



ISSN: 2146-1740
<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ayd>,
Doi: 10.54688/ayd.1748604
Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article



THE OCCUPATION OF AUSTRIA ACCORDING TO THE AUSTRIAN PRESS (ANSCHLUSS 1938)

Ersel KİRAZ¹

Abstract

Article Info

Received:
23/07/2025

Accepted:
15/12/2025

This study investigates how the 1938 annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany commonly referred to as the Anschluss was represented in the Austrian press. While previous scholarship has primarily examined the Anschluss through political, military, and ideological lenses, this research focuses on the ways it was legitimized and communicated to the public via contemporary newspapers. A content analysis of leading dailies such as *Das Kleine Volksblatt*, *Kronen Zeitung*, and *Neues Wiener Journal* reveals recurring motifs in Nazi propaganda: terms like “historic victory,” “liberation,” “will of the people,” and “inevitable destiny” were frequently employed to present the annexation as both legitimate and widely supported. The study demonstrates that Nazi Germany effectively utilized the press as a propaganda instrument, concealing military intervention, societal coercion, and censorship, and instead portraying the annexation as the genuine will of the Austrian people. Furthermore, certain newspapers sought to reinforce the unification’s legitimacy by invoking Catholic identity and nationalist sentiment. Ultimately, the press served as an ideological tool aligned with Nazi Germany’s political objectives, contributing to the propagandistic framing of the Anschluss.

Keywords: Journalis, Media, Press, Annexation, Press History

Jel Codes: N44, D83, Z18, H56, L82

¹**Corresponding Author:** Arş.Gör.Dr. (Bursa Teknik Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi, Yeni Medya ve İletişim Bölümü, Yeni Medya ve İletişim Ana Bilim Dalı) ORCID: 0000-0002-7627-998X ersel.kiraz@btu.edu.tr

Cite: Kiraz, E. (2025). The occupation of Austria according to the Austrian press (Anschluss 1938). *Journal of Academic Approaches*, 16(2), 1091-1129.



1. Introduction

The Anschluss, or the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany in March 1938, was a watershed moment that profoundly reshaped the balance of power in Europe. As one of the first tangible expressions of Adolf Hitler's expansionist ambitions, the unification exposed the increasingly aggressive posture of Nazi Germany on the European stage. It facilitated German dominance in Eastern Europe and is widely recognized as one of the fundamental causes of World War II. This development was underpinned by Austria's post World War I economic and political instability, which fostered a growing inclination toward unification with Germany (Boşcan, 2021, p. 11).

Although Austria demonstrated a clear inclination toward unification with Germany in the aftermath of World War I, international agreements, particularly the Treaty of Versailles and the Treaty of Saint Germain - En Laye, explicitly prohibited such a move (Ekinci, 2018, p. 1605). European states resisted the annexation on the grounds that permitting such a union could embolden Nazi Germany and facilitate its broader expansionist objectives. Hitler's rise to power in 1933 accelerated the Anschluss process. Guided by the slogan one people, one state, one leader (Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer), Hitler regarded the unification of Austria and Germany as a natural and inevitable step (Ekinci, 2018, p. 1610).

Following extensive preparations and significant political maneuvering, the Anschluss was formally enacted in 1938. Despite a failed coup attempt by the Austrian Nazis in 1934, Hitler succeeded in annexing Austria through a combination of political pressure and military intimidation. On March 11, 1938, Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg, under intense pressure from Germany following his announcement of a plebiscite, was compelled to resign. He was succeeded by the pro-Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart, who facilitated the entry of German troops into Austria on March 12 without encountering resistance (Ekinci, 2018, p. 1615).

Numerous scholars stress that the Anschluss was not simply a political or military event, but one with far reaching ideological and social consequences. According to Çakı, it marked the zenith of Nazi Germany's expansionist ambitions. Austria's post World War I economic and political instability created a climate conducive to the growth of antisemitic ideologies. In this context, Çakı interprets the Anschluss not only as a political unification but also as a strategic step toward legitimizing anti-Jewish measures (Çakı, 2024, pp. 63-81). Likewise, Boşcan argues that the Anschluss transcended the scope of annexation, reflecting a broader pattern of Nazi Germany's unchecked expansionism across Europe (Boşcan, 2021, pp. 11-23).

The event also raises important considerations regarding its implementation and international response. Although the referendum held under Seyss-Inquart's chancellorship ostensibly demonstrated overwhelming popular support, the vote occurred in a coercive environment shaped by Nazi propaganda (Welch, 2002). The Anschluss had profound diplomatic implications: the passive responses of Britain and France to Germany's territorial ambitions effectively emboldened Hitler, enabling his continued aggression. This permissiveness directly contributed to subsequent invasions, most notably that of Czechoslovakia, and paved the way for the onset of World War II.

In his work *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*, Dietmar Süß adopts a distinctive perspective, portraying the Anschluss not merely as a coercive annexation by Germany but also as a process endorsed by significant segments of Austrian society. Although the annexation of March 12, 1938, was imposed through German military pressure, Süß argues that it stemmed from deeply entrenched nationalist ideologies and the long-standing appeal of a Greater Germany within Austria (Süß, 2017, p. 149). The legitimacy of the Anschluss was manufactured through an orchestrated propaganda campaign, with Hitler proclaiming that the Austrians sought reunification with the German nation. During this period, Nazi supporters in both Austria and Germany collaborated to cultivate the notion that the Anschluss was both inevitable and popularly supported (Süß, 2017, p. 152). While the April 10, 1938, referendum was officially reported to have yielded over 99% approval, it occurred under intense political pressure, with the opposition silenced and a monolithic narrative imposed on public discourse (Süß, 2017, p. 153).

The repercussions of the Anschluss extended far beyond the political realm, leaving profound social and cultural imprints on Austrian society. Nazi Germany's antisemitic policies were swiftly enacted in Austria, resulting in the persecution and deportation of Jewish citizens to concentration camps. As noted by Madeira-Firmino et al. (2014, pp. 34-47), the post-Anschluss period was characterized by escalating repression of dissenting voices, as the Nazi regime moved decisively to stifle opposition. This repressive climate contributed to the reconfiguration of the Austrian identity within the ideological framework of National Socialism. According to Knaur (1951), Hitler provided direct support to the Austrian Nazi movements, effectively inciting insurrection against the existing government. During this period, Germany employed economic pressure and political propaganda to neutralize the opposition and popularize the unification narrative. Knaur further asserts that while the military

intervention appeared to enjoy widespread public enthusiasm, this perception was largely manufactured by Nazi propaganda efforts.

Bourke (2000) explores the Anschluss through a multifaceted historical and ideological lens. In his study *The Austrian Anschluss in History and Literature*, Bourke contends that the event represented not only Germany's annexation of Austria but also the culmination of a prolonged political and ideological trajectory. He argues that Nazi Germany's actions were driven not only by Hitler's nationalist ambitions but also by Austria's own deeply embedded conservative and antisemitic traditions. Bourke highlights the role of longstanding Pan-Germanist currents and socio-economic instability in facilitating the annexation, noting that German propaganda was instrumental in securing widespread public acquiescence (Bourke, 2000, p. 10).

Bourke also addresses Austrian public reactions to the Anschluss and the socio-political transformations that ensued under Nazi rule, with particular emphasis on Hitler's speech at Heldenplatz on March 15, 1938. He interprets this speech as a pivotal moment that publicly declared Germany's dominance over Austria, an event that was met with great enthusiasm by many Austrians and strategically leveraged by the Nazi regime as a tool of propaganda (Bourke, 2000, p. 15). This example highlights the extent to which performative politics¹ and mass rallies were orchestrated to generate the appearance of popular support.

This centrality of the media in the machinery of authoritarian governance is best understood through the lens of absolute state control over mass communication. In Nazi Germany, the press did not simply function as a conduit for news dissemination; it served as a key ideological apparatus that legitimized the regime and shaped its political imagination (Welch, 2002). The Austrian press, in particular, adopted and internalized the Nazi regime's official discourse during the Anschluss, portraying Germany's occupation not as coercion but as a liberation or the fulfillment of historical destiny. Through this rhetorical reframing, the press constructed and circulated a legitimizing narrative that rendered military aggression invisible and cast the annexation as the will of the Austrians.

Importantly, the concept of popular will itself was rearticulated within a manipulative media framework. The illusion of voluntary unification was visually reinforced through images of mass mobilization, while critical political events such as the cancellation of the plebiscite, the

¹ Performative politics, in this context, denotes symbolic and orchestrated political displays designed to create the illusion of popular legitimacy.

forced resignation of Chancellor Schuschnigg, and the suppression of opposition were either omitted or recontextualized as inevitable outcomes of systemic necessity. Thus, the Austrian press not only reported events but also actively participated in the ideological production of a preferred political reality (Kallis, 2005). This transformation of journalism into a mechanism of state sponsored narrative construction exemplifies the formative and revisionist role of the media under authoritarian regimes.

From this perspective, the Anschluss must be regarded not merely as a political annexation but as a historical case study in the generation of mass consent through total media control. It serves as a critical point of reference for understanding how propaganda operates not in isolation but through institutionalized and coordinated systems of communication that reshape public consciousness.

Accordingly, the primary aim of this study is to conduct a qualitative content analysis of Austrian newspapers published on March 13, 1938, in order to examine how the Nazi regime legitimized the annexation and constructed a perception of unity aligned with the so-called will of the people. By identifying key discursive patterns (such as historical necessity, liberation, and enthusiastic public support) the study shows that media discourse not only conveyed information but also ideologically shaped public reality. The analysis seeks to elucidate the mechanisms through which propaganda contributed to the legitimation of authoritarian power, thereby offering a deeper historical understanding of media-society relations and advancing scholarship in media historiography, propaganda studies, and political communication.

Scholarly research on the Anschluss has predominantly examined the annexation through political, diplomatic, and military perspectives. Studies such as those by Kershaw (2000), Evans (2005), and Pauley (1995) have discussed how Nazi Germany strategically employed propaganda to cultivate public support and legitimize its territorial expansion. A smaller number of works have addressed media representations surrounding the event, emphasizing the coordinated use of press narratives to normalize German dominance and suppress Austrian resistance (e.g., Hughes, 2011; Winkler, 2018). However, despite these contributions, the role of Austrian newspapers as ideological instruments during the annexation remains underexplored. This study contributes to the existing literature by systematically analyzing Austrian press discourse and revealing how newspapers functioned as a mechanism of propaganda, shaping public perception through emotionally charged and ideologically structured narratives.

