hört mit – Schweigen ist Pflicht!*" Shame on You, Chatterer Enemy Hears You,

Silence is Duty) from Germany showed a factory worker represented as a human with a goose's face quacking. The poster promoted 'keeping silent' as a duty of the citizens.⁵⁹

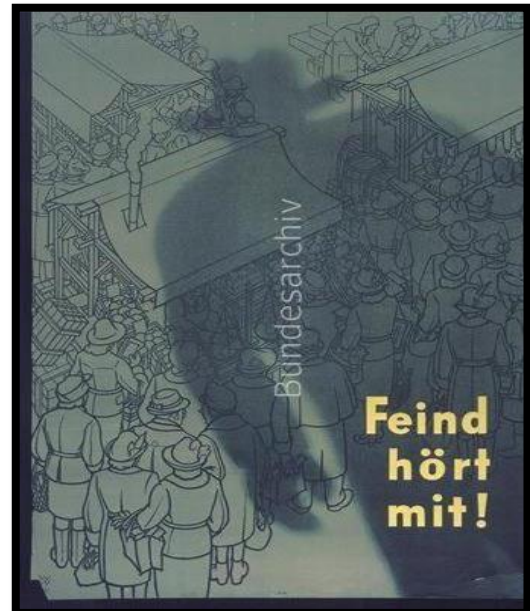


Figure:5 Feind hört mit
Date: 1944
Issued by: Unknown
Artist: o.Ang. ; Nationality: Germany
Source: Plak 003-027-025, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

Figure:6 Feind hört mit!
Date: 1944 Artist:O.Ang.
Nationality: Germany ; Artist:O.Ang.
Issued by: Unknown ; Source: Plak 003-027-023. Bundesarchiv. Koblenz.



Figure.7 The test of soldier
Date: Second World War
Artist: Unknown ; Issued by: Unknown
Nationality: British ; Source: INF 13/217f9, TNA, Kew, London.



Figure.8 Don't forget that walls have ears! CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES
Date: 1940 ; Artist: Fougasse ; Issued By: Unknown
Nationality: British ; Source: Summary Catalogue of British Posters to 1988 in the Victoria & Albert Museum in the Department of Design, Prints & Drawing. Emmett Publishing, 1990, p. 129.

Industries were also shown as a significant place for careless talk and rumour mongering in Britain. Two factory workers were shown engaged in a casual conversation while one of them divulged some important information. Another worker depicted in the same poster reprimanded him about the consequences thus evoking secrecy among the viewers. The poster reminded people to 'never discuss war work with anybody'.⁶⁰ The MOI arranged for service speakers in lunch hour meetings in vital factories (as was arranged by Ministry of Aircraft Production) which included explanations and exhortations on gossip and to spread awareness on the subject. There were also production and distribution of leaflets to workers employed in priority factories or employed in vital war works. The distribution of leaflets was to be arranged through Commercial Relations Divisions which were specially designed concerning the circumstances of a particular industry.⁶¹

Another poster from Britain showed a scene in a ladies' hairdresser salon admonishing them not to discuss war work with anybody.⁶² Similar representation was found in the posters from "The Shadow Campaign", depicting places like industries, public transport, hotels and restaurants, bars and cafes and hairdressing establishments. A similar portrayal of a hair dressing salon is found in one of the posters from Germany's "Shadow Campaign", where a barber was shown chatting with a black shadow hovering around.⁶³ The only difference being the poster from Britain depicted a women's salon while the German poster a men's salon. This poster hints to an attribute in the anti-spy posters from Britain. There is hardly any poster from Britain which does not depict women whereas the representation of women in German posters to counter rumour and sabotage careless talk is limited. The rarity of women in Nazi posters does indicate the assumption that men alone possessed vital information which might be leaked by indiscretion.

According to MOI the aim was to disorganize the home front by sapping morale, undermining confidence, muddling people, making them think wildly and act foolishly. The Fifth Column spied for the enemy by piecing together scraps of careless gossip. Rumours were said to be started by the chatterers. Once they heard something they jumped to gloomy conclusions and started passing it on.⁶⁴

People who felt important among their friends by giving them inside information and telling them special tit-bits were dealt in the posters too. The Chatter bugs gave into this weakness and some of them invented false rumours on purpose. This was represented in the poster "The chatter-bug will get you if you don't watch out" which showed an image of a bug with a speech bubble 'go on tell them they will be impressed'.⁶⁵ The compulsive rumour monger was said to abuse the human tendency of

rumouring which was the feeling of letting everyone know that they had some information that nobody else had.⁶⁶ Most soldiers and sailors had confidential secrets which they were liable to reveal to others in order to gain importance from their acquaintances as shown in the poster (Figure.7) 'The test of soldier'.⁶⁷ It was the duty of the soldiers to keep quiet, which was the message of many posters from Britain. Keeping to oneself was promoted as the way to counter rumour.⁶⁸ The second step to dousing gossip was not to fan the fire of the rumour by sharing it with someone else. Thus, came the posters that suggested forgetting whatever one may have heard. As depicted in the poster a woman telephonist was shown looking at the notice 'Now more than ever - forget what you hear' in secrecy.⁶⁹