2. Method

This study employs both qualitative and historical content analysis methodologies to examine how Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938 was legitimized in the Austrian press and communicated to the public. This study employs both qualitative and historical content analysis methodologies to examine how Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938 was legitimized in the Austrian press and communicated to the public. The main objective is to uncover recurring discursive patterns of Nazi propaganda in contemporary newspapers and to analyze the press as an ideological apparatus, with particular attention to how it generated public consent under authoritarian governance.

The dataset for this analysis comprises a broad selection of Austrian newspapers dated March 13, 1938, which were accessed digitally through the Austrian National Library's AustriaN Newspapers Online (ANNO) archive system. Key publications include Das Kleine Volksblatt, Kronen Zeitung, Neues Wiener Journal, Kleine Blatt, Neue Freie Presse, Volks Zeitung, Innsbrucker Nachrichten, Kärntner Tagblatt, Grazer Volksblatt, Oberösterreichische Grenzboten, Neues Wiener Abendblatt, and Neues Wiener Tagblatt, alongside various regional and national outlets. All sources are publicly accessible at <https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi>

In total, 19 newspapers were analyzed. The dataset includes each newspaper's front page, editorials, and key news stories published on that date. Sampling was based on several criteria: circulation volume and reach, accessibility within the ANNO archive (including full text and visuals), ideological diversity (ranging from pro Nazi and progovernment to independent voices), and the degree to which the content reflected propaganda narratives.

These newspapers were selected not only for their ideological breadth but also for their societal influence and representativeness. The sample reflects a balanced mix of high circulation and widely read outlets, encompassing both national publications from Vienna and regional newspapers from cities such as Innsbruck, Graz, and Linz. Furthermore, all newspapers included were available in complete and visually intact versions within the ANNO archive, ensuring full textual and visual fidelity. Publications were specifically chosen for their use of recurring rhetorical tropes characteristic of Nazi propaganda phrases such as historical destiny, liberation, and the will of the people were key indicators for inclusion.

During the content analysis phase, headlines, imagery, narrative tone, and symbolic language across all newspapers were thematically coded. The coding process unfolded in three stages: first, a preliminary review identified recurring discourse patterns; second, key themes

were defined namely, historical destiny (historische Notwendigkeit), liberation (Befreiung), the will of the people (Volkswille), return to the homeland (Rückkehr in die Heimat), and enthusiastic reception (Begeisterung); finally, representative excerpts from each publication were coded according to these themes and presented in a structured matrix. Coding was conducted manually but verified through cross checking with a second researcher to enhance consistency.

To ensure internal validity, each identified theme was defined on the basis of recurring discourse patterns observed across multiple newspapers. Throughout the coding process, two independent researchers compared and reconciled the theme categorizations to ensure conceptual consistency. In terms of external validity, the analytical framework was grounded in established theoretical models that illuminate how ideological structures operate within authoritarian contexts. Drawing on Louis Althusser's concept of ideological state apparatuses, the study situates the press as a key institutional mechanism that reproduces dominant ideology through daily discursive practices. Althusser's² framework helps clarify how media texts normalize political authority by presenting state-aligned narratives as common sense realities. Complementing this perspective, Antonio Gramsci's theory³ of hegemony provides a broader understanding of how consent is manufactured through cultural and communicative processes. Gramsci's notion of hegemonic struggle underscores the ways in which media discourse shapes public perceptions, enabling authoritarian governments to secure voluntary compliance rather than relying solely on coercive power. Integrating these theoretical models strengthens the study's analytical lens by linking empirical findings to wider discussions in critical media theory and the sociology of power⁴.

Beyond standard content analysis, this study also adopts a historical discourse analysis approach to capture the rhetorical and ideological functions of media narratives. Rather than focusing solely on textual repetitions, this method considers the construction of meaning, rhetorical strategies, modes of address, and ideological framing. The analysis is guided by Norman Fairclough's model of discourse sociology (2023, pp. 11-22), which posits that

² Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, Monthly Review Press, 1971.

³ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, International Publishers, 1971.

language not only serves as a tool of communication but also operates as a medium for reproducing and transforming social structures through power relations.

Fairclough's model conceptualizes discourse as occurring on three interrelated levels textual, discursive practice, and social practice with a particular emphasis on ideology and hegemony. Within this framework, discourse is understood as a vehicle that shapes thought, produces consent, and naturalizes ideological orientations. Especially in domains such as media, politics, and education, discourse plays a central role in reinforcing dominant ideologies and sustaining existing power relations. Unlike conventional linguistic analysis, Fairclough's approach interrogates not only how language is structured but also the sociopolitical context, agents, and objectives behind its production. This makes discourse sociology a robust tool for critical inquiry and for revealing the hidden ideological structures embedded in communicative acts.

3. Findings

According to the March 13, 1938 issue of *Das Kleine Volksblatt*, Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria was portrayed as an event that enjoyed overwhelming public support. The newspaper highlighted Hitler's arrival in Linz as a historic victory, a framing that corresponds with scholarly analyses of how propaganda constructs emotional legitimacy for political actions through orchestrated narratives of enthusiasm and collective will (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002). By emphasizing symbolic locations such as Hitler's birthplace and by invoking the approval of Catholic Church officials, the newspaper sought to normalize the annexation as a morally and culturally sanctioned transformation. This approach reflects what Kershaw (1987) describes as the cultivation of the "Hitler Myth," through which media representations reinforced perceptions of unity and national purpose. Likewise, the newspaper's emphasis aligns with broader findings on how authoritarian regimes employed the press to generate social consensus and present political developments as legitimate and historically grounded (Evans, 2005; Hughes, 2011).

Driven by Nazi propaganda, the unification of Austria with Germany was depicted not only as a political maneuver but also as a historical and cultural necessity. The narrative constructed in the newspaper suggested that the annexation was both natural and inevitable, reinforcing the perception of unity as rooted in a shared national destiny. While *Das Kleine Volksblatt* emphasized the widespread support among the Austrian population, it primarily framed the annexation as a shared historical destiny, mirroring patterns identified in studies of

Nazi propaganda that demonstrate how notions of inevitability, continuity, and collective identity were systematically cultivated to secure public acquiescence (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2001, 2002).

Upon closer analysis of the newspaper's rhetoric, it becomes clear that the language was heavily shaped by propaganda aimed at legitimizing Nazi Germany's military advance and regime change in Austria. The coverage strategically employed emotionally charged and ideologically loaded expressions to construct the annexation as a triumphant and widely welcomed event, while simultaneously minimizing the coercive and unilateral nature of the process (*Das Kleine Volksblatt*, March 13, 1938). Such rhetorical strategies correspond to scholarly analyses of how Nazi propaganda manufactured emotional legitimacy and public consent through orchestrated narratives of enthusiasm, unity, and historical necessity (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002). This pattern also reflects broader findings on the ideological function of propaganda in presenting forceful political actions as popular, inevitable, and grounded in a shared national destiny (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005).



Figure 1.

Front Page of *Das Kleine Volksblatt* Newspaper

Sources: *Das Kleine Volksblatt*, 13 March 1938

The March 13, 1938 issue of *Arbeitersturm* similarly framed Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria as a grand victory enthusiastically welcomed by the population. By

depicting Hitler's visit to his birthplace and the speeches he delivered in Linz as expressions of the Austrian people's collective will, the newspaper employed a narrative strategy that constructed the annexation as a popular and organic development rather than a coerced political transformation. It reported that Austrian Nazi collaborators, particularly Dr. Seyss-Inquart, characterized the union with Germany as an inevitable and natural outcome. By emphasizing that the political transformation was entirely aligned with the will of the people, *Arbeitersturm* contributed to producing the ideological illusion of unanimous national consent, a mechanism widely identified in scholarship as central to the legitimizing function of propaganda under authoritarian regimes (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002). Within the paper's narrative, the arrival of Nazi troops in Austria was depicted as a historic event greeted with popular enthusiasm, while simultaneously framing dissenting voices as threats to national unity that needed to be removed, a pattern consistent with studies showing how propaganda constructs notions of homogeneity and historical inevitability to suppress dissent (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005).

Although the newspaper briefly alluded to concerns from foreign circles, it did not specify the nature or source of any international criticism. Instead, the coverage primarily focused on portraying Austria's incorporation into Germany as a legitimate and broadly acceptable action, consistent with the regime's broader propaganda framework. This narrative aligns with scholarly analyses demonstrating how pro-regime media in Austria reproduced Nazi ideological discourse, offering highly selective and distorted representations of public sentiment (Hughes, 2011). Nevertheless, it is evident that *Arbeitersturm* operated entirely within Nazi ideological discourse, offering a highly distorted account that failed to reflect the true will of the Austrian populace (*Arbeitersturm*, March 13, 1938).



Figure 2.

Front Page Of Arbeitersturm

Sources: Arbeitersturm March 13, 1938

The coverage in *Der neue Österreichische Volksbote* portrayed the Anschluss as both inevitable and positive. The newspaper developed a narrative that emphasized the necessity of public support for the unification with Germany, aiming to legitimize the process as a popular movement (March 13, 1938). Rather than merely reporting political developments, the publication constructed the annexation as a natural and historically predetermined outcome, thereby promoting the ideological illusion that unification reflected the authentic will of the Austrian people. The invocation *Volk von Österreich!* functioned as a rhetorical device designed to mobilize collective identity and depict unity with Germany as an act of national liberation. By reframing the cancellation of the referendum not as a suppression of democratic participation but as evidence of national cohesion, the newspaper strategically neutralized potential criticism and reinforced the notion that dissent was incompatible with the greater historical mission of unity. Such rhetorical framing aligns with scholarship demonstrating how propaganda under authoritarian regimes constructs unanimity and historical inevitability to generate legitimacy for abrupt political transformations (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002).

Nonetheless, the newspaper's stance on the Anschluss significantly mirrored the Nazi propaganda line. Although it nominally acknowledged the public's right to participate in a referendum, its linguistic choices and discourse structures functioned to delegitimize democratic participation by presenting unification with Germany as an inevitable and

uncontested outcome. In this sense, the press operated as an ideological instrument that naturalized the political objectives of the Nazi regime, strategically shaping public perception by framing the annexation as both necessary and universally supported (*Der neue Österreichische Volksbote*, March 13, 1938). This dynamic reflects broader scholarly interpretations that emphasize the media's role in reinforcing authoritarian power through the systematic production of ideological consensus (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005).

Kleine Blatt, for its part, prominently featured Hitler on its full front page, presenting the Anschluss not merely as a political union but as the natural culmination of Austria and Germany's shared historical and cultural legacy (Kleine Blatt, 1938). The paper depicted the annexation with pronounced enthusiasm, framing it as a triumphant and historically meaningful development. Particular emphasis was placed on Hitler's reception in Braunau (his birthplace) and on the entry of German troops into Austria, events that were represented as liberatory interventions warmly embraced by the population. Reports described crowds greeting the soldiers with affection, reinforcing the depiction of the union as a moment of collective national fulfillment. These narrative strategies correspond with scholarly analyses showing how propaganda deployed symbolic geographies, emotional mobilization, and depictions of spontaneous popular enthusiasm to legitimize political integration efforts (Welch, 2001; Herf, 2006).

Furthermore, *Kleine Blatt* asserted that unification with Germany was not solely a political decision but a long-cherished aspiration of the Austrian people (*Kleine Blatt*, March 13, 1938). The language and framing found in the March 13 issue closely align with the rhetorical imperatives of the Nazi propaganda apparatus. It portrayed German domination over Austria as a natural and historically predetermined development, supported by a narrative that presented enthusiasm for unification as widespread and spontaneous. Rather than neutrally reporting events, the newspaper operated within an ideological framework designed to shape public perception and legitimize the Anschluss (*Das Kleine Blatt*, March 13, 1938). This mode of representation reflects broader findings that media aligned with the Nazi regime systematically constructed myths of collective unity and shared destiny to obscure coercion and suppress alternative interpretations (Hughes, 2011; Welch, 2002).



Figure 3.

Front Page Of Kleine Blatt

Sources: Kleine Blatt, 13 March 1938

An examination of the March 13, 1938 issue of one of Austria’s most influential newspapers, the *Kronen Zeitung*, reveals that the Anschluss was not portrayed merely as a political union but rather as a national triumph and a historic turning point. The paper presented Germany’s sovereignty over Austria as the inevitable and natural outcome of a long-unfolding process, while emphasizing that the public responded to this union with overwhelming enthusiasm and widespread celebrations. Within the broader media discourse of the time, this narrative functioned not simply to convey information but to reinforce the legitimacy of the unification and to shape collective memory in accordance with the ideological imperatives of the regime (*Kronen Zeitung*, March 13, 1938). Such narrative constructions reflect widely recognized propaganda mechanisms that seek to naturalize political transformations by embedding them within emotionally charged and historically framed representations (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002).

Kronen Zeitung’s account elevated Hitler’s entry into Austrian territory beyond a political event, portraying it as a historic moment destined to be etched into collective memory. His arrival in Braunau, his birthplace, was described through the imagery of mass public ceremonies and the ringing of church bells, transforming the event into a symbolic ritual of national unification. By employing dramatized expressions such as “a storm of enthusiasm

broke out,” the newspaper constructed the appearance of spontaneous popular will, thereby naturalizing the annexation and presenting it as an organic and uncontested expression of collective desire (*Kronen Zeitung*, March 13, 1938). This strategy corresponds with scholarly findings that authoritarian propaganda often fabricates the illusion of unanimous support to legitimize radical political change (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005).

Furthermore, the newspaper interpreted the Anschluss not merely as a contemporary political development but as the culmination of a historical necessity and cultural integration process. Through frequent references to the historical, cultural, and ethnic ties between Austria and Germany, the narrative emphasized the artificiality of the separation that had existed since 1866. The merger was framed as the reunification of the German nation. Hitler’s reception in Linz by Seyß-Inquart was thus presented as a symbolic and historical restoration of national unity. Within the boundaries of Nazi ideological framing, the newspaper dismissed the notion of Austrian independence and portrayed Austria as an inseparable component of a larger German national identity, thereby legitimizing the union as the fulfillment of an alleged historical destiny (*Kronen Zeitung*, March 13, 1938). This discursive structure aligns with analyses demonstrating how propaganda mobilizes historical myths and cultural narratives to validate political expansion and delegitimize competing national identities (Welch, 2001; Hughes, 2011).

The newspaper’s portrayal of the Anschluss as an inevitable historical destiny functions as a discursive mechanism aimed at normalizing Nazi Germany’s expansionist policies within the Austrian context. The structure of the report and the language employed go beyond conventional news reporting, instead performing the ideological work of guiding public perception and mobilizing emotional identification—features characteristic of propaganda rather than neutral journalism. In this regard, *Kronen Zeitung* operated not merely as a media outlet but as a vehicle for disseminating the ideological codes of the Nazi regime, legitimizing the end of Austrian sovereignty through a narrative embedded in historical, cultural, and affective themes. Accordingly, the text cannot be regarded as neutral reporting but as a deliberately constructed propaganda instrument serving a specific political agenda (*Kronen Zeitung*, March 13, 1938). Such findings resonate with broader scholarship that emphasizes the media’s central role in sustaining authoritarian regimes through the strategic production of selective, emotionally resonant narratives designed to mask coercion and manufacture legitimacy (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002).



Figure 4.

Front Page Of Kronen Zeitung

Source: Kronen Zeitung, 13 March 1938

The March 13, 1938 issue of *Neue Eisenstädter Zeitung* contained extensive coverage of the unfolding Anschluss process. One of the featured articles, titled *Am Sonntag Volksbefragung in Österreich* (“A Popular Referendum in Austria on Sunday”), reported on Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg’s call for a plebiscite, urging the Austrian population to vote in favor of a free, independent, social, and unified Austria. The newspaper thus positioned the Austrian government’s stance as one resisting incorporation into Germany and attempted to mobilize public sentiment in defense of national sovereignty. Another report, *Dr. Schuschnigg’s Speech in Innsbruck*, emphasized his appeals for unity and his categorical rejection of unification with Germany. Schuschnigg insisted that the referendum would allow Austrians to determine their own fate and called upon every citizen to participate in safeguarding national independence. However, by the time the newspaper was published on March 13, 1938, Germany’s military occupation had already rendered the plebiscite obsolete, exposing a stark disjunction between political reality and the paper’s continued emphasis on governmental resistance. This disjuncture illustrates how the newspaper maintained a pro-independence editorial stance even as the possibility of meaningful public participation had been foreclosed, thereby revealing its attempt to symbolically preserve Austrian sovereignty in the face of irreversible geopolitical developments. Such representational contradictions reflect broader patterns identified in scholarship on propaganda, wherein press outlets under

authoritarian pressure attempt to stabilize collapsing political narratives through symbolic appeals to legitimacy and national identity (Welch, 2002; Herf, 2006).

Hitler's arrival on Austrian soil was described as a historic moment, with vivid depictions of ringing church bells, swaying Nazi flags, and jubilant crowds in the streets. Particularly notable was a radio address by the Austrian Nazi leader Major Klausner, reported by the newspaper, in which he declared, "Austria has attained its freedom, Austria is now National Socialist," presenting the Anschluss as an unavoidable fate. Because the newspaper relied on its own paraphrasing of Klausner's broadcast rather than citing an official transcript or radio archive, its account reflects not the verifiable wording of the speech but a mediated representation aligned with the paper's propagandistic framing. The newspaper framed the Nazi takeover not as an occupation but as a legitimate expression of the people's will. It justified Germany's military entry as necessary for maintaining order and promised peace for Austria. Coverage also extensively reported on the appointment of new Nazi-aligned officials, portraying these developments as triumphs in the name of national unity. This narrative construction corresponds with theoretical analyses of how propaganda legitimizes coercive political transitions by presenting forceful interventions as harmonious expressions of collective will (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005).

Lustenauer Gemeindeblatt, in its March 13, 1938 issue, dedicated significant space to endorsing the Anschluss. The newspaper described the event as a liberation and framed the rise of the National Socialist movement in Austria as a natural and inevitable development. Its language emphasized unification as the authentic expression of the Austrian people's will and as the legitimization of the National Socialist struggle. According to the paper, this unification carried sacred meaning not only for Austrian National Socialists but also for all Germans. The rhetoric closely mirrored the discursive patterns of Nazi propaganda, constructing Austrians as integral members of a broader German identity and presenting the Anschluss as the culmination of a prolonged ideological mission. By highlighting the necessity of continued discipline and sacrifice among the population and warning that any opposition would be severely punished, the newspaper reproduced the authoritarian logic of Nazi rule, normalizing coercion as a legitimate component of national unity. Such framing aligns with scholarly findings showing that authoritarian propaganda works to erase political plurality and to legitimize domination through narratives of inevitability, unity, and shared destiny (Hughes, 2011; Welch, 2001).

Such propaganda extended beyond mere endorsement of the Anschluss; it functioned as part of a broader ideological restructuring of Austrian society. The newspaper emphasized loyalty to Hitler, portraying him as the son of Austria, thereby embedding his image within a culturally resonant national narrative. The article's conclusion with the phrase Heil Hitler! operated not simply as a ritualized expression of allegiance but as a symbolic mechanism through which Nazi ideological authority was naturalized and embedded into everyday communicative practices. In this context, the newspaper's narratives reveal how discursive and symbolic strategies were mobilized to legitimize the annexation, transforming political domination into an ostensibly organic expression of collective will. These narratives offer a clear reflection of the Nazi regime's efforts to legitimize its annexation of Austria through discursive and symbolic means (Lustenauer Gemeindeblatt, March 13, 1938).



Figure 5.

Front Page of Lustenauer Gemeindeblatt

Sources: Lustenauer Gemeindeblatt, 13 March 1938

The March 13, 1938 edition of *Grazer Volksblatt* devoted an entire page to the coverage of Germany's annexation of Austria. The newspaper portrayed the Anschluss as a liberation of the Austrian people and a return to a unified German nation. In particular, the coverage emphasized that Austria's reintegration into the German nation under Hitler's leadership was not only historic but also inevitable. Written in the idiom of Nazi propaganda, the articles reframed political subjugation as a fulfillment of popular will, constructing the unification as an organic and collectively desired outcome rather than the product of coercive expansionism.