People travelling abroad were considered to be another group prone to giving away information of vital importance and were targeted in the posters. In 1941 the poster 'Going Ashore' for ships was approved. The MOI was to consult the shipping companies in order to get the captains to warn the passengers landing in foreign countries of the dangers of gossip.⁷⁰ Poster 'Going ashore keep what you know to yourself' had the same message cautioning people to be wary of people to whom they talk to and what they say and in no position the movements of ships, cargoes or crews were to be discussed. The safety of their lives as well as others depended on this. The image in the poster showed a parrot with a hat having a Nazi symbol with his head bent trying to eavesdrop.⁷¹

The 'Enemy'

Hitler was the quintessential spy and it was propagated that everyone could "smash Hitler, by restraining rumours, reporting them up, cross-examining the rumour monger, questioning him and by making him look cheap and silly".⁷² A ten-minute talk for the young people 'Chatter Helps Hitler' by MOI enumerated Churchill appealing to the young people to help him beat Hitler's ally 'the chatter'. The duty of the people was to conquer Hitler by discouraging gossips, rumours and it was considered synonymous as to the duty of the fighters joining the 'secret service'. Their job was not to find out secrets but to keep the information they had to themselves. According to British propaganda Hitler had two big ears and was always trying to get information about ARP men and other war-workers.⁷³

A poster (Figure.8) by Fougasse shows two women having tea and on close observation the wall behind them appears to be covered with the caricatured head of Hitler. The women oblivious to Hitler's presence were engaged in an animated conversation. Another British poster depicting Hitler as the enemy showed two gentlemen seated in club chairs, each holding a newspaper and having a conversation, watched by a large portrait of an '18th century Figure' with the head of Hitler.⁷⁴

Similarly, a man and a woman are shown seated at a restaurant table having a conversation while Hitler was shown lying under the table taking notes.⁷⁵

According to Fougasse, humour was a tool of propaganda which could reach to the masses. The posters from Britain depicted an everyday situation which was easy to correlate with. The moral appeal through propaganda to guard “Careless Talks” was to be done in such a manner that it did not make the situation appear too grave. Thus, the British capacity for humour in the midst of change and crisis was considered to be one of the strongest weapons.⁷⁶ This was a change from the earlier lengthy messages in the posters “Be tough with people who talk too much”. It was publicized as a duty of the citizens to note anything suspicious that they saw and to report it to the nearest police officer or the station or to the nearest military office.⁷⁷

In most of the anti-spy posters from Britain, the visible enemy was Hitler; the personification of all Nazi evils. In the poster (Figure.9) ‘TITTLE TATTLE LOST THE BATTLE’, Hitler was shown under the table eavesdropping, while two men were having a casual chit-chat oblivious to his presence. In posters ‘You never know who is listening’ and ‘Furtive Fritz is always listening...’ also Hitler is the embodiment of ‘the enemy’. The poster ‘Furtive Fritz is always listening, Be careful what you say’ illustrated a sailor Figure listening, in swastika shape.⁷⁸ The swastika and Hitler were synonymously represented as ‘Furtive Fritz’ (Figure.10). Hitler sitting on telephone wires in poster ‘You never know who’s on the wires’ cautioned people to guard their telephone tête-à-tête.⁷⁹ In the poster ‘Mr. Hitler wants to know’ and Lacoste’s ‘Beware’ Hitler was represented with huge ears trying to eavesdrop on conversations. These posters represented Hitler with an enlarged ear.⁸⁰ ‘Be careful what you say over the phone’ poster showed a man talking on telephone, while Hitler was listening.⁸¹ The series of posters from 1942 ‘Because No One Talked!’ showed a caricature of flabbergasted Hitler, jumping from the force of an explosion. These were positive posters pointing out the outcome of a check on indiscreet talks. The posters promoted the prudence of people as ‘nobody talked’ it made another large convoy arrive safely, planes return safely and the enemy was caught unawares.⁸²

Goering and Goebbels were used other than Hitler to represent the furtive listener, as part of the counter testimonial propaganda. The poster ‘I need your help spread more gossip’ used the famous Kitchener style with the pointing finger, and a disembodied head of Goebbels.⁸³ The Poster ‘Pay no heed to rumour - official news will be issued freely’ showed an old lady with ear-trumpet listening to disembodied heads of German leaders Adolf Hitler, Nazi spin doctor Joseph Goebbels and

Hermann Goering, head of the Luftwaffe.⁸⁴ The Cabinet realized the perils of rumours by 1941. It worked as a relief for the anxious public. The rumours that were floating around were also an indication of what exactly the public was thinking or worrying about at that moment. An official publication countering the rumor was considered the best remedy. So, it was important for the government to be watchful of the rumours and counter it with facts or disseminate a counter-tale.⁸⁵