Through this narrative strategy, *Grazer Volksblatt* actively contributed to the ideological normalization of the annexation, aligning its discourse with broader efforts to legitimize Germany's domination of Austria. (*Grazer Volksblatt*, March 13, 1938).

The paper extensively reported on Hitler's proclamation issued on March 12, 1938, using it as a central piece to legitimize the annexation. It highlighted the struggle of Austria's National Socialist movement and invoked it as proof of popular support for the Anschluss. The newspaper's rhetoric encouraged the identification of Austrians with a broader German identity, claiming that the unification was justified through eternal historical ties⁵. Within this narrative, the Austrian government was described as a repressive regime, standing in opposition to the purported historical unity between Austria and Germany, a claim rooted in mythologized interpretations of shared linguistic, cultural, and imperial traditions. In this framing, the Anschluss was cast not only as a moment of national liberation but also as a necessary condition for economic revival. The language employed reinforced the idea that unification was both an existential necessity and a pathway toward national prosperity, thereby aligning closely with the ideological constructs of the Nazi regime (*Grazer Volksblatt*, 1938).



Figure 6.

Front Page Of *Grazer Volksblatt*

Sources: *Grazer Volksblatt*, 13 March 1938

⁵ Nazi propaganda frequently invoked eternal historical ties to suggest an uninterrupted civilizational, linguistic, and cultural unity between Austria and Germany. This narrative drew selectively on the legacy of the Holy Roman Empire, shared German-speaking heritage, and the cultural memory of the Habsburg era to legitimize political unification. See: Evans, R. J. *The Third Reich in Power*, 2005; Harrington, A. *Reconstructing the Past: Austrian Identity and Historical Mythmaking*, 2010.

The special edition of *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* dated March 13, 1938, portrayed Germany's intervention in Austria not as an invasion but as a long-awaited and widely supported historical event. The newspaper emphasized that the Austrian people voluntarily supported the Anschluss and welcomed the entry of Nazi Germany with great enthusiasm and affection. Hitler's entry into Austria was described as a victory march, and there was no reference to military occupation or forced annexation. Instead, the narrative emphasized the completion of the historical unity of the German people, a rhetorical strategy designed to reinforce the idea that Austria willingly chose unification (*Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 1938).

The paper provided detailed accounts of Hitler's arrival in Linz and other Austrian cities, highlighting the mass celebrations and the warm reception by the people. Reports noted the Nazi troops being greeted with flowers and flags, accompanied by chants of Heil Hitler. Within this narrative, Nazi Germany was not depicted as an external force imposing itself on Austria, but rather as the fulfillment of the people's aspirations. The Anschluss was thus framed as both a governmental decision and an expression of popular will. The newspaper also referenced the planned April 10, 1938 referendum as a means to legitimize the unification through democratic procedures, yet it failed to mention the political pressures and constraints surrounding this vote. Instead, a one-sided narrative prevailed, portraying the unification as a national destiny overwhelmingly supported by the public (*Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 1938).

The language and style of *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* aligned closely with official Nazi propaganda, lacking neutrality. Germany's military intervention was depicted as a festive occasion, and the population's enthusiastic support was repeatedly emphasized. Hitler's speeches in his birthplace, Braunau am Inn, were presented within the discourse of the unification of the German-speaking peoples. These portrayals did not merely resemble propagandistic techniques but actively participated in constructing a narrative in which political domination was reframed as a culturally grounded national aspiration. The newspaper openly endorsed the new regime that followed the unification with Nazi Germany. The resignations of former government officials and the rise of Nazi-aligned politicians were presented as a profound transformation and a liberation. Moreover, by highlighting the anticipated benefits of economic and social reforms under Nazi rule, the newspaper helped normalize authoritarian governance through promises of prosperity and stability (*Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 1938). Such representational strategies correspond to scholarly analyses showing how propaganda seeks to legitimize authoritarian rule by embedding coercive political transformations within

emotionally resonant narratives of national renewal and collective aspiration (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002).

Likewise, the March 13, 1938 edition of *Klagenfurter Zeitung* offered extensive coverage of the Anschluss. It reported that Nazi Germany's entry into Austria was met with widespread public enthusiasm. In cities such as Vienna and Klagenfurt, people were said to have demonstrated their allegiance to Hitler with chants of *Sieg Heil!* and by hoisting swastika flags on public buildings (*Klagenfurter Zeitung*, 1938). By emphasizing public order and portraying SA and SS involvement as merely supportive rather than coercive, the newspaper constructed an image of harmonious national unification that obscured the repressive mechanisms underpinning the Nazi takeover. The newspaper emphasized that the events occurred in an orderly fashion, with SA and SS troops supporting the police in maintaining public order, although the population's disciplined behavior made any intervention unnecessary (*Klagenfurter Zeitung*, 1938). This framing aligns with scholarly interpretations demonstrating that authoritarian propaganda frequently minimizes or conceals coercion by depicting repressive forces as guardians of stability and by presenting political transformations as voluntary expressions of collective will (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005; Hughes, 2011).

Klagenfurter Zeitung also provided detailed coverage of Chancellor Schuschnigg's resignation and the succession of Nazi-aligned Arthur Seyß-Inquart. The full text of Schuschnigg's resignation speech was included, where he stated that he stepped down to prevent civil war, famously declaring, We will not resist in order to avoid bloodshed. Meanwhile, the paper reported that the Nazi administration described the situation as a liberation and announced that the new Austria would become a part of Greater Germany. In speeches delivered by Nazi officials on the night of March 12 and the morning of March 13, the Anschluss was framed as an inevitable development for Austria's future, one that was broadly supported by the public (*Klagenfurter Zeitung*, 1938). Through this interpretive framing, the newspaper transformed a coerced political takeover into a narrative of national consent, reinforcing the Nazi regime's broader discursive strategy of presenting authoritarian rule as both peaceful and popularly legitimated.

The *Kärntner Tagblatt* portrayed the Anschluss as an enthusiastic triumph. The reports emphasized the widespread public celebration of the unification and framed Nazi Germany's influence over Austria as a positive development. The articles highlighted mass demonstrations in cities, where thousands of people took to the streets and swastika flags were prominently displayed.

The newspaper described the transfer of power to the Nazi administration as having occurred peacefully and in an orderly manner, and underscored the Austrian population's loyalty to Nazi ideology. It reported that in cities such as Innsbruck and Linz, crowds chanted pro-Hitler slogans and local administrative buildings were swiftly taken over by Nazi officials. In line with the overarching propaganda narrative, the unification with Germany was depicted as a national liberation, with Hitler heralded as a great leader, and the Anschluss characterized as a long-anticipated ideal for Austria. By emphasizing order, unity, and popular celebration, the newspaper reproduced key motifs of Nazi propaganda, which sought to mask the coercive nature of the annexation by recasting it as a voluntary and harmonious reunification with the German nation.⁶

The newspaper described the transfer of power to the Nazi administration as having occurred peacefully and in an orderly manner, and underscored the Austrian population's loyalty to Nazi ideology. It reported that in cities such as Innsbruck and Linz, crowds chanted pro-Hitler slogans and local administrative buildings were swiftly taken over by Nazi officials. In line with the overarching propaganda narrative, the unification with Germany was depicted as a national liberation, with Hitler heralded as a great leader, and the Anschluss characterized as a long-anticipated ideal for Austria. Following the resignation of Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg, the swift formation of a pro-Nazi government under Arthur Seyß-Inquart was described as a transition greeted with great enthusiasm by the populace. The ascension of the new regime was framed as a historic moment, with claims that there was virtually no resistance and that public support was overwhelmingly in favor of the political shift. Such representations align with scholarly analyses indicating that authoritarian propaganda frequently naturalizes coercive political turnovers by portraying them as peaceful, popularly embraced, and historically necessary developments (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002; Evans, 2005).

In the *Kleine Volks-Zeitung*, the Anschluss was depicted as a historic union marked by widespread public joy and collective celebration. The merger with Germany was labeled a historic moment, with a strong emphasis on Nazi Germany's historical and cultural claims over Austria. The jubilant reception of Hitler's arrival in Linz received extensive coverage (*Kleine Volks-Zeitung*, March 13, 1938). The Austrians were portrayed as welcoming Hitler with unrestrained enthusiasm and embracing the new order with satisfaction. The arrival of German troops on 12 March 1938 was celebrated as a national event, reinforcing the narrative that

⁶ For discussions on how Nazi media reframed coercive political actions as expressions of popular will, see: Ian Kershaw, *The Hitler Myth* (1987); David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (2002).

Austria's incorporation into the German Reich was an inevitable and historically justified act. The coverage adopted a pro-Nazi editorial tone, presenting the unification as the natural result of Austria's identity as an integral part of the German nation (*Kleine Volks-Zeitung*, 13 March 1938). This narrative strategy reflects broader scholarly findings that propaganda often manufactures unanimity by embedding political expansion within emotionally charged depictions of cultural belonging and historical destiny (Kershaw, 1987; Hughes, 2011; Welch, 2002).

Hitler's speech was quoted at length, notably the declaration: *Germans! With deep sorrow, we have for years witnessed the fate of our compatriots in Austria [...]*As in this morning, soldiers of the German Wehrmacht are crossing the borders of German-Austria. This quotation framed the military entry as an act of fraternal rescue rather than aggression (*Kleine Volks-Zeitung*, March 13, 1938).

Particularly during Hitler's arrival in Linz, large crowds were described as welcoming him with euphoric fervor, which was characterized as the moment when the will of the people was finally realized. His statement, I have returned to my homeland, was presented as having left a deep emotional impact on the audience (*Kleine Volks-Zeitung*, March 13, 1938). According to the *Neue Freie Presse*, one of Austria's most influential daily newspapers, the Anschluss was presented as a historical necessity. The coverage and analysis underscored the inevitability of Austria's unification with Germany, claiming that it was embraced with public elation.

The language used in the newspaper emphasized that the Anschluss was supported by the Austrian population and occurred as a genuine grassroots movement. Expressions such as a great moment for all of Germany signaled a framing of the event not as a military occupation but as a national movement endorsed by the people

The *Neue Freie Presse* emphasized mass demonstrations and expressions of popular affection for Hitler in order to portray the Anschluss as a movement rooted in widespread public support. The newspaper described the streets of Vienna as adorned with large German flags and Nazi symbols, and reported that large crowds had gathered in a celebratory manner. This representation contributed to framing Germany's intervention as a moment of liberation for Austria.

Oberösterreichische Grenzboten, another influential Austrian daily, similarly framed the Anschluss as a natural and inevitable outcome. Emphasizing Austria's inseparability from the

German nation, the newspaper presented the unification as historically grounded. The phrase *Österreich ist deutsch und nur deutsch* (Austria is German and only German) was used to underscore the idea that the union represented the fulfillment of national destiny (Oberösterreichische Grenzboten, 1938). The newspaper repeatedly criticized the Treaty of Versailles, arguing that it had artificially separated Austria from Germany and imposed an unjust prohibition on unification. By portraying the Anschluss as a correction of this historical wrong, the paper aligned its discourse with Nazi propaganda that sought to delegitimize the post-World War I international order.⁷ Furthermore, the newspaper framed the limited reactions of Britain and France as implicit acceptance of Germany's actions, using this silence rhetorically to reinforce the claim that the unification was not only domestically supported but also internationally tolerated.

The leadership of Hitler was celebrated as pivotal to Austria's liberation, with the unification described as a victory. Phrases such as *Österreich soll seiner Bestimmung zugeführt werden* (Austria must be guided to its rightful destiny) reinforced the portrayal of the Anschluss as more than a political event—an expression of national mission. Overall, the newspaper echoed the tone and content of Nazi propaganda, presenting the union as both positive and inevitable. It claimed that the majority of the Austrian public supported the move and regarded it as a turning point for the unity of the German people. Within this narrative, any mention of external pressure or coercive measures was omitted, allowing the newspaper to frame the process exclusively as a voluntary and nationally desired development. (Oberösterreichische Grenzboten, 1938).

Neues Wiener Abendblatt similarly depicted the Anschluss as the realization of a nationalist destiny. The paper employed rhetoric suggesting that the long-divided German people were finally united under the slogan *Ein Volk ein Reich*, symbolizing the collapse of historical borders. With phrases such as *den Zusammenbruch der scheidenden Grenzen, die Verwirklichung der alten Forderung: Ein Volk ein Reich!* the newspaper framed the unification as not merely a political maneuver but a righteous historical inevitability (Neues Wiener Abendblatt, 1938).

Through this discourse, the Anschluss was presented as both a liberation and a national rebirth. Across much of the newspaper's coverage, the integration of Austria with what was

⁷ The Treaty of Versailles (1919) explicitly prohibited political union (*Anschluss*) between Austria and Germany under Article 80, aiming to prevent the re-emergence of a powerful German state after World War I. For detailed analysis, see: Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (Random House, 2001), pp. 182-185; Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (Vintage, 1999), pp. 44-46.

referred to as the *true German spirit* was depicted as the inevitable outcome of a long-standing historical process. This perspective, articulated through propagandistic language, emphasized emotional and symbolic dimensions in equal measure. By appealing to notions of historical fulfillment and cultural unity, Neues Wiener Abendblatt constructed an ideological narrative that reframed coercive political incorporation as a voluntary and uplifting national awakening, thereby legitimizing Nazi Germany's expansionist project.



Figure 7.

Neues Wiener Abendblatt

Sources: Neues Wiener Abendblatt, 13 March 1938

Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung, in its March 13, 1938 edition, positioned the planned but ultimately canceled public referendum as central to legitimizing the Anschluss. The front page heralded what was presented as a referendum on Austrian independence, underscoring both its necessity and the public's presumed support. However, according to the newspaper reports, the political realities of the time made the vote untenable. Under pressure from Nazi Germany and Austrian Nazi sympathizers, Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg was forced to resign, and the referendum was canceled. The newspaper cast the Anschluss as a peaceful and inevitable development, framed not only as a political and military triumph but as a legitimate act of unifying German-speaking peoples. This narrative employed language associating the merger with the public good and social justice, while omitting any reference to military coercion, presenting the process as entirely peaceful (*Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung*, 1938).

Such omissions and reframings reflect propaganda mechanisms identified by scholars, whereby coercive interventions are recast as consensual, socially beneficial, and historically necessary actions (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002).

Within its editorial policy, Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung reported positively on the Nazi administration's military actions and influence operations in Austria. Statements from Interior Minister and new Chancellor Arthur Seyß-Inquart were prominently featured, asserting that the Anschluss was a necessary and anticipated outcome embraced by the public. Seyß-Inquart argued that preserving Austria's independence would jeopardize economic and political stability, thus portraying Germany's protection as essential. The newly installed government was therefore positioned as a logical continuation of popular will and national interest (Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung, 1938). Through such representations, the newspaper enacted the ideological work commonly associated with authoritarian propaganda, framing coercive regime change as rational, stabilizing, and aligned with the supposed desires of the population (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005; Hughes, 2011).

Volks Zeitung, one of Austria's highest-circulation dailies, echoed this narrative in its March 13 issue. It constructed the Anschluss as a liberation movement aimed at legitimizing Austria's union with Nazi Germany. A headline titled *Hitler in Österreich* sensationalized his entry into Austria, intentionally bypassing the reality of military occupation in favor of portraying mass public celebration. The intervention was reframed as maintaining order and achieving German unity. Another key title, *Rückkehr in die Heimat* ("Return to the Homeland"), claimed the merger was a natural union of German-speaking peoples, invoking the Nazi ideal of a Greater Germany (*Großdeutschland*). The paper emphasized that Austria was already culturally and ethnically German, rendering the union inevitable.

By presenting ideological slogans as historical truths and depicting political coercion as popular enthusiasm, *Volks Zeitung* reinforced the illusion of a voluntary national unification and obscured the authoritarian dynamics underlying the Anschluss. This rhetorical strategy is consistent with scholarly analyses showing that propaganda often constructs myths of unanimity and cultural inevitability to legitimize political domination and suppress recognition of coercion (Welch, 2002; Herf, 2006; Kershaw, 1987).

In *Niederösterreichischer Grenzboten*, the March 13, 1938 edition featured a full-page speech by Chancellor Seyß-Inquart. He outlined a vision rooted in Pan-German cultural destiny, declaring that Austrians were both German and Austrian. He invoked centuries of history, citing Austria's role as a cultural and political leader in the Danube region. Seyß-Inquart asserted that

Austria's mission was to advance German culture and organize the German-speaking world. The paper quoted him stating, Austria must be guided to her destined fulfillment, asserting that Austria's destiny was inseparably linked to the German nation and that its independence could not derive from international treaties but only from the will of its German-speaking people (Niederösterreichischer Grenzbote, 1938).

Dr. Arthur Seyß-Inquart's speech serves as a paradigmatic example of Nazi ideological discourse and the legitimization of German-speaking unity during the annexation process. The oration incorporates several pivotal elements in constructing a historical narrative, a collective identity, and a sense of political legitimacy. By denying the viability of Austria as an independent state, Seyß-Inquart grounded his argument in the thesis that the region had historically belonged to the German world. He further defined its mission within the Danube area as the propagation and organization of German-speaking culture. In this framework, he claimed that no separate national identity could sustainably exist and that German-speaking populations were bound by a shared historical destiny.

According to Neues Wiener Tagblatt, one of Austria's foremost daily newspapers, the front page proclaimed, *Führer in Austria, greeted with great joy in Linz*. Reportedly, when the Führer stepped into Linz on March 12, 1938, he was welcomed by massive crowds. The paper stated that Hitler had proclaimed a new era in Austria, and that thousands had filled the streets to witness him and offer their support an expression interpreted as evidence of the inevitability of a union with Germany (Neues Wiener Tagblatt, March 13, 1938). Furthermore, the newspaper detailed Chancellor Seyß-Inquart's welcome speech, highlighting his emphasis on the Austrian population's allegiance to the merger. In his address, Seyß-Inquart affirmed that German-speaking peoples are historically indivisible, with Austria as an integral component of the German Reich. He also advanced a forward-looking rationale: the union would strengthen Austria economically, politically, and culturally (Neues Wiener Tagblatt, March 13, 1938).

According to Neues Wiener Tagblatt, Hitler's speech in Linz's central square reportedly generated great excitement among the public. In his address, Hitler declared that Austria shared a historical bond with the German people and that this bond had now been formalized. He proclaimed the end of the long-standing division and announced Austria's unification under the same flag as Germany. The crowd responded with repeated chants of Sieg Heil! underscoring the event's emotionally charged atmosphere (Neues Wiener Tagblatt, March 13, 1938).

The newspaper emphasized that this transformation in Austria was not merely a political change, but a national rebirth. Following the unification with Germany, substantial reforms in governance, economic structure, and social organization were anticipated. The Nazi regime had already announced its intention to integrate Austria into the broader German system through a series of institutional reforms (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, March 13, 1938).

Another major Austrian daily, *Neues Wiener Journal*, led with headlines such as *Reich Chancellor Hitler in Linz* and *80,000 Linzers Greet the Führer*. The paper reported that Hitler entered Linz on March 12, 1938, in what it termed a triumphant march, welcomed enthusiastically by tens of thousands. According to the paper, the occasion symbolized the shared will of the German and Austrian peoples, representing a historical moment that reflected their collective desire for unification. The mass turnout was interpreted as a testament to the popular embrace of Anschluss (*Neues Wiener Journal*, March 13, 1938). Such representations align with scholarly analyses showing how propaganda constructs political domination as the expression of collective will by staging mass ceremonies that signal unanimous public enthusiasm (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002).

Hitler's arrival was described as a momentous event met with mass jubilation, depicted as the natural outcome of a shared national will. As soon as Hitler stepped into Linz, thousands reportedly poured into the streets to greet him. *Neues Wiener Journal* framed this as a historical moment, highlighting the inevitability of unification underpinned by the collective will of both nations. Torch-lit processions and large-scale demonstrations were presented as symbolic affirmations of loyalty to Hitler and as heralds of a new political epoch in Austria (*Neues Wiener Journal*, March 13, 1938). This rhetorical strategy reflects broader findings on how authoritarian propaganda relies on choreographed displays of unity to legitimize political upheaval and reinforce narratives of national destiny (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005).