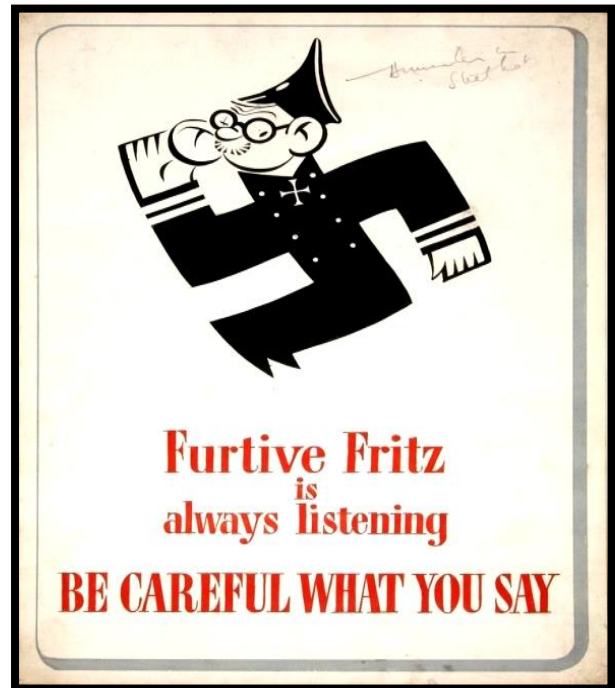
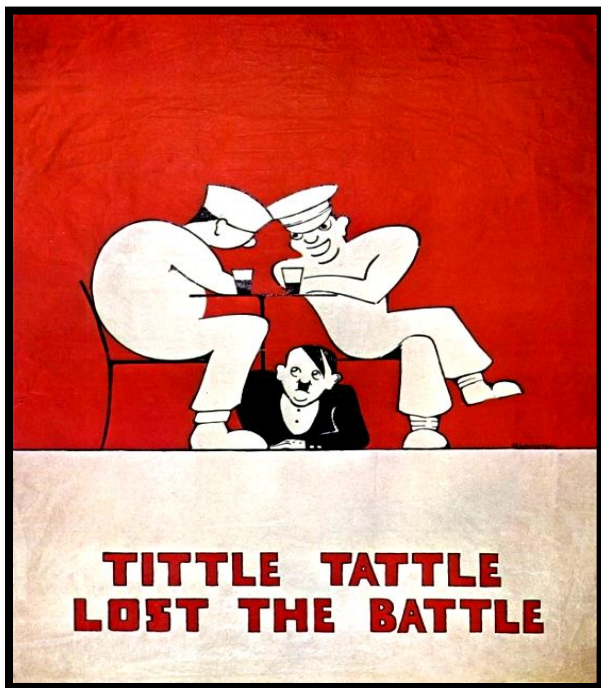


Figure.9 TITTLE TATTLE LOST THE BATTLE
Date: Second World War
Artist: Unknown
Issued By: Unknown
Nationality: British
Source: Art.IWM PST 3153, IWM, London.

Figure.10 Furtive Fritz is always listening. Be careful what you say
Date: Second World War
Artist: Unknown
Issued By: Unknown
Nationality: British
Source: INF 3/236, TNA, Kew, London.



Figure.11 Enemy No.1
Date: Second World War
Artist: Bert Thomas
Issued by: Unknown
Nationality: British
Source:INF3-277,TNA, Kew, London.



Figure.12 Telling a Friend May Mean Telling the Enemy
Artist: Unknown
Issued By: Unknown
Date: Second World War
Nationality: British
Source: Art.IWM PST 13923, IWM,London.

It was recognized that ‘Careless Talk’, ‘Rumour-mongering’ and ‘Defeatist Talk’ were closely related and the efforts to curb one or the other would be greatly aided if it were possible to put in circulation based on the circumstances information or counter-rumours displacing the gossip or rumour which needed to be arrested.⁸⁶ The posters from Britain rarely talked about what was to be done to counter the fifth columnist, the poster “Put a sock in it!” was the only exception.⁸⁷ It was realized by the MOI that people passed on rumours believing it to be true. The efforts were to be furthered, to provide a factual background against which the authenticity of information could be judged. There were direct appeals made not to pass on doubtful or seemingly exaggerated stories without good evidence and the dangerous effect rumour had on contemporary life were highlighted.⁸⁸

Rumour in Germany was propagated to arm the enemy in such a way that it led the people to despondency. ⁸⁹ The famous drawing of Paul Weber “the Rumour” from Germany too demonstrated the ill-effects of rumour. A snake was shown wrecking its way through a building.⁹⁰ The snake signifying falsity has large pointed ears of an eavesdropper. ⁹¹ The devastating effects of rumour were shown in another cartoon from Germany ‘*Die latrine parole lauft...*’The rumour was shown spreading like wildfire. It showed the expeditious passing on of rumour from two people to many within a span of one and a half hours.⁹² In a similar representation from Britain an anti-rumour cartoon showed a rumour emanating from a telephone booth passing on to huge number of people in a short span of time.⁹³

Except for Hitler, in most of the British posters the enemy was not shown in a conspicuous manner or not shown at all, promoting the idea that the fifth columnists were an enemy within, who was not easily recognizable. In poster ‘Talk Less... You Never Know’ a clichéd spy was shown who was faceless and disguised.⁹⁴ The poster reminded the public of the prominence of German spies. During the war, the need to keep quiet about any state or military related matters was reinforced in a number of posters. One such poster depicted a man split in two. The right side of his body appeared to be fashionable and generic, while on the left side he was in full German military uniform. It was an effective way of asserting visually that not everyone was as they truly seemed.⁹⁵ In another poster, a German Intelligence Officer was shown as a stereotypical spy coaxing the British troops to give away military details to their friends.⁹⁶ In another poster (Figure.11) ‘Enemy No.1’ a customary spy was shown cloaked in an overcoat and donning a hat sitting surreptitiously with his back hunched.⁹⁷ Else, the enemy was always depicted as one amongst the people, highly undistinguishable as in the posters ‘TELLING a friend may mean telling THE ENEMY’ (Figure.12), ‘A soldier told the barmaid’ and ‘Silence is Safety’.⁹⁸

It was expected by now that the public was much more conscious of the technique of war than ever before and would readily be convinced of the danger in discussing such objects if some evidence was produced of the means whereby information might get back to the enemy. The precise technique used by the enemy intelligence was to be avoided as it would set a ‘spy scare’ also the extent of the knowledge of enemy’s methods was to be avoided too. However, the realization of danger at home was to be ensured to drive home the point that “innocent” chatter by A to B, from B to C and so on eventually reached Z, who, quite unknown to A, might be in contact with the enemy.⁹⁹ The ‘careless talk’ campaign had to exhaustively define it and it had to sufficiently illustrate as to how the unthinking chatterer may help ‘the Enemy’.¹⁰⁰ So, the emphasis was more on how the information reached the enemy rather than illustrating the enemy-spy.

The ‘careless talk’ posters from Germany had a faceless enemy. The most famous representation of the enemy spy in Germany was the huge black shadow looming large. The posters from the ‘The Shadow Campaign’ series depicted the enemy as the dangerous huge built shadow wearing a hat. The people were expected to be cautious while talking about the war and were to choose their words carefully as if the enemy was listening. As it was believed that the enemy was encouraged to spread disaffection when he heard any thoughtless phrase on people’s part. Disaffection and anger about the war was considered to be justified sometimes but in relation to the

destiny of the nation in the larger picture it was considered negligible and was thus to be thwarted. These posters do not show any British leader, a clear distinction from the British posters which profusely depicted Hitler, although the uncanny resemblance of the ‘shadow’ used in the famous ‘Shadow Campaign’ to Churchill cannot be ruled out.

The anonymity in the representation of the spy is archetypal in the posters from Germany. The “Shadow Campaign” depicted the spy as the black shadow, a ‘faceless’ character, which was omnipresent. The poster (Figure.13) ‘Achtung! Feind hört mit!’ (Watch out enemy is listening), which was not part of the “Shadow Campaign,” also represented the spy as the black shadow wearing a hat.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the poster ‘Achtung Spione Vorsicht !’(Attention Spies, Be careful) showed a geometrical representation of a faceless man holding a camera as the spy.¹⁰² The representation of spies in posters from Germany was similar to the posters from Britain, as one amongst the people, as the idea was that the aim of the ‘fifth column’ was to disguise itself in such a manner that it was unrecognizable. The spies were depicted as unidentifiable in posters from Germany as well, in daily life situations where people were caught unawares.



Figure. 13 Achtung!Feind hört mit!
 Date: Second World War
 Artist: Unknown
 Nationality: Germany
 Issued by: Unknown
 Source:
<http://digitalpostercollection.com/1939-1945-world-war-ii/germany-ww2/>

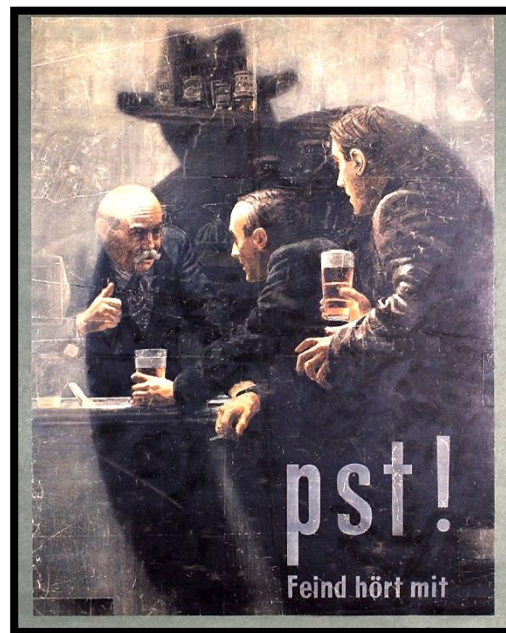


Figure.14 Pst Feind hört mit!
 Date: 1944
 Issued By: Unknown
 Nationality:Germany
 Artist: Unknown
 Source: Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.