The paper's inner pages featured headlines such as *Hitler's Journey into Liberated Austria* and *Enthusiastic Reception for the Führer and Reich Chancellor*. It described Hitler's entry into Austria as a victorious return, met with overwhelming public celebration. The arrival was portrayed not merely as a diplomatic milestone but as a manifestation of Austria's liberation, with public demonstrations and torchlight parades serving as evidence of overwhelming popular support. This narrative presented Hitler's arrival as the beginning of a transformative chapter in Austria's national history (*Neues Wiener Journal*, March 13, 1938). Such symbolic framing is consistent with scholarship emphasizing that propaganda frequently

constructs political leaders as agents of historical renewal whose actions inaugurate a new era of national unity (Welch, 2001; Hughes, 2011).

According to *Neues Wiener Journal*, Hitler's entry into Austria was framed as both a victory and a moment of liberation, with a strong emphasis on mass public support. Descriptive phrases such as great enthusiasm, the will of the people, and a historic moment were carefully selected to present the events in a positive light and foster the perception that a new era had begun under Hitler's leadership. The emotional mobilization of the masses a central component of Nazi propaganda is clearly evident in these accounts. The newspaper presented the unification of Germany and Austria as a natural and freely expressed act of popular will. Consistent with Nazi ideology, it underscored the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft*, advocating the union of German-speaking peoples. This narrative aligned with the Pan-Germanist (*Großdeutschland*) rhetoric and aimed to convey the annexation not merely as a political decision but as a historical inevitability.

Turning to the *Oedenburger Zeitung*, its front page declared National Socialist Government Formed in German-Austria and Dr. Arthur Seyß-Inquart the New Chancellor. The newspaper reported that the Nazi government had been officially established and that Seyß-Inquart had assumed the chancellorship, presenting this development as the inevitable and popularly supported outcome of unification with Germany. It highlighted public calm, the presence of SS and SA units to maintain order, and widespread enthusiasm for the new regime. The *Oedenburger Zeitung* framed the establishment of the National Socialist government as a historic turning point that ensured stability and national renewal (*Oedenburger Zeitung*, March 13, 1938). (*Oedenburger Zeitung*, March 13, 1938).



Figure 8.

Front Page Of Oedenburger Zeitung

Sources: Oedenburger Zeitung, 13 March 1938

In its March 13, 1938 edition, *Oberwarther SonntagsZeitung*, one of Austria’s most influential local and daily newspapers, featured the headline *Sonntag den 13. März Volksabstimmung in Österreich* (“Sunday, March 13 Referendum in Austria”). The paper framed this vote as a historic turning point in determining the nation’s future, presenting Austrians with a choice: remain independent and social, or unite with the German Reich. However, the language used—especially references to peace, work, and social justice—appeared designed to steer public sentiment toward unification, leaving alternative options largely unexamined. The newspaper prominently quoted statements from Chancellor Dr. Arthur Seyß-Inquart, reporting that large crowds in Linz had gathered to support Hitler and expressing the view that the public was inclined toward unification with Germany. Notably absent was any discussion about the referendum’s legitimacy under coercive conditions, with the process instead portrayed uncritically as an expression of popular will (*Oberwarther SonntagsZeitung*, March 13, 1938). Such framing aligns with scholarly analyses showing how propaganda employs the rhetoric of social harmony and moral duty to obscure coercion and present political consolidation as a voluntary, popularly endorsed development (Herf, 2006; Welch, 2002).

The *OstbahnBote* took an even more overtly propagandistic stance, headlining *Sagt Ja zu Oesterreich!* (“Say Yes to Austria!”). The paper urged readers to vote Yes in the March 13 referendum, portraying the decision as a critical moment for national unity and stability. Appealing to Catholic voters, an article titled *Katholiken!* linked religious sentiment with

political support, encouraging the faithful to vote in defense of God and the country—illustrating how religious rhetoric was instrumentalized to legitimize the Anschluss (*OstbahnBote*, March 13, 1938). Additional coverage highlighted the order and stability purportedly promised by Nazi rule while incorporating anti-Communist messaging. An article titled *Gerechtigkeit in Sowjetrußland* (“Justice in Soviet Russia”) criticized Communist repression and urged public alignment with Nazism’s anti-Communist stance. Thus, *OstbahnBote* blended religious and ideological appeals to present the Anschluss as an unavoidable necessity and to shape public opinion in favor of unification (*OstbahnBote*, March 13, 1938). This combination of religious imagery and ideological messaging reflects well-documented propaganda strategies in which moral authority and anti-Communist tropes are mobilized to legitimize authoritarian political projects (Kershaw, 1987; Evans, 2005; Hughes, 2011).

4. Result

An analysis of Austrian press coverage during the annexation (Anschluss) by Nazi Germany reveals the systematic and effective use of propaganda techniques, as evidenced through content analysis. The Nazi regime strategically deployed the Austrian media as an instrument of public diplomacy to influence public opinion and legitimize the unification process. Pervasive narratives invoking historic victory, liberation, popular enthusiasm, and inevitable destiny were used to frame the annexation not merely as a political maneuver but as a historical and cultural imperative. Media outlets, aligning themselves with Nazi ideology, reframed the entry of German forces not as a military occupation but as a unification eagerly anticipated and welcomed by the Austrian populace. In doing so, the press became a pivotal vehicle in shaping public discourse and furthering the ideological objectives of the Nazi regime.

An analysis of Austrian press coverage during the annexation (Anschluss) by Nazi Germany reveals that newspapers did not respond uniformly to the unfolding political transformation. Instead, their reporting followed a three-tiered pattern, reflecting varying degrees of ideological alignment with the Nazi regime. This stratification allows for a clearer understanding of how propaganda operated across different segments of the Austrian media landscape.

The vast majority of Austrian newspapers openly aligned themselves with Nazi ideology, reproducing propaganda narratives that framed the annexation as a natural, historically justified, and widely welcomed national unification. These publications portrayed

Germany's intervention not as a military occupation but as a historic victory, liberation, and the fulfillment of an inevitable destiny. A smaller group of newspapers demonstrated a more nuanced and ambivalent position. While they often reproduced central elements of Nazi rhetoric (such as references to German cultural unity or claims of historical necessity) they also included traces of hesitation, uncertainty, or bureaucratic neutrality within their reports. Only a limited number of newspapers articulated a clear pro-independence stance, presenting the annexation as an infringement on Austrian sovereignty. These outlets emphasized the legitimacy of Chancellor Schuschnigg's proposed referendum, framing it as a democratic mechanism through which the Austrian people could determine their own political future.

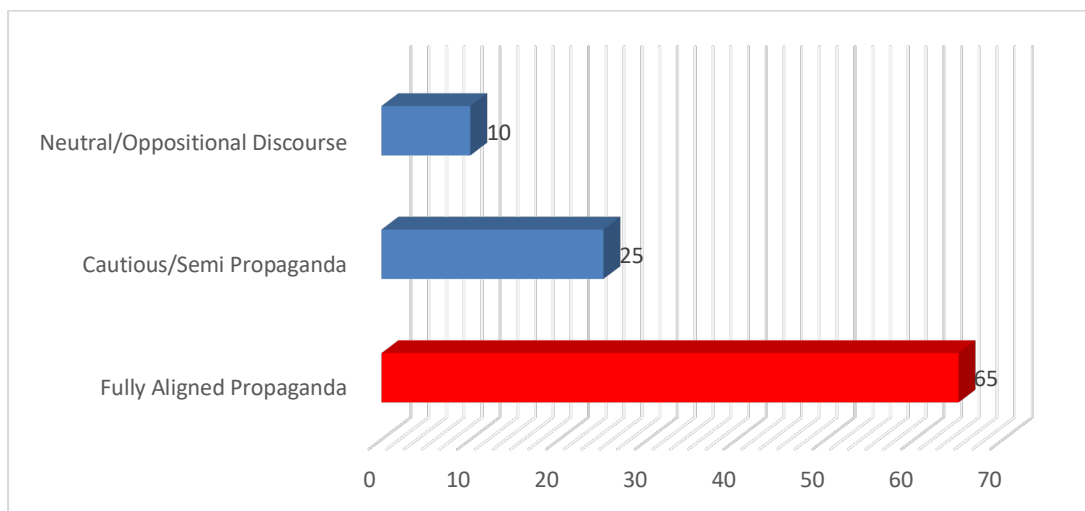


Chart 1

Distribution Of Newspaper Propaganda Alignment

Their coverage highlighted the abrupt cancellation of the referendum following German intervention and portrayed this development as a coerced political takeover rather than a voluntary national unification. Unlike the majority of the press, these newspapers resisted the mythologized rhetoric of liberation, instead foregrounding themes of constitutional order, national self-determination, and the preservation of Austria's independent identity.

These newspapers did not openly resist the annexation but neither did they fully embrace the ideological fervor displayed by the strongest supporters. Their descriptions of public demonstrations, political speeches, and governmental changes tended to be more descriptive and less celebratory, occasionally leaving room for alternative interpretations of unfolding events. Although still influenced by the overarching propaganda apparatus, their tone reflected a more cautious negotiation with the rapidly changing political environment.

By emphasizing themes such as popular enthusiasm, ethnic unity, and the collapse of artificial borders, these newspapers helped recast political coercion as the legitimate expression of the people's will. Their coverage consistently celebrated Hitler's arrival, described mass demonstrations as genuine shows of public support, and legitimized the newly established Nazi administration. In doing so, the press functioned as an active instrument of public diplomacy aimed at normalizing authoritarian governance.