Figure.15 Schweig!
 Date: 1939/1945
 Issued by: Unknown
 Artist: G.Volger
 Nationality: UK
 Source: Plak 003-027-035, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

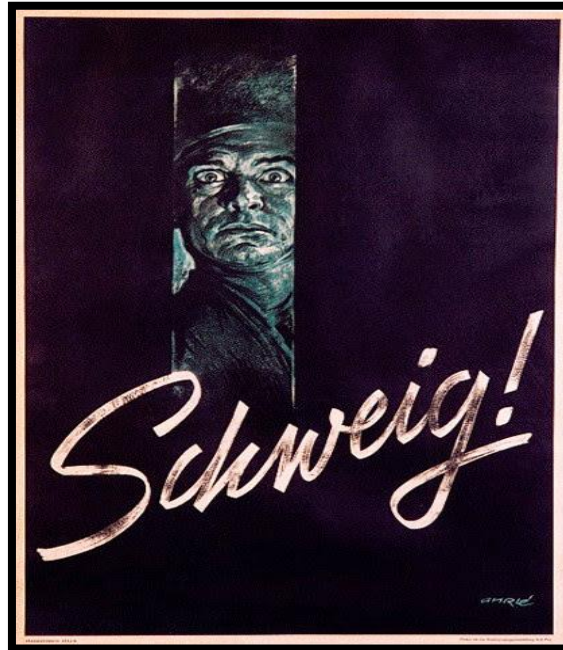


Figure.16 Schweig!
 Date: 1943
 Artist: René Ahrlé
 Nationality: British
 Issued by: Unknown
 Source: Plak 003-027-024, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

Similarly, in posters from Britain such as ‘Silence is Safety’ the enemy/spy is visible but camouflaged in daily situations and activities, in which it was impossible to recognize them.¹⁰³ In the ‘He/ She/They talked...This Happened’ series the images showed the reckless talking and its consequences. The representation of enemy is like any other regular person on the street, in the crowd whom no one would ever care to pay attention or notice.¹⁰⁴ The consequences of imprudent talking were shown by the German aircraft bombing, ships sinking, and factories and ports being bombed.¹⁰⁵

In other poster from Germany, the portrayal of the enemy-spy was completely omitted. In posters from Britain too ‘the enemy’ was completely excluded. In these posters from Germany ‘*Deutscher sei stolz und schweige!*’ (German be proud and silent!), ‘*Vorsicht bei Gesprächen! Kampfist Tat! – Reden Verrat!*’ (Caution in conversations! Fight is action- Talking treason), ‘*Vorsicht! Schweige pflicht!*’ (Caution Confidentiality!), ‘*Schweig!*’ (Silence) (Figure.15 &16), ‘*Schweige! DU BRINGS MICH IN GEFAHR*’ (Silence! You Bring Me in Danger), ‘*Spione Verraeter Saboteure*’ (Spies traitor saboteurs) and ‘*Schweigen!!! Nichtschwaetzen der Feindhoertmit!!*’ (Silence!!! Do not talk the enemy hears) the enemy is missing.¹⁰⁶ A deliberate absence of ‘the enemy’ is done in many posters

from Britain too except where Hitler was shown. These posters gave out codes to be followed such as to abstain from imprudent talks by being tough and rude towards rumour mongers.¹⁰⁷ People were advised not to probe service friends about imperative information, to never discuss secret matters with anybody and to keep a check on their tongue.¹⁰⁸ The 'Keep it under your hat' series and the 'He /She/They talked...This happened series' can be taken as a case in point. Sometimes, the enemy was also represented metaphorically as an enlarged ear.

Conclusion

Rumour and the herd instincts are invariably linked. The strong stimulus to the herd instinct produces a characteristic response in the human beings such as an overtly sensitiveness towards his fellow's opinions. Due to this the spread and survival of rumours became inevitable. The potency of rumour is measured high in breaking down the rational skepticism which indicates that the herd instinct during the war was more pronounced.¹⁰⁹ Characterization and personification as well as depersonalization were inherent tools in anti-spy posters from Britain and Germany. The "Silent Column" campaign in Britain popularized characters as Mr. Knowall, Miss Leaky Mouth, Mr. Glumpot, Mr. Secrecy Hush Hush, Miss Teacup Whisper and Mr. Pride in Prophecy. Similarly, in Germany characters such as Herr Semperer and Frau Keppelmeier were used. It made them relatable and at the same time depersonalization made it appear less exhortatory. The depiction of Hitler in the British posters made use of the reverse testimonial propaganda device. Hitler was sufficient to befog them of rationality and could make them swallow anything that the propaganda had to convey. At the same time in order to not make the posters completely terrorizing, humour was used to weave Hitler's presence in the posters. A change from the horrific posters was the ones that depicted that Hitler could be conquered; these were positives posters which drew on positive emotions of accomplishments. The reverse testimonial device was also used in posters that portrayed Goebbels and Goering in British propaganda posters. At the same time the testimonial device was used in posters from Germany that used Hitler, Goebbels and Gottfried Keller, as this certainly made the reception of propaganda easier by the public.

A similarity can be drawn at the targets in these anti-spy posters from Britain as well as Germany. The public places as featured in these in posters: railway carriages, buses and platforms, restaurants, telephone booths, factories, industries, hair dressing establishments and bars. Apart from the civilian targets, the other important sectional target was the Armed Forces in Britain and Germany. A number of "Careless Talk" posters both in Britain and Germany were targeted towards service personnel as they were believed to have a mine of information which would be of importance

to the enemy. The duty aspect of human emotions was aimed at in these posters. It was considered a duty to withhold information. There were posters enumerating that discussing war at work led to bombing or ships sinking. The graphic representation of grave consequences of “Careless Talks” was not done in anti-spy posters from Britain and Germany except in few. As due to war the heightened herd behaviour of ‘fear’ was universal, these posters did not want to fan it into an endemic. The representation of women in poster series ‘Keep Mum She’s not so dumb’ and ‘Be Like Dad, Keep Mum’ strengthened the concept of ‘Cherchez le femme’, thereby blowing it out of proportion. This unreserved bias towards women is shown in other posters from Britain too, which is not found in anti-spy posters from Germany.

Hitler was the quintessential spy shown in British posters besides Goering and Goebbels. In other posters from Britain enemy was not shown in a conspicuous manner or not shown at all, promoting the idea that the fifth columnists were an enemy within, who was not easily recognizable. Else a clichéd, customary spy was shown cloaked in an overcoat and donning a hat sitting surreptitiously. Besides, the enemy was always depicted as one amongst the people; highly undistinguishable. The ‘careless talk’ posters from Germany had a faceless enemy. The most famous representation of the enemy spy in Germany was the huge black shadow looming large. The posters from the ‘The Shadow Campaign’ series depicted the enemy as the dangerous, heavy build shadow wearing a hat, although the uncanny resemblance of the shadow to Churchill cannot be ruled out.

The anonymity in the representation of the spy is archetypal in the posters from Germany. The “Shadow Campaign” depicted the spy as the black shadow, a ‘faceless’ character, which was omnipresent. The representation of spies in posters from Germany was similar to posters from Britain. The spies were depicted as one amongst the people, as the idea was that the aim of the ‘fifth column’ was to disguise itself in such a manner that it was unrecognizable. The spies were unidentifiable in posters from Germany, in daily life situations where people were caught unawares. In other posters from Germany, the portrayal of the enemy-spy was completely omitted. In posters from Britain too ‘the enemy’ was completely excluded as in the ‘Keep it under your hat’ series and the ‘He /She/They talked...This happened series’. Sometimes, the enemy was also represented metaphorically as a huge ear.

In Germany the consequences of careless conversation were not depicted as the propaganda ministry did not want to be extremely forthright, and thus sharp and severe languages were avoided.¹¹⁰ While in order to convey the graveness of the situation it was necessary to mobilize in a

way that appealed to the sense of duty and RMVP did not come across as authoritative.¹¹¹ ‘Silence’ was seen as the best counter-propaganda until it was not dangerous.¹¹² Thus, most of the Nazi propaganda posters used a single word “*Schweig*” (Silence) promoting silence. They were of the opinion that there was nothing worse than chatter and useless talk. The Nazi propaganda deplored blabbermouths, because they were more likely to spread false rumours that made them feel important among people. The gossipers were believed to be curious, speaking loudly and dispiriting all productive efforts. Malicious rumors were to be testified and as soon as possible, were to be combated too.¹¹³

The Nazi propaganda’s solution to the ‘Fifth Column’ was to think and behave naturally. Military events were to be discussed within the guidelines and crowing about things was illicit. It was essential to speak of only genuine and good things, such as an affirmation of their firm faith in their strength, their victory, and in the Fuehrer. People who made up false rumours and spread them were to be treated as traitors.¹¹⁴ The British and the German anti-spy posters in the Second World War had far more similarity in the visual representation than mere the theme. It transcended the barriers of propaganda techniques which were claimed to be used only by the ‘totalitarian’ state. The home fronts in Britain and Germany can be seen as homogenous in terms of home front anti-spy propaganda posters.

¹Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF1/251, The National Archives (TNA), Kew, London.

² Michael Balfour, *Propaganda in War, 1939-1945: Organisations, Politics and Publics in Britain and Germany*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p.190.

³ Jo Fox, ‘Careless Talk: Tensions within British Domestic Propaganda during the Second World War’, *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (4), 2012, pp.936-966.

⁴Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶ Fox, Careless Talk, pp.936-966.

⁷Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.

⁸ Progress Reports, 3 September-11 December 1939, INF 1/6, TNA, Kew, London, Poster, *Don't Help the Enemy!*, ArtIWMPST13950,IWM,London.

⁹ Poster, *Warning*, December 1939, IWM PST 13944, IWM, London.

¹⁰ Poster, *Soldaten! Waegt jedes Wort ab!Feind hoert mit!*, Plak 003-027-017, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

¹¹ Poster, *Hannoveraner herhören!*, Plak 003-029-034, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

¹²Poster, *Am Allegemeinen mitzudenken ist immer noetig, mitzuschwartzeb aber nicht-* Gottfried Keller (In general, thinking together is always necessary, chattering together is not- Gottfried Keller), GPA.Gottfried Keller was a Swiss poet and writer of German literature.

¹³ Poster, *Der Soldat stirbt an der Front in der Erfüllung seiner harten Pflicht....*, October 1944, Plak 003-029-022, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

¹⁴ Mackay, *Half the Battle*, p.64.

¹⁵These posters were published by the NSDAP for Austria, part of the Third Reich by then. The posters were part of the 1941 issue for propagandists to guide them for the campaign aimed at grumblers. Frau Keppelmeier was shown anxious and Herr Semprer was all ears to all the false rumours she had to tell. GPA, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/steiermark.htm> (4 February 2013).