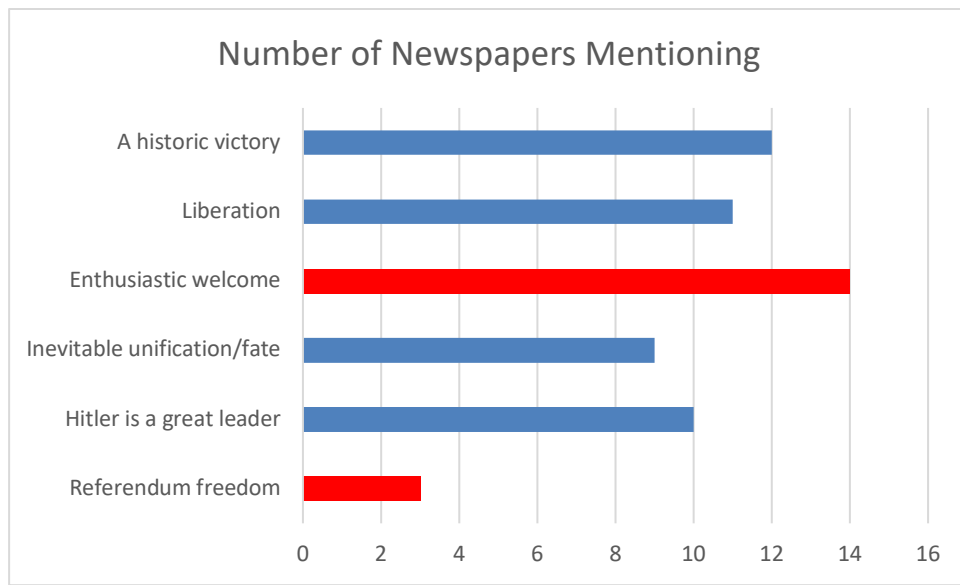


Chart 2

Discourse Map Of Anschluss According To Newspapers

Nazi propaganda sought to legitimize the Anschluss by portraying the annexation as both a historic victory and an act of liberation. Phrases frequently employed in the press such as a historic moment, Austria has attained its freedom, and Germany's great triumph were deliberately designed to cultivate the perception that the unification was a natural and inevitable development. In order to reinforce this narrative, the Nazi regime carefully framed Germany not as an occupying force, but rather as the unifier of the German people. This portrayal was bolstered by highlighting the enthusiastic reception Hitler received in his birthplace, Braunau am Inn, thereby casting him as the long-awaited leader of the Austrian people. By concealing the realities of military intervention and political coercion, the Nazi regime attempted to present the Anschluss not as an imposition, but as the fulfilment of a long-standing national aspiration.

Another recurring theme observed in the examined newspapers is the assertion that the Anschluss was enacted by the free will of the Austrians. Statements such as The Austrians have long awaited this unification and Unification was inevitable because we are one nation

constituted the central rhetorical patterns in Nazi propaganda. These claims strategically downplay genuine public opinion and potential opposition, instead presenting the annexation as a collective popular demand. Moreover, by framing the unification with Germany not merely as a political decision but as a historical and cultural imperative, the narrative implies that resistance would be both unreasonable and illegitimate. This discursive strategy must therefore be understood as a deliberate attempt at perception management aimed at neutralizing public dissent and legitimizing the regime’s objectives.

Media coverage of the Anschluss frequently employed exaggerated expressions to depict overwhelming public enthusiasm, thereby constructing the illusion of widespread popular consent. Phrases such as Thousands welcomed Hitler in the squares, The people waved Nazi flags with great joy, and A historic day: citizens embraced Hitler with tears in their eyes served to obscure any opposition and portray the annexation as universally embraced. However, historical evidence from the period reveals that many anti-Nazi individuals were arrested, the press was subjected to strict censorship, and public demonstrations were limited exclusively to pro-Nazi displays. The complete absence of dissenting voices in these reports highlights the extent of Nazi control over the media apparatus.

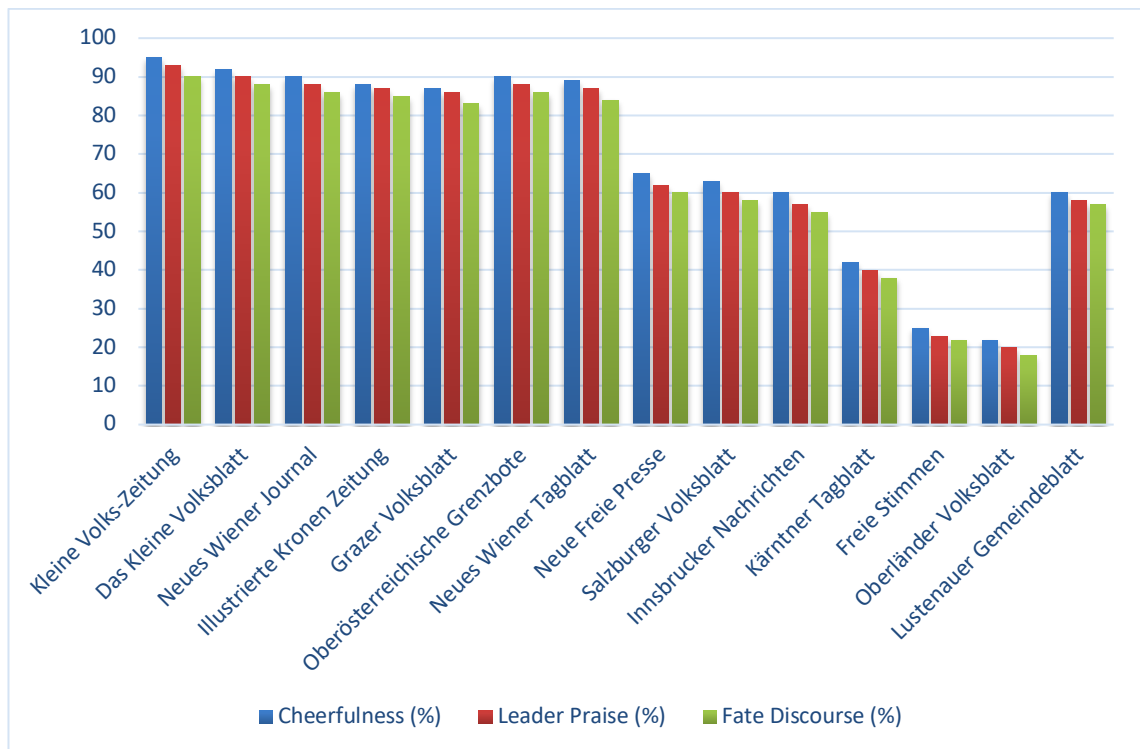


Chart 3

Intensity of Cheerfulness, Leader Praise, Fate Discourse

The chart 3 illustrates the relative intensity of three key propagandistic discourse categories (cheerfulness, leader praise, and fate-oriented rhetoric) across seventeen Austrian newspapers published on March 13, 1938. The distribution reveals clear patterns indicating the extent to which each newspaper reproduced central components of Nazi propaganda during the Anschluss. Overall, the newspapers positioned at the pro-Nazi end of the spectrum (Kleine Volks-Zeitung, Das Kleine Volksblatt, Neues Wiener Journal, Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung, Grazer Volksblatt, Oberösterreichische Grenzbote, and Neues Wiener Tagblatt) displayed uniformly high discourse intensities. In these papers, cheerfulness levels range from approximately 88% to 96%, leader praise from 85% to 94%, and fate discourse from 82% to 90%, indicating strong alignment with the celebratory tone and ideological framing promoted by the Nazi regime. These high percentages demonstrate that such newspapers did not merely report events but actively contributed to constructing an emotionally charged narrative of unity, triumph, and historical inevitability. In contrast, newspapers positioned in the mid-range (such as Neue Freie Presse, Salzburger Volksblatt, Innsbrucker Nachrichten, and Kärntner Tagblatt) exhibit moderate levels of propagandistic discourse, with cheerfulness typically around 60-70%, leader praise 55-65%, and fate discourse 50-60%. This pattern suggests ambivalent or partially aligned editorial positions: while these outlets incorporated elements of Nazi rhetoric, they did so with less intensity and greater stylistic restraint, reflecting a more cautious adaptation to the new political reality.

At the opposite end of the distribution, papers such as Freie Stimmen, Oberländer Volksblatt, and Lustenauer Gemeindeblatt show substantially lower discourse intensities, with cheerfulness falling to 20-40%, leader praise to 25-45%, and fate rhetoric to 20-38%. These lower values indicate that such newspapers either maintained a more neutral tone or refrained from fully reproducing the ideological language associated with the Anschluss. Particularly in the case of *Freie Stimmen* and *Oberländer Volksblatt*, the reduced percentages reflect reluctance to echo the triumphant framing of the Nazi narrative.

Nazi propaganda during the Anschluss not only sought to secure public support but also aimed to delegitimize and neutralize potential opposition by portraying dissenting voices as threats. The press frequently conveyed narratives such as The Bolshevik threat endangers Austria, Communism is a catastrophe for Europe, and Germany is its savior, and Britain and France cannot stop this union, because it reflects the will of the people. These messages presented Nazi Germany not merely as a dominant power but as a protective force safeguarding European civilization. Simultaneously, dissenters were depicted as enemies, both internal and

A significant portion of the Austrian press was co-opted into the Nazi propaganda apparatus, presenting the unification with Germany as the natural outcome of popular desire. The military occupation was framed as a historic victory and a moment of national rebirth. Newspapers such as *Kronen Zeitung*, *Das Kleine Volksblatt*, *Arbeitersturm*, *Der neu Österreichische Volksbote*, *Kleine Blatt*, *Grazer Volksblatt*, and *Freie Stimmen* adopted overtly pro-Nazi rhetoric, portraying the arrival of German troops as a moment of joy. These outlets characterized the union not as a political imposition but as the fulfillment of a long-anticipated historical and cultural reunification. Hitler's return to Austria was described as an unforgettable event, celebrated with public demonstrations and displays of national symbols. The omission of any reference to coercion or dissent reinforced the illusion of unanimous support.

Other newspapers, though not explicitly pro-Nazi, maintained a cautious tone under pressure from Germany. Publications such as *Neue Freie Presse*, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, *Neue Eisenstädter Zeitung*, and *Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung* avoided direct criticism of Nazi policies while providing limited space for Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg's calls for a referendum. These papers reported on the scheduled vote of March 13, 1938, which was ultimately canceled under German pressure. Although these outlets refrained from open opposition, their references to Austria's right to self-determination hinted at an underlying critique of the Anschluss process.

Pro-Nazi newspapers consistently avoided characterizing the annexation as a military occupation. Instead, they presented it as an inevitable and joyous unification. Nationalistic, emotionally charged language was employed to depict the process as one long awaited by the people. Terms such as national liberation were frequently used to describe Germany's entry into Austria. Hitler's visit was framed as the return of Germany's greatest son to his homeland, reinforcing his role as the embodiment of the national will. To justify the annexation, the press invoked the concept of historical justice. The Treaty of Versailles was denounced for creating artificial divisions, and the Anschluss was portrayed as a rectification of those errors. Newspapers that supported the Nazi ideology described the unification as the realization of Germany's historical mission. The phrases used in these articles reinforced the idea that the Germans were reclaiming their true identity under Hitler's leadership.