¹⁶Poster, *Du bist ein Verraeter*, Oktober 1944, Plak 003-027-015, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany. Text : “In the night Frau Keppelmeier tunes into London radio and listens to the enemy propaganda merrily”.

¹⁷ Poster, *Du bist ein Verraeter*, Plak 003-027-015, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

¹⁸ Poster, *10 Gebote gegen Feindpropaganda*, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

¹⁹Poster, *Du bist ein Verraeter*,Oktober 1944, Plak 003-027-015, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

²⁰ Poster, *Verraeter*, November 1944, Plak 003-027-001, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

²¹Poster, *Geruecht lässt der Feind vorbereiten Um uns zum Mißmut zu verleiten*, Online Archive of California,<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb1779pob8;developer=local;style=oac4;doc.view=items> (4 December 2014).

²² The Voice of B.B.C. ‘Accuracy and Sobriety Win Friends’, *Indian Information*, 1941, Vol.IX (July-December), 15 August, 1941, p.159, NAI, Delhi.

²³ Poster, *Soldaten! Waegt jedes Wort ab!Feind hoert mit!*, Plak 003-027-017, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

²⁴ Poster, *Put a sock in it!*, INF 3/276, TNA, Kew, London.

²⁵*Tatsachen berichte zur Schattenaktion, Rüstzeug für die Propaganda in der Ortsgruppe*, 3, 1944, pp.19-23, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/pst.htm>, translated by Calvin Randall Bytwerk, GPA (14 January 2014).

²⁶ Fox, Careless talk, pp.936-966.

²⁷*Ibid*, p.950.

²⁸ Planning Committee-agenda and minutes, 23 July 1940, INF 1/249, p.49, TNA, Kew, London.

²⁹, Poster, *Warning: Be on your Guard*, December 1939, INF 2/9, 5, TNA, Kew, London.

³⁰ Morale Summaries of Daily Reports, 26 July 1940, INF 1/264, p. 82, TNA, Kew, London.

³¹Poster, *If You Must Talk, Talk Victory*, INF 13/217/22, TNA, Kew, London, Poster, *Don't Help the Enemy!* Art.IWM PST 13950, IWM, London, Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, TNA, INF/251, Part A, Kew, London.

³² Poster Programme, 1939-1940, INF 1/231, TNA, Kew.

³³ Poster, *Be tough with people who talk too much - it's taboo to mention*, INF3/250, Poster, *Be tough with people who talk too much - it's taboo to mention sailing dates*, INF 3/252, Kew, London,Poster, *Be tough with people who talk too much - it's taboo to mention sailing dates*, INF 3/251, TNA, Kew, London.

³⁴ Poster, *Be rude to people who ask questions*, INF 3/262, TNA, Kew, London.

³⁵Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.

³⁶ Fox, Careless Talk, pp.936-966.

³⁷*Parolen für die Mundpropaganda, Rüstzeug für die Propaganda in der Ortsgruppe*, 2,1944, pp. 14-15, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/pst.htm> and *Tatsachen berichte zur Schattenaktion, Rüstzeug für die Propaganda in der Ortsgruppe*, 3,1944, pp. 19-23, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/pst.htm> Translated by Calvin Randall Bytwerk, GPA (14 January 2014).

³⁸*Redner-Schnellinformation, Lieferung 28*, 25 14 March 1942, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/rsi28.htm>, translated by Calvin Randall Bytwerk, GPA (15July 2015).

³⁹*Ibid*.

⁴⁰Die Sache mit der Leichenpest, *Das eiserne Herz*, Munich, Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943, pp. 30-36, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/goeb6.htm> translated by Calvin Randall Bytwerk, GPA (15th July 2015).

⁴¹ Poster, *Geruecht lässt der Feind vorbereiten Um uns zum Mißmut zu verleiten*, Online Archive of California.

⁴² Fox, Careless talk, pp.936-966.

⁴³ Poster, *Be careful of what you say and where you say it! CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES*, Timmers *The Power of the Poster*, ed., p.156, plate 148, Poster, *Don't ask your Service friends embarrassing questions*, INF 3/261, TNA, Kew, London, Poster, *A soldier told the barmaid*, INF 3/266, TNA, Kew, London, Poster, *That kind of talk sinks ships*, Art.IWM PST 13938, IWM, London.

⁴⁴Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.

⁴⁵ Poster, *Pst!* , Plak 003-027-028, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

⁴⁶ Poster, *Pst Feind hört mit!*, GPA.

⁴⁷ Poster, *Geruecht lässt der Feind vorbereiten Um uns zum Mißmut zu verleiten*, Online Archive of California, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb1779pob8;developer=local;style=oac4;doc.view=items> (20 February 2013).

⁴⁸ Cover Art, *Haben Sie's schon gehoert...?*, *Lustige Blätter*, 40/1943, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/images/caricatures/l43-40b.jpg>, GPA (4September 2013).

⁴⁹Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹ Poster, *Don't forget that walls have ears! CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES*, V & A Museum, Poster, *"...but of course it mustn't go any further!" CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES*, E.1556-2004, V & A Museum, Poster, *SH-SH-SH-SH-SH Careless talk costs lives*, INF3-278, TNA, Kew, London.

⁵² Poster, *Don't keep a diary - it might get into the enemy's hands*, INF 2/95, TNA, Kew, London.

⁵³ Poster, *You Know More than Other People*, Art.IWM PST 13918 IWM, London. Poster, *The Enemy Has Long Ears*, INF 13/216/5, TNA, Kew, London.

⁵⁴ Meetings and Reports of Home Morale Emergency Committee, 1940, INF 1/250, TNA, Kew, London.

⁵⁵Poster, *Pst Feind hört mit!*, Plak 003-027-029, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.

- ⁵⁶ Poster, *Feind hört mit*, Plak 003-027-025, Bundesarchiv, Poster, *Feind hört mit*, Plak 003-027-026, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany, Poster, *Feind hört mit!*, Plak 003-027-023, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.
- ⁵⁷ Poster, *Pst! Feind Hört Mit!*, Plak 003-027-013, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.
- ⁵⁸ Poster, *pst! Feind hört mit!*, GPA.
- ⁵⁹ Poster, *Schäm Dich, Schwätzer! Feind hört mit - Schweigen ist Pflicht!*, Plak 003-027-002, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.
- ⁶⁰ Poster, *That kind of talk often leads to factories being bombed*, Art.IWM PST 13913, IWM, London, Poster, *That kind of talk often leads to factories being bombed*, INF3-249, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁶¹ Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁶² Poster, *You Never Know Who May Hear You*, INF 3/254, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁶³ Poster, *Wenn ich Ihnen das sage am... Feind hört mit!*, Plak 003-027-018, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, Germany.
- ⁶⁴ 'If the Invader comes' (pamphlet), Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁶⁵ Poster, *The chatter-bug will get you if you don't watch out*, INF 3/272, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁶⁶ Political Warfare Executive, 'The meaning, techniques and methods of political warfare', 1942, IOR/L/1/1/1082, File 462/88G, British Library (hereafter BL), London.
- ⁶⁷ Poster, *The test of soldier*, INF 13/217f9, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁶⁸ Poster, *He won't talk but some of you are talking too much*, INF3/260, TNA, Kew, London, Poster, *What I Know - I Keep to Myself - Careless Talk Costs Lives*, Art.IWM PST 13941, IWM, London.
- ⁶⁹ Poster, *Now more than ever - forget what you hear*, INF 3/256, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁷⁰ Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁷¹ Poster, *Going ashore Keep what you know to yourself*, INF 3/234, TNA, Kew, London, Poster, *GOING ASHORE?*, <https://in.pinterest.com/pin/521573200572924425/> (4 January 2013).
- ⁷² Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Poster, *...strictly between these four walls! - CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES*, Art.IWM PST 3718, IWM, London.

⁷⁵ Poster, *Of course there's no harm in your knowing! CARELESS TALK COSTS LIVES*, Art.IWM PST 0650, IWM, London.

⁷⁶Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Poster, *Furtive Fritz is always Listening Be careful what you say*, INF 3/236, TNA, Kew, London. Poster, *Furtive Fritz is Always Listening*, INF 3/239, TNA, Kew, London.

⁷⁹ Poster, *You never know who's on the wires*, INF3-232, TNA, Kew, London.

⁸⁰ Poster, *CARELESS TALK COST LIVES Mr. Hitler wants to know*, INF 3/238, TNA, Kew, London.

⁸¹ Poster, *Be careful what you say over the telephone*, INF3-237, TNA, Kew, London.

⁸²Poster, *Andthe enemy were completely surprised because no one talked*, 1942-44 , Art.IWM PST 13932 , IWM, London, Poster, *From these operations all our planes returned*, 1942-44, Art.IWM PST 16742 IWM, London, Poster, *Another large convoy has arrived safely*, Art.IWM PST 16741 IWM, London.

⁸³Poster, *I need your help spread more gossip*, C. K Shaw, *Industrial Publicity*, London, C&J Temple,1944 p. 365.

⁸⁴ Poster, *Pay no heed to rumours - official news will be issued freely*, INF 3/227, TNA, Kew, London.

⁸⁵Ministry of Information: Files of Correspondence Home Planning Division (H) Planning Committee -Papers Circulated, INF/251, Part A, TNA, Kew, London.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Poster, *Put a sock in it!*, INF 3/276, TNA, Kew, London.

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⁹³ Cartoon, *The rumour*, INF 3/228, TNA, Kew, London.

⁹⁴ Poster, *Talk Less... You Never Know*, P. Stanley, *What did you do in the war Daddy?* 1983, p. 87.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Poster, *To the British Troops*, INF 3/267, TNA, Kew, London.

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⁹⁸ Poster, *TELLING a friend may mean telling THE ENEMY*, Art.IWM PST 13923, IWM, London. Poster, A soldier told the barmaid, INF 3/266, TNA, Kew, London.

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Author Bio: Urvashi Gautam, PhD (2016), Contemporary European History, Jawaharlal Nehru University is currently teaching as an assistant professor at Delhi University. Her area of research includes the Second World War and propaganda and the response in Germany, Britain and India. She is looking at the representation of the “enemy” in propaganda mainly visual propaganda and is also comparing the process and means of information dissemination of the Axis and Allies in the Second World War.

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