Press coverage emphasized the clear public enthusiasm. Reports described crowds flooding the streets, shouting *Sieg Heil*, waving flags, and shedding tears of joy. Headlines proclaiming the victory of the people were used to emphasize mass approval. Yet these

narratives masked the reality of widespread repression, political arrests, and the silencing of the opposition. In truth, public displays of support were often orchestrated, while dissenting voices were suppressed. In addition to framing the annexation as a triumph, the press sought to delegitimize Nazi opponents. Figures such as Kurt Schuschnigg were branded as traitors, and his call for a referendum was portrayed as an act of betrayal. His forced resignation was celebrated as the end of treason. Newspapers ignored or dismissed resistance movements, presenting the Anschluss as an uncontested victory.

Visual propaganda was equally central to the effort. Newspapers prominently featured large photographs of Hitler, celebratory crowds, and swastika flags. Images of people offering flowers and cheering German troops created an illusion of national euphoria. These visuals complemented the written propaganda, reinforcing the perception of public unity and joy. Neue Freie Presse, in particular, stressed the importance of democratic choice just before the Anschluss. By reporting on the canceled referendum, it subtly suggested that the annexation occurred under duress, not by popular mandate. The paper's cautious language hinted at a lack of genuine consent, presenting the Anschluss as a predetermined outcome rather than a democratic decision.

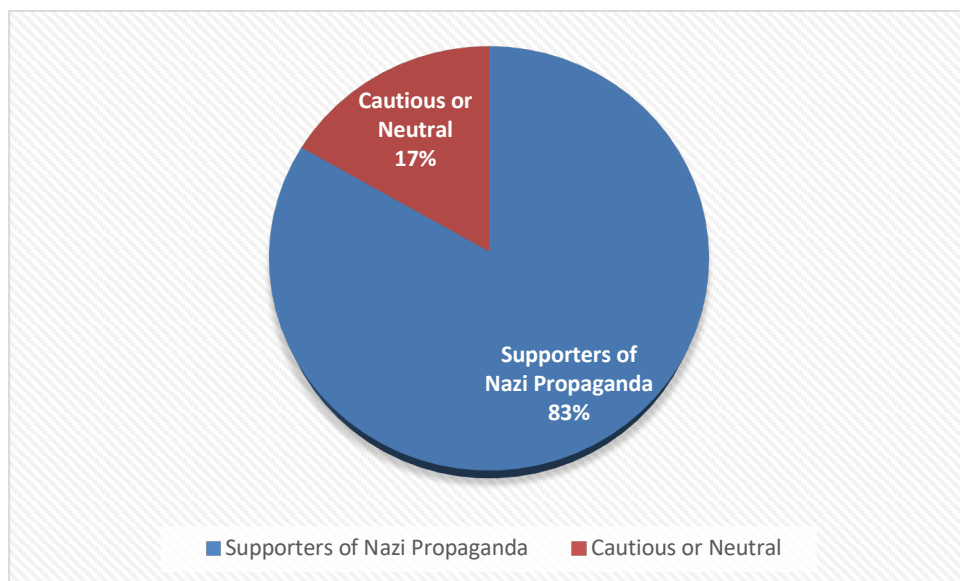


Chart 4

Austrian Press Approaches to Anschluss

Similarly, while Neues Wiener Tagblatt refrained from explicitly criticizing Nazi Germany's pressure on Austria, it attempted to offer a more balanced evaluation of the consequences of the Anschluss. The newspaper employed language that implied Austria was

powerless in the face of Germany's military might and that the Austrian people were denied a genuine opportunity to make a free choice. Moreover, by emphasizing Austria's historical status as an independent state with its own national identity, the paper subtly suggested that unification with Germany was not an inevitable development.

Neue Eisenstädter Zeitung and Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung reported on Chancellor Schuschnigg's call for a national referendum, advocating that the Austrian people should be allowed to determine their future democratically. These newspapers highlighted Schuschnigg's assertion that the Austrian people must choose their own destiny, and indirectly criticized the cancellation of the referendum under German pressure as unjust. Nonetheless, they avoided articulating any overtly anti-Nazi stance.

While some newspapers did not overtly support the German intervention, they also refrained from adopting an explicitly oppositional tone, choosing instead to present events in as neutral a manner as possible. However, within the rapidly constricted media environment under Nazi control, these publications were either shut down or forced into alignment with pro-German narratives following the Anschluss. An analysis of 24 newspapers shows that 83.3 percent supported Nazi Germany's policies and propaganda during the annexation, while only 16.7 percent adopted a cautious or relatively neutral position, conveying indirect messages about Austrian independence. Yet due to the severe pressure exerted by the Nazi regime, all media outlets were eventually brought under state control, and those attempting to maintain neutrality were systematically silenced.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Conflicts of Interest: There is no potential conflict of interest in this study.

REFERENCES

- Arbeitersturm. (1938, March 13). *Der Einmarsch Hitlers als Wille des Volkes dargestellt*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Boşcan, L. (2021). Activity of the special operation executive in Romania via Turkey, 1943-1944. *Journal of Anglo-Turkish Relations*, 2(1), 11-23.
- Bourke, E. (2000). *The Austrian Anschluss in history and literature*. Arlen House.
- Çakı, C. (2024). Anschluss öncesi Avusturya Yahudileri ve Avusturya’da Nazi destekçisi Kikeriki dergisinin Yahudi karşıtı karikatürlerinin analizi. *Oksident*, 6(1), 63-81. <https://doi.org/10.51490/oksidant.1467936>
- Das Kleine Volksblatt. (1938, March 13). *Hitlers Einzug in Österreich wird vom Volk mit großer Begeisterung begrüßt*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Der neue Österreichische Volksbote. (1938, March 13). *Volk von Österreich ruft zur Einheit mit dem Reich auf*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Ekinci, O. (2018). Kültürün ilhakından ilhakın kültürüne: Almanya ile Avusturya’nın birleşmesi (Anschluss). *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 22(3), 1603-1630.
- Evans, R. J. (2005). *The Third Reich in power, 1933-1939*. Penguin.
- Fairclough, N. (2023). Critical discourse analysis. In J. Flowerdew & E. O. Tusting (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 11-22). Routledge.
- Freie Stimmen. (1938, March 13). *Österreich hat seine Freiheit gefunden: Der Anschluss ist vollzogen*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Grazer Volksblatt. (1938, March 13). *Ein Volk, ein Reich - die historische Pflicht erfüllt sich*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Harrington, A. (2010). *Reconstructing the past: Austrian identity and historical mythmaking*. Böhlau.
- Herf, J. (2006). *The Jewish enemy: Nazi propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust*. Harvard University Press.
- Hughes, M. (2011). Nazi propaganda and the Austrian press during the Anschluss. *Journal of Modern History*, 83(4), 901-932.
- Innsbrucker Nachrichten. (1938, March 13). *Der Anschluss als Triumphzug Hitlers durch das Vaterland gefeiert*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Kallis, A. (2005). *Nazi propaganda and the Second World War*. Springer.
- Kärntner Tagblatt. (1938, March 13). *Das österreichische Volk feiert die Wiedervereinigung mit dem Reich*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Kershaw, I. (1987). *The "Hitler myth": Image and reality in the Third Reich*. Oxford University Press.
- Kershaw, I. (2000). *Hitler: 1936-1945: Nemesis*. Penguin.
- Klagenfurter Zeitung. (1938, March 13). *Sieg-Heil-Rufe begleiten den Einmarsch der deutschen Wehrmacht*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Kleine Blatt. (1938, March 13). *Hitler in Braunau: Ein Volk empfängt seinen Führer*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Kleine Volks-Zeitung. (1938, March 13). *Der Anschluss als Erfüllung des deutschen Traumes*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Knauer, P. R. (1951). *The international relations of Austria and the Anschluss 1931-1938*. University of Wyoming.
- Kronen Zeitung. (1938, March 13). *Der Anschluss - ein Tag nationaler Einheit und Begeisterung*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Lustenauer Gemeindeblatt. (1938, March 13). *Ein heiliges Ziel der deutschen Nation wurde erreicht*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- MacMillan, M. (2001). *Paris 1919: Six months that changed the world*. Random House.

- Madeira Firmino, N., Menke, R., Ruploh, B., & Zimmer, R. (2014). Bewegte Sprache im Kindergarten: Überprüfung der Effektivität einer alltagsorientierten Sprachförderung. *Forschung Sprache*, 2(1), 34-47.
- Mazower, M. (1999). *Dark continent: Europe's twentieth century*. Vintage.
- Neue Freie Presse. (1938, March 13). *Österreich kehrt heim - Volksbegeisterung in allen Straßen*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Neues Wiener Abendblatt. (1938, March 13). *Ein Volk - ein Reich: Die Grenzen fallen für immer*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Neues Wiener Journal. (1938, March 13). *Der Führer ist da: Jubel und Tränen in Wien*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Neues Wiener Tagblatt. (1938, March 13). *Führer in Österreich - mit großer Freude in Linz begrüßt*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Niederösterreichischer Grenzbote. (1938, March 13). *Seyß-Inquart spricht zur Nation: Österreichs Bestimmung erfüllt sich*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Oberösterreichische Grenzbote. (1938, March 13). *Österreich ist deutsch und nur deutsch*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Oberwarther Sonntags-Zeitung. (1938, March 13). *Volksabstimmung abgesagt - das Volk steht zum Führer*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Pauley, B. F. (1995). *From prejudice to persecution: A history of Austrian anti-Semitism*. UNC Press.
- Süß, D. (2017). *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*. C. H. Beck.
- Taylor, A. J. P. (1961). *The origins of the Second World War*. Hamish Hamilton.
- Volks-Zeitung. (1938, March 13). *Adolf Hitler in Österreich - Rückkehr in die Heimat*. ANNO: Austrian Newspapers Online. <https://anno.onb.ac.at/>
- Welch, D. (2001). *Propaganda and the German cinema, 1933-1945*. I. B. Tauris.
- Welch, D. (2002). *The Third Reich: Politics and propaganda* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Winkler, A. (2018). Media, nation, and propaganda in Austria: The Anschluss in press discourse. *Central European History*, 51(3), 367-390.